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GERMAN JEWS OF PRAGUE: A QUEST FOR SELF-REALIZATION

By FRANK MEISSNER¹

“The German Jew in Czech Prague was, so to speak, an incarnation of strangeness and will-to-be-strange; he was the people’s enemy without a people of his own.”²

When on December 3, 1952, the state judge at the sensational Slánský Trials in Prague (a counterpart to the Doctor Plot trials in Moscow) announced the sentences, he was anxious to emphasize that of the fourteen defendants who were “guilty” of high treason, eleven were of Jewish origin or were born of “German manufacturers’ families.” Since practically all “Aryan” Germans were deported from Czechoslovakia after World War II, everybody understood that “German Jewish manufacturers’ families” were meant.

Western observers generally agreed that it was one of the objectives of the whole trial to turn the Jews into scapegoats who were to bear the blame for Communist Czechoslovakia’s economic frustrations. The constant reference to the stereotype of a “German Jew” was used merely as one of the tools by which the flame of popular anti-Semitism should be kept burning.

Objective

The primary objective of this paper is to trace the history of the phenomenon called the German Jew of Prague, and then to show

¹ An earlier version of this paper was discussed on February 21, 1960 at the 58th Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society held at the Baltimore Hebrew College. Most of the research was done before my affiliation with the Stanford Research Institute. I have had the benefit of criticism by Professor Herbert Kisch, Michigan State University, and of Johannes Urzidil, New York City. Yet, the responsibility for biases of interpretation and error in fact, although unintentional, are all mine.

² Pavel Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague* (New York: Griffin Books, 1950), pp. 36–37. Although this book is extremely well written and beautifully executed, Eisner is a highly controversial person. He was no doubt an extraordinary connoisseur of the Czech and German languages and therefore a most outstanding translator. Yet he was one of the most prominent turncoats on record. He has gone through subsequent stages of Austrian patriotism, Czech nationalism, touches of Zionism, and only recently died as a Communist. Eisner is not the soundest source on Kafka, because he tried to save for the Czechs as much of Kafka as he could. Yet the Czechs — even in literary circles — never cared for Kafka prior to his becoming famous.

how and why these people went into a voluntary social, national, and cultural ghetto in the very midst of an overwhelmingly Czech population.

Procedure

We will first trace the history of ghetto Jews in the Crown Lands of Bohemia and Moravia up to the time of the Josephinian Decree, which abolished the ghetto. The reactions of the ghetto Jew to this new breeze of freedom are presented in terms of five alternatives, which are shortly described and evaluated. An orientation toward the German culture was the alternative chosen most frequently by the Jews of Prague, and is therefore discussed most extensively.

The methodology of research was somewhat peculiar and maybe unorthodox. The sources consisted of personal recollections; discussions with relatives and friends; consultation of novels, historical accounts, and sociological and political analyses.³ No concerted effort was made to measure the phenomena quantitatively. Since novels and personal narratives are often biased, one of the drafts of this paper was submitted to Johannes Urzidil for adjudication. Mr. Urzidil, an outstanding non-Jewish German of Prague, is one of the foremost authorities on the subject. He was a contemporary and friend of most celebrities that are being discussed in this paper. His comments were either incorporated in the final draft, or used as annotations.

Origins

“History finds the earliest reference to the Jews of Prague in 906 . . . as traders in the local slave market, probably buying wares for export to Cordova.”⁴

The ancient Jewish community of Prague goes back to the time of the early Premyslid Dynasty. It has a long tradition of learning expressed in the name of “Mother of the Jewry.” The community was founded by Jews who came over the Alps from the south and through the Balkans from the east. The Eastern origins of the

³ This approach is in many ways similar to the analysis of the Jews in the Polish small town made by Celia Stopnicka Rosenthal in “Social Stratification of the Jewish Community . . .” *American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1953), pp. 1–10 and “The Ecological Approach in Social Psychiatry,” *American Journal of Sociology* (Sept., 1954) and “Orienting Ecology to Theory and Application,” *Social Forces* (May, 1954).

⁴ Marvin Lowenthal, *A World Passed By* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1933), p. 331.

earliest Prague Jews and their undeniable heritage of Slavic traditions, in language as well as in culture, are evident in Hebrew writings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, the first grammarian of the Czech language was a Talmudist from the Prague ghetto.⁵

The second immigration wave consisted primarily of German Jews. They came with the German artisans, who were invited by Czech rulers to establish industries in Bohemia — a kind of thirteenth and fourteenth century Point Four Program of Technical Assistance, if you please.

Despite this German influx, the “Bohemian” Jews in general and the Prague Jews in particular retained a direct and vital connection with the Czech language and culture throughout the Middle Ages. This intimate relationship is evidenced by the many first and family names found among the Jews of medieval Prague.⁶

Approximately in the middle of the thirteenth century, Jewish communities were founded in Brno (Brünn), the capital of Moravia, and in České Budějovice (Budweis) in south Bohemia. Toward the end of the fourteenth century Jewish communities existed in twenty-eight towns. Whereas in Germany Jews were permitted to engage only in a few specified occupations, there originally were no such restrictions in the historical lands of Bohemia and Moravia. Jews were not only money lenders but also farmers, artisans,⁷ weavers, masons, and tailors.

The roots of the subsequent Czech national and cultural dilemma have to be traced to the defeat of Czechs in the Battle on the White Mountain in 1620 (Bílá Hora), which introduced three centuries of Hapsburg hegemony. The Catholic dynasty made a concerted effort to bring the predominantly Protestant Czechs back to the Holy See. The flower of the Czech and German-Protestant nobility was executed. The heart of the prosperous burghers, as well as the majority of the Czech intelligentsia, went into exile. Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius), the famous educator and cofounder of the Bohemian Brethren, was one of the many prominent emigrants.

Germanization was combined with the process of recatholicization,

⁵ These facts — strangely neglected by German-Hebrew scholars — were recently brought to light by Professor Roman Jakobson, Harvard University, in his *Slavic Languages* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1955), pp. 36.

⁶ For a comprehensive account of these circumstances, see Bruno Blau, “Nationality Among Czechslovak Jewry,” *Historia Judaica* (Oct., 1948), pp. 147–154.

⁷ See Mark Wischnitzer, “Origins of the Jewish Artisan Class in Bohemia and Moravia, 1500–1648,” *Jewish Social Studies* (Oct., 1954), pp. 335–350.

or what historians refer to as “antireformation.” German was re-elevated to the status of an official language.⁸ Although Jewish communications with authorities remained largely Czech, about half of the private correspondence was soon switched to German. Due to an influx of German Jews, Yiddish became widely used.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, an intensive Germanization drive was extended to the Jews. The use of Hebrew was permitted only for religious services. All legal and private documents had to be written in German. All instruction in Jewish schools had to be carried out in German. Czech was at that time considered a decaying language spoken mostly by uneducated peasants. Even the Czech intelligentsia had already switched to German. The Germanization proceeded particularly swiftly in the cities. The Czech national language became mixed with German words and phrases. The sources of national literature seemed exhausted forever. A dark age of the Czech spirit spread over Bohemia. Jews, however, persistently used Hebrew and Yiddish. Most of the governmental language decrees were therefore directed against the Jews. In the latter part of the eighteenth century passing of a German language test was made a condition for obtaining a marriage license.⁹

The many Germanizing assaults upon the Bohemian Jewry culminated under Emperor Joseph II, son of Maria Thresa, who in 1786 issued the Josephinian Edict (Josefinský Patent). This edict made it mandatory for all Jews of the Austrian monarchy to register their first and family names with the authorities.¹⁰ Although permitted to use Hebrew or Yiddish first names, German family names were bestowed upon them by the authorities. The name-creating process was a typical example of Austrian bureaucratic *Schlamperei* [carelessness]. “He, who was able to bribe [*podmazat* = lubricate], could for his family name plunder all the beauties of the universe. And so we get such superpoetical names . . . as Saphir, Diamant, Edelstein [precious stone], Feilchenfeld [violet field], Mandelblum [almond blossom], Rosenstamm [rose stem], Morgenstern [morning star], Nelkenduft [carnation fragrance]; he, who could not afford to lubricate [bribe] was punished by names like Nasenstern [nosed

⁸ German had already official status under some of the kings of the Luxembourg dynasty in the 13th and 14th centuries. Thus, Wenceslaus IV — son of Charles IV, founder of the Charles University in Prague — communicated with Czech cities chiefly in German, sometimes in Latin, very rarely in Czech [Urzidil].

⁹ Blau, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ For a lego-historical study of the statute and its impact, see Guido Kisch, “Linguistic Conditions Among Czechoslovak Jewry,” *Historia Judaica* (April, 1946), pp. 19–32.

star], Regenschirmbestandteil [part of an umbrella], Notdurft [urgent necessity]”¹¹

Soon after the proclamation of the Josephinian Edict, the Prague ghetto was officially abolished.

After the walls of the spiritual ghetto had fallen, the Jews of Prague faced the challenge of a new cultural orientation. In retrospect, as well as in fact, there were five alternative ways. Consciously or otherwise, each Jew had to choose. What were the alternatives and what were the decisions?

Five Alternatives

First, on the extreme end of the spectrum of alternatives was the “do nothing” approach. After centuries of persecution, any slight breeze of freedom could seem too unreal to evoke any reaction. Although the ghetto institution was officially abolished, some Jews preferred to continue to live there — physically as well as mentally.

Second, the Jews could have left the ghetto and identified themselves with Czech national awakening. This could be done without giving up their religion. After all, the primary objective of the Czech renaissance was to gain cultural and political self-determination for the Czechs. The leaders of the “awakening,” although no friends of the Jews, were Protestants as well as Catholics, laymen as well as clergy.

Third, the Jews could have left the ghetto and identified themselves with the Germans, who had ruled Bohemia for over two centuries. German is here defined primarily linguistically, and includes therefore Austrians as well as the German speaking subjects of the individual states which later became part of Germany proper.

Fourth, conversion to Christianity, intermarriage, and complete assimilation by elimination of the Jewish identity was a road that has been chosen by some Jews throughout the ages.

The *fifth* alternative is a diametrical opposite to the first one. The slight breeze of new freedom could have triggered a desire for more freedom and a realization that the Old Country is not the place to expect it. This alternative lead some Jews to America in search of real freedom.

¹¹ Pavel Eisner, *Chrám i tvrz* [Cathedral as Well as a Fortress — a book about the Czech language] (Prague: J. Podroužek, 1946), p. 251. For an extensive register of these names, see Konrad Krause, *Die Jüdische Namenwelt* [The World of Jewish Names] (Essen [Germany]: Essener Verlagsanstalt, 1943), p. 196, and Jirina Sedláková *Praské Židovské hřbitovy* [Jewish Cemeteries of Prague]. *Nový Orient* [New Orient], Nov. 2, 1959, pp. 33–34.

Decisions

In human affairs, the processes of accommodation usually do not follow clear-cut alternatives. The outcome is usually a compromise in the area of “gray” — some place between the black and white extremes. In this case, too, elements of all five alternatives were being realized, although some alternatives were used frequently while others hardly at all.

In Prague — as everywhere else in Central Europe — the majority of the Jews supported the German element. Attempts at identification with the “Czech awakening” were actively made even before the 1848 revolution. Yet the 1848 pogroms and the vicious anti-Semitism expressed by some of the early leaders of the awakening — and particularly of Karel Havlíček Borovský, the founder of modern Czech journalism — tended to discourage further concerted attempts. The 1848 pogroms, also, sent a flow of Bohemian Jews to America “in search of freedom.” Complete assimilation — through intermarriage and baptism — was sought by some. A considerable number of extremely Orthodox Jews, who congregated around the famous Altneu Synagogue in the physical midst of what used to be the medieval ghetto of Prague, were hardly at all affected by the emancipation that followed in the wake of the French Revolution.

The major objective of this paper is to discuss the third alternative, the German Jews of Prague. This is the type of adjustment that was followed by the majority of Jews in Prague. Inevitably, some references to the other four alternatives will also be made. The epilogue will enumerate some of those courageous individuals who came to America in search of freedom. Too, in the twentieth century, Communism and Zionism became real alternatives as well. Except for references to the Zionism of Max Brod and the late Supreme Court Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis, an elaboration of this alternative is not conceived to be within the scope of this essay. Similarly, the work of prominent Communists among the German Jews of Prague is not discussed.

The Czech-Jewish Movement

The death of Czech culture was more apparent than real. One can now point out, with full benefit of hindsight, that the Prague Jews left the ghetto at a time when the spiritual and cultural revival (*národní obrození*) of the Czech people had just begun. The centralizing and Germanizing actions of Emperor Joseph II hastened this nationalistic Czech renaissance. Only a few recently Germanized

Jews were able to interpret the new "spirit of the times." They reconverted to the Czech language and culture.

An early attempt at identification with the renaissance of the Czech national thought was made by Siegfried Kapper, the author of two poem collections: *Slavische Melodien* [Slavonic Melodies] was published in German in 1844 and *České Listy* [Bohemian Leaves] was published in Czech in 1846. Kapper was a pioneer of the Czech-Jewish movement whose literary output synthesized German, Czech, and Jewish modes of thought and emotion. Kapper's Czech national consciousness came to fruition in his *České Listy*. It was expected that the Czech intelligentsia would receive Kapper with open arms, in spite of his being Jewish. Some of the early reviews of Kapper's work were indeed favorable. Yet, the reception afforded this collection of poems by Karel Havlíček Borovský, the founder of modern Czech journalism, was hostile, to say the least.¹² The essence of Havlíček's lengthy critical review was simply that it was an effrontery for a Jew to dare to invade Czech literature, that to be simultaneously a Czech and a Jew was impossible, and that the Jews should rather "attach themselves to the Germans and German literature."¹³

For better or worse, the majority of the intelligentsia among the Jews of Prague heeded Borovský's sarcastic advice. True, Kapper was the founder of a Czech-Jewish movement which flourished up to 1938. Yet, numerically, the German Jewish element was by far the strongest one among the Jews of Prague. While the Germans grew into a constantly smaller minority, most of the Prague Jews stuck to the sinking Teutonic ship.

Let us examine the reasons behind this process, which tended to make the position of Prague Jews "ever stranger, ever more painful, and ever more unbearable."¹⁴

The Ruling Class Concept

The Germans in Prague turned into a hopelessly isolated society. They had no German hinterlands; and in every respect, but language, they were different from their quasi-brethren in the Sudeten-

¹² Havlíček "was a national fascist, no doubt" [Urzidil].

¹³ The entire Havlíček incident is extensively discussed in Kisch, *op. cit.* Some interesting background information is given in: S. E. Mann, "Czech Literary Criticism of the Late Revival: The Struggles for Standards, 1820-48," *The Slavonic and East European Journal* [London] (June, 1959), pp. 443-452. For a tragic epilogue see: Beatrice M. Nosco, "Zdeněk Němeček (1894-1957), Poet of Czech Emigrants," *The Slavic and East European Journal* (Spring, 1959), pp. 43-46.

¹⁴ Eisner, *Franz Kafka . . . , op. cit.*, p. 18.

land — the heavily German border districts surrounding the Czech interior of Bohemia and Moravia. The declaration of Czechoslovak independence in 1918 stamped the final seal of doom upon this “German ghetto.”

This curse of abnormality was inherent in the absurd social structure of the German population of Prague, which suffered under the stigma of its own “superiority.” This inorganic society consisted of a class of “rulers,” either of rank or of wealth. Under the item of rank, one would classify the Austrian, the Germanized or foreign nobility holders of high or intermediate offices in the Hapsburg government; officers of the Prague military garrison; professors at the higher schools of learning, the German artists and professionals, and “migratory” university students. Under wealth, we put the big industrialists and businessmen.

There was also a German middle class of minor bureaucrats, artisans and craftsmen. Although more numerous than the ruling class, the influence of the middle class was rather insignificant. There was also a German “working proletariat,” which was largely organized in the Social Democratic Workers Party. Czech workers, of course, outnumbered German workers in Prague by a ratio of something like twenty-to-one.

Many Jews were industrialists, prosperous businessmen, lawyers, and artists. Thus, practically all wholesale merchandising, as well as foreign trade, was carried on by them. Expensive fashion goods — textiles, gloves, lingerie, millinery, furniture — were all domains of Jewish endeavor.¹⁵ By virtue of their financial affluence it seems entirely justifiable to consider the Jews as members of the “ruling class.”

The Superiority Complex

Without the benefit of a sustained rejuvenation from the proletariat, the German bourgeois population became, however, a true social ghetto. There was not much of a social ladder to be climbed by anybody. Unfortunately, the “incest” did not stop at the social level. It went into the fields of language and culture as well. Everything Czech was almost automatically excluded. (And vice versa, of course, almost everything German was excluded by Czech nationalists.) The motivations were legion: resistance to, suspicion of,

¹⁵ The role of German Jews of Prague in the industrialization of Bohemia is a topic which has so far been practically completely neglected by economic historians. I hope some day to be able to analyze this fascinating subject.

and arrogance towards something “different,” plus a goodly portion of an unadulterated superiority complex. If one would want to look for an illustration of disregard of much that is positive in the German tradition of cosmopolitanism from Goethe to Thomas Mann, here it was. And to these invisible walls of a German national and social ghetto the Jews — fresh out of the religious ghetto — attached themselves. Prior to 1918, they probably constituted a numerical majority among the Germans who lived in Prague.

The Cultural Elite

It is true that the German Jews of Prague were intensively culture minded. The two German theaters of Prague were able to survive primarily because of contributions from German Jewish industrialists and bank directors. The same situation was encountered with the German symphony orchestra, the Chamber Music Society, German art exhibitions and sport clubs.¹⁶ That Czech art and culture existed was known more or less from hearsay. (The Czechs, too, disregarded German art and culture.)

The palatial home of the *Deutsches Haus* [German House] would have gone into bankruptcy had it not been for the money of the German Jews and their guests. The building stood in all its pomp in the very middle of Příkopy, the Fifth Avenue of Prague. This center of “German culture” was a constant thorn in the eyes of the Czechs, who tended to identify everything German with the Jews.¹⁷ And it was an “insult” to the non-Jewish German “chauvinist barbarians” from the Sudetenland to have such an institution run by Jews. When Hitler’s hordes occupied Prague in March, 1939, the *Deutsches Haus* was, significantly enough, one of their first seizures. The Aryanization of the property was promptly undertaken.

The young sons of the rich German Jewish merchants or industrialists almost invariably studied at the German University of Prague. Many private libraries of the German Jewish homes were incredibly rich and selective. Rarely would they contain any Czech books. The exceptions would at best be some old and battered volume which happened to stray into the house while the owner was not watching. To read Czech newspapers, magazines, or books

¹⁶ Beyond personal recollections and indirect references in novels, there does not seem to exist any systematic analysis of this Jewish “infiltration” of German arts in Prague.

¹⁷ Urzidil — who is not Jewish — relates that when he, as a little boy in Prague, used to go to and from the German school, the Czech children would call after him, “*Žide, hovo ti zbyde!*” [Jew, crap is all you’ll have left!] He also points out that a common Czech slogan was: “*Naše heslo jest, maňte Židi ale fest!*” [Our slogan is, beat the Jews but good].

was not the “proper thing to do.” One took up such activities purely in order to derive necessary business information. Political and cultural news was derived from two newspapers: *Bohemia*, was probably as arrogantly anti-Czech as the Czech *Národní Listy* [National News] were anti-German and anti-Jewish. The *Prager Tagblatt* was an excellently managed, politically liberal, but otherwise soft-spoken, noncommittal, spineless, and very highbrow daily. The weekly *Montagsblatt* was as hostile to the Czechs as the notorious *Bohemia*. German Jews were preponderant in the editorial offices of all three newspapers.¹⁸

The Modern Ghetto

The German ghetto of Prague, which supplanted the medieval one, was not merely confined to society, culture, and nationality. The ghetto of the German Jewish elite was a physical one. They either lived in expensive apartment houses around the Vrchlického Sady (Vrchlický Park)¹⁹ or in the individual family homes in the exclusive residential suburb of Bubeneč. The inhabitants of voluntary ghettos — Prague had no racial restrictive covenants on real estate — had as little contact with the man in the street as, say, members of the European colony in Shanghai with the Chinese quarter. If anything, there were probably even fewer contacts. The white inhabitants of Shanghai were, after all, frequently tempted to do some “slumming” in the picturesque oriental streets. Perhaps it was also somewhat dangerous. Czech delinquents might have beaten up such an intruder to the Žižkov or Košíře districts.

The Czech majority was obviously suspicious of the foreign German body. The distance from suspicion to hatred is not great. The distinction between German Aryans and German Jews was based on a philosophical hairsplit, which was of little concern to the man in the street. He simply disliked everything German, regardless of whether it was “clean,” according to what later became known as the Nürenberg Racial Laws.

¹⁸ This in itself is not surprising. Journalism was a “Jewish profession,” and German Jews were preponderant in the editorial offices of almost all German newspapers in Austria and Germany. Theodor Herzl himself was led towards Zionism when, as Paris correspondent of the Vienna *Freie Presse* [Free Press], he reported the Dreyfus trial. Arthur Koestler, our own contemporary, also started this career with the Ullman newspaper chain in Berlin.

¹⁹ The German Jewish life in the ghetto was described in Hermann Grab's interesting novel, *Der Stadtpark* (Munich: W. Weismann, 1947), p. 125. It is an interesting paradox that following World War I the park was named after the Czech-Jewish poet, Emil Friða, who wrote under the pen name of Jaroslav Vrchlický.

Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, the first President-Liberator of Czechoslovakia — whose memory has in 1960 been celebrated in the United States by a special four and eight cent stamp issue — was fully aware of the inherent danger in this Jewish attachment to German culture. Personally, he was broad-minded enough to understand the Jewish motivations. In fact he himself received practically all his education in German schools. He was, however, afraid that it was shortsighted policy, which in the long run would not only hurt the Jews but would also endanger his work on behalf of the cause of Czechoslovak liberation. When, in 1914, he was about to leave Prague for exile — a mission which subsequently resulted in the establishment of Czechoslovakia — he asked Count Franz von Thun, then governor of the Czech provinces

... to bring to the attention of the German Jews my request that they should be more reserved in their Austrophile feelings. There was [prior to 1914] considerable antagonism towards German Jews. Rumors circulated about violent [Czech] attacks on German newspapers... I myself pleaded with *reasonable* German Jews to exercise some self-control. I was afraid that anti-Jewish riots would affect adversely my activities abroad.²⁰

Dents in the Shield of Isolation

The very fact that the community of the German Jews was a mere island in the Czech ocean of Prague made frequent contacts inevitable. As a businessman or industrialist, the German Jew in Prague employed almost exclusively Czech workers as well as Czech foremen. Only Czechs were readily available. Domestic servants, including wet nurses, were almost always Czech. The children had Czech governesses. Only families of the very elite turned their offspring over to the care of Swiss, French, or English tutors.

By the very process of osmosis, the children of the German Jews in Prague learned some Czech from the servants. But it usually was a grammatically imperfect language with a most primitive vocabulary. And, because of lack of use, it hardly ever became any better. After all, in German Jewish circles, one spoke Czech only with domestics and other "socially inferior people." The pidgin

²⁰ Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, *Světová Revoluce* [World Revolution] (Prague: Orbis, 1930), p. 38. Garrigue was the maiden name of Dr. Masaryk's wife, Charlotte. She was of New York Quaker stock. They met at the University of Leipzig, where Masaryk studied philosophy and Miss Garrigue music. Mrs. Masaryk later became an authority on the famous Czech composer Bedřich Smetana, whose "Bartered Bride" is among the world's opera classics.

Czech served as the medium of these contacts and was duly branded Kitchen Czech [*Kuchyňská čeština*]. The alleged social inferiority of the Czechs did not, of course, prevent the German Jewish male from seeking sexual intercourse across the nationality boundaries.

"It is probably not entirely misleading to observe that the young German Jew received his first erotic initiation usually from a Czech woman . . . most of the time, with the servant girl at home."²¹ Kafka in his *Description of a Struggle* talks about a German Jew who continues to visit a German lady of the Prague society merely because her Czech maid happens to be his mistress. Max Brod in his novel *A Czech Servant Girl* describes how William Schurhaft, a symbolic figure of the Jewish intellectual from the Prague bourgeoisie, receives from the maid Pepička Vlková "the sweet sense of true existence."²²

It is not surprising that true love seldom entered these relationships. This is clearly reflected in Franz Kafka's many writings. Take for instance, the young Karl Rossmann in *Amerika*. He has a child by his parents' maid, but it does not occur to him to think of either mother or child. True, he was seduced by the maid. Yet he enjoyed it, and she therefore remains to him nothing more than the first dispenser of pleasure. This was a rather cynical middle-class attitude at that time.

All in all then, business and "illicit" sexual intercourse were the two fields in which the German Jews of Prague stepped outside the limits of their imaginary ghetto of superiority.

The German Jewish "Little Man"

It would be unfortunate to leave the reader with the impression that all Prague Jews were well-to-do. On the contrary, the Jewish Community of Prague consisted of numerous social strata. Mem-

²¹ Eisner, *Franz Kafka* . . . , pp. 23–24 and 61. It might be well to remember, of course, that since in Prague there was such a preponderance of unattached Czech girls, this type of "erotic initiation" was quite natural.

²² Such allusions in literature helped to interpret the hush-hush references, which our parents used to make about affairs of some of our "gay" friends and relatives. In fact, the vocabulary contained the term *Schuerzenjaeger* [skirt hunter], which was meant to describe the "happiness of pursuit" outside the conventional field of prostitution. Unfortunately, in those pre-Kinsey days, very little was known about quantitative aspects of such things. Eisner tries to explain the phenomenon by pointing out that there is

" . . . a particular erotic tension between people of different blood, [which made] the attractiveness of Prague Slavic women for the non-Czech . . . especially strong. For the German Jews of Prague, such intercourse was an erotic symbiosis and an erotic revolution of an inherent longing of rootless patricians for the profound security of the people." (Eisner, *Franz Kafka* , *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61.)

bership in each stratum was determined by the prestige of a family name as well as by the size of the bank account. The lowly Jewish bookkeeper had only "professional" contacts with his exalted millionaire employer. The powerful textile, sugar, and leather magnates — the "cream" of the social crop of the Prague Jewry — thought themselves socially equal to the Gentile nobility. A step lower on the social ladder was the

swarm of much smaller fry in all branches of retail trade. Then . . . there was a sort of half-proletariat made up of clerks, salesmen, secretaries, (the lower echelons in) . . . banks, warehousemen, commercial travelers and agents; here and there a small tailor or watchmaker.²³

This Jewish proletariat, however, escaped the eyes of the Czech population, simply because they changed the dirty *kaftan* of Orthodox Galician Jew for a white collar. There was a heroic tenacity to maintain an appearance of belonging to the "better classes," no matter what a man's mode of life. This "quasi-proletarian" stratum of Prague Jewry had a better chance to become assimilated into the Czech environment. In fact, these people could hardly afford to remain in social isolation. A lower middle class Jew certainly was aware of what the Czech Prague looked like. And many a Jewish proletarian even found his way to socialism.

The Kafkas

The very fact that a Jew bore a Czech name did, of course, not mean that he felt himself to be a Czech. Take, for instance, Franz Kafka. Does anybody think of him as a Czech? Yet the family name Kafka is a phonetic transcription of the Czech word *Kavka* [jack-daw]. It is a genuine Czech name which was rather widespread among Jews in Bohemia and Moravia. "Jewish Kafkas" usually came from the Czech countryside. Thus Franz Kafka's forefathers apparently either felt themselves Czech or were at least well-disposed toward the Czechs. Somehow or another, the Name Commission of Emperor Joseph II permitted the Kafkas — and with them many others of the Jews in rural Bohemia and Moravia — to retain their Czech family names. Were the Jews so assimilated that the Commission did not "discover" them? Was it a bribe? Nobody really knows.

As a matter of fact, the Kafkas came from the purely Czech village of Osek near Strakonice in the south Bohemian borderland,

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

where they had a butcher shop. They lived in the country in constant and intensive contact with the Czech peasant. Franz Kafka's mother came from the central-Bohemian province of Poděbrady, which is likewise a thoroughly Czech district.

But in Prague the Kafkas became a German Jewish family, primarily because, as a matter of expediency, it was *fashionable to belong to the "important" people*. They were particularly aggressive about this belonging, because they "merely made it."

Franz Kafka was born in Prague I, a district which was barely on the "right side of the tracks." The house in which his parents lived happened to be on the very border of Prague V, the former ghetto. The majority of the large Jewish community of Prague lived then already well outside the ghetto.²⁴

Franz Kafka resented very much this silly "status search" of the generation-in-transit from the relatively religious rural districts to the secular city environment. This resentment was probably one of the sources of his creative neurosis, and it certainly was the basis for his *Dearest Father* volume, which was published in 1954 by Schocken Books in New York.

The same stimulus brought forth a diametrically opposed reaction in Bruno Kafka, an older cousin of Franz'. Bruno played his status seeking to the hilt. He became professor of law at the German University of Prague, married the daughter of the Prague "Copper King," Bondy. Bondy was an ambitious man who, with some of his money, purchased a nobility patent. He thus became Maxmilian Bondy, Edler von Bondrop, for a Jew a truly monstrous name.

Another outlet for von Bondrop's surplus funds was the subsidization of the above mentioned *Bohemia*, where Bruno Kafka, then a deputy of the Czech National Assembly, printed his speeches opposing the then foreign minister, and later president, Eduard Beneš.²⁵

²⁴ For a comprehensive description of this period see: Klaus Wagenbach, *Die Jugend Franz Kafkas* (Franz Kafka's Youth), *Merkur*, November, 1958, pp. 1019–29. Prague was, and still is, divided into several districts, which are designated by Roman numbers. These districts are similar in size and scope to postal zones in American cities.

²⁵ Bruno Kafka is a very controversial figure. Many Czechs considered his opposition to Beneš as not only arrogant, but recklessly irresponsible as well. In fact, he has been accused of indirectly preparing the way for Konrad Henlein, Hitler's henchman in Czechoslovakia. On the other extreme is Urzidil, maintaining that Bruno Kafka was a very good democrat, who justifiably opposed Beneš' catastrophic policies of Czech nationalism. It was, thus, Beneš and the Czechs who allegedly did everything to drive the Germans — who were not yet Nazis — into Henlein's camp.

The Reaction to the Stigma

Although a good many Prague German Jews lived and died without being particularly aware of the strangeness of their existence, many became conscious of their grotesque situation and drew conclusions. Some went to Vienna [Franz Werfel], Berlin [Willy Haas], and Kafka, for awhile, Dresden, Hamburg,²⁶ and overseas. Others became ardent Zionists [Max Brod]. This young movement was, in fact, so successful that, after 1918, Zionists commanded two mandates in the City Council of Prague.

The reaction to the stigma was obviously different in different people. Some young German Jews tried to drown their guilt complexes in the pool of what appeared to be cosmopolitan socialism. Arthur Koestler, whose mother hailed from Prague, in discussing the situation which led these young people into such radicalism admits that

It was a . . . migration of the sons and daughters of the . . . bourgeoisie trying to escape from the collapsing world of their parents.²⁷

These people believed that it was easily possible to be a good Communist and yet continue to identify oneself with the German cultural heritage.

Prior to 1938, this was perfectly good doctrine. When after World War II, Czech antagonism to the Germans culminated in wholesale deportations, people like Frejka,²⁸ Geminder,²⁹ and Weisskopf³⁰ hastily changed their identification tags. Of the three only Weisskopf spoke Czech fluently. This realism was branded "opportunism" during the Slánský Trials. The November, 1952 issue of the magazine *Kulturní Politika* [Cultural Politics] left no doubt in anybody's mind where the Communist Party stood in this matter:

Those Jews who considered themselves Germans (and who, if Hitler had not been anti-Semitic, would certainly have become furious Nazis)

²⁶ Economic motives — besides the strictly cultural attractions — had also something to do with this exodus. In Austria, and particularly in Germany, the postwar inflation was rampant, while the Czech currency was quite "hard." Thus, with a modest income in Czech crowns, one could actually live quite luxuriously in Germany and Austria.

²⁷ *Arrow in the Blue* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), p. 270. See also the chapter on "Rebellion and Faith."

²⁸ Ludvik Frejka [Freund], chief economic adviser to the late President Gottwald and one of the authors of the Czechoslovak Five-Year Plan.

²⁹ Bedřich Geminder, head of the foreign division of the CCP [Czechoslovak Communist Party] and its former representative at the Cominform, Czech editor of the Cominform organ "For a Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy."

³⁰ F. C. Weisskopf, former first secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington, D. C., later ambassador to Sweden and Communist China.

must not be surprised if the Czech people consider them German and do not want them in their midst. Those who feel themselves German and want to speak German should go to Germany or Austria. As for those who are not national Jews, let them go where they can build a Jewish state. But those who have proved that they are Czechs, their love for their country and its people, their loyalty to our state, let them fuse with the people and share in our people's life. If they help us to build, they will liquidate the Jewish problem forever.

Synthesis

The German Jews of Prague were an indirect product of the French Revolution. At the time when the gates of the ghetto were opened, the Czech nation was on its knees. It looked as if the Germanization attempts of the Hapsburg monarchy started to bear fruit. Identification with the German culture became therefore, a "natural" thing for most of the newly emancipated Jews. In embracing the German culture, the Jews underestimated the potentials of the Czech revival. In fact, some Czechs were surprised as well with the tremendous potency of this movement. Be that as it may, in 1918, the Czechs again became masters in their own country. The majority of the Jews of Prague ignored the consequences of this important event, which, officially, ended the three centuries of German domination.

In this connection, it is important to note the word "majority." Some Jews, of course, heeded the writing on the wall of the Czech national revival. In fact, many of these Czech-Jews became very prominent in the Czech economy, politics, and arts. A study of the ecology of the *Czech* Jews of Prague would be an appropriate subject matter for another paper. The German Jews of Prague, thus, voluntarily created a kind of social, national, and cultural ghetto. The isolation was almost hermetic.

Incredibly strange people were these German Jews of Prague. They were "German," but around them there was no German hinterland. They rejected the primitive barbarism of Germans from the Sudetenland, as much as the Sudeten Germans rejected the German Jews of Prague. To the Jewish community they clung only outwardly. The faith of their fathers dwindled down to a few symbols. Breeding and tradition turned them toward things of the spirit. Their refinement, their cultured taste, radiated upon their surroundings and helped in a very real way, despite the social cleavage, to raise the cultural level of the Czech citizenry of Prague. The Jews of Prague were among the cultural elite of the Hapsburg Empire.

For all this cultural leadership, there was little reward. To the Czechs, the German Jews of Prague remained strangers because as Jews they had a different creed. As generally comfortable, prosperous, and often rich citizens, they were a sore thumb in the midst of a crowd of proletarians and petty bourgeois; and they were "Germans." These latent antagonisms were bound to become partial causes for attacks of religious, economic, and national anti-Semitism. This was particularly so during times of crisis.

The German stigma was the most serious bone of contention that marred the Czech attitude toward the Jews. For centuries the Sudeten German regarded the Czechs as half-educated creatures — to some extent saved by German influence — politically intolerable and unreliable, socially never satisfied. The Czechs saw in the Sudeten German the invader, the remorseless conqueror, the apostle of German world hegemony, the economic tyrant who lived only in the land in order to subject the Czech people socially, politically, and in every other way. It was a righteous indignation of the poor man against the snob, and of a small nation against bombastic imperialism. Any wonder that, in the early days of their Republic, the Czechs set out to humiliate the Germans in thousands of little ways.

The German Jews of Prague were an indigestible particle inside inherently hostile surroundings. This dead object in the midst of the Czech body inevitably became a perpetual source of irritation. In the bitter Czech-German national struggle, nobody was permitted to remain neutral. Even though the Jew was, at the most, German in culture, to the Czech he was unqualifiedly a German, a stranger, an opponent and intruder, a national enemy. Furthermore, the German Jew in Prague was unsure of his acceptance among the "Germans proper." He overcompensated for his inferiority complex by being extremely vocal about his "German sentiments" — "More papal than the Pope," if you please.³¹ This, in turn, led to unwarranted aggressiveness against the Czechs. The daily *Bohemia* is an excellent illustration of this tragic process. And yet, the "genuine Aryan Germans" of Bohemia were not at all impressed. On the contrary, the Sudetenland became the cradle of political racism. The western Bohemian demagogue, Georg von Schönerer, is one of Hitler's direct forebears.

The worthy Sudeten German of solid stock, fresh, pious, and jolly, free as the vandals, despised the Teutonizing Jews in Bohemia. Between

³¹ The Czech Jews also usually behaved more Czech-nationalistic than the Czechs themselves. They, too, were "More Papal than the Pope."

the German border district and the German population of Prague, so infiltrated with Jews, there existed a mutual antagonism of rejection and contempt.³²

Although most of the German Jews of Prague took for granted the abnormality of their situation, some "bright young men" tried to get around it. Some became Zionists and left the country. Some converted to Christianity and left the country. Kafka escaped into himself. He filled his books with tragedies of loneliness, of hermetic isolation, of the curse of existence. In his famous novel, *The Castle*, he clearly indicated that a Jew desires recognition in society, before the "law," in the workaday relations of civil life; but that he is foreign and remains so, merely tolerated, pushed aside, reinstated, but never on the way to complete assimilation; always on the edge, a marginal settler, burdened with an invisible leprosy. And since the disease was partially self-inflicted, Kafka felt guilty about it. As Eisner put it, "He was a man on whose soul the supraracial star of shame was fixed half a century before Hitler."³³

Kafka was a virtual prototype of social conscience, and very close to Dostoevski in this regard. In fact, he might be considered his Western counterpart. And he repeatedly reminds us of Tolstoi as well.

Then there were men like Frejka-Freund, Geminder, and Weisskopf, who joined Slánský in the Communist party. They thought that their German-Jewish background would be no liability in the cosmopolitan surroundings of the Communist International. This turned out to be the most tragic of all the alternatives. The "trespassers" were liquidated on the gallows of the Pankrác Prison in Prague late in 1952. Thus, the Communists finished the chapter of extermination, which Hitler started to write.

Today there are hardly any Jews left in Prague. The German Jewish community is certainly gone. One of the "last Mohicans" who came forth from the German Jewry of Prague is Max Brod. He lives in Israel, and his contributions are so far-reaching that they warrant a short discussion.

³² P. Eisner, *Franz Kafka . . .*, p. 33.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 100. This is probably slightly overstated. Kafka's writings should not be judged chiefly from the Jewish viewpoint. His symbols, though derived from the Jewish tradition, were meant to be all inclusive. He describes primarily the loneliness of Man, not just of a Jew.

Max Brod, the Zionist

Max Brod was the literary executor of Franz Kafka's will, a contemporary and friend of people like the novelist Franz Werfel, the philosopher Felix Weltsch, the religious thinker Hugo Bergmann, the world traveler and journalist Egon Erwin Kisch and, of course, Egon Hostovský. The latter lives now in New York and has become one of the leading Czech exile novelists whose books have recently been translated into many languages and became best sellers in many countries.

Max Brod, the novelist, essayist, dramatist, philosopher, composer, translator, editor and government bureaucrat — born on May 27, 1884, in Prague — has recently celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday in Israel, where he now lives.

Early in life Brod came to terms with his heritage. In "Jews, Germans, Czechs," an essay written in 1918, he proposed that the education, literary and cultural aspirations of the German Jews of Prague should make them friends of the German people, but not members of that nation. He took a similar stand toward the Czechs. The constructive synthesis of this was Zionism. Brod thus became the co-founder and vice-president of the Jewish Council of Prague, and was instrumental in negotiating significant autonomy concessions that President Masaryk's government granted the Czechoslovak Jewry. Brod finally went to Palestine in 1939. He has lived in Tel Aviv ever since, where he works as dramatist and artistic adviser to the famous *Habimah* theatre.

In Zionism, Brod found the solution to the dilemma that beset Jews who were trapped in the spiritual ghetto within the German community of Prague. This solution was not an escape into the German camp, nor an escape into the Czech camp, nor an escape toward the freedom of America, but rather it was a constructive and active mission to give a new meaning to the word "nation." Leon Uris in *Exodus*, the monumental epic of Jewish self-realization, could well have used Brod in one of his flashbacks that establish the ideological background of an influential section among those people who were responsible for the birth of Israel.

To Brod, nationalism is not a step in mankind's development from humanity to bestiality. The pluralism of the Israeli nation is rather an asset. The Jews being gathered from the world-wide Diaspora into one tiny spot have to find ways of mutual accommodation. Thus, Israel can show other nations how constructively to get along with each other.

Brod himself is a personification of such mediation. Brod for-

unately disregarded Kafka's request to have all his writing destroyed; rather, he edited, published, and interpreted the works of Kafka. In doing this, Brod has been justifiably criticized that he artificially squeezed Kafka's allegories into the straight-jacket of the fate of Jews in the Diaspora. This is understandable enough because Brod, the integrator, saw in Kafka the Jewish counterpart to the Roman-Catholic writing of Pascal, and the Protestant existentialist Kirkegaard. To Brod, Kafka was the representative voice of the "age of anxiety."³⁴ This is a highly original and stimulating insight, regardless of whether or not one happens to agree with it.

Brod also brought Franz Werfel's talents to the attention of the world; he introduced Leoš Janáček to the international musical audience by translating into German the libretto of the opera *Jenufa*; he dramatized Jaroslav Hašek's classic novel, *The Good Soldier Schweik*.³⁵

Among the many honors that Max Brod has received during his life, he treasures particularly the Czechoslovak State Prize, which he got in 1930 for *Reubeni*, the famous novel of the false Messiah of Prague. Too, Brod greatly appreciates the Bialik Prize of the city of Tel Aviv, which was awarded to him in 1948 for his monumental renaissance trilogy titled *The Fight for Truth*, which includes *The Redemption of Tycho Brahe* (1916), *Reubeni, Prince of the Jews* (1925) and *Galilee Imprisoned* (1948).^{35a}

So much for the German-Jewish writers of Prague who are so important to European and world literature.

Epilogue of Freedom

In contrast to the tragic fate that was met by the majority of the German Jews of Prague, there were those Jews who — from the very beginning — did not trust the faint breezes of freedom which followed in the wake of the Josephinian Decree. The Pogroms staged

³⁴ C. Greenberg, "The Jewishness of Franz Kafka," *Commentary* (April, 1955), pp. 320–324.

³⁵ For a more comprehensive enumeration of Brod's achievements, see Professor Harry Zohn's [Brandeis University] stimulating critical review on "Max Brod at Seventy-Five," *Jewish Frontier* (Oct., 1959), pp. 33–38.

^{35a} *Tycho Braches Weg zu Gott, mit einem Vorwort von Stefan Zweig* (Berlin: Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1915); *The Redemption of Tycho Brahe*, with an introduction by Stefan Zweig; translated from the German by Felix Warren Crosse (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1928); *Reubeni, Fürst der Juden: ein Renaissanceroman* (München: K. Wolff, 1925); *Reubeni, Prince of the Jews: A Tale of the Renaissance*, translated from the German by Hannah Waller (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1928); *Galilei in Gefangenschaft* (Winterthur: Mondial Verlag, 1948) [not translated into English].

by the Czechs in 1848 further convinced them that to stay in the "old country" was a hopeless alternative in comparison to the great promise of America, the land of liberty. Unfortunately at mid-nineteenth century only about 400 Jewish families from Bohemia came to the United States of America in search of freedom.³⁶

One of the reasons for this lack of mass exodus is perhaps that Austria after 1848 was not aggressively anti-Semitic. In spite of the Sudeten Germans, the Czechs, or the Viennese, the Jews still enjoyed relative freedom. In comparison to the pre-1848 years they probably "never had it so good."

Let us now look at a Jew of the outstanding individuals who either came to America themselves, or whose parents undertook the journey.

Among the clergy, Rabbi Bernard Illowy (born in Kolín, Bohemia, in 1812 or 1814; died in Cincinnati in 1871) is certainly one of the most outstanding pioneers of Orthodox Judaism in America. His first call in the United States was to the Shaare Zedek synagogue in New York City, and his career culminated as spiritual leader of the Sheerit Israel Congregation in Cincinnati.

Cincinnati is also the town in which congregation B'ne Jeshurun facilitated the bringing to full flowering of the tremendous talents of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise. Rabbi Wise was born near Cheb, the western-most town of Bohemia, and died in 1900, in Cincinnati. He was instrumental in introducing such reforms in worship as preaching in the vernacular, and granting women "equal status" by bringing them from the separation of "women galleries" in the synagogue to participate in mixed choirs, confirmation, worship in family pews and be counted in the *minyan* — the quorum of ten required for a public divine service. Rabbi Wise was the dynamic power behind the founding of Reform Judaism in America, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the weeklies, *American Israelite* and *Deborah* [in German]. He strove for changing the ghetto-oriented religion of his forefathers into Judaism, which would be

a religion without mysteries or miracles, rational and self-evident, eminently human, universal, liberal and progressive, in perfect harmony

³⁶ The role of the early Jewish immigrants from Bohemia and Moravia has already been documented by Professor Guido Kisch in his monumental essay, *In Search of Freedom: A History of American Jews from Czechoslovakia* (London: E. Goldstone & Sons, 1949), p. 373.

with modern science, criticism, and philosophy, and in full sympathy with universal liberty, equality, justice, and charity.³⁷

In some secular pursuits, we can note the lawyer, Adolph Kraus, who was President of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith from 1905 to 1920, as another prominent Jew who came from Bohemia. Then there was congressman Adolph J. Sabath from Chicago, who won distinction for his longest continuous membership on record in the U. S. House of Representatives, being elected twenty-four times, and serving under nine presidents. During World War I, Sabath actively participated in the struggle for the liberation of his home country and in the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Jews of Czechoslovak descent were also prominent in secular politics. The most famous among them was, of course, Supreme Court Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis, the "American Herzl."³⁸

Abraham Flexner, author of the classic report on *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, which was published by the Carnegie Foundation in 1910, was also a first-generation descendant of a prominent Bohemian Jewish family. His contribution represents the major milestone in American medical education.³⁹ Later on, Flexner became the first Director of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University, where he made yet another major contribution.

Professor Hans Kohn [born in 1891 in Prague], who is teaching history at the College of the City of New York, is an outstanding authority in the field of nationalism. And so it goes.

The contributions of these people were appreciated, and they contributed to the integration of the Jews into this great pluralistic society. Since World War II, Jewish integration in the United States has made particularly significant gains. For all practical purposes, the Jew is today counted with the majority. With everyone's eye on Negro and Puerto Rican problems, the Jew moves rather easily into older suburbs, into managerial positions in Gentile corporations, into Government agencies, into English departments at leading colleges and universities. The Jew is now perfectly at home in the American community life, business, politics, and re-

³⁷ Rabbi Joseph H. Gumbiner, Director of the Hillel Foundation at the University of California in Berkeley, "Meet Isaac Mayer Wise," *American Judaism* (Rosh Hashanah issue, 1959), pp. 6 and 7.

³⁸ William V. Badger, "Louis D. Brandeis: Judge, Legal Scholar, and Statesman," *Social Science* (April, 1959), pp. 80-88.

³⁹ Melvin Lurie, "Professors, Physicians, and Unionism," *Current Economic Comment* (Nov., 1959), p. 16.

search. His aggressiveness and shrewdness, his love of the politics of life — like most other of his stereotype tags — tend currently to be assets that promote acceptance rather than mere tolerance. To have Jewish friends; a Jewish pediatrician or a psychoanalyst; to read *I and Thou*, *Marjorie Morningstar*, or *Exodus* are now all signs of sophistication rather than of oddity. So is a Gentile's ability to season his speech with one or two Yiddish phrases.⁴⁰

In this context it is therefore particularly tragic to ponder the differences between the outcomes of choosing among the alternatives which faced the Jews upon the abolishing of the ghetto in Prague. True, important contributions to economic development of Bohemia, to German art and letters were made by the German Jews of Prague. Yet little gratitude of appreciation resulted. Hitler accomplished the major part of extinction of Jewry, and what little was left of the German Jews of Prague, the Communists are finishing off now. Can one imagine what could have happened if the energy and talent of this Jewish community had been applied in America or Israel? How many more Weisses, Brandeises, or Flexners could such an exodus have produced? How many more Max Brods?

⁴⁰ This theme of integration is pursued in the interesting feature on "A Vocal Group: The Jewish Part in American Letters," *The London Times Literary Supplement* (Nov., 1959, pp. 34 and 35. See also: "The Jew in American Society" by C. Bezalel Sherman in *Forum for the Problems of Zionism, Jewry and the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: Jewish Agency, Spring, 1959), pp. 281–289.