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Austria, and the Jews of Austria, 1938.

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIYES

AUSTRIA, AND THE JEWS OF AUSTRIA

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At The Temple

On Sunday morning, March 20, 1938 As the Austrian Jewish community descends into the shadows, let us review the thousand-year old history of that community if for no other purpose than that of capturing a perspective on the situation which confronts us at this hour, a perspective which will enable us to make a valid and intelligent interpretation of what is happening at the hour. This reaction which has set in and which will be visited upon the Jewish community of Austria, the fate which has been visited upon the Jewish community of Germany, is not the first of its kind in Austria.

The millennial story of the Jews of that country is the story of an undulatory movement, a wave line movement of progress and recession, of progress and recession, with progress just a little ahead always of recession. And when each cycle of progress and reaction is completed, it is found that progress has scored just a little gain.

The Jews appear in Austria quite early. Reference is made to their presence in Austria in the Tenth century, just about one thousand years ago. They came into Austria from Western Europe, Germany, perhaps also from France and Spain and they came as financiers, small capitalists, money lenders. In many instances they were invited to come and settle in the country by the emperor or by the duks because they were needed as financial advisers, as capitalists.

Jews of the Middle Ages turned to banking, money lending not because of any especial fitness for that pursuit but because all other avenues of life were shut, by law, against them. In the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, the merchant and artisan class developed in Europe and organized merchant guilds, trade guilds, from which Jews, because of their religion, were excluded. There was only one activity open to the Jews - that of money lending. That activity was prohibited

by the Church to Christians.

The lot of the Jews in Austria during the early years of settlement there was not intolerable. There was, of course, the normal hostility which has prevalent against any minority group so radically different as the Jewish minority group was in religion - a minority distinguishable by habits of life, communal organization, a histility which was unfortunately incited and stimulated by intolerant and fanatical elerics. The business of money-lending and banking in which the Jews were engaged in those early centuries, by force and not by choice, likewise always created resentment against them because it is an enterprise open to abuse and frequently is abused. For while borrowing is pleasant, paying back is usually unpleasant.

But the Jews of Austria were protected by the Emperors and Dukes, not out of any humanitarian impulses but because they derived from them a large revenue, especially since taxes were placed upon the Jews.

A charter was granted to the Jews of Germany in 1244 by
the House of Duke Frederick II. This charter proved for some two
hundred years to be the Magna Charta of the Jews of Austria. It was a
model for similar charters which Jews received in other countries. And
its provisions were far in advance of the sort of treatment which the
Jews received in many of the countries of Europe. They were legally
protected on the same footing with the non-Jewish population. They
were protected in business. Attacks upon them were severely punished.
They were also granted communal autonomy. They were accorded protection
in courts of law and similar privileges of what we would call, the rights
of minorities. This charter was very important. But its importance depended

entirely upon the will of the later leaders of Austria. Either they willed to carry out this provision or they willed to ignore it. You find isolated cases of persution, riots during these centuries following the charter If 1244 but no large scale persecutions of the Jewish people so that by the middle of the Fourteenth Century, Vienna becomes the largest Jewish community in Europe. That is definite progress. And suddenly the wheel turns and a tragic reaction takes place.

In the early years of the Fifteenty century, the Hussite
Movement spread to Bohemia. That was the forerunner of the Protestant
Reformation of a century later. And as a result of this movement,
wars - religious wars set in - in what is now called Czechoslovakia,
Austria and Hungary. Whenever there is political upheaval in Europe,
whether because of religion, economics, politics, the Jewish people
is always caught between the upper and nether millstone. That is the
to fight
fate of a minority group. When expeditions were sent/against the
religious rebels, before they attacked the Hussites, they attacked
the Jewish community. That happened, you may recall, centuries
before with the Crusaders who were sent to attack the Mohammedans
in Palestine. On the way they decided to attack the Jews who
were on the Rhineland.

In 1421 a whole Jewish community of Austria was exiled. Many of the Jews were driven into exile. The rich were imprisoned, their properties confiscated. Two hundred were shot at stake. That was the beginning of the Jewish community. That year marked the beginning of the end of the Jewish community in Vienna. Vienna came to be known for many years as the "City of Blood" and Austria as the "Land of Blood."

Within a generation, the Jews were back in Austria. They were welcomed back. The Emperors or rulers needed them, needed them as Court bankers, as financial advisers. Their money was needed to stimulate trade and commerce. They needed their initiative and enterprise. They trickled back in very small numbers over a period of twl and a half centuries. During those years, we hear of attempts to expell them. By the middle of the Seventeenth Century there was a substantial Jewish group in Austria. In Vienna there was a Jewish community of close on to four thousand souls. That is progress.

But again the wheel turns and in 1670 the whole Jewish community of Austria is again exiled at the instigation of an intolerant Bishop and the wife of the Emperor, a Spanish princess, whose bigotry characterized the catholic group. All the synagogs were turned into churches. There was no trace of Jewish religion in Austria. This was the second destruction.

Within ten years, the Jews were back in Vienna and in Austria. Austria was in danger of being over-run by the Turks. In 1683 the Turks knocked at the gates of Vienna and the Emperors needed Jewish purveyors, Jewish court bankers and the Jews were invited back in view of that. At the close of the Seventeenth Century there were such prominent Jews as Samuel Oppenheimer and Samson Wertheimer a famous financier and banker, a great Rabbi who became the representative spokesman of the Jews.

One hundred years after 1617, the Jews come back to Austria in small numbers and keep coming back in small numbers. Congregations were established throughout the country. The lot of the Jews during that century fluctuates. There are periods of release from strain,

from persecution and also periods of intense intolerance and persecution.

During the forty years' reign of Maria Theresa the Jews suffered harshly in Austria. That was recession.

Then the wheel turned. And under the reign of Joseph II light breaks for the Jews of Austria. You have a tolerant humanitarian ruler who issued in 1782 the famous edict which came to be known as the "Toleranz Edict" which affected all the laws which discriminated against the Jews. It did away with the infamous badge which the Jews had to wear in degradation. It did away with the severe taxes upon them. It set in motion a whole movement for the education, the modernization, the Germanization of the Jews of Austria. It day was a new day and a new/seemed to be everywhere in the Western world, the days which preceded the French Revolution.

In 1781 the Academy in Metz offered a prize for the best and most helpful essay for the improvement of the Jews in Europe. It was a Catholic priest, Abbe Grigonne, who won the prize. And this broadminded and tolerant priest devoted much of his life in championing Jewish life in Europe. At the same time, a Christian member of the Prussian military staff wrote treatise suggesting the granting of rights to Jews. In September of 1791 as a result of the French Revolution, a law was passed in France for the first time granting absolute equality to the Jews in France. This was progress for Austria. Therewas progress elsewhere in Europe.

And then the wheel turned and reaction set in.. Many of these edicts were repealed or ignored and forgotten and of course with the collapse of Napoleon in 1815 most of the liberalism which swept over the world was scrapped. A period of black reaction sets in, not only for the Jews but for all the people.

Here it is interesting to remember a fundamental law in history during the last 150 years. From France comes political progress. From Germany comes political reaction. Look over your history in the last 150 years. From France comes political progress for the whole of Europe. From Germany comes political reaction for the whole of Europe. From France comes political liberalism for the Jews - for the whole of Europe. From Germany, disability and degradation for the Jews - for the whole of Europe. Read over your history of the 150 years.

Don't blame it all on Hitler. Germany for the last 150 years has been the center of racial chauvenism. And Germany has infected Austria, Poland, Rumania, a generation ago, two generations ago, even as it is doing it today.

The wheel turns again. Revolutions sweep over Europe.

The Revolution of 1830 and of 1848 are again progress for the majority, for the Jews of Austria. Ghettoes are abolished, taxes are removed, universities are thrown open to Jewish students and professors.

Progress, and within a year, reaction. That reaction continued continued until 1867 when the armies of Austria were beaten by tie Italians and when clericalism in Austria received a new blow.

As a result, in 1867 a new constitution was proclaimed which finally removed all the disabilities against the Jews and granted them absolute equality with all the people of Austria. And a glorious period of liberalism sets in in that country in which Jews and non-Jews alike benefit.

And then comes the reaction again. There was first a severe economic panic in Austria in 1873. And when there is an enonomic debacle, again the minority and especially the Jew is made responsible for it regardless of who is the actual culprit. Out of Germany came

poisonous anti-Semitism which Bismark set in motion. In order to check liberalism in Germany, Bismark turned reactionary and launched a vigorous campaign against the Jews of Germany who were, of course, largely identified with the so-called Christian-Socialist Party of 1878 which was made up of neither Christians nor Socialists. We have a vast anti-Jewish literature created in Germany of the typenow rampant in Germany - the superiority of the Nordic people, etc. The whole clap-trap of pseudo-science, of racialism, and of anti-semtism developed in Germany sweep into Austria. Anti-Semitism makes headway, becomes popular and in 1882 you have a good old Jewish ritual murder case, the well-known ritual murder case of . From that time on anti-Semitism becomes a fixed feature of Austrian life. Anti-Semitism enters definitely into the political life of Austria. Then war and war did not improve Austria. All the misfortune which came over that country which was dismembered, impoverished was first visitedon the Jewish group in Austria.

Now Austria has been absorbed by the Third Reich and all the rights gua anteed by the edict of 1867 are of course automatically wiped out and the infamous Nuremberg Laws imposed on the Jews of Austria. The Golden Age for Austrian Jews of the 18th and early 19th century is past. The Jewish community was creative and filled many positions of honor far beyond their numerical strength. Unfortunately that has already become a liability in Jewish life. Usually a community regards its criminals and malefactors as liabilities. With the Jews, its genius is regarded as a liability. Its large numbers in are a source of envy and resentment and therefore a liability.

The Jews of Austria figured prominently in many fields.

In the field of Journalism - they created the best German newspaper in Austria - "The Neue Press". Jews largely represented in banking,

finance in Austria. They built the railroads in Austria. The vast
Railroads in Austria were built by Solomon Rothschild. The Jews built
large mercantile establishments. Then, too, in the professions they
were well represented. They are highly represented in the field of
medicine because other occupations were closed to them. For
centuries the Jews built up the prestige of the University of
Vienna. On going through the halls of the U. of Vienna you find
an astoundingly great number of Jewish heads and busts. The Jews
developed a whole new science or branch of pathology - psychoanalysis.
In Music, too, they played a great role as producers and composers.
In the Theatre of Austria you find one of the greatest actors in
Adolf Zonenberg. In the field of Literature one of the few names
known outside of Austria, is Arthur Schnitzler. Jewish literature
in the 19th century produced two men of outstanding greatness Isaac Manheimer and Adolf

Since 1667 a wave of assimilation has set over the Jews of Austria. They thought that the millennium had come. They were now completely Austrian. So they assimilated themselves in overwhelming numbers.

"The Jew was treated" - I am reading from an interesting book, the "History of the Jews in Vienna" by Grunwald. "The Jew was treated by the local authorities not only with justice but even with sympathetic consideration. He probably would not have received as good treatment from a Jewish judge or police captain. It once happened, in fact, that the president of the House of Representatives wanted to postpone a session because of the Day of Atonement but the Jewish members of that body successfully opposed his endeavors. They did not want to be

reminded that they were Jews, much less to call attention to it. The Jewish members of Parliament always absented themselves whenever a topic of interest to the Jews came up for discussion, or, if present by chance or necessity, they buried their heads in the papers before them. Indeed, Siegmund Mayer, who had offered the most brilliant portrayal of Vienna's Jewry out of his own experience, honestly admits, 'I never gave a thought to the fact that I was Jewish until the advent of anti-Semitism.' We have here a confirmation of Eduard von Hartmann's statement that 'Judaism was in a fair way of de-Judaizing itself, till anti-Semitism made its appearance'.

"These fin-de-siecle Jews took absolutely no interest in Judaism. As long as their surroundings did not remind them of their Jewish heritage, it caused them no inner discomfort. So small was the part that it played in their consciousness that they did not even adopt Christianity. Wherever they saw manifestatons of religious zeal, they charitably attributed it to atavistic folly. Mixed marriages were nobility but even members of the reigning the order of the day. Not only princes of the old debt-ridden/families related through marriage to the Jews. Nowhere did the Jews become so assimilated as they did in Vienna. The horizon of all Viennese was bounded by the Wienerwald and the alte Steffel, the dome of St. Stephen, which now became a symbol of the city. Both Jew and Christian yearned with nostalgia as soon as they left Vienna one mile behind. Jewish children sang in church choirs, and joined in Corpus Christi processions. Catholicism with its mysteries, its ceremonialism, its bewitchingcathedral concerts, held their emotions in thrall. It moulded the Vienna spirit, and became Wiener Mode and the fashion for a large section of the city's Jews. And they, the fashion changed; it became the vogue to be anti-Semitic just as previously it had been the part of good breeding to be wrapped up

in Liberalism."

A wave of anti-Semitism swept over Austria in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the middle of the 19th, Dr. Theodore Herzl, knowing what had happened in France with the Dreyfus Case and even in Western Europe, proclaimed that the only solution of the Jewish problem was the establishment of the Jewish State and he called into being the Zionist Movement.

What will happen to these 250 thousand Jews today in Austria? Just now tey have descented into the shadows. Just now the cry is heard in Vienna as it was heard in Berlin: "Judea Perish!" They will be driven from all public life, if not already. Institutions, and mercantile establishments will be taken away from them. They will be impoverished. Many of them will be driven into exile. Darkness has settled upon Austria as is symbolized by the wave of suicide which has swept over many of the Jews of Austria. How long will they stay in this valley of the shadow of death? How long will it be before the wheel turns and they will emerge from darkness to light? As surely as there is a God in Heaven they will, over and over again, as in the past.

What is necessary is a perspective on what is happening everywhere. The fall of Schussnig is a forgone conclusion. He was Chancellor
of an Anschluss which was founded in blood. That foolish would-be tyrant
Dolfuss, four years ago, destroyed by blood and fire the only people
loyal to the Austrian Government, the workers whom would have laid
down their lives for their government. Instead they were slain by
the hundreds and in their blood established an autocracy for which
he quickly paid with his own life in the first Putsch which the
Nazis made in Austria.

There was no ideal involved in Austria. And there were no people ready to fight for that ideal. It was inevitable that Schussnig fall and his regime just as it was inevitable that some form of Anschluss between Austria and Germany should take place. Some of you may recall when the question of Anschluss was talked of between Germany and Austria that I spoke for it and urged it as the only possible solution for this little helpless country cut away from its natural world and set up as an isolated feeble country. It was an ominous and impossible procedure and the only solution was some economic or political Anchluss between Austria and Germany. The proposal was made in the days when Austria and Germany were both a Republic. If allowed to carry through. it would have been a victory for international morality and good sense. It wasn't allowed to go through because the narrow political vision of the French Foreign Office was afraid it would strengthen Germany too much and it was stopped. And now the merger of Austria and Germany is a triumph - for what? For brutal force, for gangsterism, for Nazism. If it had been allwed to go through a few years ago, it would have gone through without bloodshed, without people being driven to suicide. without horrow and terror and suppression. Today it is an act of conquest. It is a victory for German imperial expansion.

It seems that the whole post-war deplimacy of the democracies of Europe is one long record of blundering and stupidity. Pan-Germanism is on the march today. That Pan-Germanism which was checked and halted by the World War. That program is not being resumed. Germany is bent on marching toward the East "Drang Noch Osten". The next attempt will be to break up Czechoslovakia. There seems to be nothing in sight likely to stop this forward march of Pan-Germanism as represented

at the moment by Hitler. Nothing except the hope that he will over-reach himself, drive the democracies to a mood of desperation when they will have to stop him. Before that happens, I am afraid that the pendulum of triumph will continue to swing in their favor for some time.

This is a dark hour, friends, for democracies, for all the things we gain from democracies, and therefore a dark hour for the Jewish people in Europe. The Loyalists were defeated in Spain. The Chines were defeated in China. The Lithuanians were defeated in Lithuania. The absorption of Austria. Menace hanging over Czechoslovakia - all part of one world movement, a movement which you may call reaction, a movement against international morality, against the ideals of the French Revolution, against equality, against liberty, the sort of movement which swept over Europe after the collapse of Napoleon. But as these movements destroyed themselves, so will this movement either spend itself or break itself.

Let me remind you, who are disheartened - and who is not today - let me remind you that Germany won almost every battle in the World War. For four years Germany marched triumphant. It triumphed over every front for four years. But one front held out - that narrow Western front upon which their stood great democracies - France, England and the United States - and that one front held, broke the back of military Germany which had won every victory but the last was.

What is sound statesmanship for us Jews at this moment? What is sober, realistic statesmanship? To become fearful lest what will happen here? No! To come to the conclusion that every Jewish community in Europe is threatened? No! To assume that this is the last chapter for the Jews of Vienna, Berlin? No! There is no warrant for such attitudes. What is sound statesmanship for us is first of all to make a determined effort to see the thing, to see what is happening to us against the background of the world, to link up our progress with the world-wide problem of freedom against tyranny, of brotherhood and good will and peace against belligerency and war madness, to see the moment as a turn of the wheel which wheel will turn again and to keep on working togehter with all the liberal forces of this land and other lands, to keep on fighting, educating, enlightening, informing people of all the issues which are involved in the epochal, cosmic struggle which is going on today, strenghening every liberal cause, fighting back every reactionary movement, strengthening every educational effort for better understanding, for good will and cooperation between people and hope confidently for the coming of a new day. It may come, not tomorrow or next month or next year. But it is just as sure to come as there is a God in Heaven. If you read your daily newspaper with a viewpoint not of the day or the hour but of xx a whole decade or a generation, you will have a great sense of confidence, resoluteness and upbuilding.

The Jews have lived in Vienna for a thousand years. Twice during that thousand years they were subjected to expulsion. Twice and now a third time, perhaps. Always they resumed their life. And always their life was richer and more abundant than before. The cycle is again completing itself.

The day is coming and it is not far off, when you and I will see justice, freedom and the ideals of people again being established in the habitations of mankind.



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sermon 505

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 20, 1938.

"AUSTRIA, AND THE JEWS OF AUSTRIA"

The fall of Schussnig was a forgone conclusion. He was Chancellor of a petty autocracy which was founded in blood and which was established over the broken bodies of the workers of Vienna who were the most loyal supporters of the government and who in defense of democracy and a free Austria, would have laid down their lives. Between the petty tyranny which Dollfuss founded and which Schussnig continued and that of the Nazis, there was really little to choose. No clear cut democratic ideal round which men could rally was involved in the final struggle.

Anschluss with Germany was also inevitable. E I urged it years ago when both Germany and Austria were still Republics. Had Anschluss not been it thwarted by France and other nations then, would have represented a triumph for international morality, a triumph for democracy and would have added prestige to the League of Nations. Nor would Austria have lost its complete political independence. Today the absorption of Austria represents a triumph for dictatorship, for violence and international gansterism for it was achieved, as the whole world knows, by threat and ultimatum. It was an act of conquest which will incite the conqueror to other acts of aggression.

Pan-Germanism is on the march again as it was in the days before 1914.

The war checked it. Hitler has resumed it. The thrust to the East is on.

In its wake lies Czechoslovakia which will be broken and dismembered unless the remaining democracies of Europe, driven to desperation by the growing menace, will turn round and hit back. They have the power now. They will not have it for long.

In the World War, the Kaiser's armies scored one triumph after another and conquered one country after another. Every front mm crumbled before the advancing armies of Germany. Only one front held - the Western front -

the front of the democracies of England, France, and the United States. That one front nullified all the victories week accumulated by Germany in four years of fighting.

If such a democratic front could be established in peace time instead of in war time, and a unified purpose achieved to defend international law and morality, the cumulative victories of Hitler will prove to be of as little consequence as the numerous military victories of Germany during the World War.

It is a mistake to talk so much of Hitler and the Nazis as if they have introduced a new motive in German foreign policy. They are just carrying out the same policy of penetration and imperial expansion which was the heart of Germany's foreign policy before the World War and which was largely responsible for it. The Western world is being confronted toda with a recrudescence of the same Pan-Germanism which it found necessary to resist in 1914.