

Revolution and Evolution 1848 in German-Jewish History

Herausgegeben von
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Revolution and Evolution 1848 in German-Jewish History

edited by

WERNER E. MOSSE, ARNOLD PAUCKER,
REINHARD RÜRUP



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*Robert Weltsch
on his 90th birthday
in
grateful appreciation*

Preface

In traditional accounts of German-Jewish history as well as to some extent in the more recent historiography of the subject, the Revolution of 1848 has, as a rule, received a particularly positive evaluation. Frequently, the year 1848 has been considered as a watershed in the emancipation and integration of German Jewry, a turning point in the sense of a fundamental switch from the older Jewish policy (“Judenpolitik”) of the German states to the legal and social equality of Jews in a new society reflecting bourgeois norms and interests. The German National Assembly in the *Paulskirche* in Frankfurt in its Fundamental Laws of the German Nation (“Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes”) proclaimed the equality of the Jewish population and forbade all further discrimination on the grounds of religious confession. Liberal and democratic bourgeois Germany thus professed its faith in the fundamental ideas of the Enlightenment, the rights of the man and the citizen of the American and French revolutions and in the establishment of a liberal order of society and state. The ages when there existed a “Jewish Question” – oppression, persecution, even expulsion of the Jewish population – appeared to have been finally left behind.

We know now that the history of the Jews in Germany in fact took a turn very different from that hoped for and expected by the men in the *Paulskirche*. The subsequent emergence of modern antisemitism, the eventual cancellation of emancipation by the so-called Jewish policy (“Judenpolitik”) of Nazi Germany and, ultimately, the “Holocaust”, genocide committed against European Jews, make the achievements of 1848 appear in a different light. It is not accidental, that in more recent research some doubts have begun to be cast on the justification for the highly positive evaluation of the Revolution in German-Jewish historiography. Instead – and without any direct reference to the events of 1848 – attention has increasingly been focused on developments within the Jewish community, debates over religious reform, social differentiation, the search for a new Jewish identity within non-Jewish society. No longer is the integration of the Jewish minority through social and cultural assimilation to the majority accepted as axiomatic, assimilation as both pre-condition and consequence of emancipation has become problematical. This realisation, in the field of historiography, seems to invite a change of perspective or, at any rate, an enlargement of perspectives and a greater degree of sophistication of approach to wider areas of social and cultural history.

In the perspective of social history in particular, social developments which took place in the main irrespective of the success or failure of the Revolution,

appear increasingly important. In fact the nascent bourgeois society which broke the bonds of feudal structures and estate privileges, shook off the tutelage of the Church and set free an industrial-capitalist economy, also modified profoundly the relations of Jew and non-Jew. Indeed that modification was so basic that, at least in this respect, the Revolution could at most have exercised a supporting or retarding effect. The long-term processes of *embourgeoisement* operating on the Jewish minority in Germany, clearly reflecting both secular trends in modern society and specific aspects of the Jewish minority situation, can be linked directly with the dramatic confrontations of a period of revolution only with difficulty.

On closer examination, moreover, the significance of modern revolution for Jewish history is less clear than might appear at first sight. It does indeed remain true that it was the French Revolution of 1789 which, for the first time in modern history, gave Jews full legal equality with all other citizens and that it was the Russian Revolution of 1917 which at long last brought full legal equality also to Russian Jews. But even in revolutions which apparently broke an old crust of legal discrimination, legal equality did not necessarily involve the disappearance either of administrative discrimination or of popular and religious prejudice. Already from the French Revolution it is known that revolutionary upheavals might be accompanied by mass excesses against Jews which, by comparison with such events in early modern times, possessed an entirely new quality. Similar phenomena are to be observed in the course of subsequent European revolutions down to the Russian Revolution. Where theoreticians and leaders of revolutions sought to introduce policies of equality, tolerance and integration, significant sections of the population would seek to "wreak vengeance" on Jews whether as deicides, revolutionaries or, more often, moneylenders and creditors. Revolutions, in fact, could worsen as well as improve relations between Jew and non-Jew.

In these circumstances and given the uncertain or ambivalent impact of revolutions in general on the position of Jews, it appeared reasonable to explore the question of the concrete significance of the Revolution of 1848 for Jews living in Germany. This was an investigation in which scholars from Great Britain, the United States, Israel, Germany and Canada participated. For the Leo Baeck Institute the undertaking meant, at the same time, the possibility of attempting to fill a gap between the three great symposia on the history of Jews in Germany between 1890 and 1933 and the volume devoted to the situation of Jews in the time of German *Vormärz*. The present volume is the fruit of a conference on the same subject held in Oxford in the summer of 1979. It contains, in a revised and sometimes expanded form, the papers read at that conference together with the comments of the discussants. Two papers, not read at the conference for lack of time are also included, without comments from discussants. Both in the planning of the conference and in preparing the present volume, the editors were guided by the consideration that, from the viewpoint of current interest and approaches, the detailed examination of

internal Jewish development should supplement the study of relations between Jew and non-Jew. Only the juxtaposition of both aspects appeared capable of producing a sufficiently differentiated and factually accurate picture.

While the authors, in their essays, have expressed their thanks to the many Institutes, Universities, Foundations, Libraries, Archives and individuals in England, Germany, the United States, Canada and Israel who assisted them, the Editors on their own behalf and that of their colleagues wish to make the following acknowledgments.

Our thanks are due above all to the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk which by a generous grant made it possible for the Seminar, from which this volume derives, to take place in Oxford in the summer of 1979; and to the Memorial Foundation of Jewish Culture for a contribution towards the printing costs.

Dr. Lux Furtmüller, Reading, has again translated the essays of the German contributors except for one which has been rendered into English by Hanna Gunther, New York. Sylvia Gilchrist and Annette Pringle of the London Leo Baeck Institute, Pauline Paucker and Ilse Shindel have seen the volume through the various stages of its production. Janet Langmaid has not only been of great help with the proof-reading but is also responsible for the Indexes.

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REINHARD RÜRUP

The European Revolutions of 1848 and Jewish Emancipation

I

In attempting to assess the significance of the events of 1848 and 1849 for the emancipation of European Jewry, we are faced with a twofold difficulty. Two basic questions have to be answered: first, are we at all justified in treating the various revolutionary ebullitions of those years as a single, uniform process? Secondly, can we look upon European Jewry as a single entity in order to arrive at valid conclusions about the state of the Jews and Jewish emancipation, or must we study the problem in the context of each individual state or possibly of each regional subdivision?¹

That there was a close link between the revolutionary struggles in the various countries is beyond dispute. The political dynamic of revolution and counter-revolution cannot be fully understood apart from the framework of European development as a whole. It is not possible to understand the origins, the course and the results of revolution in any European country, except in the context of international developments. Yet, the question remains as to whether there was just one revolution or a number of revolutions in 1848/1849, whether a common denominator can be found for the February Revolution in France and the national-revolutionary risings in Italy or Hungary.² If we determine the

¹ The first, and so far only attempt at a comprehensive analysis of the Revolutions of 1848 from the angle of their importance for Jewish emancipation was carried out in the essay by Salo W. Baron, 'The Impact of the Revolution of 1848 on Jewish Emancipation', in *Jewish Social Studies*, 11 (1949), pp. 195–248. Notwithstanding some differences of approach and of judgement, the present study is indebted to this erudite and wide-ranging paper. Useful material can still be found in the instructive account by Simon Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, vol. 9, *Das Zeitalter der ersten Reaktion und der zweiten Emanzipation*, Berlin 1929, pp. 319ff. Dubnow, however, did not devote a separate chapter to the Revolution, but dealt with the revolutionary events in the context of the history of each country (Germany, Austro-Hungary, Russia, and "minor centres of Jewry").

² While it is almost impossible to keep track of the plethora of investigations and accounts dealing with the Revolutions of 1848/1849 from the aspect of the national history of individual countries, the European perspective of the revolutionary era has received very little attention. A useful survey and starting point for comparative studies is provided by François Fejtö (ed.), *The Opening of an Era: 1848. A Historical Symposium*, London 1948. For general accounts and interpretations, see Priscilla Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848. A Social History*, Princeton 1952; William L. Langer, *The Revolutions of 1848*, New York 1971, representing an extract (chapters 10–14) of the same author's *Political and Social Upheaval 1832–1852*, Paris 1971; Peter N. Stearns, *The Revolutions of*

character of the Revolutions of 1848 in the light of the part they played in ushering in and promoting the growth of modern society, it then becomes apparent that the events witnessed in France in 1848, following in the wake of the successful Revolutions of 1789 and 1830, were different in kind from those in Germany, Austria or Italy, in countries, that is to say, which had not yet experienced a successful bourgeois revolution. Whereas in France the question was one of power struggles within a society firmly cast in the bourgeois mould, in the other countries the very foundations of bourgeois supremacy or even bourgeois participation had yet to be laid.

Differences between the political systems, however, were outweighed in importance by the underlying differences of social development, for in the general process of transition from corporate-feudal to bourgeois-capitalist society, the Europe of 1848 displayed the entire gamut of intermediate stages, ranging from countries where the process of defeudalisation had barely started, or had been blocked, to others where social structure had come to be largely dominated by the bourgeois pattern. Another important distinction relates to the national question, which had ceased to be of relevance in the French February Revolution, while in all the subsequent revolutionary risings of 1848 it was of fundamental significance, in some cases to the point of overlaying and transforming the problems of social restructuring. Nevertheless, it can be said that the element common to all the revolutionary movements of 1848/1849 was the fact that social forces inspired predominantly by the ideas of Liberalism and the Enlightenment were on the attack, seeking to overcome the pre-bourgeois power relations and legal order. Yet, at the same time anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist tendencies were already in evidence, dramatically in the

1848, London 1974. For the current state of research see the comprehensive bibliography in Horst Stuke and Wilfried Forstmann (eds.), *Die europäischen Revolutionen von 1848*, Königstein/Taunus 1979. Apart from these general accounts, only a few papers have adopted a comparative approach, e.g.: Charles H. Pouthas, 'Complexité de 1848', *1848. Revue des révolutions contemporaines*, 184 (1949), pp. 1–13 (German version in Stuke/Forstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–29); William L. Langer, 'The Patterns of Urban Revolution 1848', in Evelyn M. Acomb and Martin L. Brown (eds.), *French Society and Culture since the Old Regime*, New York 1966, pp. 90–118. For accounts placing the Revolutions of 1848 in a wider context, in particular from the angle of social history, see Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, London 1962, and *The Age of Capital. 1848–1875*, London 1975; Louis Bergeron *et al.*, *Das Zeitalter der europäischen Revolution 1780–1848*, Frankfurt a. Main 1969; Manfred Kossok (ed.), *Studien zur vergleichenden Revolutionsgeschichte 1500–1917*, Berlin 1974; *idem*, *Rolle und Form der Volksbewegung im bürgerlichen Revolutionszyklus*, Berlin 1976. The participation of Jews in revolutionary activities, the struggle for Jewish emancipation and the anti-Jewish disturbances are given at best passing mention in most of these accounts as well as in the literature concentrating on the revolutionary events in a single country or region. (Valentin is a significant exception.) Up till now neither Jewish historiography nor the specialised study of the nature of revolutions have integrated the "Jewish Question" with the general historiography of revolutions. The present essay can do little more than try to throw out ideas that might be worth following up.

Paris rising of June 1848, less conspicuously elsewhere in Europe at that stage. These tendencies should not be ignored; indeed, as will be seen, they came to play a not unimportant part in the context of our subject.

A similarly variegated picture is presented by the development of Jewish emancipation. From about 1780 on it was possible in Europe to speak of an "Age of Jewish Emancipation".³ Emancipation was an issue which of necessity concerned the individual states, their policies and legal systems, but it was also from the outset a European phenomenon. To begin with, in the decade preceding the French Revolution, the emancipation debate spread across the frontiers of Germany, into France as well as then on into Austria, Tuscany, and temporarily even into Russia. The victory of the French Revolution and the conquests of Napoleon's armies secured equality of legal status for the Jews in France and the territories dominated by her. In several other states at least some of the legal disabilities imposed on the Jews were abolished. In those years there clearly existed a European trend towards emancipation, a climate of opinion strong enough to prevail even on reluctant states to take at least some initial steps – such as the abolition of the *Leibzoll*, a discriminatory toll levied by some principalities on Jews passing through their territory – towards the granting of equality of legal status to the Jewish population.

The beginning of the period of Restoration marked the end of this state of affairs. The pressure was lifted. Only in France and the newly founded Kingdom of the Netherlands did the complete equality of legal status for Jews endure, and at the Congress of Vienna it proved impossible to hammer out a uniform legal framework for emancipation even for the member states of the German Confederation. Jewish emancipation thus remained the concern of the individual European states, which approached the issue with vastly differing degrees of zeal and correspondingly varying rates of progress. Nevertheless, even in the decades after 1815, the European aspect of the problem was ever existent. Progress and delays in other states were carefully registered, and

³ On the history and problems of Jewish emancipation, see Salo W. Baron, 'Étapes de l'émancipation juive', *Diogenes*, 29 (1960), pp. 69–94; Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto. The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation 1770–1870*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973; *idem*, *Emancipation and Assimilation. Studies in Modern Jewish History*, Westmead 1972; Léon Poliakov, *Le développement de l'anti-sémitisme aux temps modernes (1700–1850)*, Paris [1968], pp. 227–318 (Book 2, *L'Émancipation*); Reinhard Rürup, *Emancipation und Antisemitismus. Studien zur "Judenfrage" der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Göttingen 1975; *idem*, 'Emancipation und Krise. Zur Geschichte der "Judenfrage" in Deutschland vor 1890', in *Juden im Wilhelminischen Deutschland 1890–1914*. Ein Sammelband herausgegeben von Werner E. Mosse unter Mitwirkung von Arnold Paucker, Tübingen 1976 (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 33) pp. 1–56; as surveys still useful: Salo W. Baron, 'Jewish Emancipation', in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 7, 1932, pp. 394–399, and Raphael Mahler, *Jewish Emancipation. A Selection of Documents*, New York 1941. Very valuable is, for the early phase of emancipation: Raphael Mahler, *A History of Modern Jewry, 1780–1815*, New York 1971; for the phase after 1848: Ismar Elbogen, *Ein Jahrhundert jüdischen Lebens. Die Geschichte des neuzeitlichen Judentums*, Frankfurt a. Main 1967, pp. 37–149.

European comparisons played a prominent part in the debates on Jewish emancipation well into the second half of the century. Thus the effects of decisions concerning emancipation – whether positive or negative – were invariably felt beyond the frontiers of the state concerned.

On the other hand, it was frequently and emphatically pointed out in the course of the emancipation debate that general conditions, and in particular the conditions of the Jewish population, varied greatly from state to state, and even within the individual states, so that it was hardly possible to formulate the problem of emancipation in simple terms. Thus, the striking contrasts setting apart the Jewish population in Paris from that in Alsace, or the Jews of the Rhine Province from those of Poznań indicate the need for great caution in uttering generalisations about “the” French or Prussian Jews without taking specific regional developments into account. To look upon the history of European Jewry in the age of emancipation as a unitary development is a fruitful approach, so long as the very marked and growing diversity of that Jewry – its increasing differentiation in the religious, economic, social and cultural spheres – is not neglected. Jewry was no exception in that the conditions of European Jews in 1848 presented a variegated picture of many hues and shades, ranging from life in the traditional Jewish milieu scarcely touched by modern developments to a degree of assimilation and integration with the non-Jewish world, in which religion was relegated to a matter of private concern for each individual.

II

Before setting out to survey the state of affairs in respect of Jewish emancipation in Europe on the eve of the Revolution, it will be useful to present at least a preliminary outline of the various aspects of the concept of emancipation. In a liberal encyclopaedia, published in 1837, “Emancipation of the Jews” is defined as “giving them equality of status with the rest of the citizens of the State in respect of political and civic rights”.⁴ Emancipation was thus considered a legal process involving the abolition of existing disabilities or special “Jew Laws”. This could be effected either in a single step, by which the Jews’ equality of

⁴ K. Steinacker, ‘Emancipation der Juden’, in Karl von Rotteck and Karl Theodor Welcker (eds.), *Staatslexikon oder Enzyklopädie der Staatswissenschaften*, vol. 5, Altona 1837, p. 22. On the concept of emancipation, see above all Reinhart Koselleck and K. M. Graß, ‘Emanzipation’, in O. Brunner *et al.* (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1975, pp. 153–197; Ulrich Herrmann, ‘Emanzipation. Materialien zur Geschichte eines politisch-sozialen und politisch-pädagogischen Begriffs der Neuzeit, vornehmlich im 19. Jahrhundert’, in *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, 18 (1974), pp. 85–143; Jacob Katz, ‘The Term “Jewish Emancipation”: Its Origin and Historical Impact’, in Katz, *Emancipation and Assimilation*, *op. cit.* 1972, pp. 21–25; Reinhard Rürup, ‘Emanzipation – Anmerkungen zur Begriffsgeschichte’, in Rürup, *Emancipation und Antisemitismus*, *op. cit.* 1975, pp. 126–132.

status was established, or else by way of a series of partial improvements in the legal situation. In contemporary usage, then, the term “emancipation” denoted either a gradual process of levelling up or the transition at a stroke to the status of legal equality. Frequently, a distinction was drawn in 1848 between “emancipation” and “full emancipation”. Both types were represented in Europe, and in the light of contrasting national developments the single-step transformation may aptly be described as the French, the gradual process as the German model. The distinction can be observed as a feature of the history of Jewish emancipation in Europe down to the 1860s and 1870s. The majority of European states followed the German rather than the French model.

The legal aspect did by no means exhaust the meaning attached from the outset of the European debate to the concept of emancipation. The goal was the abolition of social discrimination as well as of the legal disabilities of the Jews, the breaking down of their social isolation, their integration in the nascent modern society. These aims were variously summed up by non-Jewish quarters as the “civic betterment” of the Jews, their “melioration and amalgamation”, the “remoulding of a people and its national spirit, its mode of thinking and acting”.⁵ Jewish emancipation thus could only be conceived in terms of integration, and integration in turn only in terms of assimilation, that is to say, the adaptation of the minority to the ways of the majority. Even the unconditional granting of equality of status to the French Jews in 1791 was based on the implicit belief that the Jews would be transformed as a result, so as to be eventually indistinguishable from other citizens, except for their religious faith.⁶ In nearly all other countries – in the German states in particular – the legislators did not share this confidence in the effectiveness of the promulgation of legal equality as an instrument promoting integration and assimilation. Instead, emancipation was envisaged as a long-term process of education to be directed and supervised by the State, with the aim of assimilation in mind. The successful conclusion of this educational process was held to be a prerequisite of the final admission of the Jews to complete equality under the law.

Thus, however different the paths that were chosen by different nations, they

⁵ These comments are quoted from departmental records and reports of Diet proceedings prior to 1848; see Rürup, ‘Emanzipation und Krise’, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

⁶ For the granting of legal equality to Jews in France in 1791, and for the French debate on emancipation, see the collection of contemporary publications in *La Révolution française et l’émancipation des Juifs*, 8 vols., Paris 1968; see furthermore Bernhard Blumenkranz and Albert Soboul (eds.), *Les Juifs et la Révolution française. Problèmes et aspirations*, Toulouse 1976; Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848*, New York 1970; Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews. The Origins of Modern Antisemitism*, New York 1968, pp. 314–368; David Feuerwerker, *L’émancipation des Juifs en France de l’Ancien Régime à la fin du Second Empire*, Paris 1976, pp. 3–445; Patrick Girard, *Les Juifs en France de 1789 à 1860. De l’émancipation à l’égalité*, Paris 1976, pp. 21–60; Phyllis Cohen Albert, *The Modernization of French Jewry: Consistory and Community in the Nineteenth Century*, Hanover, New Hampshire 1977.

were meant to lead in the end to the same destination. The individual Jew was to be offered the opportunity of emerging from the state of legally enforced isolation and becoming a member of the new civil society. Yet, collectively the Jews were expected to relinquish their traditional identity as a religious-ethnic-social group – as a “nation” or “people”, as contemporary usage had it – and to let Judaism, on the analogy of the Christian Churches, dwindle into a “denomination”.⁷ Integration and assimilation, then, constituted throughout Europe the explicit or implied conditions of enlightened-liberal emancipation policy, conditions – it should be noted – that were not challenged on grounds of principle by the majority of Jews at that time, or at any rate by the majority of publicly articulate Jews. In these circumstances, the crucial question on which the Jewish future would depend was whether new forms of Jewish identity could be developed under the conditions of emancipation, or whether emancipation must spell the dissolution of traditional Judaism and thus the end of Jewish history.⁸

On the eve of the Revolution of 1848 the state of Jewish emancipation in Europe presented a picture of striking contrasts as regards both legal and social aspects. Only the French and Dutch Jews enjoyed unqualified equality of legal status.⁹ To arrive at a proper assessment of the development in France, it must be borne in mind that as far as the vast mass of rural Jewry in Eastern France was concerned, complete emancipation was a long time in coming, for the legislation of 1791 was partly reversed by a Napoleonic Decree of 13th July 1808, which once again subjected them to discriminatory restrictions of their civic rights. Legal emancipation finally came in 1818, when the validity of the discriminatory Decree was not extended. Two further steps were taken during the reign of Louis-Philippe, when in 1831 the Judaic religion was granted equality of status with the Christian Churches, followed in 1846 by the

⁷ It is worth noting in this connection that attempts were made in a number of European states as tokens of their emancipation policy to replace the term “Jew” by alternative designations, such as “Israelite” or “citizen (inhabitant, subject) of the Mosaic faith”.

⁸ It seems to me that in order to arrive at an appropriate understanding of Jewish history from the beginning of emancipation, it is important to clarify the problems linked with the loss and possible re-establishment of a Jewish identity in a non-Jewish environment. Neither a restatement of contemporary liberal ideas nor a naive acceptance of Zionist assumptions can do justice to these problems. Cf. Inge Fleischhauer and Hillel Klein, *Über die jüdische Identität. Eine psycho-historische Studie*, Königstein/Taunus 1978, and the literature cited there.

⁹ On 9th September 1796, the National Assembly of the Batavian Republic voted unanimously for the granting of complete equality before the law to the Dutch Jews. This measure was not revoked by the regime of the restoration. According to Dubnow, a Jewish jurist, who at the same time was president of the Central Executive of the Jewish Communities of the Netherlands, took a part in the drafting of the Constitution of 1814. In Belgium, which seceded from the Netherlands in 1830/1831, the equality of legal status for the Jews was also preserved. In 1850, over 62,000 Jews lived in the Netherlands, but only close on 4,000 in Belgium (Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 280).

abolition of the traditional "Jewish oath". After that, nothing more was left for the February Revolution to accomplish in this field.¹⁰

Jewish emancipation in Britain constituted a special case.¹¹ Although the legal disabilities dating from the Middle Ages were not formally abolished till 1846, they had not been applied for a long time before then. "Economic prosperity, social assimilation, religious freedom were achieved almost without legislation."¹² In effect, the problem of emancipation boiled down to the

¹⁰ According to David Cohen, 'L'image du Juif dans la société française en 1843. D'après les rapports des préfets', *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 55 (1977), pp. 84ff., the Law of 8th February 1831, which made the payment of rabbis a responsibility of the State, thus bringing them into line with Christian clergy, was an event of decisive importance, especially for the Jews of Eastern France to whom it had for the first time given the substance of equality before the law. In the words of the Prefect of Bas-Rhin, "la véritable émancipation des Israélites ne date pas de la loi qui a proclamé leur égalité civile et politique avec les Chrétiens, mais de celle par laquelle l'État a reconnu leur culte et déclaré que ses ministres seraient salariés par la loi (loi du 8 février 1831) ... lorsque les Israélites virent leur culte et ses ministres mis sous la protection de l'État et traités à l'égal des cultes chrétiens, ils commencèrent seulement à croire à l'étendue de leur liberté civile et religieuse. Cette croyance les releva à leur propres yeux, leur donna de l'assurance et les conduisit à se dépouiller dans leurs relations avec leurs concitoyens des autres cultes, de cette humilité rampante, résultat de leur longue oppression. La nouvelle loi ne manque pas non plus son effet sur la population chrétienne à qui cet acte législatif apprit à accepter une égalité plus positive, avant l'objet de son dédain. Alors une nouvelle ère commença pour les Juifs." (*Ibid.*, pp. 84f.) The conclusion that in 1843 the Jews of Bas-Rhin had been emancipated not for fifty but only for twelve years is open to doubt; nevertheless, this observation may result in more attention being given in future to the significance of religious factors during the process of emancipation, at any rate for rural Jewish communities in which the influence of religion had remained strong. For the abolition of the oath *more judaico* see the detailed account by Feuerwerker, *op. cit.*, pp. 565–650. – According to Doris Bensimon, 'Mutations socio-démographiques aux XIXe et XXe siècles', *H-Histoire*, No. 3 (*Les juifs en France*), 1979, pp. 186ff., 73,965 Jews lived in France in 1851, including 11,164 in Paris and environs, and about 56,500 in Alsace and Lorraine.

¹¹ For Jewish emancipation in Britain, see especially U. R. Q. Henriques, 'The Jewish Emancipation Controversy in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Past and Present*, 40 (1968), pp. 126–146; V. D. Lipman, 'The Age of Emancipation 1815–1880', in Lipman (ed.) *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, Cambridge 1961, pp. 69–106; Israel Finestein, 'Anglo-Jewish Opinion during the Struggle for Emancipation (1828–1858)', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 20 (1959–1961), pp. 113–143; Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, Oxford 31964. Cf. also Abraham Gilam, 'A Reconsideration of the Politics of Assimilation', *Journal of Modern History*, 50 (1978), pp. 103–111. Interesting light on the problems of emancipation in Britain in the nineteenth century is thrown by a recent account of an abortive attempt made in the eighteenth century to enable Jews to become naturalised: T. W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda and Politics in 18th Century England. A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753*, Cambridge, Mass. 1962. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Jewish population of Britain remained numerically small, rising from some 25,000 in 1815 to some 35,000 in 1851. About two-thirds of this population lived in London, where they played a prominent part in banking, insurance and commerce (cf. Lipman, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69–77).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

struggle of a socially integrated Jewish bourgeoisie – in the first place the rich Jews of London, represented by the Montefiore, Goldsmid, Salomons and Rothschild families – for the right to be eligible for political offices and election to Parliament. It was a protracted struggle against stubborn opposition. Beginning after the granting of equal political rights to the Protestant dissenters in 1828 and to the Catholics in 1829, it was conducted in the course of countless parliamentary debates and initiatives. It proceeded in stages as more and more important offices came to be held for the first time by Jews: thus the Shrievalty of the City of London in 1835; the office of Alderman in 1847; the dignity of Lord Mayor of the City of London in 1855 (David Salomons). The battle was concluded only in 1858, when Baron Lionel de Rothschild was at last admitted to the House of Commons, after having won every election since 1847. The year 1848 was of no particular significance in that fight; the emancipation debate in Britain was hardly affected by the revolutionary storms that shook the European continent in that year.

It is not possible within the scope of this paper to give a detailed description of the state of the emancipation movement at the beginning of 1848 for each individual European state. With the weighty exception of Russia, nearly all states had taken at least the first tentative steps along the path of emancipation.¹³ In Italy, it is true, the relevant regulations dating from the Napoleonic period had been repealed; the Jews of Rome were confined within the Ghetto walls up to 1848 and again from 1849 to 1870.¹⁴ In the countries of the

¹³ The history of Jews in Russia, including the Kingdom of Poland (“Congress Poland”) lies outside the scope of this study. General accounts in Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets*, New York 1964; Louis Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia*, 2 vols., New Haven 1944/1951 (both volumes deal with emancipation problems from the beginnings until 1917); Jacob Frumkin *et al.* (eds.), *Russian Jewry (1860–1917)*, New York 1966; Elbogen, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–88; Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, *Antisemitismus und reaktionäre Utopie. Russischer Konservatismus im Kampf gegen den Wandel von Staat und Gesellschaft*, Hamburg 1978, pp. 30ff. (‘Der Sonderfall Rußlands: die vorenthaltene Emanzipation’; ‘Russia as a Special Case – Emancipation Withheld’); for Poland: Artur Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, (Questions of Equal Rights for the Jews in the Kingdom of Poland), Warsaw 1972. According to Dubnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 147f., about 2 million Jews lived in the Tsarist Empire in 1848, of whom less than one third were in Poland (about 558,000 in 1846 – *ibid.*, p. 231). However, little reliance can be placed on these estimates for Russia and Poland. They can give no more than rough indications (see also Baron, ‘The Impact of the Revolution of 1848’, *loc. cit.*, p. 205).

¹⁴ Cf. Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy*, Philadelphia 1969. For the problems of emancipation, see Andrew M. Canepa, ‘L’atteggiamento degli ebrei italiani davanti alla loro seconda emancipazione: Premesse e analisi’, *La rassegna mensile di Israel*, 1977, pp. 419–436. About 10,000 to 12,000 Jews lived in the Papal State around 1845; cf. Domenico Demarco, ‘Eine soziale Revolution – Der Kirchenstaat im Jahre 1849’, in Stuke/Forstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 201. According to Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 282, the Jewish population of Italy between 1815 and 1848 was about 40,000, of which about 10,000 in Austria Lombardo-Venetia, under 10,000 in the Papal State, 7,000 in Tuscany, 6,750 in Piedmont, 3,250 in Modena and Parma, 2,000 in Naples.

Habsburg Monarchy no significant progress had been made in legal terms since the Reform Edicts of Joseph II, so that Jews were liable for military service, yet denied citizens' rights both at State and parish level; they had unhindered access to the established trades and educational institutions, yet were debarred from master status in any trade and from acquiring real property; they were allowed to trade and set up factories, yet were still subject to the "Jew tax".¹⁵ In Bohemia, Galicia and Hungary, conditions tended to be even more oppressive than in Lower Austria, Tyrol or Austrian Silesia.¹⁶ In some parts, Jews were not tolerated at all, and the right of Jews to stay in Vienna was curtailed by rigorous restrictions.¹⁷ In the Habsburg Monarchy, as elsewhere, demands for

¹⁵ On Austria, the older works of Sigmund Mayer, *Die Wiener Juden. Kommerz, Kultur, Politik 1700–1900*, Vienna ²1918, and Hans Tietze, *Die Juden Wiens. Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, Leipzig 1933, are still useful. In addition above all *Studia Judaica Austriaca*, vol. 1, *Das Judentum im Revolutionsjahr 1848*, Vienna 1974, in particular the three contributions by Wolfgang Häusler: 'Die Revolution von 1848 und die österreichischen Juden. Eine Dokumentation', pp. 5–63; 'Konfessionelle Probleme in der Wiener Revolution von 1848', pp. 64–77; 'Demokratie und Emanzipation 1848', pp. 92–111; furthermore Häusler, 'Toleranz, Emanzipation und Antisemitismus. Das österreichische Judentum des bürgerlichen Zeitalters (1782–1918)', in Anna Drabek *et al.*, *Das österreichische Judentum. Voraussetzungen und Geschichte*, Wien 1974. See also William A. Jenks, *The Jews in Austria*, New York 1960, and Josef Fraenkel (ed.), *The Jews of Austria. Essays on their Life, History and Destruction*, London 1967. According to Dubnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 136f., the Austrian lands affiliated to the German Confederation had a Jewish population of about 115,000 around 1840, while for the Austrian Empire as a whole (including Hungary, Galicia and Italy) he estimated a figure of no less than 1 million. Only about 10,000 Jews lived in Lower Austria, including Vienna. Gustav Adolf Schimmer, *Statistik des Judenthums in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*, Vienna 1873, p. 2, gave the figure of 448,123 for Austria without Hungary and the Italian possessions for the year 1846.

¹⁶ For the Bohemian lands, see Ruth Kestenbergl-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den Böhmisches Ländern*, Part I, *Das Zeitalter der Aufklärung 1780–1830*, Tübingen 1969 (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 18/1), and Meir Lamed, 'Gesetz und Wirklichkeit. Zur Lage der Juden in Böhmen und Mähren in der Zeit des Vormärz', in *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts*, VIII, No. 32 (1965), pp. 302–314. – For Hungary, see above all Wolfgang Häusler, 'Assimilation und Emanzipation des ungarischen Judentums um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Studia Judaica Austriaca*, vol. 3, Eisenstadt 1976, pp. 33–79, and Wolfdieter Bihl, 'Das Judentum Ungarns 1780–1914', *ibid.*, pp. 17–31. Still useful: J. Einhorn, *Die Revolution und die Juden in Ungarn. Nebst einem Rückblick auf die Geschichte der Letzteren*, Leipzig 1851. For Galicia see the comprehensive study by Filip Friedmann, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung (1848–1868)*, Frankfurt a. Main 1929. According to Schimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 2, the Jewish population of Bohemia in 1846 was 70,037, in Moravia 40,064. In 1850, 339,816 Jews lived in Hungary (Häusler, 'Assimilation und Emanzipation', *loc. cit.*, p. 1). According to Friedmann, p. 1, the regional distribution of the Jewish population in Austria (without Hungary and the Italian possessions) in 1857 was as follows: Galicia 72.5 per cent, Bohemia 14 per cent, Moravia 6.7 per cent, Bukovina 4.7 per cent, Lower Austria (including Vienna) 1.1 per cent, etc.

¹⁷ On the strength of corporate privileges, no Jews were tolerated in Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Krain (Carniola). Up to 1848, there were only 197 "tolerated" Jewish families in Vienna, but many more stayed in the town with the tacit approval of

emancipation were made with increasing urgency in the 1840s, but no substantial changes were introduced before the outbreak of the Revolution.

With the notable exception of Austria, nearly all states of the German Confederation had prior to 1848 passed "Jew Laws" or Decrees by which some of the former legal disabilities had been abolished.¹⁸ But the uniform legislation envisaged in the Confederate Constitution of 1815 did not materialise. Even within Prussia, up to the promulgation of the Law on the Conditions of the Jews in 1847, the status of the Jews was regulated by no less than eighteen different regional codes, ranging from the formerly French territories of the Rhine Province to the East Elbian lands of "inner Prussia", where the Edict of 1812 was in force, and on to the Province of Poznań, where the position of the Jews was governed by a special statute, which even in 1847 was not superseded by the new legislation.¹⁹ In most states of the German Confederation the Jews were recognised as citizens, yet were deprived of some, or all, political rights. The issue of citizens' rights at commune level remained a key problem above all

the authorities, although without official permit. Estimates of their number ranged as high as 10,000, but Dorothea Weiss, *Der publizistische Kampf der Wiener Juden um ihre Emanzipation in den Flugschriften und Zeitungen des Jahres 1848*, philosophical dissertation (typescript), Vienna 1971, put the figure at only 4,000. According to Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 245, the Jews of Vienna at that time "dominated trade, the most important part of economic life".

¹⁸ The history of the Jews and of Jewish emancipation in Germany prior to 1848 is the subject of a vast literature. Only a few more recent contributions will be mentioned here: *Das Judentum in der deutschen Umwelt 1800–1850*. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Emanzipation, herausgegeben von Hans Liebeschütz und Arnold Paucker, Tübingen 1977 (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 35); Jacob Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland 1847–1871*, Düsseldorf 1977; *idem*, *Der Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum. Eine Dokumentation*, Tel-Aviv 1972; *idem*, *Die politischen Orientierungen der Juden in Deutschland. Von Jena bis Weimar*, Tübingen 1966 (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 15); Monika Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland. Selbstzeugnisse zur Sozialgeschichte 1780–1871*, Stuttgart 1976, Veröffentlichung des Leo Baeck Instituts; Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus*, *op. cit.* Examples of regional historical studies: Arno Herzig, *Judentum und Emanzipation in Westfalen*, Münster 1973; Rürup, 'Die Judenemanzipation in Baden', in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 114 (1966), pp. 241–300 (also in Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus*, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–73, 135–166). Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Juden*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–17, gives the following figures for the number of Jews and their percentage shares of the population in Germany and the German states: German Confederation (without Austria) in 1848/1849 410,000 (1.23 per cent); Prussia 1848/49 – 218,998 (1.34 per cent), of which (in 1846) 81,299 in Poznań, and 8,285 in Berlin; Bavaria 1844 – 62,830 (1.4 per cent); Hesse-Darmstadt 1849 – over 20,000 (3.43 per cent); Baden 1849 – 23,547 (1.73 per cent); Württemberg 1849 – 11,974 (0.69 per cent); Hannover 1849 – 11,562 (0.64 per cent). Data for the smaller states are appended in a Table (*ibid.*, p. 19).

¹⁹ Cf. *Vollständige Verhandlungen des Ersten Vereinigten Preussischen Landtages über die Emanzipationsfrage der Juden*, Berlin 1847, p. LIII. – The proceedings of the United Diet of 14th to 17th June 1847 constitute an outstanding source for the state of the emancipation debate and the actual process of emancipation on the eve of the Revolution. It is a source still awaiting a critical analysis and constructive interpretation.

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