With Hans Walter Hirschberg and Arthur Goldschmidt in Theresienstadt

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Jewish believers from the past

This evening we are going to a place about 40 miles north of Prague, to Theresienstadt in what was then Czechoslovakia, to the town that Hitler "had donated to the Jews" and which in Nazi propaganda was described as a "spa town" where elderly Jews could "retire". From the end of 1941 to the beginning of 1945, more than 140,000 Jews were sent to this ghetto, which for many, about 88,000, became a transit camp to the death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. Approximately 33,000 died in this ghetto. When it was all over and the ghetto had been liberated on May 8 1945, there were about 19,000 survivors.

Theresienstadt was governed by a council of Jewish elders; but although there was a certain degree of self-management, it did not mean that they had freedom to do as they pleased; it meant that they were expected to make things work and to carry out the German orders with all the compromises that involved for the council itself.

Among those who died *in* Theresienstadt, or were deported from Theresienstadt *to* the death camp Auschwitz or survived the horrors *in* Theresienstadt, were individuals who were *Christians of Jewish descent*. It is tempting today to call them "Messianic Jews", but this would not correspond with their self-perception. Like most other Jews in Germany they saw themselves as *Germans*; unlike most other German Jews they were Jews who had embraced the Christian faith, some by conviction, others for pragmatic reasons. In plain words, and whether or not we like to hear it: the Jewish identity Isaac Lichtenstein or Lucky had fought for 50 years before was quite beyond the horizon of these *Christian* Jews. But in Theresienstadt they shared the fate of "Mosaic" Jews. In the eyes of the Nazis, their Christian faith did not obliterate their Jewishness.

Hans Werner Hirschberg

I will begin with Hans Werner Hirschberg, who had been a judge in Berlin. He arrived at Theresienstadt on February 10, 1944, and survived the horrors. We have at least two written accounts from him. After the liberation Hirschberg writes in the Romanian magazine *Prietenul*, which had been launched by Isaac Feinstein, "that the light of the gospel shone brightly in Theresienstadt. One tenth of the Jews who had been interned there belonged to a Christian confession. Some were Protestants, some Catholics. Among these Jews, there was a group of Evangelical Jewish Christians from Holland, four hundred in number that distinguished themselves. They even had a Jewish Christian pastor with them." The person he refers to is Dominé Enker, who came to Theresienstadt in September 1944.

Hirschberg also writes: "The Catholic and Evangelical Jews lived together as brethren in harmony. In Theresienstadt the words of Jesus, that we may all be one, became reality . . . and we prayed publicly for Pastor [Martin] Niemöller and other Christians who were in concentration camps. I think that we were the only people who really had freedom to do that. No one could commit us to a concentration camp, for we were already in a concentration camp."

Hirschberg concludes his account with the following words: "Many of our 'church members' had, although they had been baptized, never really considered being followers of Jesus until they came to Theresienstadt. But here, under the influence of God's word, many of them were truly converted. Jews who had been Christians in name only became true Christians.

Many Mosaic Jews and Jews who had no faith whatsoever found Jesus and were saved in Theresienstadt. I am one of the few survivors from the concentration camp in Theresienstadt. Most of my brothers went home

to be with the Lord. But my Saviour saved me out of this camp so that I might proclaim the wonderful things that He performed among those who were in 'the valley of the shadow of death'".

Some will probably be surprised at Hirschberg's statement that one tenth of the people in Theresienstadt were Christian Jews. And it does seem to be an understatement if the whole period is considered. On April 20, 1945, more than 36 percent were "non-Mosaic" Jews. To this I just want to say that it cannot be deduced that there were 600,000 Jewish Christians among the 6 million Jews that were killed during the Holocaust. But there was a considerable number of Christians of Jewish descent – some mention a six-figure number. Their certificate of baptism could not save them from the gas ovens.

Arthur Goldschmidt – the founder of the evangelical congregation

Arthur Goldschmidt's parents had converted to Christianity in 1858. After Goldschmidt, born in 1873, had to resign his post as a judge in Hamburg in 1933, he devoted himself to his hobby as a painter. His wife Kitty, who was a baptized Jew, died in June 1942. The Protestant clergyman in the town refused to bury her in the churchyard as Mrs Goldschmidt was not an "Aryan". One month later Goldschmidt was deported to Theresienstadt. Here he founded an evangelical congregation where he preached and administered pastoral care. He survived in the ghetto. Before his death on February 9, 1947, he wrote down an account of the evangelical congregation in Theresienstadt. Here are a few glimpses from the account that was published in 1948.

On the first Sunday in the ghetto, Goldschmidt and another man get together in an attic and read the New Testament which he has brought. The word gets about, and others join them the following Sundays. No more than twenty persons can assemble without permission. "What was I to do?" He realizes that the administration was not likely to appreciate the formation of a Christian congregation in a Jewish town, and without the consent of the Jewish council of elders he could not proceed.

Goldschmidt continues: "So I turned, nonetheless, to Mr Edelstein, who was then the leader of the Jewish council, and described the state of affairs to him. When he was informed of the fact that en evangelical congregation had already been founded, he was astonished but also full of understanding. The good God is ultimately the same, and to him, Edelstein, it is the same in which way he is honoured." Both sides realize that the room where the Mosaic Jews worship cannot be used.

On October 18,1942, they get the first and semi-official recognition of the congregation as a room with electrical light, used as a variety theatre and a lecture hall, is made available for them by the council of elders. And the congregation grows. Between 150 and 200 attend the services, at the festivals there are even more. It is an extremely mixed congregation; there are, for example, Lutherans, members of the Reformed Church, Anglicans, Hussites, Remonstrants, Brethren, and others. NonChristians were welcome but could not receive Communion.

In the summer of 1943 a split threatens the congregation but it was prevented, another matter that I cannot go into here.

Goldschmidt says about the relationship between Mosaic and Christian Jews that the attitude to those who had been baptized as infants was "neutral". It was a different matter with those who had been baptized as adults. They were regarded as "backsliders, renegades and traitors". The idea that someone should have embraced Christianity out of conviction and not for pragmatic reasons seemed to be absolutely unthinkable. But this also needs to be said: Communion, consisting of bread and tea with sugar, was also administered to sick Christian Jews in infirmaries and sickrooms. Goldschmidt writes: "Apart from a few improper remarks, which were soon discouraged with a word of admonition, the other patients of Jewish persuasion observed a pious quietness."

Goldschmidt does not hide that, from time to time, there were some difficulties with the council of elders. But the following words are nevertheless remarkable: "In retrospect it must be admitted that this administration of what was intended as a pure Jewish society, which naturally would see a Christian congregation as a foreign body, in general has been very obliging." Here is an example:

Christian German Jews cannot celebrate Christmas without a Christmas tree, which is difficult to come by. Again in Goldschmidt's words: "Finally the SS permitted us to have a small tree, which would be decorated by the women; not even candles, a much desired rarity donated from all sides, were missing." But then listen to how Goldschmidt continues:

"The last year the Christmas tree was cynically forbidden by the SS man who had to make the decision. But then, fortunately, the Jewish administration saw to it that an artificial tree with inserted branches and with multicoloured electrical lamps was made for the service!" I wonder if it was the Hanukkah bush?

"And what is more," Goldschmidt continues, "the administration, or more correctly the leader of the Jewish council, Dr Murmelstein, even organized a gala performance for the Christian children with a children's choir singing Christmas carols, children performing a small fairytale play and a magician – a man in the camp that had

been deprived of his profession - showed his tricks."

Death and "Ego sum resurrectio"

For the evangelical congregation the question of how to honour their dead in death became a pressing one. Mortality was high, not least during the first years. A crematorium, which could cope with 200 corpses a day, had been built. The coffins, 40-50 or more, were first placed in open air, later in a casemate hall. After a rabbi had performed the ceremony, the coffins were taken to the crematorium. I will let Goldschmidt tell about this:

"The Christians had doubts about this funeral after Jewish rites. They tried therefore to attain a dissociation from the Jewish funerals. To begin with it was argued again and again that there were technical difficulties, but from May 1943 the deceased Christians were laid out a half hour before the funeral ceremony; later a special hall was allowed for this. The attempts to fit out this hall to some extent with dignity were long futile. The request to have a large crucifix and the inscription 'Ego sum resurrectio' – 'I am the Resurrection' was finally made, but the commandant rejected it since a public exhibition of Christian symbols could not be permitted.

Not until the end was the hall put in a suitable condition and fitted out with a big crucifix, with that inscription, made by a sculptor. It also became possible to have the corpse carts and the coffins covered with a simple black cloth instead of a cloth with the David star."

So in death these Christians of Jewish descent chose not to have the David Star on their coffins. Who dare, under these circumstances, throw the first stone? And perhaps it is throwing the first stone to ask the question: If Isaac Lichtenstein or Lucky had been there ... which hall would they have chosen for their burial ceremony? And which cloth to cover their coffin?

Selected bibliography

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"Mosaic" and "non-Mosaic" Jews in Theresienstadt

The number of "non-Jewish Jews" increased over the years, there is however no material till October 1943. At that time the share of Christians amounted to approx. 9%, the number of those without confession to 6 %. After this time there are more precise figures:

Mosaic Non-Mosaic Dec. 1943 30.480 87,9 % 3.925 12,1 % May 1944 23.529 84,2 % 4.193 15,8 % Dec. 1944 8.346 72,1 % 3.112 27,9 % 20.4.1945 11.104 63,4 % 3.619 36,6 %

The non-Mosaic groups were distributed in the following way:

Cath. Evang. Sects No confession Not stated Dec. 1943 1.321 830 207 1.567 250 May 1944 1.439 1.084 195 1.475 255 Dec. 1944 943 1.198 139 832 110 20.4.1945 2.014 1.808 368 2.004 117

Source: Theresienstadt Lexikon: Christen http://www.ghetto-theresienstadt.de/pages/c/christen.htm