INTRODUCTION

The following pages contain a translation into English of an article that originally appeared in the June 2007 issue of the Freiburger Rundbrief. The translation was commissioned by W.E. Norton, Chairman of the Hermann Maas Foundation, and carried out in Summer 2007 by S. Anderson.

Please note:
1. Although the translator has made every effort to render the text faithfully and without interruption, in one or two places it has been deemed advisable to add explanatory notes. These appear as footnotes during the text, and are distinguished from the translations of Professor Thierfelder's original German footnotes by the words "Translator's note".
2. The text also contains many terms for which no precise English equivalent exists, these being for the most part either titles relating to the German Protestant Church or the names of various societies and associations. Where such a term appears for the first time, an explanatory translation is provided in brackets; thereafter, the original German term is generally used.
Hermann Maas – Rescuer and Builder of Bridges

Jörg Thierfelder¹

There is a bridge in Heidelberg called the Hermann Maas Bridge – and it is surely of profound significance that this man should have a bridge, in particular, named after him. For the Heidelberg pastor Hermann Maas was a builder of bridges in two respects: on the one hand, bridges between Jews and Christians; and on the other, bridges between Germany and the state of Israel. He was also a saviour – one who continued to minister to the spiritual and pastoral needs of the many persecuted Jews and Christians of Jewish origin during the time of the Third Reich, and who helped many to emigrate to a safe country.

1. Career and characteristics

Hermann Maas was born in 1877 in Gengenbach into a family of pastors from the Baden area. Having completed his studies in theology, and following his initial years in the priesthood, he spent the years 1915 to 1943 as the pastor at the Heiliggeistkirche (The Church of the Holy Spirit) in Heidelberg. Maas was married to Cornelia, née Hesselbacher, and the marriage produced three daughters. From 1945 to 1965 he was first the Kreisdekan ("Regional Dean"), and then the Prelate, of the Evangelical Landeskirche ("regional church") in Baden. He was much influenced by liberal theology, by the ecumenical movement and by his early encounter with Judaism. Maas was a pioneer of the ecumenical movement and was thus involved in the founding of the ecumenical "Weltbund für internationale Freundschaftsarbeit der Christen" ("International Alliance for Amicable Collaboration between Christians") in Konstanz in August 1914. Later, he also joined the Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus ("Society for Defence against Anti-Semitism") led by the leading Stuttgart parish priest Lamparter.² From earliest youth, Maas had intensive contact with Jews. "Even in my early youth, and despite being the son and grandson of pastors, I felt strangely drawn to the people of Israel. The majority of my first friends were Jewish."³ In 1903, as a young clergyman, Maas took part as a guest in the 6th Zionist Congress in Basle, meeting Theodor Herzl, Chaim Weizmann and Martin Buber. He was to remain in contact with Buber for the rest of his life. In Basle he experienced the passionate debates between those Jews who supported the "Uganda Plan" and the "Zionists", for whom only Israel itself could be considered as the location

¹ Prof. (Ret.) Dr. Jörg Thierfelder, was until 2002 Professor of Evangelical Theology/Religious Studies at the Pädagogische Hochschule Heidelberg and Honorary Professor at the University of Heidelberg.
² See also Viola Schrenk, Pfarrer Eduard Lamparter (1860-1945) im Streit um Judenmission und Antisemitismus (The Priest Eduard Lamparter (1860-1945) and the Question of Jewish Missions and Antisemitism), in: Rainer Lächler/Jörg Thierfelder (HG.), Württembergs Protestantismus in der Weimarer Republik (The Protestantism of Württemberg in the Weimar Republic), Stuttgart 2003, 187-198.
for a Jewish state. Maas voiced his support for the Zionists. He became “a Zionist in my sacred love of the promises in the Bible.” It was in these biblical promises that he saw the true Zionism: “Its constant, living presence in the prophetic promises of a land, of justice, of peace, of deliverance, all these and more go to make up the deepest motives behind Zionism.”

In contrast to the majority of faithful Protestants, who greeted the so-called Machtergreifung (“seizure of power”) with enthusiasm, Maas was appalled. “Right from the start, I saw Hitler as a calamity for the German people.” He was horrified by the increasingly powerful segment of German Christians who wanted to create a connection between National Socialism and Evangelical Christianity. This group wanted to tolerate no more pastors of Jewish origin within the Church (in accordance with the so-called “Arian Paragraph”) and would have preferred to segregate all Christians of Jewish origin into special congregations. As early as 1932 – three years before the Nuremberg Race Laws! – they were demanding a prohibition on the performance of marriage ceremonies between Germans and Jews. But above all, Maas deplored the way the Church remained silent and looked the other way.

At the start of 1933, Maas was preoccupied with preparations for his trip to Palestine Committee (April – July, 1933), which was financed by a grant from the German Palestine. Together with a group of delegates from the international Jewish women’s organisation WIZO (the Women’s International Zionist Organisation), he travelled from Naples to Haifa. In Naples he witnessed hundreds of desperate refugees from Germany boarding the American ship “Vulcania”. In the Holy Land, he visited not only historical sites of interest to Christians but also archaeological excavation sites and above all, Kibbutzim as well. He took part in the celebration of Jewish festivals and learned Hebrew.

When he returned home, Maas found himself the focal point of unprecedented propaganda and agitation. The local district Head of Propaganda for the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) demanded of the evangelical Dean that Maas should be banned from preaching. The reason given: “The attitude of the parish pastor Maas, which has for years been emphatically friendly towards the Jews, is known throughout the city [...]. Maas is regarded everywhere as the Jew-loving pastor.” Initially, the church authorities advised Maas not to hold his first service following his

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4 C.f. also the eyewitness account given by Maas to Yad Vashem in May 1962, copy from Landeskirchliche Archiv in Karlsruhe, PA Maas: “And, notwithstanding my tremendous admiration for Herzl as a truly great man, I spoke in opposition to him. I was against the notion of moving the Jewish people from one place of danger to what might well be another such. I said – and this was of course my religious experience – that Zion alone is Zion. There is only one Zion, and that is Zion. And today we are in Zion.”
5 Hermann Maas, Love of Israel, undated typewritten manuscript, copy in the possession of the author.
6 Hermann Maas, The Destiny of the Jewish People, in: To the Unforgotten. Victims of Mania from 1933 to 1945, Heidelberg 1952, 175.
8 Several of the countless letters he wrote in Hebrew may be found in the Yad Vashem Archives in Jerusalem.
return, so as not to place himself in danger, and Maas followed this advice. In the end, Bishop Julius Kühlewein, the Landesbischof ("Regional Bishop"), lodged a protest with the Ministry of the Interior against this interference with a man of the cloth in the practice of his ecclesiastical activities without any well-founded complaints having been brought, and the matter fizzled out. Following a sermon by Maas, Marianne Weber, the wife of renowned sociologist Max Weber, wrote that she had become aware of the Gestapo observing and noting down those who attended; that going to a sermon by Maas was “a confession, a Christian but perilous endeavour”. Later, Maas joined the Bekennende Kirche (the German Confessing Church).

2. Efforts on behalf of persecuted Jews

While many Germans – including many Christians – began, after 1933, to be ashamed of their acquaintance with Jewish people, Maas made no secret of his solidarity with the Jews. He was motivated not only by charity toward those who were fallen among thieves, but also by his conviction that there was a profound connection between Jews and Christians. Concerning the Reich-wide Kristallnacht pogrom in 1938, he wrote to a Jewish fellow citizen in Baden-Baden: “I stand beside you, not despite your Jewishness but because of it, and because today I know of one single divine congregation, one single divine people to whom we, you and I, belong equally as brothers and sisters, equally attacked, despised and cast out by the world, and also equally secure in the love of the Almighty, whose children it is given to us to be.” On the days of Jewish High Holy Days, he ostentatiously took part in the Jewish services at the synagogue. Fritz Pinkuss, the Rabbi of Heidelberg (and later Rabbi of São Paulo) recalled in 1985: “His solidarity towards us as a human being was so profound that we spent Christmas Eve with him and he came to us for Pesach and for the High Holy Days of Judaism. This went so far that I was forced to give him an urgent warning not to endanger his own safety through his participation in our services [...] I have rarely seen someone pray as deeply as he did when he came to the most important prayer services during the High Holy Days.”

Maas not only gave support and counsel to baptised Jews, he also gave assistance to beleaguered Jewish people in general. Fritz Pinkuss, when emigrating in 1938, enjoined him “to care for the persecuted and the old”, and Maas did indeed take care of the old people in the Jewish home for the elderly in Mannheim. He affixed a mezuzah – a traditional Jewish capsule to be fastened to a door frame – to the door of his pastoral residence, on the grounds that “My Jewish friends should know that they are safe at my house.” Maas gathered about him a circle of helpers, many of whom were themselves endangered, such as Marie Baum, the lecturer in Social and Political Studies, who had lost her teaching position at the University in 1933 on account of her "non-Aryan" ancestry, and Annemarie Fraenkel, daughter of Prof. Albert Fraenkel (world-famous for

9 Translator's note: "confession" (Ger: Bekenntnis) is here used in the sense of a declaration of one's moral position, and of standing up to be counted.


11 For more on Annemarie Fraenkel, see Jörg Thierfelder, Albert. Eine biographische Skizze (Albert. A Biographical Sketch), in: Peter Drings et al, Albert Fraenkel. Ein Arztleben in Licht und Schatten 1864-
his research into strophanthin). Elisabeth von Thadden, the headmistress of a private girls' school in Heidelberg-Wieblingen, was another who supported him.

Maas also used his ecumenical connections to help the persecuted Jews. At a congress of the Weltbund für internationale Freundschaftsarbeit der Christen ("Worldwide Association for International Friendship and Cooperation between Christians") in Geneva in 1935, he delivered a lecture on "The Problem of Non-Aryan Christians". His feeling was that such people were falling between two stools – not supported by Jewish aid organisations, and supported far too little by the Evangelical Churches. Maas called for collective settlement in East Jordan, for schools in Germany that would lay the groundwork for this emigration, and for the fact that the nomination of Israel remains consistent in Romans 9 – 11 to be borne in mind once more. Finally, on January 1, 1936 and with Maas present, an "Internationales Hilfkomitee für deutsche Flüchtlinge" ("International Aid Commission for German Refugees") was founded, an organisation primarily concerned with assisting persecuted Jews to emigrate.

For Maas, the offensive that had flared up against the Jews was not so much a political issue as a theological one: "Behind the offensive against the Jews lies a denial of the requirement that God has imposed upon us in respect of the Jewish people, their nomination and their fate, and in respect of John 4.22: 'For salvation is of the Jews.'" Thus the attack upon the Jews was ultimately an attack upon the faith of the Church. For Maas, it is therefore incumbent upon the Church "to form a protective fence around the whole of the embodiment of Israel". The return of the Jewish people to Israel was also relevant to Christians. In the common roots shared by Jews and Christians (see for example Romans 9 to 11) he perceived "an eschatological oneness" between the Church and the Children of Israel.11 Even if today, this Zionism wears a face that is primarily secular, social and political – even if it has not yet given serious consideration to the most profound core of the Jewish Question – yet deep inside lies something much greater: a migration of the Jewish people to the land in which the Lord will at last lead his people to Christ in accordance with his promises. The Zionist movement is an eschatological movement in the Christian sense."12 A bold statement, and one that met with disagreement. Not until after the war did the Evangelical Church give fresh consideration to the promises made to the Children of Israel, which remain valid and consistent even after the advent of Jesus.

12 Maas' Christian Zionism should not be confused with the Christian Zionism of evangelical fundamentalists in the USA, who maintain that Christ will not return until the Jewish people have returned to the Holy Land, destroyed the sanctuaries of Islam and rebuilt the Temple. In the subsequent battle of Armageddon, millions of people would lose their lives and the Jews would be converted to Christianity. See also R. Hadad, Dangerous Times, in: der überblick ("The Overview" – journal of the ecumenical movement and international cooperation), pp 57ff.
The Reich-wide Kristallnacht pogrom in 1938 saw the persecution of the Jews entering a new and terrible phase. A Jewish woman tells of her meeting with Maas at that time: “Then, as I reached the synagogue [...], there were masses of people standing and gloating in front of the synagogue, plus the Hitler Youth with collecting boxes cashing in on this 'wondrous' event, namely the burning synagogue, by demanding an entrance fee of 20 Pfennig to see it. And then, barely able to see from all the smoke and the tears, I ran back down the 'Fressgass'. Somewhere [...] someone put his arm around me and said to me, ‘Child, don't cry, this is the beginning of the end.’ And it was always in such circumstances that I encountered Prelate Maas.”

In 1938, the Berlin pastor Heinrich Grüber was commissioned by the Confessional Church to found the Kirchliche Hilfestelle für evangelische Nichtarier (“Ecclesiastical Aid Agency for Evangelical Non-Aryans”). Many of the Jewish staff who worked at the main office in Berlin did not survive the Shoah. The Hilfestelle was initially tolerated by the government because the Nazis were interested in making Germany “Jew-free”. Maas was the director of the confidential office in Heidelberg of the “Büro Pfarrer Grüber”.

Although the Gestapo confiscated, and probably destroyed, all of Maas’ correspondence, it has been possible to reconstruct some of the concrete details of Maas’ activities as a rescuer. It has also been possible to find contemporary witnesses who had close connections with Maas: in England, Bishop George Bell of Chichester was his special contact, in Switzerland this was Adolf Freudenberg of the Ecumenical Refugee Services, and in Sweden he was in contact with Archbishop Erling Eidem. He was especially passionate about rescuing children: “I must have travelled to England about once a quarter year in order to save my many children and Jewish families”. The “Büro Pfarrer Grüber” was involved in the “Kindertransporte”, thanks to which more than 1,000 Christian children of Jewish origin were brought to England.¹⁴

Maas wrote the following report of a visit to Bloomsbury House in London, where many aid agencies had their offices: “Over there it dawned on me [...] to my horror that the people there were at their wits’ end, their strength and resources exhausted. I am haunted day and night by the images that I saw there, this thousand-fold crush of people in the committee rooms, a plague of people in narrow corridors and stairways and in offices overflowing with woe and misery, with vituperation and with rage, these places transformed to some degree into an inferno by unsuitable and unloving people. Dreadful! What cruel deprivation, and what demonic sadism, this ruthless, never-ending round of menaces and expulsions! Oh God, what is to be done? I tremble before the ordeal that looms over us – over Europe, and eventually over the entire world – in these days. And all of this for the sake of an idea…”

Maas played a very important part in the rescue of 40 pastors of Jewish origin, together with their families, whom Bishop George Bell had persuaded the British Ministry of the

¹⁴ According to one estimate, the “Kindertransporte” brought a total of 9345 Jewish children to England up to the beginning of the war. Walter E. Norton, London, founder of the Hermann Maas foundation and Chairman of its Board of Directors, provided us with this information. See also Claudia Peperl, Hermann Maas und sein Eintreten für verfolgte Juden (Hermann Maas and his Championing of Persecuted Jews), Publications and Reports of the Hermann Maas Foundation, Heidelberg, December 1997, p. 41 f.
Interior to grant permission to enter England. He also put together, at the request of the Ecumenical Head Office in Geneva, a list that included many endangered pastors. Everyone on the list was able to leave Germany with the so-called Bell Ticket. Doch, however, Maas pushed for a collective visa to be secured for 100-200 or more lay persons.

These efforts on behalf of persecuted Jews created difficulties for Maas in Heidelberg. In an uncensored letter to Zurich in 1935, he wrote of the whole madness of the racialist policies of the National Socialists: "Here they are after me again because I baptised a child who was 25 percent non-Aryan [...] Or in every bar in town, the gossip is that I spoke with a non-Aryan doctor on the street because I wanted to ask him, the general practitioner, for some advice in an urgent matter relating to my pastoral duties..." Gruelling Gestapo interrogations began to take place, and it is little short of miraculous that Maas was not locked up. Maas had his own explanation for this: "Much protection and a strange and often inexplicable lack of resolution on the part of the Gestapo preserved me from the ultimate sanctions – the camp and the noose. But I believe I may say that at that time my large congregation in Heidelberg stood by me like a protective bulwark, often inhibiting the Gestapo or causing them to hesitate."

At the end of 1940, Heinrich Grüber was arrested and sent to the concentration camps – first Sachsenhausen, then Dachau. The Büro Grüber was closed by order of the Gestapo at the beginning of 1941. The sudden deportation of the Jews from Baden and the Saar Palatinate in October 1940 came as a particular shock to Maas. Maas continued to contact Grüber and Freudenberg from the Ecumenical Refugee Services in Geneva, but all in vain. In the case of a few of the older persons, he and his colleagues tried to use medications to ensure that they would be classified as incapable of being transported. Not long afterwards, he wrote: "Now I agonise over the fact that I did not pray to be allowed to come with these poor brothers and sisters, and to die with them." 1940 saw the onset of a campaign that would eventually remove Maas from office. First the office of Standortpfarrer ("Local Pastor") was taken away from him, and in 1942 the Ministry of Education and Culture withdrew his permission to provide religious instruction. Finally, the Ministry of Education and Culture demanded that the leadership of the Church "withdraw Maas from pastoral activities". In order to forestall his removal from office by a disciplinary verdict, he was put into retirement on July 1, 1943. In 1944 he was assigned to compulsory work in France.

3. Hermann Maas, builder of bridges

For Maas, the occupation of Heidelberg by the Americans on March 30, 1945, felt like a deliverance and an end to the tyranny. Initially, he was heavily preoccupied with the question of guilt. The memorandum "How I picture the rebuilding of the Evangelical Church", composed for the Ecumenical Council in Geneva in August 1945, begins with the sentence: "All rebuilding must start with sweeping out, clearing up and tearing down. In the language of the Bible this is called doing 'penance'." Maas then proceeds to indicate clearly the guilt of the Church and of Christians. "True, we were ignorant of

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15 Thierfelder (Notes 9), p140.
much of the horror that transpired. But enough assurances have been given of this. Was that which we did know, did see, did hear, not enough? Did we not live through April 1, 1933, with all its inhumanities and its wild demagogues in our alleyways? Did we not hear the songs our children were singing when they ran yelling through the streets, or the dreadful sound of their military drums? Or the songs of the SA [...]? – the Horst Wessel Song? Or the speeches of the Führer and of the other leaders, overflowing with mockery, hatred and inflammatory demagogy? Did we not see the burned out synagogue – the House of God with a Biblical quotation on its front, housing the scrolls of the law and the books of the prophets of the Most Holy? ...”

Maas pointed out that the Evangelical Churches too had to all intents and purposes remained silent concerning the outrages of the National Socialist regime, to the persecution of the Jews, to the National Socialists’ euthanasia programme and to the Second World War: “We should have cried out, and risked our lives and our freedom again and again. All of us – the entire Church. We cannot excuse ourselves, we must accuse ourselves, we do accuse ourselves.” When the Jüdische Rundschau 17 resumed publication in 1946, with an introduction from the Frankfurt Rabbi Dr. Neuhaus, Maas contributed a reader’s letter: “How dreadfully heavy is the burden of guilt that each individual member of the non-Jewish German population, myself included, must bear. We are all implicated, even if we loved Israel deeply and opposed these terrible forces, as I tried to do.” For many who had expected a critical word or two on the “guilt of others”, this was clearly too much. At the Oberkirchenrat in Karlsruhe, this was reported as follows: “In Heidelberg in particular, there is great agitation in student circles concerning this pronouncement by a well-known and distinguished representative of the Evangelical Church.”

In certain respects Maas picked up where he had left off before 1945. Together with other citizens of Heidelberg, he founded a Committee for the Victims of National Socialism, and returned to providing help for Jewish Christians in need. Working together with the American Consul in Stuttgart, he made it possible for substantial number of Christians of Jewish origin to emigrate to the USA. Maas also worked to bring about the return of Rabbi Robert Raphael Geis, who had been Rabbi of Mannheim from 1934 to 1937. In 1952 Geis became the Landesrabbiner (“Regional Rabbi”) Baden.

In August 1946, the International Conference of Christians and Jews in Oxford set out to emphasise the points in common between Judaism and Christianity in relation to their religious understanding of reality and to their social mission. Maas, one of the four German participants, used the conference as an occasion “to acknowledge an enormous guilt, a guilt with which the German people – seduced and swept along by events – has saddled itself and which it will have to bear for all time”. The 1946 conference in Oxford was where the foundation was laid for the International Council of Jews and Christians, whose present-day offices are located in the former residence of Martin Buber in

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16 The entire memorandum is reproduced in Gerhard Besier et al, Kirche nach der Kapitulation – eine Dokumentation (The Church following the Capitulation – a Documentation), Vol. 2, Stuttgart 1990, pp. 303-306.
17 Translator’s note: Swiss-published Jewish Review, now renamed Tachles.
Heppenheim. Maas welcomed and collaborated with the German Coordination Council and its affiliated societies for co-operation between Germans and Jews. It was important to Maas that more should be involved here than simple humanitarianism. His concern was with a true coming-together, and this could not happen without “truly getting to know each other”.

Maas concerned himself most particularly with the issue of German reconciliation with the Jewish people and with the state of Israel. In 1949 he became the first Christian German to receive an official invitation from the state of Israel. On July 9 1952, Maas spoke at the Council of Christians and Jews in London on the topic of Germany and Peace with Israel. In the light of the catastrophic food situation in Israel, he wrote to Federal President Theodor Heuss, whom he knew well from Heidelberg: “Surely the moment has arrived to take a concrete case as a starting-point for making peace with Israel […] by dispatching some foodstuffs to Israel.” Again and again Maas urged that formally-regulated relationships be established with Israel, pointing out the particular significance of this for peace in the Middle East. By taking such initiatives, Hermann Maas made a small but important contribution that helped pave the way for the eventual establishment of relationships between Israel and Germany (May 1965).

Maas was accorded many honours after the war. He took particular pleasure when, in 1966, the Yad Vashem Medal was conferred upon him and he was awarded the honorary title Righteous among the Nations. Asher Ben Nathan, the first Israeli ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, said at that time: “These people were not even considered to be persons at that time; you regarded them as having been made in the image of God, and in so doing you risked your life.” Together, the Hermann Maas Foundation, which was founded over twenty years ago, and the Landeskirche of Baden keep his memory alive with activities that include the bestowal of the Hermann Maas Prize. And with the Hermann Maas Medal, awarded every two years, the Evangelical Church of Gengenbach honours individuals, groups or institutions who carry out work that is in the true spirit of Hermann Maas.

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18 The second official invitation went to the Hamburg journalist Rudolf Küstermeir, the third to Dr. Gertrud Luckner, founder of the Freiburger Rundbrief.
19 The Hermann Maas Foundation owes its existence to Prof. Dr. Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich and his suggestion that a foundation would be a better use of money than a commemorative fountain.