Marketing Identities

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NOTE

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

INTRODUCTION

1. On the terms *acculturation* and *asimmilation*, see David Sorkin, “Emancipation and Assimilation—Two Concepts and Their Application to German-Jewish History,” *Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute* 35 (1990): esp. 27–33. Recent researchers prefer *acculturation* because of the negative connotations of *asimmilation* (which many Zionists used as a term of opprobrium). For the purposes of this study, acculturation is defined as the adoption of non-Jewish cultural traits. According to sociologist Milton Gordon, assimilation is a continuum. Beginning with what he calls “ac­culturation,” a type of “cultural assimilation,” an ethnic group adopts the dress, recreational tastes, economic patterns, language, cultural baggage, and political views of the general society without necessarily losing its sense of group identity. Total assimilation and group disappearance, however, do not take place unless primary contacts—friendships, associations, marriage and family ties—have dis­appeared. This “structural assimilation” and the final stage of “marital assimilation” render the minority indistinguishable from the culture at large. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). See also the discussion in Trude Maurer, *Die Entwicklung der jüdischen Minderheit in Deutschland (1780–1933). Neuere Forschungen und offene Fragen*, special issue 4 of *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992).
2. Identity or self-understanding is properly understood as a system of allegiances one assigns to oneself or to others. On the term “ethnic,” see chapter two below.

3. The term pan-Jewish is adopted from pan-Slavism, a political ideology which has its intellectual roots in Herder and Schelling.


5. In this study, Western Jewry and Eastern Jewry refer to West-Central and East European Jews. But “Western Jewish” and “Eastern Jewish” refer to cultures and cultural tendencies, for what is “Eastern Jewish” and what is “Western Jewish” cannot always be demarcated geographically. On the history of the term Ostjude to refer to East European Jews, see Steven E. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 257 n. 1; and Trude Maurer, Ostjuden in Deutschland, 1918–1933 (Hamburg: Hans Christians, 1986), 12–13. Aschheim and Maurer maintain that the term did not achieve popular currency until 1910. Although the term did become more widespread in connection with the German occupation of Poland in World War I and the related ideas of an Ostjuedenfrage and an Ostjudengefahr, the ideology of the Ostjude was thoroughly developed by the mid-nineteenth century. Even if it was not labeled as such, there was a generalized understanding in Germany of what an Ostjude was. There, the names Polacken and Schnorrer designated Jews from Poland, Galicia, and Russia who were regarded as dirty, loud, unmannered, and culturally backward. The awareness of the plight of Rumanian and Russian Jews—publicized by Ost und West, among others—dates at least from the last decades of the nineteenth century. In spite of its pejorative connotations, Ostjude will be used neutrally throughout this book to make a real and crucial distinction between East European and West European Jewish life and culture. This usage is further justified with respect to the title of the magazine—“Ost und West”—even though the terms were rarely employed in Ost und West itself.

6. Until 1906, Ost und West was subtitled Illustrierte Monatschrift für modernes Judentum, and after that time Illustrierte Monatschrift für das gesamte Judentum. According to Winz’s and independent estimates, the journal had anywhere from 16,000 to 23,000 subscribers in the period between 1906 and 1914. Allowing for families, cafés, reading rooms, and libraries, these figures should be multiplied by three (or more). The result: a broad resonance in the Jewish population in Germany. According to Michael Brenner, “[p]robably most German Jews read a Jewish newspaper” by the Weimar period. Brenner, The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 219.


8. I would argue that the reception of a text, not its producers or its contents, ultimately makes it “Jewish.”

9. Trietsch, who was Winz’s “co-editor” in the first year of Ost und West, may have learned much about magazines and marketing in the several years he spent in the United States in the 1890s.

10. For an account of the role of projection and transference in historiography, especially with respect to the Holocaust, see Dominick LaCapra, Representing the
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14. Maurer, Ostjuden in Deutschland, 741–44.


17. Wertheimer, Unwelcome Strangers, 149. For a somewhat different view, compare Wertheimer’s own conclusion to Unwelcome Strangers, 176–81. Other than Winz, the financial backers of Ost und West were largely Western Jewish, including Heinrich Meyer-Cohn, Otto Warburg, Eduard Lachmann, and others; see Leo Winz Papers, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, A136/41 and others. Ost und West and other Eastern Jewish publishers required a degree of help from Western Jews, for German state policies demanded that Russian and other foreign Jews avoid attracting attention. Thus, Ost und West was radical for its time in openly displaying Eastern Jewishness; see Wertheimer, Unwelcome Strangers, 16–18.

18. Wertheimer may be correct in claiming that Eastern Jews formed few public or political organizations, instead preferring synagogue associations and Gemeinde activities. However, he is too categorical when he denies that the foreigners created cultural institutions of their own. See Wertheimer, Unwelcome Strangers, 179–80. According to historian Eric Hobsbawm, the redefinition of cultural texts and representations is necessary and ongoing in every modern society, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in The Invention of Tradition, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1–14. This “reinvention” of traditions—often alleged to be authentic—was no less characteristic of Ost und West, which adapted elements of Judaic civilization within already existing textual/institutional frameworks.

19. While Aschheim attempts to examine both “high” and “low” culture, he rarely cites the German-Jewish popular press.
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20. Discourse is understood here as a system of language and symbols (or symbolic acts) that are not reflective but rather constitutive of human cultures, identities, and experiences. See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon, 1971); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978); and Clifford Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David E. Apter (New York: Free Press, 1964), 47–76. For Foucault, “discourse” is understood as a set of statements which claims to be “true” or “objective.” This claim, however, must be approached with skepticism, since a discourse constructs knowledge about an object (e.g., “identity,” “the Jew,” “objectivity”) according to rules specific to itself and in relation to institutions in a specific social context.

CHAPTER 1

1. The Yiddish name of the Bund was Der allgemeyner idisher arbyeterbund in Lita, Poylen un Rusland.

2. This account of East European Jewish migration derives, in part, from Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*, 11–22.

3. Ibid., 12. Other important issues for policymakers were: “How could officials encourage Jews to transmigrate through the Reich from Russia, Austro-Hungary, and Rumania on their way west, yet at the same time bar such travelers from lingering and even settling in the country? By what mechanisms could governments filter out undesirable ‘trouble makers’ from the population of Eastern Jews who resided in Germany temporarily as legitimate business people, students, and intellectuals? Would the relatively large representation of Russian Jews at German institutions of higher learning harm the quality of those schools, or would it enrich the process of education by adding diversity to the student body? And how could governments determine whether potential Jewish immigrants would prove an asset to Germany by virtue of their skills and knowledge, or a burdensome population of unproductive and unassimilable foreigners? The arrival of East European Jews in the Second Reich challenged German leaders to address these difficult questions.” Ibid., 21–22.


5. Between 1871 and 1914, 5.8 million non-Germans embarked at North Sea ports, 38 percent of them Russians and 51 percent Austrians. Jews made up a significant portion of the latter and the preponderant majority of the former. Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*, 14.

6. Barring religious discrimination rendered void the Prussian Jewry Law of 1847 requiring alien Jews (as opposed to other aliens) to obtain a special work permit from the Ministry of Interior.

7. Officials from the different German states frequently worked together to coordinate policies for dealing with different alien populations in the Kaiserreich.


11. The numerus clausus applied to individual faculties at Russian universities. In addition, admission to secondary schools (Gymnasien) was severely curtailed for Jews after 1887, bringing about an exodus westward. Restrictions also were imposed to limit the number of Jewish Externen, those Jews permitted to take exams but not classes.


16. Between 1900 and 1905, the foreign Jewish population of Berlin nearly doubled, rising from 11,615 to 18,316. Yet in the census of 1910, of 137,000 Jews in Greater Berlin, only 15.8 percent were born outside the Reich. Moreover, only 9.5 percent of all Jews in Greater Berlin were Ostjuden, that is, from Russia, Galicia, or Romania. See Gabriel Alexander, “Die Entwicklung der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Berlin zwischen 1871 und 1945,” Tel Avivier Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte 20 (1991): 287–314.


26. “The Pale” designates those provinces in Imperial Russia where Jews had the right of permanent residence. Making up 4 percent of Russian territory, it
contained 94 percent of the Jewish population. Formally declared in 1791 under the reign of Empress Catherine, it encompassed by 1887 the ten provinces of the so-called kingdom of Poland (Warsaw, Kalisz, Kielce, Lomza, Lublin, Piotrków, Plock, Radom, Suwałki, and Siedlce), as well as the northwest provinces of Vilna, Kovno, Grodno, Minsk, Vitebsk, and Mogilev; the southwest provinces of Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Chernigov, and Poltava; and the southern provinces of Bessarabia, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and Tauris. Within the Pale, Jews were permitted to live only in urban areas, and certain cities and towns were open only to privileged Jews. Numerous other restrictions also applied.

27. The surface resemblance of these debates to Talmudic-style learning in the yeshiva is striking.


29. Other members of the Verein during different periods included Eliyahu Davidson, Lazare Kunin, David Maklin, Isidore Eliashev, Joseph Lurie, Israel Motzkin, Selig Soskin, Judah Vilensky, Yehoshua Thon, Mordechai Ehrenpreis, David Farbstein, and Leo Estermann.

30. Reinharz, Chaim Weizmann, 418 n. 29. On Winz and Jung Israel, see Heinrich Loew Papers, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, A146.


33. Ibid.

34. Reinharz, Chaim Weizmann, 34.

35. See Winz’s Studienbcher in Leo Winz Papers, A136/1.


37. Ibid., 164.


39. The members of the Verein were known for being nonconformists; see Reinharz, Chaim Weizmann, 32. They also preferred ideological debate to the cultural offerings of Berlin, probably because of lack of money, living as they did on the edge of destitution. Having studied or worked hard all day, they enjoyed an evening of discussion at cafés. In short, they perceived themselves as “Russian-Jewish intellectuals,” distinguished by class, education, culture, and geographical origin from other Eastern Jews.

40. For a prime example, see Heinrich Loew Papers, “Wer spricht Jargon?” Jüdische Rundschat (January 22, 1904): 33–35.

41. Loewe’s other cultural activities actively spread Eastern-style Jewish nationalism. Loewe earned a doctorate in Berlin, but discrimination compelled him to seek work as a librarian and archivist. Eager to build more formal organizations for raising consciousness, Loewe was instrumental in the establishment of Jung Israel.
in Berlin in 1892. Together with Max Bodenheimer, he founded the Verein jüdischer Studenten in 1895, intended as the first Jewish nationalist students’ association in Germany, designed to foster Jewish self-consciousness and pride. Members included Martin Buber and Leo Winz, among many others.


43. Leo Winz and Ost und West contributed money to Jewish reading rooms. See Leo Winz Papers, A136/98. A thorough study also would reveal what impact these institutions had on the circulation and distribution of Ost und West and other Jewish periodicals.

44. The same criterion may have applied to other Jewish newspapers known to Winz, such as the British weekly Jewish Chronicle (London, 1847–) and the weekly Die jüdische Presse (Berlin, 1869–1923, edited by Esriel and Meier Hildesheimer).

45. Like Ost und West, the Israelitisches Familienblatt has rarely been analyzed in depth by historians. See David Brenner, “Reconciliation before Auschwitz: The Weimar Jewish Experience in Popular Fiction from the Israelitisches Familienblatt,” in Borders and Crossings: Evolving Jewish Identities in German Minority Culture, ed. Linda Feldman and Diana Hinze (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood/Praeger, forthcoming).

46. Other Jewish nationalist forerunners of Ost und West include Max Jungmann’s five issues in 1897–98 of Die jüdische Moderne and Ruben Brainin’s Vienna-based monthly (and later yearbook) Mi-mizrah u-matatev [From East and West], also subtitled Hebräische Monatsschrift. Sammelbuch für Literatur und Wissenschaft (1894–96).


48. For a full account of the Verein’s attempt to develop “Jewish feelings” among Western Jews, see ibid., 66–67.


51. For an attempt to differentiate these two related terms, see Franz Oppenheimer, “Stammbewusstsein und Volksbewusstsein,” Die Welt (February 18, 1910): 139–43. This essay sparked a major controversy.

52. Defining Jewish nationhood was more the province of Jewish cultural elites than that of other Jews.

53. This concept may be related to the Yiddish notion of dos pintele yid, “the little bit of Jew” to be found within every Jew.


55. Several ethnic-national awakenings took place in mid-nineteenth-century Central and Eastern Europe. Loewe and other Western Zionists even published articles on how the Zionist movement began in the 1840s. See Heinrich Loewe, “Zur


58. See Friedrich Meinecke, Weltbürgerturn und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaats (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1908). Meinecke’s distinction is deceptive, however. Stemming from Western Europe, it fails to account for the political origins of cultural Zionism and its popular resonance in Eastern Europe. For a discussion of non-European nationalisms, see John Breuilly, Nationalism and the State (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 235.

59. The Territorialist movement, led by the British-Jewish writer Israel Zangwill (1864–1926), had goals similar to those of the political Zionists but was not Palestinian in its choice of a site for the Jewish nation-state.

60. Still, Herzl was politically savvy enough to take into account objections from East European Jews, whose numbers far outnumbered those in the West.

61. One of the Democratic Faction’s inspirations, besides Ahad Ha’am, was Micha Joseph Berdichevsky (1865–1921), also known as Bin Gurion. Berdichevsky preferred the Israelite prophecy of the Bible over the “fossilized” law (balakhah) of the Diaspora age. The Faction, often to the chagrin of Herzl, opposed political Zionism and its religious allies (rabbis, preachers, clerics) in the Mizrachi faction of the organization. Moreover, they protested against the nondemocratic organization of the party. At the same time, they were criticized for being too elitist and too intellectual themselves, and their existence was short-lived (1900–1905).

62. Many historians assume a rivalry between political and cultural Zionists, yet some evidence shows that the movement’s factions coexisted peacefully. According to Michael Berkowitz, they even “jointly popularized and disseminated many of the vital unifying myths, symbols and ideological postulates of Zionism throughout the prewar period. In many respects, the argument can be made that the intensive and successful Propagandaarbeit of these years was possible because there was fundamental accord in the Zionists’ cultural outlook, not a fundamental divergence.” Michael Berkowitz, “‘Mind, Muscle, and Men’: The Imagination of a Zionist National Culture for the Jews of Central and Western Europe, 1897–1914,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1989, 16. See also Michael Berkowitz, Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Ost und West’s response to the Bund was a sign of a dilemma in its ideological program. In favor of tolerance toward “backward” Eastern Jewish culture, the journal sought at the same time to be “modern,” that is, to be scientific and cultured according to Western principles. Through the efforts of the Democratic Faction, the Zionists also tried to attract and coopt the growing constituency of young Jews leaning in a socialist direction, specifically those inclined toward the Bundists or, somewhat later, the Zionist Socialists (Poalei Tsiyyon). Founded in Vilna in 1897 as the unification of several preexisting Jewish socialist groups, the Bund adopted its ethnocultural program in 1905, going beyond
its previous opposition to anti-Jewish discrimination and advocating Jewish cultural autonomy based on secular Yiddish culture.

63. The terms kleindeutsch and großdeutsch have a long and involved history.

64. See David Blackbourn, “Catholics, the Centre Party, Anti-Semitism,” in Nationalist and Racist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914, ed. Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls (Oxford: Macmillan, 1981), 108. Other significant minority groups in Germany include the Danes, the Poles, and the populace of Alsace.

65. Reinharz, Chaim Weizmann, 42.

66. The Jews’ fear that emancipation would be set back was equally strong where acculturation had been at its most successful. In France and England, suppression of all distinctiveness and national exclusivity was legally required of the Jews.

67. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, 33–35, 262 n. 2. Whereas millions of transmigrants—some Jewish—passed through Germany in the nineteenth century, one third of East European Jewry (74.5 percent of the world’s Jewish population) was eventually permitted to settle in the United States. See also David Vital, The Origins of Zionism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 49–64.

68. See Gilman, Jewish Self-Hatred, 308.


70. Like German nationalism, other European nationalisms had a conservative face. As liberalism waned, these nationalisms lost their liberating force, often deviating into xenophobia and antisemitism. For a discussion of the continuities between Jewish nationalism and völkisch racialism, see chapter 4 in George L. Mosse, Germans and Jews: The Right, the Left, and the Search for a “Third Force” in Pre-Nazi Germany (New York: Howard Fertig, 1970), 77–115.

71. As late as 1910, certain German Zionists made a distinction between themselves and all East European Jews, Zionists included. See Oppenheimer, “Stammesbewusstsein und Volksbewusstsein,” 139–43.

72. Herzl’s programmatic Altneuland, published in October 1902, cannot be discussed fully in this context. It is sufficient to note that cultural Zionists reacted very critically. For the most part, criticism of the work focused on its Western style and its complete lack of concern for culture. Furthermore, negative clichés abound of Hebrew and Yiddish languages, of narrow-minded Eastern Jewish nationalists, and also of assimilationist Jews. Altneuland’s combination of racist concepts (Rassenzugehörigkeit, Stammesbewusstsein, Musikjuden) and its call for duty-bound work and bourgeois virtues derived almost without exception from West European models. See Ahad Ha’am, “Altneuland,” Ost und West (April 1903): 237–44.

74. Herzl and Nordau had ambivalent attitudes toward Eastern Jewry. The Zionist satire magazine *Der Schlemiel*, however, was originally published by Winz under the slightly different title *Der Schlemihl*.


76. Ost und West’s undeservedly tarnished reputation in the wake of these events was shared even by friends of Winz such as Sammy Gronemann, who failed to appreciate Segel’s editorial on Nordau. See Sammy Gronemann, “Erinnerungen” (1948), an unpublished memoir at Leo Baeck Institute, New York, 138.

77. The *Jüdische Rundschau*, even after Loew’s tenure as its editor, continued to throw barbs at Ost und West. These attacks were so frequent as to require frequent disclaimers from the Alliance Israelite Universelle, the erstwhile sponsor of Ost und West between 1906 and 1914. Because the Alliance had considerable ideological disagreements with Winz and his associates, it urged Zionist critics to attack Ost und West and not the Alliance itself. According to Wertheimer, “Loewe’s relationship with Eastern Jews deserves study; the childlike tone of his letters to Leo Motzkin is quite remarkable.” Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*, 340 n. 24.

78. Herzl financed and published *Die Welt* (1897–1914) until his death in 1904. It also should be noted that Herzl himself had an acute intuitive sense of public relations. See Berkowitz, “‘Mind, Muscle, and Men,’” 74. At the Zionist Congress of 1905, Sammy Gronemann called on the delegates to make greater use of visual images and symbols in order to increase the organization’s following.

79. Later, however, Buber committed the ultimate act of political heresy by writing a negative obituary of Herzl (alongside positive ones), in which he maintained that Herzl had never understood Eastern Jewry. See Martin Buber, “Herzl und die Historie,” Ost und West (August–September 1904): 583–94.


81. Buber’s impact on the image of East European Jewry is habitually exaggerated over that of Ost und West. See, for example, M. Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture*, 142.

82. Whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century, German Jews were still regarded as “ghetto Jews” (*Ghettojuden*), the term applied exclusively to Eastern Jews by the end of the century. *Ghetto* became the pejorative rubric for the cultural and geographic milieu of Eastern Jewry. In addition, the concept of the ghetto “referred to the simple fact of Jewish physical concentration regardless of its coercive or voluntary origins, and even more crucially, to the perception of the separatist culture generated by such concentration.” Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*, 5–6.


84. See Leo Winz Papers, A136/41.

85. For more on the genre of the *Kulturzünder*, see Karl Ulrich Syndram, *Kulturpublizistik und nationales Selbstverständnis* (Berlin: Mann, 1989).

86. Ury later would become something of a canonical figure in German-Jewish art; his *Jeremias* hung in the entrance hall of the Jewish Museum in Berlin after 1932.

87. For the role of respectability in the constructing of Ost und West’s readership, see chapter 2 below.
88. “Ost und West,” Ost und West (January 1901): 1–2. Further references are to the relevant year of Ost und West with column numbers in parentheses.


90. The later signet of the Jüdischer Verlag, the publishing house of the Zionist movement founded by Buber, Feiwel, Weizmann, and Lilien, appears in the background. Also designed by Lilien, it depicts a Star of David superimposed on a smaller menorah.

91. See Lilien’s lithograph “Zion” in Borries von Münchhausen’s Zida: Gesänge (Goslar: F. A. Latimann, 1900), as well as his famous “angel” postcard from the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901), reproduced and discussed in Berkowitz, Zionist Culture, 128–29.

92. On early Zionist iconography, see Berkowitz, Zionist Culture.

93. See Ahad Ha’am, Aussere Freiheit und innere Knechtschaft: Eine zeitgemässe Betrachtung (Berlin: Achißaf, 1901[?]).


95. Though their approach was not strictly historical, Buber and the Jewish socialist/anarchist Gustav Landauer (1870–1919) aptly distinguished between Eastern and Western Jews in terms of Gemeinschaft (“community”) and Gesellschaft (“society”), respectively. See Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie (Leipzig: R. Reisland, 1887). Whereas Gemeinschaft designated a close-knit, cooperative community, Gesellschaft represented atomized, Western urban society. See also Noah Isenberg, Between Redemption and Doom: German Modernism and the Strains of Jewish Identity (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming).

96. German bourgeois history as a whole may gain from an understanding of Ost und West. By examining German-Jewish journals, we have access to the private lives of the German Bürgertum, a group that recently has attracted the interest of social historians who hitherto favored the working class, thus inadvertently excluding the Jews from their purview. This study (especially chapters 2–5 below) explores how the emerging Jewish middle classes were influenced by reading journals.

97. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 47–49.

98. Winz’s publishing principles were a smaller-scale version of those practiced by the blockbusting but politically liberal Ullsteins, who recommended: (1) eliminating chance and sticking with a successful product as long as possible; (2) appealing to the lower classes (this includes Ost und West’s populist appeal to the Eastern Jews); (3) using advertising and promotion; and (4) using other media to promote success of products (such as Winz’s other businesses). See King, Best-sellers by Design, 60–63. That Winz himself survived for so long is also testimony to his business savvy. It suffices merely to look at the second half of his career, where he served as a public relations representative for Tel Aviv, as the publisher of the largest newspaper in
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Germany (the Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin), as a copublisher of the first sensationalist Hebrew newspaper in Israel, and so forth.


100. The ordering of genres in Ost und West was fairly consistent. Although people did not always read it from front to back, the hierarchy of genres expressed a constancy at odds with the heterogeneity of the genres and contributions. This was part of the inevitable process of canonization that took place in the journal.

101. See Buber’s letter to Herzl of May 26, 1903, in Martin Buber, Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten, ed. Grete Schaeder (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1972), 197. See also the argument that Winz and his associates treated Eastern Jews as “liebevoller,” in Victor Klemperer, Curriculum Vitae. Jugend um 1900 (Berlin: Siedler, 1989), 2: 489. On Kaufmann, see the first issues of Die Freistatt (1912–14).


103. See Winz’s contracts with the Alliance under the heading “Berlin/Winz” at the archives of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris, file Archives-Allemagne, VII.A.14–16, VII et XIV.

104. In late 1905, Winz secured an agreement from the Alliance whereby the organization agreed to finance part of the journal’s production in exchange for eight to ten pages in each monthly issue and discounted subscriptions for its 10,000 German members. The pages devoted to the Alliance in each monthly issue appeared under the heading “Mitteilungen aus dem deutschen Bureau der Alliance Israelite Universelle” (October 1906–December 1911) or “Mitteilungen des Central-Comités der Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris” (January 1911–August 1914)—hereafter referred to as “Mitteilungen.” This section was edited independently of Ost und West (by M. A. Klausner, an outstanding publicist in his own right and the political editor of the Berliner Börsen-Courier), and philosophical differences with Ost und West were not unusual. Although the newsy, derivative “Mitteilungen” were probably ignored by most readers, the stereotypes of North African and Middle Eastern Jews purveyed there were more objectional than those in the main body of the magazine.


106. The Alliance routinely depicted Sephardic and Falasha Jews as “feminine” and “childlike” in their reports appearing in Ost und West. In contrast, Winz and his colleagues never published anything as blatantly westernizing as the Alliance’s Orientalist travelogues and reports on Jewish ghettos in North Africa and the Levant.

107. A few letters of protest are preserved in the archives, especially from the climactic year of 1912, when the German-based Alliance was divided by conflict.
See, e.g., the letter of Dr. Max Mainzer to Dr. Eduard Baerwald of the Frankfurter Lokalcommite der Alliance, November 11, 1912. Winz, “Berlin/Winz,” 7565/3.


109. The most obvious imitator of Ost und West was the Hungarian-Jewish art and cultural journal Múlt és jövő (Budapest, 1912–1944).

110. Gershom Scholem, Mi-berlin li-yerushalayim [From Berlin to Jerusalem], expanded Hebrew ed. (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1982), 47.

111. On the Jewish renaissance of Weimar Germany, see M. Brenner, The Renaissance of Jewish Culture.


114. Demonizing the Westjude allowed Winz and his associates to ally themselves with Western models of modernization while pretending to shun contact with the West. In an ambiguous manner, it permitted Ost und West’s readers to practice a guilt-free type of (Jewish) Orientalism. Cf. Paul Mendes-Flohr, “Fin-de-Siècle Orientalism, the Ostjuden and the Aesthetics of Jewish Self-Affirmation,” Studies in Contemporary Jewry (1984): 96–139.


117. From early childhood on, we use stereotypes as a conceptual shorthand in making judgments about the world and ourselves. Thus, stereotypes cannot be summarily dismissed as irrational; they are unavoidable. On the need for a sociohistorical approach to stereotyping, see James Elliott, Jürgen Pelzer, and Carol Poore, eds., Stereotyp und Vorurteil in der Literatur: Untersuchungen zu Autoren des 20. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), 29–31. For an early cognitive approach, see Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Macmillan, 1922). Lippmann was very influential in disseminating the term stereotype. Stereotypes for him are characteristic of “mass democracy” and of wide-ranging media effects. Also similar to Ost und West’s flexible approach to stereotyping is Lippmann’s view that the degree and range of stereotyping are determined by the affects and tendencies of each individual. For a sociological approach to stereotyping, see Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, 2nd ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958).


119. Although the rhetoric of stereotypes permeates most textual genres in Ost
and West, fiction will receive special attention here owing to its insight into identity and culture.


121. Although there was a long tradition of stereotypes that Westjuden held about Ostjuden—and vice versa—a complete history of these cultural types and stereotypes would take us too far afield. It suffices here to note that these stereotypes, no matter how compelling their historical similarities, do vary.

122. See John Efron, who argues that “[t]o accept the proposition that historically the Jews were involved in a colonial relationship with Christian Europe is to also recognize that the labors of Jewish physical anthropologists [and historians] were an attempt at reversing the European gaze.” John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siecle Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 3.

123. Only by knowing the nature of the specific subaudience, the reader’s position in society, can we ultimately know whether stereotypes are irresponsible, inappropriate, or inaccurate in the contexts in which they appear.


126. Because systematic study of periodicals is largely neglected in the field of German-Jewish history, one must draw on previous research in periodical studies, particularly coming out of Germany and England. Much of this scholarship characterizes periodicals as collections of texts unique in their mix of constancy and heterogeneity. In a sense, the medium was Ost und West’s message. To survive, a journal, then as now, had to be flexible. Yet readers also wanted periodicals to show some stability in successive issues. According to Lyn Pykett, the periodical “may offer its readers scope to construct their own version of the text by selective reading, but against that flexibility has to be put the tendency in the form to close off alternative readings by creating a dominant position from which to read, a position which is maintained with more or less consistency across the single number and between numbers.” Lyn Pykett, “Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 52 (Fall 1989): 107. See also Kurt Koszyk, *Deutsche Presse im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1966), vol. 2; and Wilmont Haacke, “Der Zeitschriftentypus Revue,” *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 11 (1970): 1035–56. See both the *Victorian Periodicals Review* and *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* for more current views in the field.


129. On the terms acculturation and assimilation, see introduction, note 1, above.
CHAPTER 2

1. While few records remain from before 1901, documents in Winz's Nachlaß from after that period show a high awareness of market research. See especially Winz's detailed outline (Exposé) for a nationwide Gemeindeblatt, an illustrated weekly with a different local section for each Jewish community; see also his proposal for an English-language edition of Ost und West. Both in Leo Winz Papers, A136/39.

2. Some of the following considerations also apply to Jews living in the Habsburg empire.


4. The word national resonated differently in early twentieth-century ears, connoting "ethnic" more than "nationwide." The German noun prefixes Stammes- and National-, in their historical setting, are roughly equivalent to the present-day English term ethnic. It is related to Abstammung ("descent") and Stammesgemeinschaft ("community of common ancestry"). According to Michael Brenner, "[t]he popularity of its [national's] use can be partly explained by its vagueness. Assimilationists interpreted it in the sense of a German Stamm analogous to Bavarians or Saxons, but for Zionists it became a synonym for a Jewish Volk." M. Brenner, The Renaissance of Jewish Culture, 228 n. 12.

5. See chapter 3 below.


8. Not all components of European Jewish identity can be subsumed under these three categories. In this study, however, broad cultural trends will take precedence in the attempt to reconstruct Jewish identities along East-West lines.


11. This rejection of East European Judaism is a fine example of the power of negative definition in identity formation. See ibid., xi.

12. On the significance of Jewish religion, see Winz's rationale for sending his son, Viktor, to study and live at the neo-Orthodox Gymnasium in Halberstadt. Leo Winz Papers, A136/179.


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14. At least one contributor to *Ost und West*, Binjamin Segel, published concurrently in *Der Israelit*, a neo-Orthodox newspaper.

15. Although they did not urge a return to the ghetto, some Jewish nationalists made the autonomous communal organization, the *kehillah* (or, in Yiddish, *kehile*) into a paradigm. The *kehillah* had served as the political basis for Ashkenazic Jewish communities until the granting of limited individual rights under Western-style emancipation and had been treated as a corporate body under European feudalism. It negotiated as a collective in order to secure the rights and status of the Jews in each specific territory and thus differed significantly from Western *Gemeinden* and their umbrella organizations in the early twentieth century.


20. On the pejorative Yiddish term *datscher* (“German-style” or “Europeanized” Jews), see Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*, 21. While S. Y. Agnon may have strived to destroy this stereotype, he was by no means typical. Nor do I concur with Michael Brenner’s assessment that “[i]t took an East European Jew to accomplish what German-Jewish writers failed to achieve: a portrayal of the varieties of Jewish life in Germany, without bias.” M. Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture*, 208–9.


25. Ibid.

26. It is not surprising, then, that *Ost und West*, as the first magazine to promote the *Ostjuden*, was published in Berlin and was directed primarily at German-Jewish readers. On the special history (or *Sonderweg*) of Germany with respect to Jewish emancipation and acculturation, see Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry*.

27. Joshua Fishman maintains that within the Jewish fold, secularism can be defined negatively or positively. More frequently defined negatively, secularism is the position that traditional orthopraxis is antiquated or counterproductive and that “religion is a ‘private matter’ of no collective or institutional significance for Jewish survival and creativity.” Positively viewed, secularism implies Jewish affiliation on the basis of language and literature (non-Hebrew and non-Yiddish as well), party

28. This transformation was often thematized in both Jewish and non-Jewish publications. See “Die Transformation der russischen Juden,” *Ost und West* (September 1901): 673–74, which depicts the physical and cosmetic transformation of Russian-Jewish immigrants to Germany over four generations. See also Th. Th. Heine’s caricature, “Die Verwandlung,” *Simplicissimus*, June 2, 1903.


30. See the incident with the Swiss theologian Johann Caspar Lavater (the so-called *Lavaterfrage*), who confronted Mendelssohn in 1769 regarding his unwillingness to convert to Christianity. On Mendelssohn’s essential conservatism, see Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 13–16.


33. Many converted Jews did not eliminate their ties to Germany’s distinctive Jewish subculture. Rejection by the official Jewish Gemeinde also mattered less once Judaism came to be regarded as just another denomination in a German state made up of many confessions. Former Jews were not prohibited from associating with their former coreligionists.


35. In the emancipation debates in revolutionary France, the Ashkenazic Jews of Alsace-Lorraine were not considered for the same rights as their Sephardic coreligionists. For a full treatment, see Paula E. Hyman, *The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace: Acculturation and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).


38. At the same time, *Ost und West* sought to distance itself from the Jewish *Familienblätter* (“family journals”).

39. Male and female roles were regarded as separate and distinct, a common pattern in nineteenth-century national iconography in Germany and England. This iconography, in turn, became the model for “respectable” Jewish nationalism.


42. See Ringer, “Bildung,” 196.


45. On Yiddish and respectability, see Grossman, “The Space of Yiddish,” 77–78. See also Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation,” 6. Mosse has argued quite persuasively that respectability, both as ideology and as practice, was closely linked to a sublimated ideal of male sexuality. In nationalist thought of the epoch, calls were made to integrate eros into male communities (in German, the phenomenon of the Männerbünde).

46. Ibid., 30, 78.

47. See Berkowitz, Zionist Culture, 107–8. See also chapter 5 below.


50. See Jacob Toury, Soziale und politische Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, 1848–1914: Zwischen Revolution, Reaktion und Emancipation (Düsseldorf: Droste 1977), 114. The Jews made up approximately 1 percent of the population at any given time in the Kaiserreich.

51. See Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality, 181.

52. In the nineteenth century, both Jewish secularism and Jewish nationalism offered themselves as replacements for messianism and other forms of religious expression. Zionist professions of faith were powerful devices because they were so nebulous. Similar to the Yom Kippur liturgy, Zionist practice involved collective “admission of sins, vows, and mutual responsibility. . . . In some ways, Herzl . . . obscured the boundary between Jewish nationalism as a secular ideology and Judaism’s traditional religious faith.” Berkowitz, “Mind, Muscle, and Men,” 76.

53. Eastern Jews shared many norms of “bourgeois ideology” and Bildung. See Paul Mendes-Flohr, review of German Jews beyond Judaism by George L. Mosse,
Studies in Contemporary Jewry 5 (1989): 379. In the documents left to us, Eastern Jews fashion themselves as middle class in their aspirations to education and social mobility.


55. To be sure, the ideal of respectability proved dangerous to the process of emancipation which it had once encouraged. But, as Mosse writes, “[r]espectability itself was part of the narrowing vision of German society. Liberalism could remain alive even while respectability attempted to tighten the reins, for political and economic freedoms were not supposed to entail freedom of manners and morals; rather the cohesion respectability provided was necessary to supply liberal freedoms with a stable base. Liberalism seemed to provide a secure anchor for Jewish assimilation, despite the remaining obstacles to full citizenship.” Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation,” 13. The success of respectability in nineteenth-century Jewish circles also may have been related to demography: the Jewish population was comparatively older than the German population.

56. Kaplan claims that “Jewish families were more liberal politically—that is, less xenophobic, more tolerant of pluralism, more supportive of one of the liberal parties.” Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, ix.

57. On Jewish voting, see Pulzer, *Jews and the German State*, 323. On socialism and Zionism, see Berkowitz, “‘Mind, Muscle, and Men,’” 112. Socialism became increasingly attractive to Jewish intellectuals and protest voters as a party that opposed antisemitism. Liberals did not fret over Prussia’s militarism; instead, Prussia was seen as progressive in education, communications, and its respect for technology. Contrary to myth, constitutionalism did succeed partially in the Kaiserreich, as well as legal and constitutional safeguards. See David Blackbourn, “The German Bourgeoisie: An Introduction,” in *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans (London: Routledge, 1991), 20–21. Ost und West flirted more with socialism than the party Zionists, who saw it as conflicting with their ideal of a liberalism that curtailed arbitrary government. At the same time, the journal seemed at times elitist and antidemocratic—despite the fact that considerable social and extralegal barriers to full legal emancipation remained at least until the Weimar period. In fact, the average Jewish voter, as a member of the German middle class, perceived socialism as immoderate and potentially destabilizing. See Pulzer, *Jews and the German State*, 139.


61. As of the mid-nineteenth century, the German bourgeoisie showed muted antagonism toward the aristocracy and toward the “uncivilized” and “dependent” peasantry. Blackbourn, “The German Bourgeoisie,” 14.

65. In contrast to the German-Jewish middle class, the Jewish traders of Galicia and the Pale often lived on the edge of destitution. And in the Weimar republic, non-Jewish Germans “caught up” with the Jews, achieving similar economic success. See Donald Niewyk, *The Jews of the Weimar Republic* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 11–21.
66. The gospel of work, for example, hastened the integration of Jewish men into the German middle classes. A number of contributors to *Ost und West* called for an immediate restructuring of Jewish occupations to stem the tide of German-Jewish upward mobility. In 1901 alone, see the two essays by Ernst Tuch, “Die wirtschaftliche Aufgabe der deutschen Judenheit” (January 1901): 55–58 and “Jüdische Bauern auf deutschem Boden” (July 1901): 499–512.
67. Ahad Ha-Am created his own elite, Masonic-like Jewish order called *Bnei Moshe*.
70. These successors to the early *maskilim* came from less prosperous families, and they took to heart the promise of Jewish national redemption. Part of the largest population boom in East European Jewish history, this group disseminated ethnic as well as secular Jewish identity. An entire generation aspired to be Hebrew or Yiddish writers, worshipping literature as an *Ersatztsalm*. See Dan Miron, *A Traveler Disguised: A Study in the Rise of Modern Yiddish Fiction in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Schocken, 1973).
73. Hence the rendering of Eastern-style cultural Zionism into German as *Kulturzionismus*. Whereas *Zivilisation* is roughly equivalent to “respectability,” *Kultur* also may refer to “civilization,” as in the frequent *Ost und West* phrase “Kultur und Bildung.”
76. Ibid., 153–54.
77. Ibid., 155.
78. Birnbaum and Ost und West developed an Eastern version of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, which called for scientific inquiry into Judaism and demanded that Jewry assume a role commensurate with its contributions to civilization.


85. Specifically, *Ost und West* used juxtaposition in the magazine itself, placing articles and images side by side in order to suggest the compatibility of Eastern and Western Jewish culture and to guide their reception.

86. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 47–49. Like much of the nationalist media, *Ost und West* also made “populist” concessions to lower-class groupings within the “nation”—specifically the Eastern Jews.


89. On the *Gebildeten*, see the contributions in *Das wilhelminische Bildungsbürgerum*, ed. Klaus Vondung (Göttingen: Vandenhoecck and Ruprecht, 1976). The *Bildungsbürgerum* was made up of civil officials (schoolteachers, clergymen, academicians) and members of the free professions, whereas the *Besitzbürgerum*, or propertyed bourgeoisie, included merchants, businessman, and independent master craftsmen. See Blackbourn, “The German Bourgeoise,” 3.

90. According to Syndram, the rhetoric of the *Kulturvorschau* consistently emphasized culture over politics. This resulted as much from German *Innerlichkeit* and distaste for interest politics as from censorship. See Syndram, *Kulturpublizistik*, 152–56. In contrast, *Ost und West* was rather political considering its tenuous status as an *Ostjuden*-sponsored magazine. A more significant parallel between German and Jewish *Rundschauzeitschriften* was that their producers shared a similar educational
background and similar attitudes on intermarriage, integration, the family, and leisure—in spite of the fact that they parted ways on ethnicity and religion.
91. Syndram, Kulturpublizistik, 154.

CHAPTER 3

1. Recognizing that all stereotypes are bipolar in nature, Ost und West, as indicated in chapter 1 above, adopted the characteristics usually associated with “ghetto” Jews—dishonesty, perversion, illness, etc.—for its stereotypes of Western “bad” Jews.


5. It is difficult to estimate the size of the intellectual audience of Ost und West. In 1902, Winz reported that the journal had a readership of 5,000 in its first year. See Sperlings Zeitschriften-Adressbuch. Hand- und Jahrbuch der deutschen Presse 41 (1902): 16. Such a high figure—if correct—suggests that German-Jewish intellectuals were not the sole readers of Ost und West at its inception. See the following chapters for profiles of other readers of the magazine.

6. Ost und West’s contribution to the so-called Jewish Renaissance went hand in hand with the vogue of literary naturalism, artistic Jugendstil, and secular Jewish culture. On the young Jewish avant-garde, see Mark H. Gelber, “Die jungejüdische Bewegung: An Unexplored Chapter in German-Jewish Literary and Cultural History,” Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute 31 (1986): 105–19.


8. Anti-Jewish sentiment was a part of university life since the early nineteenth century prior to the Wars of Liberation (Befreiungskriege). See Alfred D. Low, Jews in the Eyes of the Germans: From the Enlightenment to Imperial Germany (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979).


10. Even though most Eastern Jewish students in Germany hailed from the Pale of Settlement, many had little intention of returning permanently to Tsarist Russia. Jewish students in Austro-Hungary, in contrast, could attended universities in Vienna, Prague, Lemberg, and other places. The majority of Jewish Russians
studied medicine, a profession that permitted them more mobility once they had passed the hurdle of *numerus clausus*. Still, admission to medical and engineering colleges did not preclude all forms of discrimination.


12. Having persisted throughout the Wilhelminian period, academic Jew baiting was thought to have reached the apex of its popularity in 1912, only to reach new heights after the so-called fortress peace (Burgfrieden) of World War I, when expulsions of Eastern Jewish immigrants took place on a level not previously witnessed.

13. Negative views of the Jewish occupational structure have a long history and continued despite the antisemitism of World War I, as Socialist Zionists hoped that the rise of a laboring Jewish proletariat in Germany would transform traditional prejudices and demonstrate that not all Jews were unproductive capitalists. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*, 191.


15. The rise in conversions also reflects the prosperity of the final decades of the Wilhelminian empire. See Arthur Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart: Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Studie* (1911; Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920), 190. Moreover, 36 percent of all men leaving the *Gemeinde*—converts or dissidents—between 1873 and 1906 were members of the academic professions.

16. Richarz, ed., *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland* 2:15, 49–50. Trotzjuden formally renounced their membership in the Jewish community by choosing not to pay communal taxes (Gemeindestener). At the same time, Jews formed the overwhelming number of this class of Germans who were officially classified as *konfessionslos*. Even the antisemite court preacher Adolf Stoecker preferred Trotzjuden over converts and modernized, enlightened Jews. See Benjaim Segel, *Die Entdeckungsreise des Herrn Dr. Theodor Lessing zu den Ostjuden* (Lemberg: Hatikwah, 1910), 49.


18. For an early thematicization of the generation gap in *Ost und West*, see the discussion below of Ernst Guggenheim’s “Der Rabbi.” Demographically, the younger Jews of Germany were less numerous and more East European in origin than their elders.

19. Because the gains of 1869 and 1871 rapidly deteriorated into an era of antisemitism, the German-Jewish intellectual readers of *Ost und West* had a very different experience from their seniors. See Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte*, 360–61.


21. Fishman, *Ideology, Society and Language*, 64–65. Fishman extends the term *baalei teshuvah* to “genuine returners” (to be distinguished from “metaphorical returners”) in other movements which attempted to attain modernization without embracing so-called westernization. He finds such transethnified elites, for example, in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greek, Arabic, Slavic, and other contexts, arguing that they represent “a vastly overlooked subclass within the study of ethnicity movements” (85).

22. See the parodies on Buber, titled “Nach berühmten Mustern” and “Des Magiers Tod,” in *Der Schlemiel* (September 1, 1904): 76–78.
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25. Ibid.

26. See Winz, letter to Adolf Friedemann.


29. See Richarz, ed., Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland, 2: 34.

30. As maintained above, this crisis in middle-class identity was resolved by means of stereotyping. In the case of the Jewish parvenu stereotype, the combined fear of the parvenu and fear of the Eastern Jewish immigrant drew on existing antisemitic images.

31. Ost und West might accept Western-style modernization while at the same time pretending to shun contact with the West. At the same time as it demonized the most assimilated Westjuden, it also might participate in a dishonor-free form of Orientalism directed at the Jewish East. Like the “new ethnicity” that pervades the United States today, ethnic Judaism helped Jewish elites in the West maintain their economic and political influence over their perceived ethnic constituencies. See Richard H. Thompson, Theories of Ethnicity: A Critical Reappraisal (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

32. There exists no comprehensive and comparative history of parvenuism.

33. On the thesis of the “invisible” Jewish community, see Sorkin, The Transformation of German Jewry.


35. See the discussion below of Lothar Brieger-Wasservogel’s “Das alte Testament,” Ost und West (November 1901): 849–54. This story exemplifies the narrative tradition of anti-apostate, anti-parvenu fictions.

36. A typical early example of the Jewish parvenu stereotype is found in Karl A. B. Sessa’s drama Unser Verkehr: Eine Posse in einem Aufzug (1815; Leipzig: Dyckische Buchhandlung, 1816), a thoroughgoing satire of a ghetto Jew desperate
to become salonfähig. For a discussion of the popularity of the Jewish parvenu in non-Jewish media, see the analysis of the *Fliegende Blätter* in Wassermann, "The *Fliegende Blätter*," 126–27.


39. Few Western Jews were actually fanatical in their parvenuism, and of those who were, a number remained observant and sustained ties to other Jews; for examples, see Werner E. Mosse, *The German-Jewish Economic Elite, 1820–1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 13–23. Fully aware of the actual parvenus in a specific sense, Winz and his associates reasoned that if actual parvenus identified with Jewish religiosity and enlightened Judaism, its target audience of all German Jews would as well.

40. The following chapters analyze the nonintellectual audiences of *Ost und West*.

41. At a meeting with Berlin's liberal Jewish representatives who were inveighing against Eastern Jewish infiltration, Zionist leader Alfred Klee went around the room and demonstrated that without exception, those present were themselves from Posen, Breslau, or elsewhere in Poland, or at the very least had forebears from that part of the world; see Gronemann, "Erinnerungen," 137.


43. While success stories about Russian and Galician Jews who had built up business empires within one generation were not unheard of, it was statistically more likely in the *Kaiserreich* that Jewish family dynasties had humble Western or Central European origins. See Mosse, *The German-Jewish Economic Elite*, 11–12.

44. Hebrew-language debates on the *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment) regularly criticized Western Jewish social climbers.


48. Brieger-Wasservogel was a native of Freytag's hometown, Breslau, and, like Freytag, he went on to produce improbable and idiosyncratic works of pulp literature about Jews. Later, as a Zionist art critic, Brieger-Wasservogel utilized the stereotypes of *Rassenjudentum* in order to censure Jewish parvenuism and other Diaspora institutions for not providing "tough" Jewish role models.

49. To most Westjuden, idealized depictions of East European Jewry compensated for the loss of an unproblematic Jewish identity. In fact, much of the Eastern Jewish fiction carried in *Ost und West* likely was received by Westerners as an image of a simpler, premodern Judaism.


51. The Naturalist subgenre of the satirical sketch proves an excellent vehicle for the propagating of these stereotypes. As a "modern" magazine keeping pace with literary fashion, *Ost und West* was attracted by the Berlin Naturalism in its own backyard. The dominant prose genre of the *Moderne*, the *Skizze*, can be defined as follows: "Was das Märchen für die Romantik gewesen war, wurde die 'Studie' für den Naturalismus, denn wie die romantische Weltanschauung in jener Form zur vollen Entfaltung gekommen war, realisierte sich in dieser Form der von den Naturalisten erstrebte Lebensausschnitt ohne Anfang und Ende als Schilderung eines rein qualitativ gesehen, nie als 'komplett' anzugehenden Milieus. Man schuf keine eigengesetzliche Welt mehr. Man 'studierte' und beschrieb wissenschaftlich bloß die gegebene, von der man—weil sie rein quantitativ verstanden wurde—lediglich eine 'Skizze' bieten konnte." Roy Cowen, "Naturalismus," in *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Ehrhard Bahr (Tübingen: Francke, 1988), 3: 135.

52. Brieger-Wasservogel, more commonly known as Brieger, was born in Zürich, the son of an optometrist who was also a composer. Brieger spent most of his life as a book dealer in Berlin-Charlottenburg. His novel *Rene Richter: die Entwicklung eines modernen Juden. Berliner Roman in 3 Büchern* (Berlin: Schröder, 1906) is his best-known work on German Jewry. Further references are to the relevant issue and year of *Ost und West* with column numbers in parentheses.

53. The term *Altes Testament* underlines Goldstein's distance from Jewish traditions. The traditional terms would be *torah*, *torah* (*tora*), or *humash*. The double meaning of *Testament* as "witness" and "will" was the subject of many jokes by German Jews and Eastern Jews.

54. In "Das alte Testament," one military officer asks the other what such an interethnic couple is doing together. The other quips: "Wahrscheinlich will er [i.e., Goldstein] ihre alten Kleider kaufen" (849).

55. *Ost und West* offered prizes valued at 150 and 100 marks, respectively, for literary and artistic works.
56. This banishment was a modern version of the herem, excommunication from the Jewish religious community.

57. Ost und West’s literary contest, while an excellent marketing idea, was beset by problems. First disseminated in “Unsere Preisschreiben,” Ost und West (February 1902): 129–30, the results were not announced until the September issue. The art contest, to be judged by E. M. Lilien, Hermann Struck, and Lesser Ury, never even came to fruition. The judges of the literary contest, Theodor Lessing, Fabius Schach, and Berthold Feiwel, were all known for their use of literary stereotyping. Lessing himself was known for excoriating Eastern Jews and went on to write the first explicitly titled work on Jewish self-hatred, Jüdischer Selbsthaß (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag/Zionistischer Bücher-Bund, 1930). For his part, Schach indulged in reverse stereotyping in an article praising Yiddish, “Der deutsch-jüdische Jargon,” Ost und West (March 1901): 179–90. Feiwel, a major voice in the call for a Jewish Zeitroman, maintained in his anthology Jüdischer Almanach (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1902), that Jews possessed a “rassentümlicher Einschlag,” a racially based element.

58. See Horch, Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur; 240.

59. Herzl’s “Mauschel” was reprinted in the special Herzl issue of Ost und West (August–September 1904): 545–50.

60. By all accounts, roughly 5 percent of the Berlin population at the turn of the century was Jewish. In addition, it is no accident that the opponents of Haschalah referred to the Jewish Enlighteners as Berliner. See Jakob Katz, “Vom Ghetto zum Zionismus: Gegenseitige Beeinflussung von Ost und West,” Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts 64 (1983): 9.


62. Siegbert Salter (pseudonym for Simon Salomon) was born in 1873 in Speicher near Trier. Son of a businessman, he studied in Bonn, Heidelberg, and Berlin and later lived in Paris, London, and Milan, writing for popular magazines such as Die Kavalle, Die Zeit im Bilde, and Das Leben im Bilde and editing Europa auf Reise. The first fiction of Salter’s printed in Ost und West was “Kleine Ursachen” (October 1904): 709–14, featuring a parvenu Jew. The eleven-year-old Jewish hero of the novella, Máxchen, inherits the hypocrisy of the older generation, growing into a self-hating assimilationist as an adult. The sketch is not, however, set among Berlin’s Tiergartenjudentum.


64. Mann wrote Wältsungenblut in 1905 but withdrew it from publication in the Neue Rundschau on the suggestion of Oskar Bie (a Jew and the journal’s editor).
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While it was finally published (in a limited edition) in 1921, it is not unlikely that it, like Mann’s other unpublished works, already had been talked about beyond the Munich literary scene. Regardless of whether Mann’s novella preceded Salter’s, the trope of the Tiergartenparvenu was timely and thus available for any writer to use.

65. “White Negro” may have originated with Houston Stewart Chamberlain. See Gilman, Jewish Self-Hatred, 172–75. See also Clementine Krämer, “Getauft,” Ost und West (January 1913): 77–80. In this short sketch, the analogy is made that blacks cannot become white by means of a ceremony. Der Schlemiel at times stereotyped blacks in order to elevate Jews. See, for instance, the March 1904 issue, or any issue with the “Brief aus Afrika.” The identification with the African is a recurring theme of Jewish writing in this epoch; often the black person takes the semiotic place of the Eastern Jew. See Sander L. Gilman, ed., On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982); and Reinhold Grimm and Jost Herman, eds., Blacks and German Culture: Essays (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

66. For a complete discussion of Jewish self-hatred in relation to Ost und West, see the conclusion to this study.


68. See Jürgen Born, Kafka’s Bibliothek: Ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1990), 116; Kafka, letter to Felice Bauer, 59. Herrmann Kafka was not a Galician or Russian Jew but a Moravian Jew and thus relatively westernized. For this reason, Franz Kafka was justified in considering him a West European Jew since birth.

69. After 1880, each pogrom was worse than the previous one, and they also occurred with greater frequency. Ost und West published several graphic photos of Jews slain in self-defense. According to David Roskies, “in all the pogroms of 1881–1883, fewer Jews were killed than in Kishinev during Passover of 1903. The forty-nine casualties of Kishinev, in turn, paled before the 800 dead in the pogroms of 1905–1906. . . . To compound the irony, each wave of violence was preceded by a period of hope: the pogroms of the 1880s followed the liberalization under Alexander II. Kishinev was supposed to usher in a century of promise.” David Roskies, Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 82–83.

70. When refugees from the pogroms arrived in Berlin, even wealthy Jews such as the Tietz family housed and cared for them. See the Georg Tietz memoir, quoted in Annekret Ehmann et al., Juden in Berlin, 1671–1945: Ein Lesebuch (Berlin: Nicolai, 1988), 159.

71. Notwithstanding the overwhelming number of failures within five years of startup, most new periodicals in the Kaiserreich were founded roughly between 1896 and 1914. Foundings of newspaper and book enterprises were also more frequent in this epoch.

72. For more on the relationship of Ost und West to the Alliance, see chapter 1 above and chapter 4 below.

73. Ostjuden in Germany, however, also had Russian, Hebrew, and Yiddish periodicals at their disposal and did not have to rely solely on an organ such as Ost und West.
Chapter 4

1. In prefacing two letters from Solomon Munk (a German founder of the Alliance) to his friend Bernhard Weiss, M. A. Klausner uses direct address (“schöne Leserin”)—evidence of an appeal to women readers. The theme strikes at the heart of Ost und West’s and of women’s concerns: Munk claims to have persuaded a former girlfriend not to convert. See Bernhard Weiss, “Zwei Freunde (Ungedruckte Briefe von Salomon Munk aus den Jahren 1827–1860),” Ost und West (June 1908): 373–86.

2. Without a doubt, male identity was an issue for the Russian and Galician men who produced Ost und West (see the discussion of Jewish masculinity in chapter 5 below). Moreover, the Jewish Renaissance and Jewish nationalism were mostly male-driven affairs, at least in the public sphere. The pre-1906 parvenu narratives in Ost und West were thus meant to reflect the intellectual predilections of the journal’s core audience, and for these Western-educated men, culture was a more pressing concern than gender.

3. In pre–World War I Germany, Eastern Jewish women were outnumbered by their male compatriots. Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class, 5.

4. Some of the female readers of Ost und West may have been Orthodox Jews, for the tendency toward women’s equality in civic life, Jewish life, and education even affected Orthodox women. Many read Nahida Ruth–Lazarus’s Das jüdische Weib (Leipzig: G. Lau dien, 1892), which glorified great Jewish women of the past, and Ellen Key’s Das Jahrhundert des Kindes, trans. Marie Franzos (Berlin: Fischer, 1903), which had an “overwhelming impact on Orthodox women and girls.” Mordechai Breuer, Modernity within Tradition: The Social History of Orthodox Jewry in Imperial Germany, trans. Elizabeth Peutschowski (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 279.


6. On the virtual equivalence of Eastern and ghetto after 1850, see Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, 7.


8. Ost und West understood that the German–Jewish subculture was reformulating German culture, not merely copying its manners and mores. For a similar reading of imitation and assimilation, see Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994), 85–92. Contrast Paula E. Hyman, Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 19XX), 27–28.

9. See the review of Felix Perles, Boussets “Religion des Judentums im neuestenweltlichen Zeitalter” kritisch untersucht (Berlin: Wolf Peiser, 1903), by A. D. Bender (a pseudonym for Binjamin Segel?), “Eine Apologie des Judentums,” Ost und West (July 1903): 427–32. Here Bender lists fifteen prowoman quotes from Talmud. On the idealization of Jewish women, see Binjamin Segel, “Die Frau im jüdischen Sprichwort,” Ost und West (May 1903): 167–76. Segel claims to have found no sayings that Jewish women were “unfaithful” or “promiscuous.”
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10. On the Jewish salon women at the turn of the century, see Deborah Hertz, Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). The salons of Berlin Jews at the close of the eighteenth century were only the prologue to what became a social revolution in Western Europe: the division of labor into private and public spheres and the subsequent rise of domestic middle-class culture. On the ambivalent modern and traditional nature of German-Jewish women, see Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class.

11. See Kafka, letter to Felice Bauer, 59.


13. The role played by non-Jewish bourgeois in German culture and society has been similarly underestimated.


15. According to Marion Kaplan, “the language of class formation was gendered” for Jewish women in the Kaiserreich. Kaplan draws on Davidoff and Hall, who argue that “consciousness of class always takes a gendered form.” See Lenora Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850 (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 450, quoted in Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class, 231.

16. See Andrew Heinze, Adapting to Abundance: Jewish Immigrants, Mass Consumption, and the Search for American Identity (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 4–8. The rise of an urban-oriented Jewish culture was much more rapid in America than in Germany. Historians have fostered the myth of the monumental, culture-producing Jews of Germany by emphasizing production-oriented history at the expense of a consumption orientation. This study of Ost und West should be understood as a preliminary investigation of the consumption history of this group. Like their counterparts in the United States, Eastern Jews who migrated to Western Europe in the nineteenth century may have used the ownership of luxury items to express a change in their identities. The possession of luxury items, such as those advertised repeatedly in Ost und West, also signaled a degree of integration into German society.


18. Ibid., 133.


20. See Maurer, Ostjuden in Deutschland, 723.

21. “Ost und West,” 2. See also Leo Winz Papers, A136/42.

22. In the same programmatic editorial of 1901, Ost und West appealed to the “modern”—that is, enlightened or Westernized—Jew (compare the journal’s
subtitle until March 1906: “Illustrierte Monatsschrift für modernes Judentum”). The vague but fashionable term modern would have appealed equally to female and male readers. On gender, magazines, and advertising, see Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor*.


24. According to Winz, “‘Ost and West’ z. b. musste trotz verhältnismäßig hoher Abonnementsgebühren ca. vierzigtausend Mark jährlich zu den Abonnenten buchmaessig zulegen und konnte nur durch Inserate diesen Verlust nebst einem erheblichen Gewinn wieder einbringen.” See Leo Winz, letter to the Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin, July 12, 1927, Leo Winz Papers, A136/49. Acquiring advertisers was hard work, involving approximately thirty visits to customers and one hundred letters of solicitation per month. In addition, only 5 percent of the firms advertising in Ost und West were owned by Jews; the figure was equally low for the Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin.

25. Rural non-Jewish women believed that German-Jewish middle-class women were on the cutting edge of fashion. See Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 31.


27. Ernst Keil’s *Die Gartenlaube* (founded in 1853) inaugurated the tradition of the Familienblatt (“family journal”) and was the most popular German-language periodical of the epoch. See Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1833–1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming). See also D. Brenner, “Reconciliation before Auschwitz.”

28. On average wages, see Walther G. Hoffmann, *Das Wachstum der deutschen Wirtschaft seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1965), 461, 469, 489. Ost und West was affordable not only to the haute bourgeoisie but also to lower-middle-class Jews in Germany, indeed even to Eastern Jews there. A worker’s household budget published in 1900 provides an idea of the value placed on reading: 2 percent of the yearly income was spent on books, and 4 percent went for newspapers and magazines. Moreover, a week’s wages for a German worker at the turn of the century averaged at least ten marks, though the average workday in 1880 was twelve hours long (compared with eight hours as first legislated in 1919). It is difficult to assess how much money workers had at their disposal in order to pay six months of a subscription in advance, as was customary for periodicals at the time. At the same time, even lower-class Germans appear to have had extra leisure time to spend with books, magazines, and newspapers. See Reinhard Meyer, *Novelle und Journal*, vol. 1, *Titel und Normen: Untersuchungen zur Terminologie der Journalprosa, zu ihren Tendenzen, Verhältnissen und Bedingungen* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1987), 21.

29. One example is Else Croner [-Kretschmer], *Die moderne Jüdin* (Berlin: Axel Juncker, 1913).

30. To an extent, Ost und West sought to keep stride with new feminine ideals, such as the “New Woman Type.” In addition, the so-called Jugendstil directly influenced the magazine’s layout and self-presentation. Instead of raising Jewish bourgeois to be “Salome-like” marriage properties, one commentator in Ost und West suggested applying the English model of “vitality,” being fresh, wealthy,


32. Ibid., 57–58. See Theodor Zlocisti, “Jüdische Volkslesehallen,” *Ost und West* (April 1903): 277–82. Even Zlocisti’s complaints that Jewish women were not reading Jewish books and journals seem to be directed at Jewish women. Zlocisti criticizes the “daily press, chlorotic magazines [Zeitschriften], syrup novels,” but he suggests that Jewish journalism will one day supersede the reading of books (282). He also cites the tradition of women reading Yiddish texts (especially translations of the Bible and of liturgical texts).

33. Correspondingly, only 18 percent of German-Jewish women worked outside the home in 1907, compared to 31 percent of their non-Jewish counterparts. See Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 158.

34. Fearing that modern, independent young girls would become less feminine, Orthodox German Jews were not prepared to open the way for women to study at universities, but they admitted they had the aptitude for it. Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 280.


37. Ibid.

38. In an age of competing claims of what constituted Jewishness, welfare and philanthropy became primary expressions of Jewish identity, especially Jewish female identity. In the nineteenth century, mutual aid societies became widely developed among German Jews. Between 1870 and 1899, no fewer than 297 new Jewish welfare associations (*Wohlfahrtsvereine*) were established in the *Kaiserreich*. See ibid., 202–4. Not coincidentally, the years between 1896 and 1914 represent the most prosperous period in an otherwise economically depressed Imperial Germany.


40. Examples include Lina Morgenstern, Jeanette Schwerin, Henriette Goldschmidt, and Alice Salomon (1872–1948). See Kaplan, *The Jewish Feminist Movement*, 82. In addition, the widespread participation of Jews in social welfare proves that these Jewish women maintained an identity separate from that of other German middle-class women, even at the dawn of the twentieth century. Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 21.

41. German-Jewish women, who had always participated in both Jewish and non-Jewish guilds for women, were now potential members of male-dominated organizations. Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 68–69.

42. Ibid.

43. *Paternalism* is defined as a system under which an authority (male or female) undertakes to supply the needs and regulate the conduct of social inferiors such as *Ostjuden*.
44. Baron Hirsch's Jewish Colonial Association was a philanthropic, liberal organization established in 1891 which worked closely with the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

45. The 1913 restatement of the Alliance’s goals by its secretary, Jacques Bigart, may have been a response to Western Jewish women's concern about the so-called white slave trade. In addition to building schools, Bigart sees it as a fundamental responsibility of the Alliance to “raise up” Oriental Jewish women through education and the inculcation of bourgeois virtue. See Jacques Bigart, “Die Tätigkeit der A.I.U. in der Türkei (Vortrag des Herrn J. Bigart, gehalten am 24. Mai 1913 in der jüdischen Volksuniversität zu Paris),” Ost und West (October 1913): 819–34. This address appeared under the rubric “Mitteilungen des Central-Comités der Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris.” It should also be noted that Segel’s “Philosophie der Zerstreung” appeared in Ost und West before the Alliance agreed in 1906 to finance part of the journal’s production.

46. The giving of money served as an entry ticket into Jewish culture, and Zionists strove to render this gesture “visible and dignified.” See Berkowitz, “‘Mind, Muscle, and Men,’” 294.

47. Ost und West's strategy of charitable paternalism was sincerely designed to attract the female Western Jewish reader to the preservation of Eastern Jewish culture. The journal’s “maternalistic” project thus should be seen as part of its conscious promotion of Eastern Jewish nationalism. Not only a leading publicity organ for relief efforts in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, Ost und West also served as a patron to Eastern Jewish artists and writers.


49. See Wertheimer, Unwelcome Strangers, 149. The possibilities (and limitations) of East-West Jewish relations are partly symbolized by Winz's marriage to Else Jacoby. The betrothal took place in Czechoslovakia, for Jacoby might have lost her German citizenship and even risked deportation by marrying a noncitizen such as Winz. Still, it was more common for German-Jewish women (who were, especially after World War I, numerically greater than German-Jewish men) to marry Eastern Jewish men than for German-Jewish men to marry Jewish women from the East.

50. For a slightly different view, see Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class, 192. Kaplan prefers the term acculturation to describe the goal of female Jewish philanthropists with respect to immigrant Eastern Jews.

51. See Wertheimer, Unwelcome Strangers.

52. See Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class, 198.


55. Pimps involved in the white slave trade also promised Eastern Jewish women positions as household servants; this was a ruse to lure them into prostitution. Also, a large percentage of former maids became prostitutes. Kaplan, The Jewish Feminist Movement, 103–7.

56. In actuality, German-Jewish women might have viewed a marriage to a
composer as marrying "down." Personal communication from Professor Marion Kaplan, October 3, 1993. See also Ost und West's first literary-historical piece, Ludwig Geiger's "Der Estherstoff in der neuen Litteratur" (January 1901): 27–34. The biblical Queen Esther was a key figure in this debate on apostasy. Although married to the non-Jew Ahasuerus, she still acts on behalf of her people.


58. For an early example of the belle juive image, see the character of Laurabella in Moritz Hartmann, "Bei Kunstreitern," Ost und West (March 1901): 211–22.

59. Because they appeared at Passover season, this and other March and April issues of Ost und West took on a certain importance; the same was true of issues appearing at the time of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

60. Rothstein is an early instance of the "jazz singer" motif.

61. The antisemites harp on the imagined belief that Rothstein has money (269).

62. See Kunstverlag Phönic, Illustrierter Katalog (Berlin: Kunstverlag Phönic, 1903).

63. In this passage, Schach makes it appear that the fight against Jewish parvenuism was originally a Western Jewish idea.

64. The original German quote is as follows: "Ich sitze des nachts in meinem Kämmerlein beim Kerzenschein und lese verstohlen deutsche Bücher, mit einem heiligen Schauer, wie ein zarte Jungfrau, die die Liebesbeteuerungen ihres Auserwählten liest."

65. The original German quote is as follows: "Und über mich kommt es wie ein himmliches Rauschen, wie wenn eine neue, lichte, freie Seele in mich einzöge. Und jedes deutsche Gedicht ist mir eine Offenbarung, jeder neue Gedanke ein Quell reinen Wissens, und mich packt eine wilde, verzehrende Sehnsucht, hinaus aus der dumpfen Atmosphäre, aus der Welt der starren Formeln und toten Buchstaben! hinaus in die Welt der Schönheit und Freiheit! Die erste knospenhafte Liebe kann nie zarter, heiliger aufkeimen als diese Bildungsinbrunst."

66. Schach became more westernized himself. Starting in World War I, he became a publicist for the liberal, antidefamation Centralverein, an act regarded by some as a defection from the Zionist movement.

67. See the journal's programmatic statement, "Ost und West."

68. See the discussion of the literary contest above in chapter 3.

69. It is unlikely that the many visual images of Eastern Jewish men and boys in Ost und West were intended to keep Western Jewish women's desires in check, to keep them from marrying—or lusting after—Gentile men. On the pale, gentle, "effeminate" Talmud scholar (yeshivah bokher) as a marriage—and potential erotic—object for Jewish women in the nineteenth century, see Boyarin, Unheroic Conduct, 68–73, 157.

70. An alternative spelling is Glitzstein.
71. Interestingly, the Prinzregent of Bavaria who let Glicenstein paint his portrait was not bothered by the artist's deficient German.


73. Much of the published research on the life and work of Baum, arguably the first female literary celebrity of twentieth-century Germany, omits any discussion of her Jewish background. Indeed, Baum herself was eager to disown her Jewishness, as her posthumously published autobiography (*Es war alles ganz anders* [Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1987; originally published 1962]) makes abundantly clear. At one point in the memoir, which was posthumously edited by her daughter-in-law (Ruth Lert), Baum claims that her father's ancestors may have been (non-Jewish?) Swabians (*Es war*, 137). Specifically, the memoir reveals ambivalent attitudes toward Jews. Such attitudes were not atypical for a person raised in fin-de-siècle Vienna, yet Baum's father—the parent of Jewish descent—is primarily described in negative terms, as "shabby," "ugly," "humped over," "uncouth," and a "schlemiel," not to speak of associations with homosexuality, spying, and megalomania (*Es war* 90–99, 105–9). The widespread anxiety of mixed-race Jews in this epoch concerning their creativity, virtue, and intelligence may illuminate Baum's love-hate relationship with her Jewish parent, as chronicled in a chapter of the autobiography titled "My Father, My Enemy." See Sander Gilman, *Smart Jews: The Construction of the Image of Jewish Superior Intelligence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 142–43.

74. Like Winz, Baum also had an understanding of mass market appeal, and it is no accident that she became a pop icon at the end of the "Golden Twenties." On the latter, see King, *Best-sellers by Design*.

75. The "star system" and "the picture personality" such as Mary Pickford have been dated by film historians to late 1909, at the time when "quality films" produced by Vitagraph and Biograph were experiencing a boom and were being heavily exported to Europe. The event-driven focus of Baum's technique in "Rafael Gutmann" brought narrative flow and film elements to the conventional ghetto novella (*Ghettogeschichte*).

76. Often, Jewish women artists are characterized in the terms reserved for male colleagues: "restrained melancholy" and full of "deep inner feeling" (*Innerlichkeit*). But usually they are marginalized. Heinz Schnabel asks, "why do great German women talents act masculine?" and he notes that Käthe Kollwitz (1864–1945) "does work impossible for a female." See Heinz Schnabel, "Sophie Blum-Lazarus," *Ost und West* (June 1908): 357–60. The best example for the eroticization of Jewish women, especially Eastern Jewish women, is the art of Leo Bakst, featured in the September 1912 and March 1913 issues. More traditional Jewish women would have objected to images of naked women in the magazine.

77. A quote from the commentary: "An interesting needlework. . . . A piece, like this curtain here, should serve as a model to our women."

78. Managing a mikve suggests that the protagonist is Eastern Jewish in background though not necessarily an immigrant from Eastern Europe.

79. These photos (notably absent from the magazine's table of contents) were reprinted from E. N. Adler's *Vom Ghetto zu Ghetto*, reviewed under "Literarische Rundschau," *Ost und West* (January 1910): 41–44; Adler's book is also critical of the Alliance. See also the series of photos of the New York Lower East Side ghetto, titled "Aus dem New Yorker Judenviertel," *Ost und West* (July 1909): 461–66. The advent
of photography may have made it more difficult to imagine the ghetto in Baum's terms. See, for instance, Stephanie Forchheimer, "Ein Gang durch das Judenviertel in Amsterdam," Ost und West (November 1913): 889–96.


82. Yet the Judengasse where Rafael lives resembles the Jewish quarter of Vienna.

83. Rafael's namesake in Herman Heijermans's (1864–1924) socialist work Ghetto, an 1899 drama of the Amsterdam Judenviertel, does not give in to his father. Also, the character of Menkis is related to that of the blind father in Heijermans's Ghetto.

84. Winz and Segel (who spent much of his time in Vienna) can be credited with having "discovered" Baum or at least with having had contact with his husband, Max Pres.

85. The analysis in note 78 above is also valid for Rafael and his family.

86. Hans Otto Horch maintains that there is a basic ambivalence inherent in ghetto fictions. See Horch, Auf der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur, 165–68. It might be added that this is conditioned by competing receptions of the Ghettogeschichte.

87. A recent example of criticism of the Diaspora is the Israeli disdain for most expressions of Diaspora culture, including Yiddish culture, which dominated until the 1970s.


89. Quoted in Mathias Acher (Nathan Birnbaum), “Ghetto,” Ost und West (March 1903): 537. The original German quote is: "Wenn jemand verkündet 'unser ganzes Volk ist entartet'—warum nicht, wenn er dieses ganze Volk mit seiner Seele liebt?"

90. Baum's fiction was influenced not only by the already familiar colonializing narratives sponsored by the Alliance and by Ost und West but also by the tradition of the Dorf- und Ghettogeschichte set in Europe. There is no canonical Jewish "ghetto story," and most attempts to define the genre have been haphazard and oversimplified. Most of all, the diversity of Jewish populations in Europe and their modes of expression renders illusory any attempt to characterize the ghetto story adequately. Nearly every size of settlement is depicted (village, town, city), and nearly every region where Jews settled brought forth its own ghetto poets (Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Ukraine, Russia, etc.). From Posen to Moscow and from Prague to Odessa, the Jewish ghetto was part of the landscape—not to speak of areas beyond Eastern Europe. The Ghettogeschichte shows correspondences with the vogue of regionality in German and other literatures, beginning with Realism of 1848 and extending to Naturalism and the Heimatkunstbewegung (e.g., Liliencron, Viebig, Thoma, Hauptmann). The last obstacle to a binding definition is the fact that the literary genres employed (sketch, novella, novel) and the type of authorial intent

91. Instead of judging Ost und West by a rigid standard of consistency, we can see it as a set of coexisting compatibilities. This explanation accounts for the fact that the journal attracted opposing audiences.


93. Exotic descriptions of Jews praying have a long history in European culture. Goethe describes a rabbi in the Frankfurt ghetto as praying with “fanatic zeal . . . repulsive enthusiasm, wild gesticulations . . . confused murmurings . . . piercing outcries . . . effeminate movements . . . the queerness of an ancient nonsense.” See Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*, 7.

94. For Baum, language is intimately connected with cultural difference. The holy language of the Jews, like their vernacular Yiddish, is marked by corrupting influence and is described as “a strange sing-song . . . distorted by an excessive number of screeching sounds (Quetschblauten).” This causes Rafael to slowly “unlearn” the “language of the city” (“Rafael Gutmann,” 135). The caricature of Jewish speech in German culture, especially of Yiddish, goes back to Karl B. A. Sessa’s *Unser Verkehr*, but it is not present in all ghetto stories. Unlike *Mauscheln*, which parodies a native Yiddish speaker’s attempts to speak “proper” German, the typologizing of the “improper” Jewish characters in “Rafael Gutmann” is a fairly neutral reproduction of how one dialect of Yiddish may have sounded in the Viennese milieu where Baum grew up. (In fact, Baum’s attitudes toward Yiddish are somewhat more nuanced in her autobiography: “Jiddisch—eine größere Schande war nicht möglich für die verfeinerten und ihrer Umgebung sorgsam angepaßten österreichischen und deutschen Juden” [Es war, 86]). Nevertheless, Yiddish retains the markings of degeneracy in the story, participating in the centuries-old discourse of the language of the Jew. In the 1922 version of the story, which appeared in a rather different contest (the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*), the Yiddish was completely Germanized (Baum, “Raffael”).

95. Sander Gilman uses this phrase repeatedly in his works.

97. Ost und West’s reviewer was ambivalent regarding Weininger, agreeing on his view of women but defending Judaism as a great religion. See Bernhard Münz, “Das Judentum in der Beleuchtung eines jungen Philosophen,” Ost und West (December 1903): 823–26.

98. See Baum, Es war, 196.

99. Rafael seems different to his employer, who, as if acting in unison with the dictates of Freudian symbolism, requires Rafael to put another cold, salted carp on ice before leaving.

100. The reader is implicitly asked to compare the pleasant odors of the Gentile city with the stereotypical Eastern Jewish smell of garlic and onions. Similar olfactory prejudices are discussed at length by Weiner in Richard Wagner, 24–25. According to Weiner, Tristan “came to be viewed by Wagner’s contemporary audiences as an explicitly erotic work, shocking to bourgeois sensibilities of the time. . . . If such a response seems all too literal to listeners today, it may serve to underscore the distance between Wagner’s world and our own; in Wagner’s time, his music—like his texts and stage directions—was both intended and perceived to convey physiological states.” Isolde’s orgasmic apotheosis and union with her lover at the conclusion to the drama are accompanied by unparalleled aromas, for Tristan und Isolde is “the most synesthetic of Wagner’s synesthetic works, and the highly charged Oedipal nature of its suggestive psychological content is enhanced by the aesthetic merging of elements in the text. In Tristan und Isolde the borders are sexual, social, and olfactory; a sexual union is implied in the union of sense perceptions, and the union is, in terms of the society depicted in the drama, a forbidden one” (201–2).

101. The femme fatale Corinna is not the first non-Jewish woman to disappoint a Jewish male in Ost und West. See also the character of Elsa in Hartmann’s “Bei Kunstreitern” and the diva character in Heinrich York-Steiner, “Korianter, der Chasan” (October 1904): 687–92, (November 1904): 783–90, and (December 1904): 859–72.

102. Jewish women, in particular, attended opera and theater in numbers far exceeding their proportion within the German population. If the multiple references to it in her memoirs are any indication, Tristan und Isolde was Vicki Baum’s favorite opera in Wagner’s repertoire. Baum, Es war; 62, 137, 191.

103. Wagner’s “Das Judenthum in der Musik” (Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, September 3 and 6, 1850) appeared anonymously in its early editions. Weininger was doubtless familiar with it—and the fact that its author was Wagner.

104. Weininger, Geschlecht und Charakter, 404 (Sex and Character, 305).

105. Compare Thomas Mann’s early stories, where Wagner functions as a destructive decadent, a threat to bourgeois stability. For a somewhat different interpretation of Wagner, Jewishness, and masculinity, see Boyarin, Unheroic Conduct, 73–79.


108. Jewish antisemitism and self-hatred will be discussed at length in chapter 5 below.
109. It would be valuable to compare the reception of “Rafael Gutmann” when it appeared elsewhere; for instance, in the Illustrirte Zeitung (Leipzig; October 12, 1922; October 19, 1922; November 2, 1922) under the title “Rafael Gutmann.”


111. By projecting fear of her own inadequacy onto Rafael, Baum also may have been distancing herself from the charge that Jews were egotistical careerists. Compare the discussion below of “Die Lehrerin.”

112. As discussed already, Hugo Kaufmann’s sculpture “Freiheit” was carefully juxtaposed with “Rafael Gutmann” to promote a more acceptable image of masculinity.

113. On Segel’s neutrality and objectivity as a writer, see chapter 5 below.

114. The existence here of moderate Jewish nationalist discourse that denigrates effeminate East European Jews also feeds into later Zionist critiques of Diaspora life in the post-Holocaust era.

115. To advance his doctrine of Jewish empowerment through self-help, Segel adduced historical examples and enlisted horror stories of pogroms in his writings. Although he almost always used a pseudonym (having been persona non grata in Zionist circles since the Altneuland affair), his commentaries were easily recognizable by means of their well-crafted and often audacious rhetoric.

116. Editorial disclaimers in Ost und West may have served merely as a marketing ploy in order to create suspense.

117. “Der stille Pogrom. Wehruf eines russischen Juden” also puts to rest suspicions that Ost und West had somehow allied itself with the Jewish establishment between 1906 and 1914.

118. Although Paul Breines does not include Ost und West in his study, his discussion of Jewish attitudes toward masculinity since the nineteenth century applies to the journal. See Paul Breines, Tough Jews: Political Fantasies and the Moral Dilemma of American Jewry (New York: Basic Books, 1990).


120. In 1912 Ost und West had more pages than ever. In general, page numbers underwent a rise and fall, from 968 in 1901, to around 850 until 1907, then slight decline in high 700s until 1910 (814) then a jump to 1144 and to 1200 in 1912, then dropping to 1000 in 1913 and 696 in 1914 and declining through 1923.

121. Contemporaneous to the victory of the new generation of Zionists was the so-called Kunstwurddebate unleashed by Moritz Goldstein. See Moritz Goldstein, “Deutsch-Jüdischer Parnass,” Der Kunstwart (March 1912): 281–94. A scandal erupted over this essay, in which Goldstein maintained that Jews dominated the culture industry in Germany. Goldstein went on to argue that Jews should choose between German and Hebrew culture. For a complete discussion, see Horch, Auf
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der Suche nach der jüdischen Erzählliteratur; 227–36; see also Eloni, Zionismus in Deutschland, 266–69.

122. To produce a fiction that might overcome “Rafael Gutmann,” Segel also knew he would have to come up with a character negative enough to overshadow Rafael’s weakness of resolve. At the same time, the presumed setting of “Die Lehrerin” in Poland was meant to deflect attention away from more relevant arenas such as Vienna or Berlin.

123. Rotwelsch is the common designation for the Germanic thieves’ jargon. It is related to Yiddish and a clue that the Christian teacher is a stand-in for a Western Jewish bourgeoisie. The technique of indirect free speech (erlebte Rede) and the fact that the characters are unnamed both heighten reader involvement in “Die Lehrerin.”

124. On Jewish women and careers, see Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class, 168–91. The Jewish teacher in “Die Lehrerin” not only edits a literary magazine for the young but also yearns to have her own private academy to preside over.

125. For all her advantages, the good Gentile does not look superior in Segel’s depiction; her approach to education and welfare is “maternalistic.” The critique is therefore of both women.

126. Ost und West ultimately contradicted the norms of androcentric Jewish literary history, according to which only Jewish males produce Jewish culture. On androcentric reading, see Patricimio P. Schwickert, “Reading Ourselves: Toward a Feminist Theory of Reading,” in Speaking of Gender, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York: Routledge, 1989), 17–44.

CHAPTER 5

1. On the problematic use of the term Mittelstand in German historiography, see Childers, “The Social Language of Politics in Germany.”


3. With the exception of the histories of German-Jewish women already cited (e.g., Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class), few historians have attempted to differentiate German-Jewish men from their female counterparts in a systematic manner, particularly for the period of the Kaiserreich and in the realm of audience studies.


7. For an introduction to these post-Holocaust stereotypes, see ibid., 421–24.

8. See the works of Volkov, Aschheim, Kaplan, and others, cited above.


11. Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class, 220. For similar arguments, see Deutsche jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945, Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, ed., 3rd ed. (Bonn: Mittler, 1987), 59–60. For a more in-depth treatment, see Egmont Zechlin, Die deutsche Politik und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1969). István Déák’s arguments also point to heightened Jewish chauvinism for the Axis powers: “World War I marked the apogee of Jewish participation in the life of Central Europeans. In the delirious enthusiasm of August 1914, Jews were among the greatest enthusiasts. They endorsed the war, in part because the enemy was the antisemitic Russian empire, in part because the outcome of the conflict promised to bring their final and complete acceptance. Jewish writers and journalists did signal service as war propagandists, and thousands of Jewish reserve officers willingly assumed command of their troops. Never again would Jews be allowed to play such a dignified role in the history of German-Austrians, Magyars, and Slavs. Yet it appears that for the first time in the history of the monarchy, the valor of individual Jewish soldiers did not help to dampen antisemitism. As the situation worsened, the right-wing press increasingly attacked the Jews, despite censorship, for their alleged cowardice, war profiteering, and treason.” István Déák, “Jewish Soldiers in Austro-Hungarian Society,” 34th Annual Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1990), 21–22.

12. See especially Jakob Segall, Die deutschen Juden als Soldaten im Kriege, 1914–1918 (Berlin: Philo Verlag, 1922), 38; and Franz Oppenheimer, Die Judenstatistik des preußischen Kriegsministeriums (Munich: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1922). For a summary of the above arguments, see Rolf Vogel, Ein Stück von uns: Deutsche Juden in deutschen Armeen 1813–1976: Eine Dokumentation (Mainz: Hase and Koehler, 1977), 8–9. Of 100,000 German-Jewish soldiers in World War I, approximately 12,000 were reported as dead or missing, approximately 30,000 (30 percent) decorated, more than 20,000 promoted (20 percent). Of those promoted, 2,000 (2 percent) became officers. In the same proportion as non-Jews, 20 percent of Jewish men fought in the conflict. The percentage of Jewish casualties was also roughly equivalent. In similar proportion to their German compatriots, 80 percent of Jewish soldiers served at the front and only 20 percent behind the lines.


14. For but one example of such revisionist historiography, see Gershon Scholem, “On the Social Psychology of the Jews in Germany.”


16. See ibid., 181.

17. Breuer, Modernity within Tradition, 385. Some Orthodox Jewish spokesmen asserted that their support for the war originated in Jewish values. See, for instance,
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Joseph Wohlgemuth, *Der Weltkrieg im Lichte des Judentums* (Berlin: Jeschurun, 1915). This book was based on wartime articles appearing in his journal *Jeschurun* between 1914 and 1915.

18. It is not far-fetched to compare the experience of German-Jewish soldiers with that of Russian-Jewish soldiers, nearly all of whom, prior to World War I, were forced to convert.

19. The number of traditionally observant young men who volunteered for the military was probably larger than the ratio of Orthodox Jews to the total number of German Jews; see Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 385. Nonetheless, rabbis serving as chaplains were limited in their sphere of influence, and Orthodox ones were all but excluded from service; see ibid., 388–89.


23. See Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture*.

24. For an example of the linkage of the two stereotypes, see Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 2: 316.


27. For the nineteenth century, G. Mosse cites the case of a well-known liberal rabbi: “During the 1830s, Gotthold Salomon inveighed against the danger presented by vacillating men who were described as effeminate and debauched. Like his Protestant colleagues, he blamed such unsteadiness upon the fulfillment of desire, just as gratification of sensuality must needs produce criminals. But there is a tone of urgency here, an effort to stress the image of masculinity so central to the concept of respectability as over against the prevailing stereotype of the Jew.” Mosse, “Jewish Emancipation,” 6.

28. In *Ost und West*, Jews were called on to show *Willensstärke* and *Festigkeit*. See “Earl of Reading.”


31. Martin Buber and Stefan Zweig affirmed the war effort early on, as did the most eminent figures of the postwar “cult of the Ostjuden” who came of age after 1900 and included Julius Berger (1883–1948), Arnold Zweig (1887–1968), Siegfried Lehmann (1892–1958), and Fritz Mordechai Kaufman (1888–1921).
32. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*, 157–68. Like the upwardly mobile “rebels” of the Democratic Faction, the men behind *Ost und West* also had become more like the Jewish establishment. After nearly two decades of Jewish journalism in Germany, Winz knew most of the German Jews in high positions. See correspondence in Leo Winz Papers.


34. In his analysis of “Rambowicz” pulp fiction since 1967, Breines highlights stereotyping of Arabs, effeminate men, homosexuals, women, pacifism, and gentleness. One point, however, must be added to Breines’s interpretation: far from (only) internalizing the “tough Jew” ideal, some German-Jewish men consciously promoted it in their (positive) stereotyping of the heroes of ancient Israel.


36. At the same time, it is questionable whether there was truly a tradition of a “tough” Eastern Jew before the Holocaust. Even though the ideal of manliness inherent in the ideal of respectability served to brand Eastern Jews as “uncivilized,” Ostjuden themselves (the heirs of rabbinic Judaism) appeared undaunted by the charge. From Lithuania to Poland to Bessarabia, Eastern Jews did not share non-Jewish, much less Western, body ideals. While Jewish thinkers in the West distanced themselves more and more from physical stereotypes of Eastern Jews, the thin, pale Jewish scholar was considered to be the epitome of male beauty in East European milieu. Whereas Western Jewry by the end of the nineteenth century idealized martial culture, physical prowess, superior health, and strong nerves, many Eastern Jews still subscribed to ideals of male gentleness, physical restraint, and nonviolence. Specifically, traditional Eastern Jews may have distinguished between the sheyner (the “beautiful” male) and the proster (the “simple” male). The sheyner embodied “intellect, a sense of moderation, cherishing of spiritual values, and the cultivation of rational, goal-directed activities,” whereas the “un-Jewish” proster (or bal-guf) was the epitome of “emphasis on the body, excess, blind instinct, sexual instinct and ruthless force.” Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, *Life Is with People: The Culture of the Shtetl* (1952; New York: Schocken, 1962), 142. At the same time, with the onset of new pogroms in Kishenev, Odessa, and elsewhere, Eastern Jewish socialist and labor militants showed that they were prepared to defend themselves against hooligans and soldiers. *Ost und West* is thus replete with photographs of bloodstained “freedom fighters” between 1903 and 1906. Western Jews, however, saw World War I as an opportunity to demonstrate their manliness and thus win honor in male society (the Männerbund). See also Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*.


38. Preemptive censorship was unusual in wartime Germany, at least until the court decision of July 1916 and new command directives that followed it. Kurt Koszyk, *Deutsche Pressepoltik im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1968), 14–15.

39. Lemberg (Austro-Hungary) is given as the place of publication for several of Segel’s war writings, but Segel was likely living in Berlin. (He may have said he was in Lemberg in order to lend his arguments greater credibility.)


42. The Alliance was especially dismayed; see “Berlin/Winz,” VIIA.14–16, VII and XIV. According to some reports, Winz was never fully rehabilitated from the accusations of being a spy for the German government during the World War I, Michael Heymann, personal communication, August 30, 1992.

43. It may be argued that the stereotype of “Jewish self-hatred” was alive and flourishing by the outbreak of World War I.

44. See Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 243–85, where the projection of anti-Jewish images onto Ostjuden is the hallmark of Jewish self-hatred.

45. Ibid.

46. *Ost und West* affected a more “Germanic” orthography in 1914, as is evident in Segel’s essay. For the first time in thirteen years, *Ost und West* uses the “ss-tzet” (ß). (Interestingly, the word Haß is the immediate topic of the essay.)

47. In striving to be like German “scientific” and “scholarly” discourse, *Ost und West*’s war editorials are designed to make visible the objectivity of the Jewish observer. Otherwise, the observer might be accused of opportunistic lying, war profiteering, or shifting loyalties—in short, of embodying stereotypes of the Jews.

48. *Gestüt* is a Germanism for “civilized” (or zivilisiert).

49. Benjamin Segel, *Der Weltkrieg und das Schicksal der Juden* (Berlin: Georg Stilke, 1915), 143. See also “Erziehung zum Haß,” *Ost und West* (January–May 1915): 13–22, which was almost certainly written by Segel.

50. For a view of Jewish manhood related to Nordau’s, see Segel’s essay, “Morija und Golgotha,” *Ost und West* (January–May 1915): 45–60. This essay was also expanded and published separately as a pamphlet for soldiers (Feldbuch). See Benjamin Segel, *Morija und Golgotha* (Berlin: M. Poppelaer, 1915). Just after the Easter season, Segel debunks the myth that Jews are filled with hatred; he also praises staying alive over sacrificing oneself. At the same time, Segel also equates obeying God and obeying one’s fatherland, even when this requires one to kill others.

51. Harden later became an opponent of World War I, although he was perhaps best known for his homophobic campaign of 1906–09 against Prince Philipp zu Eulenburg and Count Kuno von Moltke and other members of the kaiser’s general staff and clique.

52. This comment also may be read as a veiled call for an anti-Tsarist revolt. It also alludes to the fact that the war raged in the areas of the most dense Eastern Jewish populations: Congress Poland, Galicia, and much of the Pale of Settlement.


54. It should be recalled that Zangwill was the founder of the International Territorialist Organization, which broke away from mainstream Zionism in 1906.


57. One reason Segel’s Berg was such a compelling character is that he was depicted using stream-of-consciousness (more specifically, indirect free speech or erlebte Rede). This device was also pervasive in the Hebrew and Yiddish literature of this epoch.

58. “Dreitagejuden,” or “three-day Jews,” was an ironic reference to those Jews who observed only the most important days in the Jewish religious calendar: the first and second days of the New Year (Rosh Hashanah) and the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur).

59. One publisher who specialized in pamphlets for Jewish soldiers in the field was Louis Lamm. See Lamm’s Jüdische Feldbibliothek, Verlag Louis Lamm, no. 28, Berlin. One such pamphlet reviewed in Ost und West was Marcus Brann, Ein kürzer Gang durch die jüdische Geschichte (1895; Berlin, 1916) under the rubric “Kriegsliteratur,” Ost und West (January–February 1916): 71–72.

60. Most of Segel’s wartime pamphlets had printings of at least 5,000.


62. On the Komitee des Ostens, see Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, 157–68.

63. Misconstruing the reports of the Komitee, the German High Command endangered the lives of Russian Jews in late 1914 by distributing leaflets urging the “German-dialect-speaking” Jews across the border to foment revolution. While careful not to endanger the status of Jews living along the Russian front, who now faced renewed pogroms, Ost und West did not feel that its Eastern Jewish orientation came into conflict during the war with its efforts on behalf of a German victory in World War I.

64. Segel, Die polnische Judenfrage, 83. Aschheim argues that Segel may have underestimated the historical and sociological problems of applying a Western model of individual emancipation to East European circumstances. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, 158.

65. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, 161–62.

66. Ibid., 158.

67. Many Jewish soldiers in World War I served in desk jobs, not unlike Berg’s. In fact, Jews were preferred in these positions primarily owing to their higher rate of literacy and education.

68. That Berg is thirty-six years old suggests that Segel is portraying him as a lamedvovnik, one of the thirty-six righteous men living in the world in every generation according to a Jewish legend originating in the Babylonian Talmud. The most important trait of the lamedvovnik, besides his humble nature and vocation, is that he is unaware that he is a lamedvovnik and truly a holy man.

69. Anton Wohlfahrt is the model protagonist of Gustav Freytag’s Soll und Haben (1855).

70. Segel once again shows anti-Belgian sentiment in one passage, where he (accidentally?) maintains that the parvenu is going to live in Brussels, not Paris (486).
71. Because sinning against a non-Jew is a direct sin against God, Berg must atone for his transgression before the close of Yom Kippur.

72. For a similarly oblique defense of Jewish obedience, see Segel’s “Morija und Golgota,” 45–60.

73. See Binjamin Segel, “Die Einweihung des Tempels,” Ost und West (March 1908): 167–76. This anti-assimilationist novella contains several christological symbols. A group of rustic sbtetl Jews attend the unveiling of a new “Tempel” (Liberal Jewish synagogue) and recoil in horror at the stiff, noiseless worship (Gottesdienst) there and the rabbis garbed like priests. Jesus’s confrontations at the Temple in Jerusalem are alluded to. Finally, the Eastern Jewish row leading his students is more a Christ figure than a messiah.

74. In this passage of Am Tage des Gerichts, the narrator nearly implies that all sins can be forgiven by God, yet under Jewish law, those committed against individuals must be atoned for by person-to-person reconciliation.

75. Segel studied ethnology and Geisteswissenschaften (humanities) as a student in Berlin at the turn of the century.


77. Specific terms also were glossed in the back of the book edition of Am Tage des Gerichts.

78. Stereotypes of the Eastern Jewish nouveau riche made a comeback in wartime, especially in the non-Jewish media. See Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, 172–73.

79. Ibid., 191.

80. The best example of such illustrated pro-Ostjude books is Hermann Struck and Arnold Zweig, Das ostjüdische Antlitz (Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1919).

CONCLUSION

1. For an interesting discussion on minority literature and culture, see the interpretation of this study’s epigraph from Kafka by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Toward a Minor Literature, trans. Dana Polan, Theory of History and Literature 30 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).


4. See Maurer, Ostjuden in Deutschland, 63–73.


6. The majority of these Ostjuden were from Congress Poland. Whereas approximately half of foreign Jews in prewar Germany came from the Habsburg empire and approximately a quarter from Russia, nearly half of all foreign Jews in Germany after World War I were Polish in origin. See Wertheimer, Unwelcome Strangers, 195–97; and Maurer, Ostjuden in Deutschland, 78–80.
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7. Maurer, Ostjuden in Deutschland, 36-44.
8. Ibid., 527.
9. Unlike the United States, Germany never had a tradition of absorbing large numbers of immigrants. Even newcomers to the Habsburg empire may not have become integrated as rapidly as those to the United States. For a summary, see Klaus J. Bade, Deutsche im Ausland, Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992).
10. Aschheim, Brothers and Strangers, 245.
11. One proven method, however, for creating pan-Jewishness was close and repeated contacts with Ostjuden, in particular in Poland and Lithuania, where the wartime cult of the Ostjuden got under way.
13. Eva Reichmann, who served as Referentin in the Berlin central office of the Centralverein, casts doubt on the widespread notion that Segel was an official member of (or consultant to) the Centralverein. Maurer, Ostjuden in Deutschland, 914 n. 245.
14. For an introduction to Winz’s involvement in the film industry, see Leo Winz Papers, A136/181.
15. See ibid., A136/42 and A136/46.
16. Perhaps Winz and his cohorts saw themselves as better promoters and better schooled in the methods of stereotyping than the cultists of Ostjudentum.
21. Ibid.
26. For an example in Ost und West, see Segel, “Morija und Golgotha.”


33. For a paradigmatic statement of the “older” approach, see Gershom Scholem, who argued in 1962 that “[t]he allegedly indestructible community of the German essence with the Jewish essence consisted, so long as these two essences really lived with each other, only of a chorus of Jewish voices, and was, on the level of historical reality, never anything else than a fiction, a fiction of which you will permit me to say that too high a price was paid for it.” Gershom Scholem, “Against the Myth of the German–Jewish Dialogue,” *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis: Selected Essays* (New York: Schocken, 1976), 63. My study, as an analysis of Jewish self-stereotyping in Germany, agrees in a very limited sense with Scholem when he states: “To whom, then, did the Jews speak in that much-talked-about German-Jewish dialogue? They spoke to themselves…” Ibid.


36. Poland’s Jews had always lived amidst Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and others.

37. As in the case of Israelis and Palestinians, the presuppositions between majority and minority groups can (begin to) be overcome only through dialogue, contact, and an awareness of each group’s history and stereotypes.