Witness Through the Imagination

S. Lilian Kremer, Lilian Kremer

Published by Wayne State University Press


For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/61452

For content related to this chapter
https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=book&id=2218968


This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.
NOTES

Preface


Introduction

3. Ibid., 199.
4. Lionel Trilling, The Liberal Imagination (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1953), 256.
6. Ibid., 51.
12. See Yehuda Amichai's Not of This Time, Not of This Place, Yoram Kaniuk's Adam Resurrected, and Haim Gouri's The Chocolate Deal.
13. Anti-Semitism raised to a legal status is not a Nazi innovation. Parallels between anti-Semitic canonical laws and Nazi measures are obvious. However, the 1935 Nuremberg Laws defined the Jew negatively, as someone ineligible for German citizenship, and marked a dramatic progression toward persecution culminating in the Final Solution.
18. For an extended discussion of the distinctions between the pre- and post-Holocaust immigrants of American-Jewish literature, see Dorothy Bilik, Immigrant Survivors, 46.
19. Ibid., 119.
22. Ibid., 119.
24. Ibid., 153.
25. Ibid., 154.
26. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 89.
30. Berkovits, Faith After the Holocaust, 156.
Chapter One


2. Bellow has explored historic varieties of anti-Semitism: the concept of Jew as Christ-killer in The Adventures of Augie March (1953); cultural and institutional anti-Semitism in The Victim (1947) and Humboldt's Gift (1973); economic and social anti-Semitism in “The Old System” (1967); and violent anti-Semitism in Herzog (1964), “Mosby’s Memoirs” (1968), and Mr. Sammler’s Planet (1970). In addition to the fictional use of historic anti-Semitism, Bellow has expressed anxiety regarding the continuing threat to the survival of the Jewish people in essays, letters, and in To Jerusalem and Back. Illustrative of Bellow’s recognition of the pervasive nature of anti-Semitism was his censure of New Left anti-Jewish propaganda during his Noble Prize acceptance speech. He warned his audience that there was no simple choice between “the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness,” that good and evil are not clearly distributed along political affiliations, that anti-Semitism is prevalent in German Fascist and Communist political propaganda; he quoted Ulrike Meinhof of the West German Red Army, particularly in regard to the movement’s approval of “revolutionary extermination.” “For her German anti-Semitism of the Hitler period was essentially anti-capitalist. ‘Auschwitz,’ she is quoted as saying, ‘meant that six million Jews were killed and thrown on the waste heap of Europe for what they were, money Jews’ (geldjuden).” Saul Bellow, “The Nobel Lecture,” American Scholar 46 (Winter-Autumn 1976–1977): 320–21.


9. According to sociologist William Ryan blaming the victim is crucial to isolating the minority group from the dominant society. Allbee attempts a form of this strategy, implying with his repeated phrase “you people” and his frequent declarations that Jews are different, that they think and feel differently from the rest of society. Allbee insists that Jews cling to different goals and learn different truths. See William Ryan, Blaming the Victim (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).
10. It is fitting that Bellow's twentieth-century religious bigot should be a direct descendant of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. Winthrop, a religious zealot of the seventeenth century, supported the banishment of Roger Williams from Boston, fought the Antinomians, and harassed Anne Hutchinson. Colonial Massachusetts was notorious for its demand for uniformity in culture and religion. Allbee's intolerance is part of his Puritan legacy.

11. In his analysis of French anti-Semitism, which appeared one year before The Victim was published, Jean Paul Sartre treats the problem of cultural anti-Semitism in a similar manner. Sartre contends that the anti-Semite tries to persuade the Jew that he is incapable of understanding the true sense of the host culture. In this way the Jew is made to feel an intruder, an alien always: "there is formed around him an impalpable atmosphere, which is the genuine France, with its genuine values, its genuine tact, its genuine morality, and he has no part in it" (82). Sartre points also to the French anti-Semite's jealous protection of the French language (24–25).


13. Saul Bellow, Mr. Sammler's Planet (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1970), 84–85. Subsequent quotations are from this edition, identified as MSP in the text.


15. Bellow, To Jerusalem and Back, 78.


19. For a discussion of the novel's parallel to Ecclesiastes, see Goldman, Saul Bellow's Vision, 157–58, 166.


22. Ibid., 59.


29. Saul Bellow, To Jerusalem and Back, 184.


33. Ibid., 32.

**Chapter Two**


**Chapter Three**

3. Ibid.
11. Analyzing Malamud’s metaphoric evocation of the Holocaust in *The Assistant,* Michael Brown astutely observes:
Notes to Chapter Three

Morris's ultimate economic ruin is caused by new competition in the neighborhood, a delicatessen owned by a German. Frank Alpine and the upstairs tenants who exploit Morris's kindness by accepting cheap rent but buying their food in another shop, are Italians. The woman for whom Bober gets the roll each morning is a taciturn Pole, whom both Morris and Frank assume to be an anti-Semite. The Germans and their World War II allies conspire against Bober, the Jew. Where the Bobers live there are but three Jewish families. During the course of events the store of one of them is burned to the ground, leaving in charred ashes one-third of the Jewish community, a parallel with the Holocaust, which destroyed one-third of world Jewry. Less obviously but more significantly, the neighborhood in which the Bobers reside is reminiscent of Holocaust Europe. It is bleak and hopeless. There is no escape from it. It is removed from reality, much like the reservations established for the Jews of Nazi Europe. And Morris Bober himself is a dead man, going nowhere, inhabiting a world which is his tomb. At one point Morris goes to the barber, returning to find Alpine dipping into the till. Frank remarks in unwitting quadruple entendre, that Morris looks 'like a sheep that had the wool clipped off it.' Morris has been shorn by the barber; he has been shorn of his money by Frank; the wool has been lifted from his eyes, and he now sees Frank as a wolf in sheep's clothing; but he is also like the Jews of the Holocaust who, according to popular myth, were led 'like sheep to the slaughter.' The grocer's face turns 'ashen' at the analogy. Later he gets pneumonia, brought on by inhaling gas from a radiator he has forgotten to ignite, surely a reference to the fate of the Jews in Auschwitz and other camps.

(Michael Brown, "Metaphor for the Holocaust and Holocaust as Metaphor: The Assistant and The Fixer of Bernard Malamud Reexamined," Judaism 29 [Fall 1980], 483–84)

Malamud's last novel, God's Grace (1982), is set in the postnuclear period, and its protagonist, the only human survivor, Calvin Cohen, refers to the Nazi Holocaust to comment on the devastating failure of humanity and God. As a descendant of a line of rabbis, Cohen, who had himself studied for the rabbinate, contends with God in the tradition of Jewish protest. Malamud's most religiously oriented novel, God's Grace, makes more overt use of Jewish theology, Hebrew liturgy, and Torahic commentaries than the earlier works of the canon. Through Cohen's objection to God's Holocaust-era silence, Malamud echoes the Holocaust protests of Elie Wiesel and I. B. Singer. The Nazi Holocaust was an orienting event in Cohen's Jewish consciousness, he thinks of the nuclear holocaust as an extension of the Nazi outrage. Further, he perceives a direct linkage from Russian pogrom to Nazi Holocaust to nuclear holocaust.


**Chapter Four**

3. Author interview with Leslie Epstein, 6 June 1985.
6. Reitlinger’s *Final Solution* is probably the source of many character details and names. The narrator’s first name, Nisel, was probably Anglicized from Dr. Nyiszli, whom Reitlinger identifies as a survivor-physician who “noticed the famine-striken condition of the Lodz Jews, even when compared to Auschwitz inmates (305). The fictional American relief-worker, Faulhaber, probably owes his name to Cardinal Faulhaber, a bishop who protested the early euthanasia program practiced against Germans (131). In addition, Reitlinger’s discussion of the Rivesaltes internment camp for French Jews is doubtless the source of the infamous police chief’s name (75), and the fictional ethnic German, F. X. Wohltat, bears the name of Helmuth Wohltat, identified by Reitlinger as the head of the Foreign Credits Control Office (20, 46).
10. Ibid., 165.
11. Saul Bellow, *Mr. Sammler’s Planet* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1970), 211.
13. Ibid., 7.
16. Ibid., 149.
17. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, 64.
Notes to Chapter Four


22. The methodical path to annihilation was outlined by Reinhardt Heydrich in his 21 September 1939 Berlin memorandum “Concerning: The Jewish Problem in the Occupied Zone.” A copy of this memorandum may be seen in Helen Fein, Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization During the Holocaust (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 121–22.


24. Ibid., 66–69.


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 22.

29. Before the German occupation, David Gertler had been a secret police agent for the Polish Internal Revenue Service. His job then was to ferret out materials on which no tax had been paid. Under the Nazis, he became a trusted Gestapo agent. (Tushnet, The Pavement of Hell, 62)


32. Tushnet writes, “No organized resistance movement against the Germans or against Rumkowski as the transmitter of German orders ever developed in the Lodz Ghetto, as it did in Warsaw and Vilna” (The Pavement of Hell, 64). He explains further, “For a short period before the 1940 strikes and demonstrations, the proletarian parties (Bund, Right and Left Labor Zionists, Communists) got together in a United Front to coordinate their activities and Rumkowski used their hunger and ration cards to break down morale” (The Pavement of Hell, 64).

33. Ibid., 26.

34. Ibid., 26.

35. “The Madagascar Plan was meant to serve as a cloak under which the preparations for the physical extermination of all the Jews of Western Europe could be carried forward . . . No such cloak was needed for the Polish Jews.” Hannah Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil (New York: Viking Press, 1963), 71.


37. A delegation of four rabbis came to Jacob Gens to protest his participation in the selections for Ponary. In addition to quoting Maimonides, the rabbis advised Gens that according to Jewish law, a Jew could be surrendered to a governing authority only if he were personally guilty of a crime, not merely because he was a Jew (Tushnet, The Pavement of Hell, 160).


40. In Eichmann In Jerusalem, Arendt points out that the Nazis regarded Judenrat cooperation as the cornerstone of their Jewish policy. “Jewish officials could be trusted to compile the lists of persons and their property, to secure money from the deportees to defray the expenses of their deportation and extermination, to keep track of vacated apartments, to supply police forces to help seize Jews and
get them on trains” (104). Epstein’s admiration for Hannah Arendt may be seen in his review of her book *The Jew As Pariah* (*New York Times Book Review*, 21 January 1979, 10, 30) in which he reviews the two major controversial issues of *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, namely, the banality of evil thesis regarding the Germans and the failure of the Jewish leadership to serve its constituency, and traces these themes in her earlier work.

44. Ibid.
46. Leo Baeck “refused to disseminate news of extermination at Auschwitz while he was interned in Theresienstadt; he had been cognizant of similar reports earlier but hoped they were rumors or ‘the illusion of a diseased imagination.’” (Fein, *Accounting for Genocide*, 138) Admitting cooperation in the Vilna Ghetto selections, Jacob Gens said: “I stand and count off at the gate, but do you know how hard that is for me? People ask me where they’re going and I don’t tell them because I know where they’re going. I want to save a few, and if possible the best, the most useful, so that they can renew our people.” (Tushnet, *The Pavement of Hell*, 161).
47. Grossman, *Camera in the Ghetto*.
50. Ibid., 102.
51. Ibid., 103.
52. Ibid., 101.
53. Ibid., 107.
56. Author interview with Leslie Epstein, 6 June 1985.
63. Author interview with Leslie Epstein, 6 June 1985.
64. Author interview with Leslie Epstein, 6 June 1985.
65. Oscar Rosenfeld (1884–1944) was a major contributor to *The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto 1941–1944*. Rosenfeld, a noted writer and publicist was deported from Prague to the Lodz Ghetto in October 1941 and frequently contributed supplementary articles and essays entitled “Sketches of Ghetto Life,” recording the mood of the ghetto population. As a committed Zionist, Rosenfeld’s tone is generally bitter in its critical presentation of *judenrat* capitulation.
Chapter Five

1. Whereas most American novelists take the Polish-Jewish tragedy as their paradigm of Holocaust atrocity, Richard Elman selected the atypical Hungarian-Jewish experience for his historic trilogy. By selecting the distinctive Hungarian situation, Elman was able to focus on several peculiarly shocking circumstances that resulted in the destruction of a Jewish population in mid-1944, in full view of the world. The genocide of Hungarian Jewry occurred in Hitler's final year of power, in an Axis universe already close to defeat. Among all the Jews of Europe, the Hungarians, while still relatively safe, had ample warning and full knowledge of the German intent to create a "Judenrein" Europe. Further, the Hungarian deportations were openly conducted in full view of the Allied nations who had documentation of Polish-Jewish genocide and yet stood by and watched as the Axis powers applied the Final Solution to Hungarian Jewry. Historian Helen Fein writes: "Although in 1944 Hungarian Jews were still unsegregated, in 1941 the alien police agency expelled about 15,000 to 20,000 non-Hungarian born Jews from Transylvania... These people were driven across the border to Poland, where they were massacred. News of general extermination came with the return of some escapees of this group and from Polish Jews fleeing into Hungary. ... The Jews in Hungary were nominally free until 1944, except for the men up to the age of 48 who were compelled to serve in the labor brigades as compulsory alternative to military service. Because of the punitive conditions and sometimes torture imposed by their commanders, they ran a high risk of death." Accounting For Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization During the Holocaust (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 107.


3. Author interview with Richard Elman, 6 April 1987.


5. Richard Elman reports that his father, a lawyer, showed him documents of "a will contested by the Romanian government because they wanted the dollars." Elman notes that he used the will for "the dramatics of the way people argued," rather than for its specific content. Author interview with Richard Elman, 6 April 1987.


10. For a complete discussion of the concentrated and methodical deportation and massacre of Hungarian Jews, see Gerald Reitlinger, The Final Solution: The
Notes to Chapter Five


12. See Nora Levin, "The Brand Mission," *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry 1939–1945* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973) 619–37. Joel Brand was a Hungarian Labor Zionist and founder of the illegal Jewish organization Vaadah Ezra Hazalah (Vaadah). Unlike the Jewish Councils, the Vaadah had no illusions about German plans to annihilate European Jewry. The organization sent people into the Hungarian provincial camps to warn Jews that the deportations equalled death sentences. It forged baptism and Palestine emigration certificates to rescue Jewish refugees from Poland, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania and smuggle them into Palestine. Brand negotiated with Eichmann for the lives of one million Hungarian Jews. Eichmann offered to sell Brand a million Jews in exchange for 10,000 trucks complete with spare parts and equipped for winter conditions by the Allies. To that end Eichmann kept Brand's family hostage while permitting him to travel to Istanbul to contact Jewish Agency and Allied representatives. Although Brand did not expect the Allies to exchange trucks for Jews, he thought an alternative could be found. Eichmann refused Brand's plea to halt deportations while he tried to negotiate with the Allies and promised instead that 12,000 Jews would be deported daily. Eichmann's only concession to Brand was that he would transport some to Austria rather than Auschwitz to await news of Brand's mission. British manipulation and sabotage, ranging from bureaucratic delays and prevention of his travel in Turkey, to detaining him in Syria to gain vital information about German positions and then placing him in protective custody in Cairo, assured the failure of Brand's mission. The British refused to accept the German offer to exchange Jews for trucks and did everything they could to foil his efforts with the Americans. Brand eventually understood that the British were as much his enemies as the Germans.


14. Among the actions taken to curb Jewish liberties was the dismissal of journalists, civil servants, lawyers, and accountants. Jews were required to register their property. The Ministry of Trade ordered Jews to close their stores, offices, and warehouses. Of the 40,000 reported Jewish businesses most were to remain closed, and the few that were permitted to reopen did so under the trusteeship appointed by local officials. The government closed Jewish bank accounts, confiscated Jewish property, including art objects, automobiles, radios, telephones, books, and clothes. The Food and Agriculture Ministry took over 600,000 acres of land that had been owned by Jews. The Food Ministry issued instructions to deprive Jews of butter, eggs, and spices commonly used in Jewish cooking; they restricted their meat supply to a few ounces per week, and reduced allocated quantities of sugar, fat, and milk. Legislation was enacted to forbid intercourse and marriage between Jews and non-Jews and the employment of non-Jews in Jewish households. Jews were subjected to Jewish Councils, ordered to wear identity stars; their movement was restricted, subject to curfews, and finally they were ghettoized in designated apartments, city districts, and cities. Hungarian territory was divided into five zones and the city of Budapest, where Jews were systematically rounded up and ghettoized for expeditious deportation to labor and death camps. (Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 531–35). “Two Hungarian Nazis, Laszlo Baky and Laszlo Endre, who became secretaries in the new pro-Nazi Ministry of the Interior, worked with Eichmann to plan the ghettoization and deportation of Hungarian Jewry. On April 7 instructions
were sent to the provinces to move the Jews into ghettos; implementation began on April 15. On April 27 and 28 two trains carrying four thousand persons left for Auschwitz. Then, by province, between May 15 and July 9, 437,000 followed. Approximately 100,000 who were capable of work were sent to the labor camp in Auschwitz or to other camps in Germany. Some 75 percent were gassed immediately on arrival. Because the crematoria could not handle such volume, open pits were again resorted to."


17. In the early years of the Axis, Hungarian-Jewish war veterans and their families were exempted from quotas thereby reducing the Jewish economic presence (Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 511). Also, when the 1944 decree ordering Jews to wear identifying stars was issued, wives, widows and children of exempted veterans were excused from wearing the demeaning badges (Ibid., 534).


19. Dr. Rezso (Rudolf) Kastner, a Labor Zionist and leader of the Vaadah movement warned Brand to be wary of the British and deal directly with the Jewish Agency and Chaim Weizmann to save Hungarian Jewry. Kastner served the rescue effort by negotiating with other Zionist groups, the official Jewish leadership, and Hungarian politicians. While Brand was abroad trying to negotiate with the British to reply positively to the Eichmann proposal, Kastner convinced Eichmann to move 1,709 Jews from the Bergen-Belsen transport to safety and 18,000 Jews from Budapest and the provinces to Austria rather than Auschwitz where they would be held awaiting the outcome of Brand's mission. In this way many of the 18,000 survived. Kastner was instrumental in other Vaadah rescue efforts. Levin, *The Holocaust*, 640–41. See Levin for further discussion of Kastner's role in efforts to save Hungarian Jewry.


22. Elman now regrets the Israeli frame of *The 28th Day of Elul* and would omit it if writing the book today. He wrote it when he had limited knowledge of Israel and feels he did not do the section very well, claiming, "I was writing over the top of my head." Author interview with Richard Elman, 6 April 1987.


27. Ibid.

28. Richard Elman notes that he was also thinking of the French historian Jacques Ellul when he selected his title. Elman's note to author, 8 April 1987.
Notes to Chapter Six

Among the Ellul works translated into English prior to publication of the first volume of the trilogy are *The Technological Society* (1964); *Propaganda* (1966); *The Political Illusion* (1967); and *The Presence of the Kingdom* (1967).


32. Author interview with Richard Elman, 6 April 1987.


35. Richard M. Elman, *Lilo’s Diary* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1968), 43. Subsequent quotations are from this edition, identified as LD in the text.


37. Just as the trilogy’s hostile family relationships, particularly that of the father and son, reflect Elman’s family portrait in *Fredi & Shirl & the Kids*, so do the trilogy’s ambivalent male-female relationships mirror situations in the autobiographical fable.


42. Arendt, *Jew as Pariah*, 68.

43. Ibid.


45. Ibid., 49.

46. Ibid., 54.

47. Ibid., 85.


Chapter Six


5. Isaac Bashevis Singer, “Author’s Note,” *Enemies, A Love Story* (New York:
Notes to Chapter Six

377

Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1972). Subsequent quotations are from this edition, identified as E in the text.

10. Richard Rubenstein, After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966). "When I say we live in the time of the death of God, I mean that the thread uniting God and man, heaven and earth has been broken. We stand in a cold, silent, unfeeling cosmos, unaided by any purposeful power beyond our own resources. After Auschwitz what else can a Jew say about God? . . . I see no other way than the 'death of God' position of expressing the void that confronts man where once God stood" (49). Rubenstein rejects God and the covenant with Israel: "If I believe in God as the omnipotent author of the historical drama and Israel as His Chosen People, I had to accept [the] . . . conclusion that it was God's will that Hitler committed six million Jews to slaughter. I could not possibly believe in such a God nor could I believe in Israel as the chosen people of God after Auschwitz" (47).
11. Emil Fackenheim's often-quoted dictum—"Jews are forbidden to hand Hitler posthumous victories!"—posits the thesis that, particularly after the Holocaust, Jews are under a sacred obligation to survive as a people, and that entails loyalty to God and Judaism. See Emil Fackenheim, God's Presence in History: Jewish Affirmations and Philosophical Reflections (New York: New York University Press, 1970).
13. Ibid., 90.
15. Ibid. Also noted in Author's note in The Penitent, 1968.
22. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 172.
25. Shosha was Singer's childhood friend on Krochmalna Street in Warsaw. For a biographical discussion of Singer's Warsaw circle described in Shosha, see Paul Kresh, Isaac Bashevis Singer: The Magician of West 86th Street A Biography (New York: Dial Books, 1979).
27. Ibid.


36. Penn, *Some Major Themes* 158.

37. Ibid., 157.


41. Misgivings about the value of assimilation has been Singer’s obsession. In an autobiographical account of his early years in the company of Jewish writers in Warsaw, Singer describes his admiration for Hillel Zeitlin’s belief that “modern Jewishness . . . that lacked religion was a paradox and an absurdity . . . that Jewishness without religion—a Jewishness based on language or even upon a nation—lacked the force to keep the Jews united.” Isaac Bashevis Singer and Ira Moskovitz, *A Little Boy in Search of God: Mysticism in a Personal Light* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 157.

42. In brief, Lurianic kabbalists believe in a mystical interpretation of the Bible, which explains the connection between God and creation, the existence of good and evil, and the way to spiritual perfection. Among the basic precepts of the kabbalists is *Tsimtsum*, the contraction of God into Himself to yield space for creation. Creation is believed to have been preceded by voluntary divine self-limitation of the infinite (*En Sof*) in order to make room for the finite world. God sustains the world by spiritual beams of light. Some of the vessels meant to contain God’s light did not sustain the rush of light and therefore shattered. The “breaking of the vessels” caused deterioration and chaos in the world, ushering in evil. Human purpose in this context is described as *tikkun*, the restorative task of liberating the fallen divine sparks through devotion to moral perfection and intense prayer (*kavanah*).
Chapter Seven

2. Ibid.
4. S. Lillian Kremer, Interview with Cynthia Ozick, 28 December 1986.
12. Ibid., 236.
16. Ibid.
22. Author interview with Cynthia Ozick, 26 December 1986.
Subsequent quotations are from this edition, identified as S in text. Copyright © by Cynthia Ozick.


27. Cynthia Ozick, Interview with Kay Bonetti, American Audio Prose Library, no. 6092.

28. Ibid.

29. Ozick’s despair over the United Nations’ flagrant anti-Israeli policy, published the same year as “A Mercenary,” appears in her exposé of the United Nations’ silence about Arab aggression against Israel during the Yom Kippur War and its sudden censuring voice when the tide turned toward Israeli victory. Ozick explicitly accuses the United Nations of anti-Semitism veiled as anti-Zionism: “Meanwhile, outside of Israel, the Zionism that was meant to end anti-Semitism became an equivalent for ‘Jew’ in all its ancient resonances. It is no good for anti-Semites to pretend anymore that they are ‘anti-Zionist’ but not ‘anti-Jewish,’ or that the two notions can be kept separate” (105). See “All the World Wants the Jews Dead,” Esquire 82 (November 1974): 103–7, 207–10.


35. The anti-Semitism unleashed during the years of the Dreyfus Affair became a significant political issue in France and throughout Europe. At the time, the French Army was the stronghold of royalists and Catholics who preferred to cover up their original blunder and the framing of Dreyfus rather than convict the real traitor about whom they had ample evidence. Fanned by its own anti-Semitism and that of the royalist-Catholic press, the Army knowingly moved for a second miscarriage of justice at the retrial in 1899. Liberal reaction to this verdict in France and the rest of Western Europe was emphatic, leading to a pardon for Dreyfus by the liberal new president of the French Republic.


42. Marrus and Paxton, Vichy France and the Jews, 250–51.
43. In a post Cannibal Galaxy publication letter from Andre Nehre, Ozick learned that the only book he had while hiding during the Holocaust was the Ta'anit tractate. Author interview with Cynthia Ozick, 28 December 1986.

44. In the course of a long career, Monsignor Justin Fevre turned toward policies and actions tainted by anti-Semitism, such as praising a book on the ritual murder canard. During the Dreyfus Affair, he wrote: "Under penalty of treason, we ought all to be antisemitic, Catholic, and French. We ought to have only one flag, only one battle cry, 'Down with the Jews!'"; reported in Robert Francis Byrnes, Anti-Semitism in Modern France: The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair 1 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950): 189–90. In response to the author's question about her ironic use of the Le Fevre name, Ozick replied that she was unaware of the Fevre history. Author interview with Cynthia Ozick, 28 December 1986.

45. Quoted in Berger, Crisis and Covenant, 135.


47. Esther intervened with King Ahasuerus, who made her his queen, and with the aid of her uncle, Mordechai, succeeded in averting the annihilation of the Persian-Jewish community planned by the Hitler of their period, Haman, the king's advisor. The significance of the Esther story to Jewish history stems from its symbolic value to a persecuted people of the ultimate triumph of truth and justice. Esther is still commemorated in the annual Festival of Purim, for saving her people.


50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., 144–45.

52. Ibid., 215.

53. Ibid.

54. The Mishnah is the transcription of oral law, a collection of Jewish laws and ethics. It is divided into six parts known as sedarim (orders), each of which is subdivided into tractates. The Mishnah comprises sixty-three tractates. Despite its religious influence, the Mishnah is not a religious authority. Unanimous and dissenting rabbinic opinions are given; the laws in the work are not creed or dogma.


56. Ibid.


58. Ibid.


60. Ozick, Commentary, Modern Language Association Convention, 28 December 1986.

61. Author interview with Cynthia Ozick, 8 April 1987.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.


66. Author interview with Cynthia Ozick, 8 April 1987.


69. Ozick reports hearing the story of Moishe the Tzaddik from a Drohobycz survivor. Author interview with Cynthia Ozick, 8 April 1987.
71. Ibid., 247.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., 245–46.
74. Cynthia Ozick, Untitled essay, Response, 93.

Chapter Eight

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 53.
7. Pablo Christiani (d. 1274) was a convert to Christianity and anti-Jewish polemist. In Barcelona he debated with Nahmanides, trying to prove the validity of Christianity from the Talmud.
8. The December 8, 1942, meeting with Jewish leaders was the only one President Roosevelt held with Jewish leaders concerning the Holocaust. See David S. Wyman, The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust: 1941–1945 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 72.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 5–6, 124–37.
11. Cohen develops the notion of Orthodox separation from secular society in a scene where the thirty-year-old Stern recalls his mother’s admonition to keep his distance from “the forbidden world” and his association of that world with anti-Semitism. As he stood on the border between neighborhoods, he heard himself described as a subject of interest among non-Jews, often noted contemptuously: “sheeny, kike, yid (generic forms of designation; like simple denotative nouns, they pointed out without describing), but cockcutter, bloodeater, waterpoisoner, Christ killer, these were more, particular, sharp, combining the absolute unbearable monotone of history . . . with desperate particularity: Shimon the killer, the poisoner, the cutter, the Christ killer. In those childhood days Shimen would run home, tears rushing down his face” (95).
12. The Pale of Settlement refers to approximately 400,000 square miles in czarist Russia, where by 1897 approximately five million Jews were permitted to live. This system was introduced when partitions of Poland brought Jews into the area of the Russian state in 1791 and was abolished de facto in 1915 and absolutely in 1917. Borders were changed arbitrarily, causing great hardships for the Jews confined to this area. Only certain categories of Jews—those whose work, talents, or money were needed by the czarist regime—were exempt from living in the Pale.
13. According to Orthodox law, a child’s mother must be Jewish for the child to be legally Jewish.
Notes to Chapter Nine

17. Ibid., 81.
18. Ibid., 82.

Chapter Nine

2. Ibid.
9. Benjamin Max Potok, who “saw himself mirrored in the eye of most American gentiles as a Jewish Caliban,” (Wanderings, 379) is a clear model for Max Lurie. The novelist’s father learned while wearing Poland’s uniform that his gentile countrymen did not consider him a full-fledged citizen, but merely a proper subject for exploitation and victimization, the subject of their suspicion, hatred, and violence. Max Lurie founded the Am Kedoshim Society just after World War I to fight Polish anti-Semitism. The wave of pogroms in Poland between 1917 and 1921 inspired the creation of many Jewish self-defense groups.
11. For a good brief discussion of American anti-Semitism consisting of youth gang attacks and police negligence, as well as the anti-Semitic bias of the immigration policy in this period, see David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941–1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 9–11.
13. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
Notes to Chapter Ten

Chapter Ten

3. George Steiner, Preface to Language and Silence, viii.
4. Ibid.
5. Steiner, Time.
6. Steiner, Postscript to Language and Silence, 156–57.
8. Ibid., 4–5.
10. Ibid., 99–100.
11. Steiner, Postscript, 163.
12. George Steiner, "Return No More," Anno Domini Three Stories (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), 34. Subsequent quotations are from this edition, identified as R in the text.
13. George Steiner "Cake," Anno Domini, 72. Subsequent quotations are from this edition, identified as C in the text.
20. Rosenfeld, Imagining Hitler, 82.
21. See Rosenfeld, Imagining Hitler, for a discussion of Jacob Grill, 96–97.
24. Ibid., 44–45.
26. Ibid., 27–34.
27. Rosenfeld, Imagining Hitler, 101.

Conclusion