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THE CONTEMPORARY JEW  
IN THE  
GERMAN JEWISH NOVEL AND SHORT STORY  
1800 - 1914  
by  
Walter Jacob

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of  
requirements for the Degree of Doctor of  
Hebrew Letters

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Referee, Professor Ellis Rivkin

Co. " ) " *Ezra Speichandler*

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It would hardly be possible to extend sufficient thanks to my father, Rabbi Ernest I. Jacob, with whom many of the problems connected with this thesis have been discussed; to my mother, Professor Annette F. Jacob, who through the years has encouraged an interest in German literature; and to my wife, Irene G. Jacob, who has helped me in a variety of ways during the years of study.

### Introduction.

This thesis is based upon the novels and short stories of German Jewish authors written from 1800 to 1914 and describing the contemporary scene. It seeks to discover the way Jewry and Judaism appeared to these German Jewish intellectuals and how it was shown by them in works of fiction. Jewish life changed a great deal during this period; the authors emphasized some aspects of the changing scene and ignored others. These books were widely read by the German Gentile population as demonstrated by the numerous editions in which many of these works appeared; they, therefore, contributed to the image of the Jew held by the German.

For the purpose of this thesis the German borders of 1914 were used. The novels and short stories utilized were written in Germany by authors born there or by those who had moved to Germany and wrote their works in that land. Books in German which have appeared in other countries have not been used. The German Jewish authors considered for this thesis were those who remained Jews throughout their lives as well as those who converted to Christianity. The offsprings of intermarriages were not included in this study. All novels and short stories which dealt with the contemporary setting in Germany were used. Historical novels and books which dealt with Jews of other lands during this period have not been included. There were only a few such books.

It was difficult to gather a bibliography of German Jewish fiction. Many authors were not listed in the contemporary pub-

lications and reference works. The catalogues of the great national libraries contain only a small number of these books. Unfortunately the Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken only reached the first letters of the alphabet. The bibliography now in my possession was compiled through the use of many literary sources and by a thorough screening of the catalogues of the libraries listed in the "Acknowledgements". This list of books cannot be considered complete; extensive additions could only be made through a study of periodicals and libraries in Germany. Despite an intensive search in public and university libraries in this land only seventy percent of the books on the original bibliography could be found and read; they have been listed at the end of this study.

The thesis has been divided into the major historical periods of the time 1800-1914. Within this division the chapters discuss specific topics. The material has been presented by periods rather than by authors so that this study would not become a fragmented biographical and literary listing. Books have been assigned to a certain period according to their setting not the date of publication. In most instances the original publication (often in magazine serial form) took place during the same period. In other cases the authors lived through the period described and wrote of it a few years later. When a work described a time earlier than the life of the author it has been specially noted in the thesis.

Both direct quotation and paraphrase have been used extensively in this work; the latter has been utilized to achieve brevity. The translation of German passages has sought to achieve a balance between good idiom and the literal meaning. Sections set

in parenthesis ( ) in the translation have been added for the sake of clarity, but did not appear in the original text. An effort has been made to avoid over documentation. All authors have been cited by their real name rather than their pseudonym; the only exception to this is Georg Borchardt who has been quoted throughout the thesis as Georg Hermann due to an error.

Various writers have dealt with the Jew in German literature and with the German Jewish writers; the most notable works have been those of Josef Bass, Ludwig Geiger, Gustav Krojanker, and Wilhelm Stoffers. All have touched upon the theme of this thesis, but only incidentally. Most of the authors used for this work were not mentioned in the books or articles of these writers. It is the hope of this author that the material presented in the following pages will add to the understanding of German Jewish life and German Jewish literature.

## I

## The Literature 1800-1914.

The eighteenth and nineteenth century represented the Golden Age of German literature. Great writers used every form of literary expression for their works. The period was begun by Lessing and Klopstock and continued under the leadership of Goethe and Schiller, whose influence continued to be felt in the nineteenth century.

The French Revolution had led to the spread of romantic ideas in Germany. The first three decades of the century were romantic under the leadership of Novalis, Heinrich von Kleist, Clemens Brentano, Adelbert von Chamisso and other poets and dramatists. Achim von Arnim, Heinrich von Kleist, and Joseph von Eichendorf were influential novelists of this school. The Jewish authors of this period were Dorothea Schlegel (1764-1839), Daniel Lessmann (1794-1831), August Lewald (1792-1871), David Schiff, and Hermann Schiff (1801-1867). The first three listed converted to Christianity, although August Lewald wrote little after his conversion in 1860. Schlegel's book was not concerned with Jews; Lessmann wrote only short pieces. Lewald's main work was a curious mixture of autobiography, reminiscences, and short stories spread over twelve volumes; Jewish characters often appeared there. Schiff was a rather unsuccessful satirist who was jealous of the success achieved by his relative Heine; the satire often sounded artificial. None of these writers were affected by two elements of Romanticism, the grotesque and over sentimentality.

The writers from 1830 to the Revolution of 1848 were called 'Young Germans'; their works were a reaction against the oppressive policies of the German governments. The group favored political realism

and liberal ideas. Best known among these writers were Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Börne, Franz Grillparzer, and Anette von Droste-Hülshoff; the outstanding novelists were Karl Gutzkow, Karl Immermann, Eduard Mörike, Jeremias Gotthelf, and Adalbert Stifter. The last two dealt with regional themes as the Jewish author Berthold Auerbach (1812-1882); his most successful works were village tales set in the Black Forest. Some idealistic and patriotic novels were influential as well; Jewish characters and Jewish problems were often used in his works. The romantic mood in a broader setting was used by Fanny Lewald (1811-1889) who converted in 1828 and began to publish in the forties. Her chief concern were political and social matters - the emancipation of women, the rights of the Jew, the class struggle, religious problems, the Polish question. More than fifty works dealt with these matters; their quality varied. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal (1821-1877) author of poetry, plays, and short stories was more placidly romantic. His descriptions were excellent, but he rarely dealt with important problems. Other Jewish novelists of the period were Robert Linderer (1824-1886) and Oscar Bernard Wolff (1799-1851), who was baptized during his youth.

The novel which had been of secondary importance during the first half of the century became the main form of expression from 1850 to 1870. After that time it continued to be significant, but poetry and drama were revived.

The chief German novelists and short story writers after the 1848 Revolution were Theodor Storm, Wilhelm Raabe, and Friedrich Spielhagen. These men were interested in the big city and its problems. Among Jewish writers Max Ring (1817-1901), a prolific author, dealt with such themes as the class struggle, the newly rich, the vanities of city life. His statement of the problems and his characterizations were good.

Jews were often treated in these novels as well as in historical ones. Julius Rodenberg (1831-1914), editor of the Deutschen Rundschau, wrote novels set in Berlin as well as foreign lands. Another journalist and liberal politician, Aron Bernstein (1812-1884) published two novels dealing with the East German village Jew during this period. Markus Lehmann (1831-1890), Orthodox rabbi and editor of Der Israelit, wrote historical and current novels and short stories; he was a vigorous defender of Orthodoxy. Ludwig Philippson (1811-1889), editor of Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums also produced historical novels along with many other literary efforts. Salomo Formstecher (1808-1889) wrote specifically to give the German a more accurate picture of the Jew; he was a rabbi interested in developing a synthesis between Judaism and modernity.

In the last decades of the century different forms of the novel existed side by side. Jews were among the leading authors along with men as Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse who were beginning to write. The most important writers of these decades were Paul Heyse, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Theodor Fontane, Max Kretzer, and Carl Hauptmann. Jewish authors of the ~~sixties~~ were Maximilian Bern (1849-1923), Wilhelm Herzberg (1827-1897), whose stories were sometimes set outside Germany and who wrote against Christian doctrine, and Alphonse Levy (1838-1917), whose works included poetry as well as short stories.

The three concluding decades of the century found realism and naturalism dominant among such novelists and playwrights as Gerhart Hauptmann, Hermann Suderman, and Theodor Fontane. Among many of the Jewish authors realism was mixed with romanticism as with Ulla Wolff (1850-1924) who dealt with small town and big city life. Jakob Loewenberg (1856-1929) whose work included poetry, drama, essays, and short stories fitted into

this pattern as did Max Bernstein (1854-1925), though he was primarily a playwright. Jenny Hirsch (1829-1902) and Clementine Cohn (1861- ) were romanticists as was Georg Ebers (1839-1893) in his novels of ancient Egypt and the middle ages. The realistic Alfred Schirokauer (1880- ) and Konrad Sittenfeld (1862-1925) influenced German literature; Sittenfeld later emphasized the sensational in dealing with big city problems. Heinrich Landsberger (1862-1919) and Hugo Landsberger (1861-ca. 1936) introduced psychological considerations in their characterization of urban dwellers. Oskar Cohn (1839-1893) effectively used satire to attack the evils of the large cities.

The mixture of forms and styles continued until the First World War. Some Jewish authors wrote in the old romantic vein; among them were Ludwig Fulda (1862-1939), author of many successful plays as well as stories, Henriette Herz, Hermann Goldschmidt (1860 - ) most noted for his plays, Rose Cohn (1864- ), Martha Cohn (1867- ), Doris Wittner (1880- ), Josefa Metz, and Theodor Weiss, who nostalgically recalled the Jewish past.

Naturalism and realism were frequently found in the works of the beginning of the century. Georg Hirschfeld (1873-ca. 1941) and Felix Hollaender (1867-1931) wrote of the individual in the large city. Selma Heine (1855-1931) dealt with matters outside Germany and wrote excellent mystery stories too. Georg Hermann (1871-1945) treated current and historic problems with special emphasis upon the assimilation of the Jew. Clara Cohn (1860- ) was perhaps the best of the Jewish naturalist writers; she mixed this with regionalism, but rarely treated Jewish matters. She was a convert.

Impressionist ideas and psychological insights were used by Martin Beradt (1881-1949) and Ernst Heilborn (1867-1941) who were deeply concerned with the individual in modern society. Arnold Zweig (1887- ) and Lion

Feuchtwanger (1884-1958) began to write in this style. Ludwig Jacobowski (1868-1900) used it to illustrate contemporary general and Jewish problems.

Several authors cannot be readily fitted into any category or school; they experimented with new modes of expression and new styles. Kurt Münzer (1879-ca.1935) dealt with the fantastic in a romantic manner. Richard Huldshiner (1872-1931) at times wrote in a diffuse, poetic manner. Salomo Friedländer (1871-1946) experimented constantly. Fritz Mauthner (1849-1923) was primarily concerned with philosophy and Oriental studies and his best works were in those fields. Gustav Landauer (1870-1919) and Alfred Döblin (1878- ) began to write during this period, but had not yet developed a definite style; Döblin eventually converted.

Other writers used humor and satire to illuminate the problems of their time. Alice Hertz (1878- ) did so with good effect; she stated the issues broadly, so that the books remain fresh to this day. Artur Landsberger (1876-1933) wrote bitter satires of city life and of the urban, newly rich Jews of his day.

Only the more important Jewish authors have been mentioned in this brief introduction; from them one may see that Jewish writers held a position of significance in the German literature of the period. In the area of the novel and the short story with which these pages have dealt they contributed important works to the development of these forms.

Emancipation opened many fields to the Jew. He used the new opportunities offered in literature as well and left his mark upon German literature from 1800 to 1914.

## II

## The Age 1800 - 1914.

The period covered by this thesis was one of great change for Germany and for its Jews.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century there was no united Germany, but dozens of small states. Napoleon consolidated them so that in 1806 there existed Baden, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the Confederation of the Rhine aside from his enemies, Prussia and Austria. The rule of the French led to the abolition of many feudal practices as serfdom and the monopoly of the guilds. The medieval restrictions which had been imposed upon the Jews were also abolished. The Jew was permitted to move out of the ghetto; in some places the gates of the ghetto were destroyed. He was allowed to re-settle in cities as Cologne from which he had been banned for centuries. New professions and trades were opened to him.

The freedoms did not extend to the areas not occupied by the French armies. The conditions of the Prussian and Austrian Jews changed little; progress there was to be slow. Although many Jews were in constant contact with the statesmen, artists, and social leaders of Berlin, their efforts toward emancipation failed. Prominent men were willing to meet in the salons of Henrietta Herz, Dorothea Mendelssohn, or Rachel Levin, but were not willing to accept these Jews as citizens and equals. The Jews of Berlin sought various solutions to their problems. An attempt at 'dry baptism' was made by Friedländer at the close of the eighteenth century, but it failed to the amusement of all Berlin. Many found an answer in full conversion to Christianity. No significant political or social changes occurred in Prussia until much later in the century.

The Jews in the rest of Germany enjoyed the fruits of equality as long as the French remained (1815). The French were finally driven from German soil with the aid of England, Russia, and Austria. The Jews fought vigorously in this 'War of Liberation' (1813 - 1815). They felt that a free Germany would grant them the same and perhaps more rights than they had been given. Their hopes were not realized, as the little kingdoms which had existed before the arrival of the French were restored. Germany was divided into thirty-nine states and each was left to pursue the policy it desired. The Jews, who were represented at the Congress of Vienna, lost their rights through a simple change in the clause which dealt with them. They originally were to have all rights which had been granted to them in the German states, but the passage was altered to read by the German states. As no rights had been granted by the states, they were effectively deprived of all freedom enjoyed during the preceding years. This as well as the general reaction against foreigners and foreign ideas, which stemmed from the defeat of France, brought about anti-Semitic riots in many large cities (Bamberg, Carlsruhe, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Frankfurt a.M., Mannheim, and Würzburg) in the next years. Anti-Semitic pamphlets, books, and plays gained wide circulation during those years.

The rights of the Jews had been wiped out; the Jews who had fought and died in the 'War of Liberation' had died in vain. They were not even permitted to retain their military commissions. Jews were excluded from many professions and from all civil service positions. The Jews in newly annexed Posen continued to live in a medieval world. Generally the old situation had been effectively

re-established. Any Jew who wanted to escape to a better way of life could take two roads, baptism or emigration. Both were followed by large numbers, though baptism was the easier and more frequent avenue among the educated and wealthy early in the century. It continued to be preferred by them later, while the simpler Jew chose emigration to the United States. For him it meant an economic as well as a political and social change.

The condition of the German Jew changed little during the next twenty years. The small kingdoms kept their subjects under strict surveillance; those who protested against policies were warned by the censors and later subject to imprisonment or exile through the implementation of the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. A considerable number of young intellectuals fled from the little kingdoms, usually finding Paris the best and nearest haven of refuge. Nevertheless, beneath the surface, changes were taking place. The economy of the nation grew; railroads began to be built and the Customs Union was organized. An attempt at freedom in 1832 failed; another revolution which sought liberty and national unity in 1848 failed as well. The road to unification through democratic means was closed; unity and progress were to come from Prussia.

Intellectually this was a period of great literary and artistic creativity; Mörike, Uhland, Rückert, Heine, Börne, Chamisso, Brentano, Schubert, Schumann, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Ranke, and many others lived during these years and did much of their best work in them. Heine and Börne were the most influential Jews of this time; though converted, they continued to struggle for the rights of their people. The artistic and intellectual interests which had been

aroused in Gentile circles had their Jewish counterpart. Young university students were ready to dedicate themselves to Jewish studies. Societies were founded for this purpose; the first among them was the 'Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden' which was established in 1819. It had a distinguished list of young members, among them were Eduard Gans, Ludwig Markus, Moses Moser, Heinrich Heine, and Leopold Zunz, the founder and first president of this organization. These young men were willing to follow the path set by Mendelssohn and combine Jewish knowledge with modern learning. Their program was ambitious; they wished to establish schools, publish magazines and books, but there were few Jewish patrons for such enterprises at this time. The society and others which followed it did not fulfill all their purposes, but they succeeded in creating the 'Wissenschaft des Judentums.' Zunz set the pattern of scientific and historic investigation which many others were to follow later in the century; among them were Geiger, Frankel, Jost, Graetz, Bacher, Philippsohn, Kaufmann, and Steinschneider. Dozens of magazines were started during those years, but only a handful survived more than a few issues. Ambitious projects of all kinds were begun, but foundered for lack of funds. This was one of the paths which led to modern Judaism and to emancipation.

Another group of Jews fought vigorously for equal rights on the political scene. Riesser was the leader of these men; he succeeded in being elected to the office of vice-president of the 1848 assembly. He fought for a united, democratic Germany and for freedom for the Jews. Many others struggled alongside this distinguished leader.

One group sought an answer to some of the problems of the modern

Jew by changes in Judaism. Worship and ritual were to be altered to fit into the nineteenth century. Jacobson of Seesen initiated practical reforms in the Jewish service in 1810; he soon moved his efforts to Berlin. These changes aroused vigorous opposition; often the government which gave official status to the Jewish community became involved. By the end of the century a moderate group had succeeded and formed the core of the Jewish community in every city. Modern Orthodox congregations established themselves in the larger cities. The extreme Orthodox and Reform groups continued as 'Austrittsgemeinden' in the largest centers of Jewish population. By the end of the century, three seminaries provided leaders and scholars for the community. Religious Judaism had adapted itself to modern conditions.

In the first half of the century most Jews were not affected by the scholarly, religious, or political efforts which were made. The Jews were poor and remained scattered through the villages and small towns of Germany. Most professions and crafts were closed to them, so many remained peddlers. The future did not look bright and a large number emigrated. By 1847 more than fifty thousand German Jews had settled in the United States; they came from Posen, the Rhineland, and Bavaria along with their Gentile countrymen. Others went to England and a few to the English possessions. Emigration was to continue through the century; the rate decreased as the economic conditions improved.

Although the revolution of 1848 failed and halted political progress, the economic life of the country did not remain static. Germany was beginning to industrialize; the growth was enormous, so

that one and a half million tons of coal sufficed in 1850, but one hundred and thirty-six million metric tons were mined in 1906. The changes in the economic life brought a new ruling class into power. The dominant group had been monarchical and agrarian, but now the industrialists demanded a voice in the government. These men favored Prussia and unification under its leadership as the smaller states hampered the growth of a modern industrial society. Industrialization, military ambition, and political aspirations worked toward a unified Germany. A spirit of patriotism and nationalism stirred by the revolution of 1848 aided the cause. Ambitious Prussians labored for unity. Common enemies were effectively used and were provided by Denmark (1864), Austria (1866), and France (1870). The first victories brought about the North German Confederation in 1867 which united half of Germany. The remaining states, which had not decided between a 'Greater Germany' under Austrian leadership or a 'Small Germany' under Prussian hegemony, cast their lot with Prussia in 1870. In the new state the large business enterprises and the new middle class possessed considerable power.

In the process of industrialization the Jews had slowly been permitted to enter new fields of endeavor. In some states they had immediately struggled for political rights as well. The rights were granted slowly; in 1862 Baden, in 1864 Württemberg, and finally in 1869 the North German Confederation removed all disabilities. This meant that the theoretical difficulties in the way of equality had been abolished, but it took further decades of vigorous effort to make these laws a reality.

During these years the Jews established themselves in a number of fields. They were successful in commerce, banking, the textile and garment industry, law, medicine, pure science, and the arts. Despite the new legislation they were not permitted in government positions, the universities, or posts in government operated enterprises as the utilities and railroads. Nor were there any Jews in the large industrial complexes and cartels. Jews participated in the founding of some of these giants of industry, but usually did not remain in them after they had become a part of a large trust. The exceptions were the iron and coal complexes of Silesia, the Hamburg-America Line, the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft, and a few other enterprises. Jews were dominant in banking and controlled the Disconto-Gesellschaft, the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, the Darmstaedter Bank, and the Nationalbank; all of these were national banks with dozens of branches. In the twentieth century Jews were to play a leading role in the field of journalism, publishing, entertainment and retailing. In spite of these large enterprises, half the Jewish population remained engaged in small business endeavors as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, tinsmiths, etc. At the end of the nineteenth century this number decreased and more Jews entered 'white collar' work. In the professions the greatest concentration remained in medicine and law. Exclusion from most university positions led a large number of Jews into scientific research where they earned numerous honors

The new period of freedom was paralleled by a new era of anti-Semitism; it began with the depression of 1873. As Jews were active on the stock market, they served as a suitable target and were blamed

for the crash. Anti-Semitic pamphlets and books were printed in large numbers. The new flood of hate was not the work of a few eccentrics, but was aided by many able men as Stöcker, Chamberlain, Fritsch, Wagner, and Treitschke. Stöcker founded a political party with an anti-Semitic platform in 1881. Throughout that decade there were riots and boycotts; finally there was a ritual murder trial in Xanten on the Rhine in 1891. The Jewish dream of real equality had been shattered; those Jews who had fought for this ideal throughout their lives were deeply disappointed. Among them was the author Berthold Auerbach who had devoted his life and his literary talents to an idealistic struggle for equality. A large number of Jews decided to continue their efforts in the same manner as the previous generation. They established new organizations for combating hatred as the 'Zentral Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens' which was founded in 1893. Among students fraternities as the K.C. founded by Benno Jacob in 1896 were established to fight for Jewish rights in the universities and to enable the Jewish student to duel with Gentile opponents. Others gave up the struggle and were willing to live with the situation as it existed. A third group was attracted by the new promises of Zionism. It made rapid progress and attracted members, especially among the Jewish students at the large universities. They were encouraged by the Russian and Polish students who studied with them and had been attracted to the idea. Although the first Zionist Congress was moved from Munich to Basel in the wake of numerous protests, the organization's headquarters were moved to Berlin in 1904. The movement was to find strong supporters and violent opposition in Germany.

The World War found German Jewry well established, largely members of the middle class, and with high hopes for the future. They had not been accepted as equals; this meant a much more difficult military life for many of them. Yet they believed that conditions would improve. Great progress had been made during the preceding decades; the rest would surely come. During the war thousands fought patriotically for Germany. Twelve thousand died for their native land; they felt that their death would open the German heart and soul to their coreligionists.

## Notes.

## The Age 1800 - 1914.

1. The following works were used in the preparation of this chapter:  
Simon Dubnow, Die Neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, (Berlin, 1920).  
Ismar Elbogen, A Century of Jewish Life, (Philadelphia, 1944).  
Ismar Elbogen, Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, (Berlin, 1935).  
Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany, (New York, 1960).  
Marvin Lowenthal, The Jews of Germany, (Philadelphia, 1936).  
Martin Philipppson, Neuste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, (Leipzig, 1907).  
Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany, (New York, 1957).  
A.J.P. Taylor, The Course of German History, (New York, 1936).

## III

## The False Dawn 1800 - 1814.

## The Jew and the State.

The authors of these works of fiction were very much concerned with the legal conditions of the Jews throughout the period under discussion. At the beginning of the century the situation was good and the Jews were filled with hope. The French had introduced new ideas of tolerance. The ghetto walls behind which the Jews had lived for centuries fell. The consolidation of many small states led to uniformly good conditions for the Jews of large sections in Germany.

The conditions which existed in the ghetto before the arrival of the French were medieval. August Lewald described them in a story set in the late eighteenth century. "On Sunday and festival days as on all festive occasions, the gates were closed and if the Jews dared to leave their homes and approached the iron gates of their prison in order to breathe some fresh air, they were frequently teased and irritated through blows from sticks or wood tossed in by the bold drunkards who roamed through the alleys, just as we are tempted to do to wild animals in their cages. In their humiliating position, this people could do little more than express its anger and fury by biting into the cudgels thrown at them and consoling themselves with the thought that they were God's chosen people and also planning small vengeance in trade where they would judge their tormentors and mockers." <sup>1</sup> This situation was changed during the period of French administration. The same author discussed the new freedom in another story. When the French arrived in Frankfurt, the Jews

moved out of their confined quarters. "Under the protective wings of the Grand-duke's eagle, the Jews were even permitted to live on the Zeil and the Leifrauenberge; they could enjoy the healthy air which swept through Frankfurt by the grace of God, along with the Christians. Only the second hand dealers and the hucksters of the lowest kind remained behind in the damp old ghetto and wanted to hear nothing of the generous emancipation which the Grand-duke permitted them to enjoy." <sup>2</sup> In those parts of the land which were ruled by the French new rights were granted to all Jews. No comparable changes were introduced in Prussia. Fanny Lewald, who was born in this period, spoke of the position of the Jews in Berlin at the beginning of the century in her novel Prinz Louis Ferdinand. In it Rachel Levin told the German prince: "Do you know what forces the Jews to marry off their beloved children to strangers in a strange land? The insane law of your land which attempts to wipe us off the earth as poisonous vermin, and permits only two children of every Jewish family to marry and to settle in their native city. .... I have given my right of marriage to my brother; it is better this way that I shall die alone and childless." She felt that she would not have the courage to continue this cursed existence into another generation. <sup>3</sup> Such bitter complaints by the intellectual leaders of Berlin led to no remedial action.

Although rights had been granted by the French and no progress had been made in other portions of Germany, the Jews were loyal to their deposed provincial rulers and were willing to fight for the liberation of Germany from French rule. The patriotism of the Jew

was frequently cited by these authors, but not in an apologetic manner.

At the beginning of the century the loyalty of the Jew was primarily local. Levy told that the allegiance of one Jew were consumed by "three things - the service in the synagogue of Reb Joseph Grädnitz, his noble benefactor (the local prince), and his only son, Wolf."<sup>4</sup> Ulla Wolff writing at the beginning of the next century mentioned the Jews' willingness to fight alongside their fellow Prussians against the French during these years. They were still oppressed, but "this did not prevent them from developing a love for their native land and an enthusiasm during the War of Liberation. This was exemplified in great bravery during the war and as much in the works of humanity and welfare in peace time. The Jewish women rivalled the others in their kindness and love of their fellow men and made a name for themselves in the nursing of the wounded and the care of the soldiers. They were also brave in battle and were admired for this."<sup>5</sup>

Some Jews were reported to have been quite heroic and were willing to risk their lives for the German cause. August Lewald, who lived through this period, told of one Jew who helped an isolated fort at great personal danger. Publicly he denied them aid, but privately he extended it generously. When the struggle was over, he was disappointed. "I remained an unnoticed citizen as before, a 'Protected Jew', as the station was officially called in those days. Through my riches, which were much envied, I could maintain a low step in commercial society."<sup>6</sup> From Dresden Levy reported in her story "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter" that there were some Jews who favored

the French. "The considerably increased Jewish community counted among its members those who were enthusiastic for the French ideas of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' and who admired the French regime, but this was distasteful to Wolf. His heart remained with the benefactor of his fathers, the former Elector and now King, Friedrich August. He mourned when after long imprisonment, he had to give up a part of his domain." <sup>7</sup> This man's love of his ruler continued in spite of the rights which the French had granted, which the Russians continued to honor after their occupation of the city, and which had now been taken away by the new native government. He had personally been generous to German officers whom he had equipped. If the man had not returned from the war, the family was never presented a bill. Furthermore he had demonstrated his allegiance to the old ruler by being among the men deputized to welcome him to the city again. <sup>8</sup> The liberal treatment of the Jews disappeared from all sections of Germany; Mosenthal vividly described the good times under the French in Hessen-Nassau as well as the rapid decline of conditions when the old German government was restored. <sup>9</sup> Fanny Lewald also mentioned that a few Jews were not happy when French victory turned into <sup>10</sup> defeat. This should have been the predominant sentiment, especially outside Prussia, but it was shown in only two works, Levy's "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter" and Fanny Lewald's Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht. The feelings which existed among the general population around them prevailed among the Jews even though this was contrary to their own interests.

The years of fighting brought hardship to many sections of Germany and the Jews suffered as well. Fanny Lewald told of troops which

were boarded with families in East Prussia. They were not always well behaved.<sup>11</sup> Some Jews managed to avoid unpleasantness with strange soldiers, either by accident or through stratagem. Levy stated that those who had not taken advantage of the French regime's permission to leave the ghetto and live elsewhere were now quite fortunate. As long as they lived in the poor ghetto no troops were billeted with them. This old quarter of the city possessed an additional advantage; behind its walls it was easier to guard oneself against the immoralities of the troops.<sup>12</sup> Berthold Auerbach described the plight of the Jews in the Black Forest during these years in his story "Die Kriegspfeife". "The Jews were worst off. Even if one takes everything from a peasant, one cannot carry off his land or his plow. But the Jews had their possessions in movable goods, in money and merchandise; for that reason they trembled three and four times as much (before the retreating army which was to march through the town). The president of the Jewish congregation discovered an artful solution. He had a huge barrel of red wine, which had been well fortified with brandy, set up in front of his house and arranged bottles full of this stuff on a table. With this he intended to serve the uninvited guests and to hold them off. The trick worked, especially as the French were anyhow in a hurry and wanted to march further."<sup>13</sup>

The war provided economic opportunities; they were sometimes responsible for the political views of the Jew. Some men became military suppliers as they sought a quick path to wealth, others were forced into this field through the dislocation brought by the war. August Lewald described a businessman who left his wife, his

home, and his store near the Galician border and became a sub-contractor for military supplies. Fortune smiled upon him during most of the war; he earned vast sums of money. In the final stage of the conflict, he once left his supplies too near the battle field and large amounts of grain were captured by Napoleon. Half the original amount had been sold at a substantial profit, but the remainder appeared lost. The man then tried to do business with the French,<sup>14</sup> but failed in this. As this author reported, there was anyhow a group among the Jews who felt that political loyalties were meaningless; a man ought simply to do business wherever he could. When the French were victorious, these men did not hesitate to sell to<sup>15</sup> them. Another military suppliers entered this field due to the difficulties which the conflict had brought. As an innkeeper he found his business ruined by the unsafe conditions of the roads in 1813. Finally the inn was attacked and looted by a marauding band. He "had a keen idea. He would become a camp follower to a corps which was just being outfitted. In his cellar there remained a few barrels of wine and brandy which had escaped the rapacious plunderers. He loaded them on a cart and set out after the army." This man was lost in the war.<sup>16</sup> Ulla Wolff told of this incident in her story "Naemi Ehrenfest".

During the opening years of the nineteenth century the Jews had been given new rights, but they were not permitted to retain them. With the defeat of the French the conditions which had prevailed before their conquest were restored as much as possible. The Jews on the whole remained loyal to Germany as these authors clearly indicated. They hoped that the rights given by the French would con-

tinue under the restored German governments, but their dreams were to be disappointed. They felt that Germany was their native land; August Lewald stated this briefly. He felt that the Jews had no native land, although they treated Germany as if it were that, and felt at home in Germany. "The native land of the Jews lies across the sea; I do not know toward which corner of Syria or Palestine I should stretch out my arms and cry out: 'Here is the soil which will not throw me out like a stranger!' And yet it does so; in that, the actual native land, the poor Jews are most severely oppressed. In the land of the cave where Abraham and Sarah's remains rest, an immigrant Turk spits and commands them Glauer, the strange dog!"<sup>17</sup> The Jews wanted to prove that they were good Germans, but that did not help them.

## Notes.

## The Jew and the State 1800 - 1814.

1. August Lewald, "Der Familienschmuck", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, (Leipzig, 1844), III, 3.
2. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 181.
3. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, (Berlin, 1859), III, 66.
4. Alphonse Levy, "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter", Erlebt. Erzählungen aus dem jüdischen Familienleben, (Berlin, n.d.), p. 30.
5. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, (Berlin, 1905), VIII, 189.
6. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 162.
7. Alphonse Levy, op. cit., p. 36.
8. Ibid., p. 36.
9. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Tante Guttraud", Gesammelte Werke, (Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1878), I, 11.
10. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, (Berlin, 1871), I, 271.
11. Ibid., I, 272 f.
12. Alphonse Levy, op. cit., p. 33.
13. Berthold Auerbach, "Die Kriegspfeife", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, (Stuttgart, 1884), I, 34.
14. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 205.
15. Ibid., XII, 220.
16. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 211.
17. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 235.

### The Jew and His Livelihood 1800 - 1814.

The Jews who were described by these writers during the first half of the century were mainly settled in the rural areas. At the beginning of the period under discussion few ways of earning a livelihood were open to them; slowly this condition changed, but the Jews remained cautious during the time of the French occupation and the War of Liberation.<sup>1</sup> A few had achieved wealth and status before this time; others gained wealth during these precarious years; the vast majority did not improve their economic position until later decades.

Not all Jews were happy about the changes which limited emancipation had brought. Some privileged positions soon disappeared, but in the first decade of the century the court Jew, a man who had attained wealth and stature in the eighteenth century, was still a trusted individual in the Black Forest. Berthold Auerbach in "Des Schlossbauers Vefele" described the confidence which was placed in this man. He was not only given business ventures which were to be executed, but also delicate personal matters. The most difficult family affairs were entrusted to his hands.<sup>2</sup>

A number of occupations in which the rural Jew engaged were described by these authors. Ulla Wolff told of the life of an innkeeper in some detail in her story, "Naemi Ehrenfest". This was a precarious livelihood. The innkeeper was often subject to the whims of the rough wagoners; he fell prey to marauding bands as the isolated location made robbery tempting. A portion of the income was derived from travellers, while the largest part came from the local population. When these people became drunk, they expressed their feelings of hatred against the Jewish owner. Despite

the dangers it was considered safer and more lucrative than peddling, the major alternative manner of earning a living. It also required a larger initial investment. "Chajim Ehrenfest obviously had a bit more energy and intelligence than other Jewish peddlers, for already in the year 1807 he had obtained permission to open a little bar for wine and brandy and other liquors on the highway which led from Kempen to Kreuzburg. The business seemed to do well as the carters, who in those days still transported all freight in the large covered wagons, and the old mail coaches, which carried passengers, regularly stopped at Chajim Ehrenfest's bar. Slowly a kind of relay point was built up there which was quite lucrative and which enabled Chajim to establish a household. He married a strong energetic girl in 1809. This proved very useful for both his home and his business." The girl had to be resolute in order to withstand the rough customers; verbal reprimands were frequently followed by blows in that crowd. Yet this woman managed well and succeeded in intimidating even the worst of the lot.<sup>3</sup> The life of this innkeeper was not easy from a family point of view or from a Jewish one. When a child was born, only a midwife and a single friend from a nearby toll house were present. There were no other neighbors with whom friendships might be formed. Furthermore time<sup>4</sup> for this luxury did not exist. The family was completely isolated from other Jews. "Chajim Ehrenfest was a stranger in the (Jewish) community; only during the high holidays did he attend Schul in Kempen. There in the synagogue, he took his seat with the last<sup>5</sup> and the poorest."

Such isolated Jewish innkeepers were not rare. Fanny Lewald mentioned one in her novel Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht. "As they

arrived at the courtyard of the lonely inn set by the high road, the tapster, also a Polish Jew, stepped out, recognized and greeted his father-in-law (who was driving the coach).<sup>6</sup> Then he proceeded to care for the animals and to attempt to entice the passengers into the inn. August Lewald showed that the friendliness of the innkeeper depended upon the appearance of the approaching guest. In a town at the Polish frontier "the old Jew sat cozily in the dirt of the stone bench in front of the door and nodded imperceptibly with his bearded head as the stranger appeared. He asked for refreshments. The rude host sat silently, pointed to the door, and the weary stranger stepped through the inhospitable door."<sup>7</sup> In this case both parties were poor Jews.

The normal difficulties of this trade were aggravated by war. Ulla Wolff described the troubles brought by the War of Liberation. Armies passed through the land taking what they wanted, but this danger could be seen from a distance and the proper precautions could be taken. It was more difficult to fend off the restless bands of robbers and military deserters who roamed the countryside. They endangered the roads so that all commercial traffic ceased; thus the livelihood of the inn of Chajim Ehrenfest was largely destroyed. Furthermore they threatened the inn itself. "The restless times brought all kinds of military personnel onto the high road; besides there were robber bands and other elements which hid from the light of day roaming around. The safety of movement was endangered by the events of war. The lonely bar of Chajim Ehrenfest and the custom house of Selig Freudenberg were often threatened by marauding bands of ruffians. In those times it was more the cool courage and vigi-

lance of the brave wives, Esther and Goldine, than the courage of the armed men which averted the worst dangers from these hard pressed Jewish houses." The times served to bring these two isolated Jewish families nearer each other. Once while the inn was being looted, the young baby of the family was brought to the custom house in the bag of a maid. The custom house was rather safe as it was guarded by soldiers for tolls were collected there. Finally in 1813, the inn was set afire and was burned to the ground by a roving band. "When the peasants of the nearest village, who had been summoned by Selig Freudenberg, arrived, all had burned to the ground and the flames had robbed Chajim Ehrenfest of his hard earned belongings." For a little while he remained with his friends at the custom house and later he became a military suppliers. <sup>8</sup>

There were other occupations as well. Berthold Auerbach told of a peddler who made the rounds regularly in the Black Forest. He supplied the local peasants with clothing and dry goods as well as special items. He was a welcome figure in that rather isolated portion of Germany. <sup>9</sup> Fanny Lewald mentioned a poor Prussian Jew who had become a wagoner. He was not unwilling to deal in illegal border traffic during the wars at the beginning of the century. <sup>10</sup>

Many Jews were peddlers and traders as they had been for many generations. The nineteenth century was to provide new opportunities; some utilized them immediately to expand their trading. In "Memoiren eines Banquiers" August Lewald stated that "Israel too came out of its rut. The Jews as a nation are more war-like than would be imagined at first glance. Originally and according to their inner nature they are traders, and what else is trade, but

a small war in which every advantage counts and even deceit is permitted as a necessary stratagem of war." Lewald saw the Jewish trader slowly becoming more aggressive. In the early decades of the century this led to the establishment of many small stores and factories. Later this continued interest in commerce led to large business enterprises as department stores and manufacturing.

One Jew during this period became a wholesale dealer in jewels as described by August Lewald. He enjoyed displaying his treasured store of gems to relatives and friends. Another of whom Fanny Lewald spoke sold jewelry to the rural nobility in East Prussia.

A trade which had long been associated with Jews continued to flourish in these years; it was money lending. Jews had been engaged in this activity through most of the Middle Ages. The difficulties which faced them then no longer existed in the nineteenth century. August Lewald clearly depicted the troubles of a money lender during the preceding century in Frankfurt. Late one night a Christian approached the home of a Jew in the ghetto; he told him of a wealthy man at the inn who wished to borrow money. A family council discussed the advisability of following this messenger with a sizable sum of money. Was it an honest request or a clever trap? The Jew went to the inn, pawned a valuable piece of jewelry, and wished to return to his home. He was afraid to do so; he spent the night in fear of robbers in a doorway near the inn. When dawn brought some safety, he returned to his anxious family. They were certain that he had been killed. Such uncertainties did not exist in the new century except in times of war.

The wars of the Napoleonic times brought many opportunities,

legal and illegal. Large sums of money had to be transferred across the country; this had to be done quickly and a number of firms, Jewish ones among them, undertook the task, as August Lewald described in a story. <sup>15</sup> Those who had ready money available could earn vast sums through speculation in grain, but great care had to be exercised as fortunes could be lost as swiftly as they were made. <sup>16</sup> During these years there were also temptations to gain wealth dishonestly. August Lewald told of one such case in the city of Hamburg. "The mysterious wealth of the parents of the patron aroused more than usual curiosity; it was said that a very doubtful enterprise had been the foundation of it. I also heard about it from different sources. It was believed that false coinage had been imported from England and that a number of my coreligionists made their fortune in this manner." <sup>17</sup> Eventually this was proven to be so.

Ordinary money lending and banking continued during these years, but at a quickened pace. Fanny Lewald's novel Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht dealt with the rise of a Jewish banker and the decline of one of his aristocratic clients in East Prussia. This man gained considerable riches through loans to the landed nobility. These loans became more frequent as these gentlemen farmers faced the competition of the new commercial classes. Furthermore the products of their lands now faced the growing harvests from newly opened agricultural areas in the United States and Eastern Europe. The wars at the beginning of the century and the flood of noble refugees were added to these difficulties. The Jewish banker soon had a large portion of his main client's estate mortgaged to him. He <sup>18</sup> refused to take advantage of this situation, however. When the debts

became excessive the Jew suggested a partial solution to the problem. He asked that the unused villa in the capitol, Berlin, be sold to him; he had long thought of moving his family and his firm to that city. The Baron refused to part with any portion of his property permanently. <sup>19</sup> He then tried to turn to Gentile sources for further loans, but was indirectly refused. Everyone knew that he had always dealt with the Jewish banker and wondered what had gone wrong. To protect themselves against this unknown factor, they set such high interest rates <sup>20</sup> that the Baron could not afford to borrow from them. He had become very dependent upon the Jewish banker.

Later the son of the nobleman continued the pattern of loans and was left almost bankrupt after a bad harvest. He realized that the Jew had been most generous to him and could readily have ruined him; nevertheless, he looked down upon his Jewish banker and benefactor. "In spite of the rights which the new times and the new laws gave them, he did not stand on the same level; they were in no way equals. His and their concept of honor could not be the same. Their world was not his and it remained within his discretion to loosen the ties and give up the association as soon as the times bettered themselves." <sup>21</sup> For the present he needed the Jew, but he did not respect him. The long family association had not brought about true friendship between the two parties. The fate of these two families, so intertwined, but yet so distant from each other, was delicately traced by Fanny Lewald.

In another novel, Die Familie Darner, Fanny Lewald told us of a different Jewish activity. Even early in the century they were active on the stock market. They were not permitted on the floor of the market, but managed to entertain a good deal of business immediately

outside the doors of the exchanges. Lewald concluded her description of the exchange in Königsberg in 1808 with the remarks: "They undertook all the jobbing of the entire Polish and Russian produce trade. Strange, but familiar to the Königsberger's, these figures moved about with their long beards, their Assyrian sidelocks, their fur lined pointed caps, worn despite the summer heat, and their black kaftans. They could be distinguished from a distance through their lively gestures and the strange mixture of their speech. They were treated disparagingly by all, but were used by all."<sup>22</sup>

The description of business life during these early years of the century was limited to a few clearly drawn examples. The old trades in which Jews had engaged in the previous century continued to be the dominant ways of gaining a livelihood. The new and exciting rise of fortunes had not yet begun, so there was little in the commercial life to interest an author. The best account is that of the innkeeper and his difficult lot; significantly it was written at the beginning of the following century when these troubles had long passed and could be romanticized. Fanny Lewald's treatments of business matters was incidental to the development of the characters and the family situations which were her main interest. None of the novels primarily concerned with economic problems were given a setting earlier than the middle of the century.

The Jews who were depicted in these stories of the beginning of the nineteenth century were drawn sympathetically. Fanny Lewald's banker in the novel Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht was an eminently fair and kind man who could have used his financial power, but chose

## Notes.

## The Jew and His Livelihood 1800 - 1814.

1. Martin Philippon, Neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, I, 27.
2. Berthold Auerbach, "Des Schlossbauers Fevele", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, I, 44.
3. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 209.
4. Ibid., VIII, 209.
5. Ibid., VIII, 208.
6. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, II, 408 ff.
7. August Lewald, "Prerbracki", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, VII, 8.
8. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 211.
9. Berthold Auerbach, "Die Kriegspfeife", op. cit., I, 36.
10. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, II, 398.
11. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 274.
12. Ibid., XII, 185.
13. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, I, 268 ff.
14. August Lewald, "Der Familienschmuck", op. cit., III, 17 f.
15. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 215.
16. Ibid., XII, 222.
17. Ibid., XII, 169 f.
18. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, I, 446.
19. Ibid., II, 15 f.
20. Ibid., II, 35.
21. Ibid., III, 145 ff.
22. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, (Berlin, 1887), II, 257.

to restrain himself. Her picture of the Jews at the exchange was gentle. August Lewald's account was more factual. His very long story "Memoiren eines Banquiers" reported the life of the period in a semi-biographical manner; he lived through this period and told what he saw as well as commented upon it. Each of these authors presented a fair and perhaps slightly romanticized picture of the Jew and his business relationships.

### Social Life and the Family 1800 - 1814.

The social aspirations of the Jew were to become a major topic of these nineteenth century writers. As the economic position of the Jews improved they wished to rise in status as their Gentile counterparts in the new commercial classes. At the beginning of the century few Jews had elevated themselves; the riches which they had amassed were moderate. Their social ambitions were likewise limited. As these novels described them they wished for good living quarters, higher standing among their coreligionists, and some acceptance from the Gentile social world.

During these years many Jews were able to move from the ghetto. Within its walls few had been able to live comfortably. A ghetto dwelling of the previous century was described by Lewald in his story "Der Familienschmuck". "In the wide, desolate, and sooty room, which could hardly be called a real room according to our standards, there sat the family of the old Jew Hessel ... In the fireplace some coals glowed, upon which a few potatoes slowly found a martyr's death in order to be consumed by the numerous offsprings of Hessel." The man thus depicted was affluent.<sup>1</sup> In the new century those who possessed wealth lived comfortably. Their homes were as pleasant and as well appointed as those of the Christian neighbors.<sup>2</sup> At times this led to some curious mixtures. August Lewald told of an Orthodox family which continued to observe all laws and rituals, yet a holy font and a picture of Mary were hung on the wall. This imitation of their neighbors was naturally the source of much mocking.<sup>3</sup>

The wealthy Jews readily gained status among their fellows; if religiously inclined, they would be honored by offices in the

community. Wealth was the principal criterion of recognition. Another which was also important was the land of origin; even at the beginning of the century there was some immigration from the East. August Lewald spoke of this animosity which was rather mild when compared to the bitter feelings against Polish and Russian Jews which were found later. In the early years the differences between the Germans and the Poles and Russians were not yet too great. "The Polish Jews are a separate type of vigorous people; they are very different from their German brothers. Remote from all modern culture, they stand under the direct influence of the original commandments and these give them a truly Oriental tinge. They generally live simply and only the wealthiest among them know to some extent what might be called luxuries. They are intelligent, possess much inborn humor, and these gifts are constantly enhanced through pondering the laws of the Talmud which serves them as recreation and diversion. Added to this is an unbending stubbornness and strong persistence in their purpose. They are therefore very suited for the execution of great plans. Yet they encompass only a striving after wealth and what is called happiness of the home - a fruitful wife and a good dowry. My future father-in-law was one of this Polish type, even if he did wear German clothing. He was also arrogant and gifted with another Polish Jewish trait - a terrible liar." They were looked upon as clever Jews who knew how to make themselves indispensable to a business, so that they were finally able to marry into the owner's family and to become partners of the firm. A rich Polish Jew had no status in the eyes of the Germans. If his children were educated in Germany, then his

origin would be forgotten.

It was much more difficult to attain status among the Christians. These authors showed that wealth, education, and fine homes made no difference. Fanny Lewald portrayed the frustrations of the daughter of a rich banker in Rothenfeld in East Prussia. Her fine education and her excellent grooming did not make her acceptable to society. Neither her beauty nor her accomplishments were able to gain her entrance to the proper homes. These social difficulties were partially responsible for the sympathies toward France which were expressed by this family. The chief client of this banker was a Gentile nobleman; the relationship between the two men had always been cordial and they had known each other for decades, but there too the social gap could not be closed.

Various ways of gaining acceptance were tried; they would be used many times during this century. August Lewald showed that great charitable efforts would be ignored. In Hamburg they made no impression on society. Nor did conversion bring the desired results; this author quoted a case where the convert found himself treated as a Pariah by both sides.

The most frequently used method for gaining the attention of the Christian world was through entertainments, theater parties, dinners, parties, or intellectual salons. This was an innovation; according to August Lewald it was completely unknown in the middle of the eighteenth century. In a story in that setting a Greek prince asked a beautiful Jewess whether she would attend the grand ball given by the city. She was surprised: "I at the masked ball!! A poor Jewess and the Romans! Even the wealthiest among us cannot share

in this honor and a poor Israelite would surely be killed if he were seen venturing into the vicinity of the festivities." In<sup>11</sup> the new century mingling of Jews and Gentiles often occurred at social functions, but generally with the Jew as host. Fanny Lewald wrote of the salons held by the fashionable women of Berlin. The husbands did not share their enthusiasm, but did not object to their wives dabbling in the arts and entertaining intellectuals.<sup>12</sup> She told how flattered a Jewish money lender felt when he succeeded in attracting a prince to his theater party. The prince came as he needed a sizable loan and would thereby have it granted to him on favorable terms. In return for his presence, the cash boxes would be opened wide.<sup>13</sup> A little later when the Napoleonic wars led to a curtailment of general social activity, the Jews found it easy to attract Gentiles to their homes. Any source of parties and amusement was welcome in those troubled years.<sup>14</sup>

The struggle for recognition from the Christian world was shown to have its minor triumphs, but actually it did not succeed even in these years when only a handful of Jews were involved. Under special circumstances the Christian might attend a party or spend an evening in Jewish company, but no Jews were invited to their homes. Some Jews felt very frustrated when they encountered this barrier; others were satisfied for the time being with their improved economic conditions and with the higher status which they had attained among their coreligionists.

These novels which were concerned with the social life of the Jew were also concerned with the family in this changing time. They discussed the new role of women who had become somewhat emancipated.

In the previous century the place of the woman had been well established. August Lewald described a Jewess of the middle of the eighteenth century. "Not far from there, hands in her lap, sat the mother, the only heavier one, in the family circle. Her face expressed repose. She is not like her Christian counterpart, quietly ruling over her little domain, instructing the girls and restraining the boys; instead we find her in the store at her husband's side - counting money, weighing ducats, melting gold and silver chains, and gathering the pure metal from the ashes. With the cleverness of a man and the adroitness of her people, she straightened out difficult problems and planned new, profitable undertakings." The early decades of the new century were marked by few changes in the role of women, except in the large cities. Ulla Wolff's Esther, the wife of the innkeeper also helped her husband constantly. "He married Esther Manuel in 1809, a strong and energetic girl as could be frequently found among the Jews of that time. This was of great benefit for both his business and his household. One needed a resolute character and a steady eye to deal with these guests of the road and to keep them orderly. How often was it necessary to add physical interference to good words in order to keep drunkards, tramps, and all kinds of riff-raff in line; they frequented the inn in addition to the wagoners. But Esther Manuel knew how to deal with these people; often a look from her was said to be enough to check even the wildest and roughest. She was reckoned as a woman of special character." One knew little about the origin of this girl. "It was said that she was born in Westphalia and came to Kempen with some wandering Jews. Chajim saw her at his inn where the people rested; he quickly

decided to have her as his wife. Anyhow romance spun its web around this marriage, spun a particularly thick web. At the birth of Michael only the village midwife and a friendly neighbor from the fifteen minute distant custom house were present." 17

Occasionally women were quite independent. Mosenthal in his story "Raschelchen" mentioned a Jewish hairdresser who moved into a community in Hessen-Nassau early in the century. The Jews were shocked by her independence as well as by her lack of a Scheitel. She soon established a fine clientele among both the Jews and the Gentiles; it included the nobility and military officers. The good conditions did not last too long and with the fall of Napoleon there was no further use for her services. She ended her days by becoming the caretaker of the local mikveh which was a charity job. Such complete emancipation of a woman must have been rare in those years. However changes in this direction were taking place in the large cities.

Some of the rich women were leaders in the intellectual life of Berlin. Others assumed a position of leadership in their families. Fanny Lewald dealt with such a woman in her novel Prinz Louis Ferdinand. "In all the changes of fortune which befell the family, the mother with her unbending determination never lost sight of her goal, to assure her children an honorable means of livelihood through proper education. All that was not granted to her - learning and culture - should be possessed by her children." Her strength of purpose made her revered by her children, not loved. "It was the reverence of the Jews for their strong, all-knowing, zealous God, not the free love of the Christian to theirs." This woman retained her dominant role in the family even after the children had grown 18 19

up and become a part of emancipated Berlin.

These novelists of a romantic age were quite concerned with marriage and the problems which arose from courtship. A good many of the stories set in the early years of the century were sentimental and dealt with family matters at length.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century the old restrictions against more than a limited number of Jewish weddings in each family were still enforced; <sup>21</sup> they were soon abolished. Later only special circumstances led some to seek a wife from a distant place. In earlier times it had often been necessary to arrange marriages with Jews in Poland, so that the younger members of the family who were not permitted to marry in their own city could be married and have a place to settle. Levy told of a man who had strong ties with the community of his origin. He sent his son to Bohemia to find a wife, although he realized that the dowry thus obtained would be smaller <sup>22</sup> than one in Saxony.

Marriages were generally arranged by the parents and the consent of the parties involved was obtained later. August Lewald stated that this situation was accepted and that the girls were satisfied with the choice of their parents. <sup>23</sup> This author told of some cases in which the young couple made the decision. In one instance the young man proposed and was accepted by the girl; the reception of the suspicious family was cool. The suitor was shown in his true light when scandal and disgrace overtook the family a little later. He withdrew, forgot his love, and attempted to make his fortune on <sup>24</sup> the stock market rather than through marriage. This was always an easy and tempting path to wealth. Lewald also wrote of an employee

in a banking firm who was intent upon succeeding in it. He bided his time and watched several suitors suggested by the family rejected by the girl. Finally he won her and the position in the firm which he desired. <sup>25</sup>

Fanny Lewald wrote of a home where an element of choice existed for the young single daughter. As she became older she was faced with constant pressure to marry. Finally she was told rather bluntly not to set her sights too high and to accept lesser proposals. <sup>26</sup> She, however refused to be influenced by her parents and rebelled against each of their suggestions. Similar rebellion on the part of a young man was described by August Lewald. <sup>27</sup>

During the difficult years of the War of Liberation parents were concerned with the dowry of their children. Fanny Lewald wrote of one anxious father who removed a large sum of money from his banking house and placed it into the soundest securities, so that his daughter would have a proper dowry no matter what might occur. <sup>28</sup>

Both simple and elaborate weddings were mentioned during these years. Hermann Schiff in Das koschere Haus told of a wealthy family in Hamburg which rented a ballroom for the occasion; all the guests came in their Sabbath garments. Families of more restricted means in the same city merely held an open house for the friends of the family. This too was considered adequate according to August Lewald. <sup>30</sup>

Contrary to our own time sex was not a major theme in these stories. Twice in this period were love affairs mentioned by August Lewald. Both were with Christian servants, something which was to become more common later in the century. One affair had an innocent beginning. A Jewish family customarily hired some extra Christian

servants, poor people, to look after those tasks which were absolutely necessary on the Sabbath. The regular servants could not be asked to work on that day. The man of the house had an affair with such a girl, had a son by her, and paid for his maintenance. The son grew up hating his father and later tried to embarrass  
31 him. Such incidents occurred in both the city and the country. 32

Only a few themes in the area of social life and the family were used by these authors. The treatment in these novels set the pattern for later periods in the century. As the Jews became more affluent, the writers spent a larger portion of their works describing the aspirations of those men. In these decades the Jews were still poor and lived largely in their own communities. They had just emerged from the ghetto and had not yet acquired fortunes which would permit them to give some attention to status. No novelist dealt with the poor, simple Jew of these years and his slow entrance into the modern world. That theme, among many other possible ones, did not interest these novelists.

The treatment given family life was rather slight; perhaps more material exists in the novels of Jenny Hirsch, Oskar Wolff, or others whose writings were not available to this author. The problems connected with marriage were to be given a thorough treatment later in the century.

## Notes.

## Social Life and the Family 1800 - 1814.

1. August Lewald, "Der Familienschmuck", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, III, 3.
2. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 31 ff.
3. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 167.
4. Ibid., XII, 152 f.
5. Ibid., XII, 208 f.
6. Ibid., XII, 209.
7. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, I, 269 f.
8. Ibid., II, 60 f.
9. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 227.
10. Ibid., XII, 206.
11. August Lewald, "Der Familienschmuck", op. cit., III, 47.
12. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand; Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht.
13. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, p. 68.
14. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, II, 242.
15. August Lewald, "Der Familienschmuck", op. cit., III, 5.
16. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 208 f.
17. Ibid., VIII, 209.
18. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", Gesammelte Werke, I, 167.
19. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand.
20. Ibid., I, 116.
21. Ibid., III, 66.
22. Alphonse Levy, "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter", Erlebt. Erzählungen aus dem jüdischen Familienleben, p. 32.
23. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 207.
24. Ibid., XII, 168.
25. Ibid., XII, 211.
26. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 117.
27. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 202.
28. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, III, 181 f.
29. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, (Hamburg, n.d.), p 40 f.
30. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 224.
31. Ibid., XII, 242 f.
32. Ibid., XII, 179.

### Intermarriage and Conversion 1800 - 1814.

The frustration of the social ambitions of the wealthy Jews often led to intermarriage. Jewish parents felt that the generation of their children should be able to enjoy all the privileges to which their wealth and fine education entitled them. The easiest way to reach that goal was through intermarriage. It was true that the Jew who married a Christian would still be considered a Jew despite conversion, but their children would be fully accepted into Gentile society

Throughout the century the authors were concerned with this solution to the problems of the Jew. Many favored it; some were opposed to it. Intermarriage was frequent in the large cities at the beginning of the century; later it was to be found among all groups of Jews in every section of Germany. This has been statistically traced by Ruppin.<sup>1</sup>

Intermarriage was new to the Jews of this century; it would not have been possible at an earlier time. August Lewald spoke of the love which a Jewess felt toward a Christian nobleman in the middle of the eighteenth century, but there were no prospects of marriage.<sup>2</sup> It was first found among the emancipated Jews of Berlin; this was well described by Fanny Lewald in Prinz Louis Ferdinand. There the matter is taken for granted and little discussion about its advisability took place. The younger generation particularly favored intermarriage and the social advantages which it brought.<sup>3</sup>

Among the older generation this was not to be taken for granted. Marriage with a Christian provoked discussion among the parents as one party was generally opposed to it. Fanny Lewald portrayed a

such a scene of disagreement in Königsberg. The mother favored the marriage while the father opposed it with vigor. She saw it as a way "to remove her (daughter) from the oppression in which we and all our (family) have lived up to now." Her husband was willing to be patient and to wait for better times to bring relief. In this novel there was some mention of Judaism and residual pride in it. In another novel Fanny Lewald showed a father opposed to inter-marriage as well, but entirely on secular grounds. In Rothenfeld in East Prussia, the father suspected the motivation of the suitor; he believed his interest to be entirely financial and therefore had misgivings. These suspicions were later proven correct.

Fanny Lewald also used the theme of a Jewess who had fallen in love with a soldier. In both cases where this is part of the plot the parents showed violent opposition. In Die Familie Darner which was set in the period under discussion and in the novel Helmar which was set in the following decade the couples were finally united after true love and absolute devotion had been proven in crisis. In each case the Jewess nursed the Christian back to health.

In many instances the doubts and the opposition were stronger on the Christian side. Fanny Lewald mentioned a proud nobleman suitor who changed his mind and did not marry the daughter of a rich Jewish banker. The older generation voiced its opposition vigorously. No one of real social standing could consider marriage to a Jewess according to Fanny Lewald in her novel Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht. The limits of friendship were clearly delineated; in her novel Helmar a Christian bystander approved of the handsome looks of a young couple, "but marriage of Clamor von Wandern-Marville and a

Jewess! Even if she was the daughter of an honored house, like  
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 that of the Wollmann's - that is impossible."

Fanny Lewald had a Prussian officer explode when his son began to discuss the possibility of intermarriage. He could not conceive of his son marrying a Jewess; he had been anxious to see the boy married, but not in this way. When the son stated that the Jewish parents had agreed and felt no prejudice against such a match, he roared: "Should we thank them for the honor! To take Jews into his home, into his family, just now when in opposition to the French one has come to understand the meaning of the German soul and Prussian love of country. Jews? Never!" Had the son wanted to marry a poor, ordinary girl, he would not have been overjoyed, but he could have accepted that, but never a Jewish girl. She might fit into some Christian homes, but not into this one. Despite all the pleas of the son, this man was unwilling to make the slightest con-  
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 cession. In her novel Helmar Fanny Lewald showed similar emotion in a Prussian general. He held a high station in society and did not welcome Jews into his home. He would not consider making a Jewess a part of his family. When confronted with his son's love, he pushed the notion aside as a temporary infatuation which would pass quickly enough. Only after he and the Jewish parents had seen  
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 that nothing would separate the couple did they reluctantly consent.

Intermarriage in this century invariably meant conversion to Christianity. This was always expected and was not even open to discussion. It was only in this way that the Jewish partner of the match could be assured of entrance into the proper society. The lessons which led to conversion and the ceremony itself were des-

cribed. The Christian who thought it an act of kindness to permit his child to marry a Jew could be very blunt about these matters as one character in Fanny Lewald's Die Familie Darner: "She is still a Jewess! She must be taught the doctrines of Christianity, and must be accepted into our church and society through baptism. We must agree on that, sir!" The words sounded cool, even if justified in the (atmosphere)of joy of the lovers, but they did not further disturb the happy conversation." Later the girl's father replied: "How could we have any objections to the Christian doctrine, to any doctrine which tries to ban brutality and egotism from mankind and train ... and enoble it through the love of ones neighbors. Spinoza and Moses Mendelssohn did not live in vain. I believe that Lessing did not write in vain for any of us." In this case the Christian father had been violent in his opposition to the marriage and was hardly reconciled to it when he made this statement. The Jewish parents had felt no objection from the outset.

Most conversions were made for the sake of marriage, though this might not always be admitted in retrospect. Fanny Lewald had Rahel Levin state: "How I suffered when I was still a Jew, what inner struggles I had, what conflicts; how has all of that disappeared since I publicly became a Christian." The friend to whom these remarks were addressed then reminded her that the true reason for religious change had not been conviction, but her husband.

Some became Christians out of conviction. The religion of their fathers had lost all meaning for them; this feeling was generally mixed with social ambitions as was shown by August Lewald.

A couple in Hamburg in the second decade of the century decided upon baptism. Judaism had lost all meaning for them. As they did not wish to hurt the feelings of the older generation in their family and did not desire publicity, they travelled to Vienna for the instruction and the ceremony. "At that time he too was strongly attracted by the essence of Christianity and tore himself loose from the old customs and traditions which had guided his way since his youth and which had been held as truth by him." Finally they went to Vienna. "My wife stepped boldly ahead in this matter; she moved me with her confidence. I must admit that although my education was very different from hers and although I had much more and better formal education, her mind had long ago abandoned Judaism without further ado - that Judaism which is only an outward manifestation, but which is constantly nourished by the kernel of Jewish religious life. She was more of a stranger in her environment than I, although my wife knew less about it and observed more out of habit. Our baptism was to take place in Vienna and to be kept a secret. We wanted to restrain ourselves and to live as Jews as long as the father of my wife remained alive, and thus to spare the old man the grief which he would undoubtedly have felt." In Vienna they began classes; the husband was bored, but the wife who had little education found the instruction suitable. Both were happy with the conversion. Now they would be able to observe their religion and could worship in a quiet atmosphere. They were moved by the simple conversion ceremony. "Behind him lay the Talmud with its ponderous and casuistic commentaries; gone is the dirt and pain of Jewish life, now lovingly accepted into the

community of Christianity, so he thought, now himself a Christian."

He soon discovered that the conversion made little difference to 'old' Christians. They accepted invitations to his home more readily, but none were given in return. He was soon forced to cease his parties as only theatrical people and old officers frequented them. He felt that he was making himself ridiculous through them. 15

Max Ring in the novel Unfehlbar told how one Jew was driven to conversion through the attitude of the Jewish community. The event took place shortly after the War of Liberation, but had its roots in this period. The young Jew in Upper Silesia had joined the army, moved by patriotism. He had risen to the rank of officer, had been decorated, and had become accustomed to the freedom of a military officer. Upon his return to his native community, he resented the constant scrutiny of his beliefs and practices by the members of the congregation. Finally he was even threatened with public excommunication unless he became Orthodox in his practices. He was unwilling to permit any interference in his private affairs and so converted. 16 This incident set the stage for the novel which was concerned with his fate in an 'old' Christian world.

Few attempts were made to missionize the Jews in these novels. August Lewald told how the indirect influence of laymen was felt. A woman who regularly discussed religion with a Catholic slowly became interested in that faith and considered conversion. 17 Generally the Jews proceeded out of their own initiative. Whatever missionary activities there might have been found no echo in the books of the entire century.

Attention was given by some authors in this period and the

following one to the lessons which led to conversion and to the ceremony of conversion. The ceremony was usually impressive and simple; August Lewald mentioned that in a passage cited and this was the feeling expressed by his niece Fanny Lewald in her novels. In 1811 in Königsberg the conversion was held on the day prior to the first Sunday of Advent. "It was executed on Saturday night in the apartment of the pastor and in the presence of the three families. The next morning, Flora, her groom, and his father should visit the church for the first time and receive communion. It had been John's original plan that the banns be announced then and that the wedding take place on the day before Christmas."<sup>18</sup>

In another novel, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, this author described a difficulty which must have been frequent among prospective converts. These skeptical Jews were not likely to become strongly believing Christians; the liberal atmosphere of their homes militated against that. During the Napoleonic era this obstacle could be overcome without vexation. The father of an intelligent doubting girl found a liberal minister who was less interested in the dogma of the church and stressed its ethics. Such a pastor would explain much as myth and legend and thereby make the new<sup>19</sup> religion more palatable.

August Lewald twice discussed the attitude of Christians and Jews to the new converts. This was to become a frequent topic in novels set later in the century. This author had already shown the lack of social acceptance given one 'new' Christian. In that case, cited earlier in this chapter, the conversion had proceeded

without unnecessary fanfare and contained an element of conviction, but this made little difference in the eyes of the Gentile world of Hamburg. The negative reception given to newly baptized Jews was stated clearly by a Viennese prince in 1814. A woman had come to him to plead for her father, a banker, who had been converted and was now accused of some illegal financial dealings. The prince spoke to her sternly. "I hope that your husband did not become a Christian to the detriment of his fellow citizens. ....that he became a Christian in order to be able to carry on transactions not permitted to Jews unpunished, because they are bad for society as a whole, and are never or seldom practiced by Christians. In my land all conversions are very carefully watched for this reason and if such suspicions are substantiated, the permission to convert is not granted." He added that he hoped the 'old' Christians would never have occasion to complain about her husband as they now did about her father.

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If the marriage and conversion took place without the consent of the Jewish parent then a similarly harsh reception might be given by that side. August Lewald told of an Orthodox father in Hamburg who refused to have further contact with his son. He knew that the boy was suffering and did not earn enough to properly support himself and his family, but that made no difference. The bond between them had been permanently cut; nothing could change this attitude. This attitude was seldom found in the immediate family, however; the novels of Fanny Lewald made this clear. In most cases the Jewish parents, or at least one of them, was interested in the intermarriage and did all possible to bring it about. It was con-

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sidered a step in the proper direction by these Jews who longed to see their children lead an easier life than they had lived.

For the novelists of the nineteenth century intermarriage and conversion became the most popular theme along with anti-Semitism. Judging by the number of conversions which took place in every decade of the century this was a topic very much on the minds of many Jews. The authors who discussed the matter in this chapter were converts themselves, except for Max Ring. Both August Lewald and Fanny Lewald lived much of their lives as Christians. They vividly portrayed their own inner conflicts in the novels quoted in this chapter and in others. The picture of the converts given by them was one of continued uneasiness. They could never be certain of complete acceptance by the 'old' Christians; sometimes this was bluntly stated by a Gentile while on other occasions it was made equally clear through social ostracism. A few Jews at the beginning of the century in Berlin almost succeeded in gaining admission to Gentile society, but even there the relationship did not become that of equals. The intellectuals met in the salons of the Jews; they did not invite them into their own houses. The solution of conversion to various Jewish problems was stated in every decade, but already at the outset of the century it was shown to be wrought with difficulties.

## Notes.

## Intermarriage and Conversion 1800 - 1814.

1. Arthur Ruppin, Die Juden der Gegenwart, (Cologne, 1911).
2. August Lewald, "Der Familienschmuck", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, III, 30.
3. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 11.
4. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 221.
5. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, I, 275 ff.
6. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 267 f; Helmar, pp. 228, 240 f.
7. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, I, 292.
8. Ibid., I, 440; III, 186.
9. Fanny Lewald, Helmar, p. 137 f.
10. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 222 f.
11. Fanny Lewald, Helmar, pp. 216, 242.
12. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 292.
13. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 122 f.
14. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 236 f.
15. Ibid., XII, 277.
16. Max Ring, Unfehlbar. Zeitroman, (Jena, 1874), II, 8.
17. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 231.
18. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 307.
19. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, III, 188.
20. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 255 f.
21. Ibid., XII, 232 f.

## Religion and Education 1800 - 1814.

The weakness of Judaism among the intellectuals at the beginning of the nineteenth century was clearly shown by the novels set in those decades. Different types of Jews were portrayed; some were only a step from conversion. Others remained strict adherents to all the traditions of Judaism while a third group was shown to attempt a modernization of Judaism. Comments were made about each of these religious solutions, however, the general attitude toward Judaism was negative. When these writers discussed the religion in general terms or upon treating specific observances, the underlying note was one of disparagement. It was natural that this path should be taken by these authors as they had either converted to Christianity themselves or had long previously lost their appreciation for the traditions of their fathers.

According to Lewald's Prinz Louis Ferdinand there were many young Jews in Berlin at the start of the century who felt no loyalty to Judaism. On the other hand as intellectuals they saw the waning power of Christianity. No pressing need to convert to that religion became manifest among them. Their new religion was that of the French Revolution and the Encyclopaedists. Christianity only became a necessity when they wished to marry a person who formally adhered to this faith. These men and women thought that they had discovered a solution to their problem as Jews.

Assimilation was rarely so thoroughly reasoned out. It came slowly and the final steps toward Christianity were not taken for decades, if they were taken at all. Hermann Schiff wrote of a family to whom Judaism had no meaning, but it was not completely

abandoned. The children of the family did not attend school on Saturday or Sunday; they also ate of the festive meals of both days with various friends and relatives.<sup>2</sup> A remnant of Judaism remained even in that family. In another case, also in Hamburg, August Lewald wrote of a Jew who slowly moved from one religious position to another. Two decades later he converted to Christianity, but the steps had been taken through logical thought. The man had merely strayed in that direction.<sup>3</sup> During the same decade in that city a Jew who had freed himself from most ties with Judaism did not find it difficult to bring the same change about in his wife who came from an Orthodox background. She soon felt that the rituals may have had meaning in older times, but not in the present age. After a time the couple was accepted in general society and lived a modern life. Formal conversion was never considered by them; it did not appear to be necessary.<sup>4</sup> Fanny Lewald told of a couple in Die Familie Darner who were considered Jewish by their Gentile neighbors, but had lost all contact with their religion. In this family in Königsberg no holidays or rituals were observed, except Christmas! Naturally the parents had no objection to the marriage of their daughter to a Gentile and to her conversion to Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

August Lewald described another family which did not think it necessary to arrive at an answer for the whole group. They felt that it was best for each member of the family to discover a solution and to follow it. This was not a philosophical approach, but a practical one. The father lived a modern, emancipated life while the mother continued all the Orthodox traditions; she maintained a

kosher home and observed the Sabbath. Actually this was the only path which could have been taken by her as this woman did not have the education necessary to participate in the cultural life of Berlin.<sup>6</sup>

The overwhelming number of Jews remained Orthodox. This was taken for granted by the authors; none of them during this early period commented upon traditional Judaism. The Jews who appeared in the stories of Berthold Auerbach, August Lewald, and Max Ring were Orthodox; only special piety or extraordinary neglect called forth comments from these men. August Lewald stated that certain rich Jews in Hamburg maintained private chapels in their homes. The people of the neighborhood worshiped there. "One should imagine a fairly large room filled with numerous prayerdesks at which murmuring Jews stood closely packed and rocked back and forth as rustling trees moved by a strong wind. At set intervals deep groans escaped them. They had removed their boots and shoes and wore hats on their heads. The atmosphere was hot and stuffy."<sup>7</sup> Such piety was to be found in later decades as well.

August Lewald also mentioned the new liberal movement, but with mixed feeling. "The so-called Jewish Reformation had just begun then. One did not only want well educated German rabbis in place of the ignorant Polish Jews who occupied this important position in many cities; more was desired. The congregants wanted sermon and song instead of the confused deafening noise which had damaged the service so much in my youth." In the instance described a poet was hired as preacher, but this arrangement did not last long.<sup>8</sup>

Discussions of holidays were infrequent in these books. Although the festivals were picturesque and would have lent themselves to long, detailed descriptions, these authors chose to avoid the topic. For some it would have been difficult as they were far removed from Judaism and its practices.

August Lewald gave a description of the Day of Atonement in his long tale "Memoiren eines Banquiers": "One can readily see the strictness with which this holiday was observed in my childhood home. Even I who thought quite freely about most things could not rid myself of the notion that this was a specially holy day. An unusual feeling of awe is born into us (on this day); all philosophy cannot rid us of it. In spite of my inner reverence for the festival, my stomach was not able to spend the whole day in the sanctuary. I sneaked out and fortunately found a distant section of the city where no Jews lived and much smoke poured hospitably from the chimneys." He found an inn and broke the fast with a pork roast.<sup>9</sup> This passage pointed out the fact that the day had meaning to a very emancipated boy in Hamburg; it was a scene which presented the feelings of mixed loyalty of a generation in transition.

Among the members of an emancipated family in Berlin Fanny Lewald spoke of the holiday as a family occasion. They observed the day although "none of them fully believed in the laws and customs of Judaism anymore; although they were able to look upon the ritual either with frivolity or with the quiet tolerance of free thinkers. The ritual was holy to them because of their mother's belief in its necessity. The festival was to be revered

for the memories which it held. Periodic festivities promote family life and family love. They are like the high points of a landscape. There the sorrows can be forgotten and the quarrels patched over. At this meal, the bygone quarrels were recalled, but also forgotten. The law commanded that the Jew atone before his fellowman before entering the synagogue to repent before God." In a little speech at the dinner table, the mother asked forgiveness of her children for the wrongs which she had done them. She blessed them as they kissed her hand.<sup>10</sup> Before the meal she had seated herself with her daughter, Rahel, and expressed the wish to see her in synagogue during the following Day of Atonement; it was a way of asking her to marry during that year as only married women participated in this religious service.<sup>11</sup> The feeling of the author was well expressed in this novel.

An interesting detail of Purim was related by August Lewald; he compared the holiday to Fasnacht. In many wealthy homes of Hamburg great masquerade balls were given. The guests wandered from one party to the next all through the night. "Those homes to which a great deal of company had been invited, and especially those with pretty young girls would be specially sought out by the masked horde in which many Christians mingled. It was a not unwelcome opportunity for them to introduce themselves into Jewish homes. Partly this was done for the entertainment of the moment and partly in order to be able to lampoon Old Testament rituals and practices later before their highly amused coreligionists."<sup>12</sup> In the homes all was done to make this a truly festive occasion and also to interest the guests in the daughters of the house.<sup>13</sup>

Kashrut was rarely mentioned in these books. At the beginning of the century August Lewald related that most families continued to observe these traditions. Those who broke away from them during their younger years took pains not to be discovered by their parents. Wealthy families who habitually entertained Christians in their homes continued to observe every detail in both Hamburg and Frankfurt.

On two occasions burial customs were mentioned in these books. Berthold Auerbach noted that the Jewish cemetery of a village in the Black Forest was near the Christian one. Only a small wall separated them. Fanny Lewald spoke of one wealthy Jew in Berlin who was buried in his own garden in 1811. This was not a temporary interment due to the difficulties of the times, but a permanent grave of a fairly emancipated Jew.

Aside from the ritual and the synagogue the most important concern of every Jewish community was the education of their children. At the start of the century this was solely assumed by the congregation with little government interference or supervision. Religious leaders of that day attempted to maintain the traditional pattern of Jewish education, but it soon proved to be impossible. Changes crept into the most isolated Yeshiva and they slowly had to be faced. The first half of the century was a period of transition for Jewish education.

In some instances the change occurred swiftly. Ulla Wolff spoke of it in her story "Naemi Ehrenfest". "It was a commandment to study the Law of God; added to this were the studies of

the Mishna and Talmud. Even if a man might only be familiar with the Hebrew of the Ethics of the Fathers, there were no illiterates. At the end of the eighteenth century the students began to look into secular studies; as religious fanatics opposed such reading, it had to be done secretly. My father already used German script in Frankfurt, at least as much as was necessary for business reasons, while the majority of our coreligionists still used the Jewish script. Their language was still mixed with a great deal of jargon. When they were among themselves they used this language exclusively and this was even more true of women and children. It is astounding how quickly this changed; the next generation already reached the heights of culture. They have entered the field of literature and science and soon were not only students, but providers of new ideas." 18

Thorough education at this time was limited to the wealthy who according to August Lewald used tutors freely. They were asked to present secular subjects alongside the Jewish ones. Even among the rich education stopped at an early age and the child was brought into the business, or the girl into the kitchen to learn from her mother. 19 Hermann Schiff stated that children were sent to a Christian school in Hamburg. "We Jewish children fared rather well with our enlightened education. We studied no Hebrew, did not pray, fast, or mourn, but in spite of this we celebrated all the holidays - ate and drank well and enjoyed ourselves. We attended Christian schools, but were excused from the religious instruction. Thus we won a free hour each day, had to memorize no Biblical verses, and did not need to do the Christian assignments." 20 Education with the Christians did not always bring the expected benefits. Lewald told that the students

were treated with a kind of equality during their school years, but they soon discovered that the world around them had as little use for educated modern Jews as for uncultured ones. Even during the years of study difficulties were encountered. "Let me imagine a young man whose parents live in the ghetto of Prague or Frankfurt and are petty merchants. He attends the public schools, the gates of knowledge are opened for him and he makes good progress; while at school he may think himself the equal of the other students, for he can learn as they do. Afterwards, however, he must return to the home of his parents - to the dirty (atmosphere) and the suffering of the slums to which they have been banned by their fellow citizens where they have been condemned to spend their lives. Poor young man, if you love your native city, your parents, or you desire to serve your fellow citizens as a doctor or a businessman, then you must endure it wherever you happen to have been born and will have to live your life out there." <sup>21</sup> Secular education among Jews began during these years, but the new learning could only be partially used.

In these decades some attention was given to the education of girls; traditionally their training had been limited. According to Fanny Lewald the examples of the intellectual young women of Berlin encouraged others both in that city and in smaller German <sup>22</sup> towns. A girl's path to culture was not simple as Hermann Schiff told humerously in Das koschere Haus. In one case it depended upon the interest shown by a male cousin; he brought home books for the <sup>23</sup> girls and then proceeded to explain difficult words and ideas. This system worked rather well. Other obstacles also stood in

the way of the girls; no matter how good their education had been it was all in vain unless a Gentile governess remained in the home. "This is the situation; when we boys finish school, we continue our contact with Christians. We talk to them and they to us; once we have accustomed ourselves to the Christian dialect we continue to have these daily examples before us and we have the opportunity for further practice. It is different with girls. As long as they attend school, they talk like the Christians using the same low German, or Hamburg high German. Yet as soon as they come home, they begin to talk like their Jewish parents. An ear which has heard these singing tones since earliest childhood and only slowly adapted itself to a different pronunciation, soon forgets what has been painfully learned. Soon they talk just as before. It is a pity with my cousins who are such pretty girls, but who talk with such terrible accents. Therefore a governess was hired to cure them permanently and to keep the good example of proper German always before them." <sup>24</sup> In many of the novels, especially those of Fanny Lewald, it was assumed that the girls had a good education. In these books it was largely secular learning which had been attained <sup>25</sup> at the expense of religious instruction.

Any change in the educational pattern of German Jewry depended upon a good school system. Steps in this direction were taken by such institutions as Mendelssohn's Freischule which was mentioned <sup>26</sup> by Ulla Wolff. Usually in those early years the schools were only beginning to be established and the teachers' position was precarious. August Lewald told of a Jewish teacher in one story; he was found wandering along the highway in the middle of winter. His

story was sad. He had moved from the Rhineland to Prague with the hope of teaching there. Upon his arrival he had been caught in a web of local intrigue which soon centered around the school. As some of the men who had pledged their support now withdrew, he was forced to leave that city and to make his way home again. Luckily he had not yet moved his family to Prague.

Another element of religion which was of concern to the Jew throughout the century was charity. Many authors in these hundred years stressed the generosity of the Jews. August Lewald portrayed it in these early years in the form of a Jew of Frankfurt. "He was rich and a very charitable Israelite who gave to Christians and Jews alike and did not ask about their religious ties before giving them money. Every Friday his home was almost besieged by the poor and each received something. When he walked along the street, the artisans, the laborers, and the Jewish traders greeted him and bowed low to him. Women and children ran after him to kiss the corner of his coat. On the other hand, the aristocratic Christians avoided him and the rich Jews - there were no aristocratic ones yet - met him with envy and dislike." The poor Christians honored this man, but charity did not make him more acceptable to those who were wealthy.

These opening years of the nineteenth century were marked by the beginnings of religious change and controversy. The authors discussed these matters sufficiently to demonstrate their awareness of the problems, but they were not sufficiently interested in them to analyze them. For those who wrote of this period the most significant issue was intermarriage and the accompanying assimilation.

lation of the intellectual Jew. They were not particularly concerned with the slowly awakening masses of Jews and with their problems of transition. Nor did they care to discuss the other solutions to the problems of the modern Jew, as the new liberal Judaism.

The picture of religious life and of efforts in education represents almost exclusively the view of the very rich and the intellectuals. In discussing these matters these authors wrote of their own group with little attention to the rest of German Jewry.

## Notes.

## Religion and Education 1800 - 1814.

1. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 10 f.
2. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 11.
3. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 157.
4. Ibid., XII, 230 f.
5. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 290 f.
6. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 210.
7. Ibid., XII, 152.
8. Ibid., XII, 178 f.
9. Ibid., XII, 154.
10. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 118 ff.
11. Ibid., I, 116 f.
12. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 165.
13. Ibid., XII, 166.
14. Ibid., XII, 153.
15. Ibid., XII, 184, 216.
16. Berthold Auerbach, "Tonele mit der gebissenen Wange", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, I, 69.
17. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, II, 239.
18. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 201.
19. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 151.
20. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 10.
21. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 229.
22. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 22.
23. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 18.
24. Ibid., p. 13 f.
25. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner; Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht; Helmar; Prinz Louis Ferdinand.
26. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 199.
27. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 175.
28. Ibid., XII, 183.

### Hatred and Friendship 1800 - 1814.

Anti-Semitism as well as friendship toward Jews were of concern to these authors during the entire century. Some hatred of the Jews manifested itself in each decade. This period was a quiet one in which the Jews were treated well by some of the governments and by many individuals. Despite this a considerable amount of anti-Semitism was felt by the Jews during these years.

Ulla Wolff writing at the beginning of the next century dealt with the attitude toward Jews in Frankfurt in 1808. "The Jews participated fully or as fully as permitted in both the joys and the sorrows of the period. Indeed more in the misfortunes. After all they have been the whipping boys of history; wherever misfortune struck they have been made responsible, even though they might clearly demonstrate their innocence. This was especially true in Frankfurt where one had always felt distaste and envy toward them as all high finances were in their hands. Although they were unrestricted in their business association, they lived under considerable inner strain. Despite this they participated fully in the struggle for liberation." The conditions thus described represented an improvement over earlier decades, but they left much room for improvement as August Lewald, a contemporary author pointed out. He wrote of the situation in Hamburg: "Hatred of the Jews still reigns in most of the lands of Europe, nor will it be possible to change this condition entirely during the coming centuries. Yet the hatred is most senseless in Germany where the Jew is most advanced culturally. Despite this he is restricted

in living quarters, in the stock exchange, in the coffee houses, and in the casinos. A person's religious beliefs constantly play a part in life. One is always asked about one's religion, not as in other lands like the United States where religious matters are considered entirely personal."<sup>2</sup>

The animosity toward the Jew was shared by all classes of society. In a novel by Clara Cohn peasants and craftsmen in a village near Berlin state a solution to their problems: "Kill yourself a rich Jew."<sup>3</sup> No Jews were present, so this hatred was entirely theoretical. It was vigorously expressed nonetheless.

The middle class may not have worded its sentiments in the same violent manner, but the feelings of dislike were strong. A Kriegsraath and his family were accorded generous hospitality by a Jewish banker and jeweler in Ruthenberg in East Prussia. The families conversed in a friendly fashion, but the Gentiles looked down upon the Jews: "he is, after all, only a Jewish merchant."<sup>4</sup> August Lewald mentioned an incident set in Frankfurt at the time of the War of Liberation. It was reported as a sign that the Jews would soon be forced to move into the ghetto again. A man wandered through a park and seated himself on a bench; after a while a family joined him there, but they did not stay long. Suddenly the father of the family commanded them to rise and to leave. He had noticed a Jew a few feet away and was shocked at being forced to bear the company of Jews wherever he went. Although the Jew in question was a very wealthy man who had been charitable to both Jews and Christians, this made no difference in the eyes of this Gentile.<sup>5</sup>

Anti-Jewish sentiments were more powerful among the upper class, among the old nobility. They saw the Jew not only as a member of a long hated religious tradition, but also as a strong segment of the rising commercial class. The nobility was concerned with both wealth and status which they thought needed protection. The money which others had earned and the positions which they had achieved were deemed to be due only to good fortune; this was the mood expressed by a baron in Fanny Lewald's Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht: "A Jew like Flies could be lucky in every undertaking; it did not matter, for luck was to be found on the broad path of life which was trodden by the mediocre and the lowly, the weak hearted. But a man like the baron followed only his inner ideals and the path of honor. He could expect little of luck there." <sup>6</sup> Even if the noblemen were no longer wealthier, they considered themselves superior. These sentiments were expressed in Die Familie Darner as clearly. <sup>7</sup> A noble woman refused to ride in the same carriage as a Jewess. Another in Königsberg in 1808 complained about the Jews at court. It was true that they now possessed some money, but should this entitle them to honors as well? She stated that it would probably be possible for her to become accustomed to a few merchant's wives, but to find Jews at court too - that was too much. A more liberally inclined lady replied by asking whether the queen were to be deprived of the homage of this segment of her subjects. She was entitled to receive homage from as many people as possible; as this group now had money, they had to be reckoned with whether one fully approved of them or <sup>8</sup> not.

Not all among the upper class felt such animosity toward Jews. The novel Prinz Louis Ferdinand by Fanny Lewald is primarily the tale of a fine and enduring friendship between a prince and a Jewess.<sup>9</sup> This book clearly shows that the well educated Jews can mingle without difficulty in the most select circles. The Jews involved stand at the periphery of their religion, but Jews or converts, they are still considered a part of the Jewish people by those who associate with them. Prejudice is shown in this novel as well, but not by the prince; he is far more tolerant than many of his noblemen. This enlightened young man was even interested in the Hebrew alphabet which he saw upon leafing through a prayerbook in the home of the Jewess.<sup>10</sup>

The good example given in the capitol was emulated by some in the provinces. A baroness in Königsberg used this precedent to invite a number of Jews to her social affairs. This was not appreciated by the other guests.<sup>11</sup>

More often the Christian party was able to take some steps toward friendship, but could not remove the final barriers which existed. Fanny Lewald used such a case in her novel Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht; true friendship was reached only with one member of the next generation. The older generation were on good terms. The Christian baron entrusted the Jewish banker with the most intimate family affairs as the care of his illegitimate son. Although that child did not actually grow up in the house of the Jew, he felt himself attracted to the Jewish family. He became a loyal friend of the family after he had grown up. Among the women<sup>12</sup>

of the older generation the ties were closer; they were able to use the familiar form of address, but the men always remained aloof. For the liberal bastard it was possible to speak of a business partnership between himself and the Jewish house; this took place years later during the War of Liberation. This type of feeling was rarely expressed in the Berlin of that time.

Good relations also existed on the other end of the social scale, among the peasants and the poor Christians. These friendships were best described by Berthold Auerbach in his Dorfgeschichten which are set in each decade of the century. It was easier to form good relationships in the Black Forest; no ghetto had ever separated the Jews from the Gentiles. Both sides knew each other well and lived in continual contact with each other. A lonely peasant and a Jew fitted together as they walked to town in the first decade of the century. "Take a village Jew and a peasant with the same background. The Jew might be more cunning and sharper for his own advantage and apparently a colder person; yet in the face of any human suffering, he would be warm, kind, and sympathetic far in excess of what might be expected. His fate has led him to feel the suffering of others readily."

The liberals of the period who felt dissatisfied with the conditions as they existed in Germany looked across the seas for encouragement. Fanny Lewald discussed America's toleration of mixed marriages, the union of a Jew and a Christian without any demand for conversion. The mere fact that men were not questioned about their religious opinions in that distant land, but were taken for what they were was an exciting idea. Fanny Lewald used it in

her novel Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht. For Jews and Christians the United States represented an ideal toward which they might aim, but which they had little hope of reaching.

The Jews did not always accept the hatred which was shown them quietly. When it was possible to fight back they did so. August Lewald spoke of one such case in the story "Memoiren eines Banquiers". A wealthy citizen of Hamburg felt the scorn of the Gentile world around him. "The contempt which was shown to him and to his coreligionists by his fellow citizens was amply repaid by him. He would permit himself no contact with them; he lived like an elegant foreigner set among common and uncultured folk. He hardly went out and greeted no one, but just nodded his head to return a greeting."

Such show of pride was rare even among the wealthy. They longed too much for recognition and for social standing; few were so self-sufficient. Most Jews of this period hoped that the flames of hatred would slowly die down; they longed for an era of complete tolerance.

Anti-Semitism was not a major issue during the two decades under discussion. Nevertheless, it was present and played a part in the novels of the period. A certain amount of hatred for the Jews is taken for granted by these writers. On the other hand acts of kindness and friendship were reported and were ascribed to characters as something extraordinary. In most cases the friendships were not deep, in some the barrier between the two groups could not be overcome.

Again the main authors used for this chapter were August and Fanny Lewald; both of them were converts to Christianity. It is interesting to note their concern with anti-Semitism. It was to

be expected that they would concern themselves with the problems of intermarriage and of social status; those matters had been a part of their lives. Through their repeated treatment of anti-Semitism we may see that their Jewish ties remained unbroken in some respects. In this they were like Heinrich Heine, converts, but still very much part of the Jewish people at heart.

## Notes.

## Hatred and Friendship 1800 - 1814.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 189.
2. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 227.
3. Clara Cohn, Das tägliche Brodt, (Berlin, 1901), p 23.
4. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, I, 396.
5. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 182.
6. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, II, 81 f.
7. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 180.
8. Ibid., II, 173 ff.
9. Fanny Lewald, Prinz Louis Ferdinand, I, 24 ff.
10. Ibid., I, 127.
11. Fanny Lewald, Die Familie Darner, III, 179.
12. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, II, 399 ff.
13. Ibid., I, 396; II, 60, 202 f.
14. Ibid., II, 302.
15. Berthold Auerbach, "Des Schlossbauers Vefele", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, I, 65.
16. Fanny Lewald, Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, III, 186.
17. Ibid., III, 188.
18. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 151.
19. Ibid., XII, 245.

## IV

Out of the Ghetto 1815 - 1848.

The Jew and the State.

The first decades of the nineteenth century through which much of Germany was ruled by the French gave the Jews a taste of freedom from oppression. They had been given rights and had been permitted to move out of many ghettos. The liberal legislation of the French had found now echo in Prussia, but the new ideas were felt even there. The Jews began to consider themselves Germans and were moved by the feelings of nationalism which sought to free the German lands from the rule of France. They hoped that the free German states would grant them additional rights or at least confirm those which the French had bestowed upon them. In this spirit they fought alongside their compatriots in the War of Liberation. They struggled in vain as most of the rights which they had been granted were taken from them.

In the novel Unfehlbar Max Ring portrayed a Jewish soldier, a man who had volunteered in the spirit of the Edict of William III<sup>1</sup> in 1812. He had become an officer and had been decorated with the Iron Cross. This caused him considerable trouble with the Jews of his native community who were proud of his achievement, yet saw the Cross as an insult to the pious members of the congregation and to their rabbi. They would have been happier if he had not worn it.<sup>2</sup> His heroism gained only momentary respect from the Gentile community. Upon his return after the conclusion of the fighting, he was not permitted to join the local garrison as an officer. The commander told him frankly that he could never accept him as an

equal, although he was on good terms with the young man's father. Were he to join the local garrison, it would cause endless difficulties with the men and even more with the officers' wives who would not accept him or a Jewish wife. In confidence and as a friend of his father, the commander let him know of an order soon to be issued which would request the retirement of all Jewish officers from active service. He advised the young Jew to resign before being forced to do so and thereby use his rank to obtain a lucrative government post in the lottery or the post office. The young man scorned the advice, but was eventually forced out of active service.<sup>3</sup> The feelings expressed by this officer were shared by the general population. A tailor told his wife: "A Jew remains a Jew, and it is simply not in the nature of things that such a man should command and annoy a Christian."<sup>4</sup>

The Jews had shown great enthusiasm for the war; the goal of freedom for which they fought was not forgotten as pointed out by Ulla Wolff. "Everywhere there moved a new spirit among the oppressed Jews. Ever since their sons had sealed their loyalty to their native land with their blood they hoped that the religious distinctions would no longer hinder them from participating in their share of the flowering Prussian state."<sup>5</sup> The general population, however, soon forgot their contributions to the war. Anti-Semitism arose again; there were major anti-Jewish riots in Frankfurt and other large cities.<sup>6</sup>

The renewed wave of intolerance affected Jews in many different ways. Old legal restrictions were imposed again as Ulla Wolff mentioned. They were again to be treated according to the old laws of

1765-1770. "They were to be dealt with like gypsies. The trading and the Polish Jews were to be reckoned along with gypsies, conjurors, beggars, bear-circus leaders, and collectors." Henceforth a Jew was thought to have neither home nor state; each German was considered native at least in his own province, but not a Jew. These were the sentiments expressed by August Lewald in "Memoiren eines Banquiers". "A Bavarian in Prussia was considered a stranger, and a Jew, definitely the Jews! Although a thousand years have passed since his ancestors first settled in Germany, he will remain a stranger in this land. It is pathetic when I think how 'our people' have remained loyal to the land which rejects them - remain loyal, through times of murder, oppression, and dangers of all kinds and treat the land as if it were their native country, but they had none!" These were bitter words, but the Jews were angry after the War of Liberation and the Treaty of Vienna; they had fought and gained nothing.

The inferior position assigned to the Jew caused difficulties in the courts and with the police forces. Salomon Mosenthal showed a Jew punished with unusual severity for a crime which he had committed. A smuggler in Hessen was sentenced to ten years imprisonment along with three hours in the public pillory, a punishment which had not been used for a decade, but which was revived for this Jew. Harsh punishment was to be meted out to Jewish offenders; this was the mood of the government. It would have sought their total destruction, had it been within its power. Naturally this event was felt as a terrible disgrace by the entire community; yet they stood by their coreligionist and supplied him with kosher food throughout

9

his confinement. This was the treatment given by a court in the twenties. Even two decades later the officers of law enforcement could be unfriendly. A Jew in Posen was pictured as suffering from this in Max Ring's novel Ein verlorenes Geschlecht. The man lived under the protection of a local nobleman and therefore existed on the edge of legality. When the noble benefactor was absent the Jew was arrested for lack of proper credentials; he freed himself with great difficulty.

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The effect upon the Jewish population was mixed. George Borchardt showed some of his Jewish characters looking back upon the good old days under French rule. These inhabitants of Berlin of the thirties had discovered no signs of progress and could see little hope in the future. They felt "for us Prussians and for us Jews there hasn't been a 1790 yet. But thank God, not every day looks dark!"

11

Despite much pessimism shown in the novels Jettchen Geberts Geschichte some of the Jews remained very hopeful. Furthermore they considered themselves Prussians as well. Their ties to this province were strong.

Other Jews fought and spoke for freedom. Both Jewish and Christian characters in these novels talked about better treatment for the Jew and equal rights. Fanny Lewald's Wandlungen contained long conversations about these subjects. The discussions were held between Jewish and Christian intellectuals in that setting in the eighteen twenties. Ulla Wolff also spoke of the concern with freedom for all groups; these men were willing to discuss and to fight vigorously for their ideals.

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The main characters of Fanny Lewald's Jenny dealt with this subject. There was considerable difference of opinion on the likelihood of success between the younger and the older generation of Jews. The latter did not have much hope, but the youths felt certain of victory if enough effort was put forth. The young heroine stated their case: "History holds no example of any oppression which was removed through the oppressor being generous enough to say 'Cartel est mon plaisir.'" Optimism existed, but actual success was rare. When a Jewish businessman there in Hamburg was elected to an unimportant office great excitement surged through the Jewish community. In the thirties this was a matter to be discussed with enthusiasm; it was viewed as an omen of the bright new future.

The speeches made for emancipation by both Jew and Christian in the novel Jenny were powerful and clear. Fanny Lewald used this book to fight for the Jew and to continue her struggle for women's rights. A Jew there stated: "One does not even permit them to leave their tight circle, no matter how much they would like it. A portion of the educated Jews can bear comparison with any other educated man. In France he would long ago have become a part of the nation. He would have become assimilated in Germany too, if externals like his dark complexion and black hair did not distinguish him immediately from the German. The outer characteristics continually provide Jew haters with new fuel. Few of us are free enough of that feeling that we do not criticize the Jew for his lack of social grace. Yet one would only need to emancipate them in order to smooth over these characteristics. It certainly is convenient to say - the Jew speaks with a terrible dialect and has impossible

manners. Yet one does not ask why this is so! That it is so is sufficient to exclude the Jew from society, more is not necessary and more (knowledge) is not desired." A young Christian who loved a Jew expressed the same sentiments in another conversation in this novel. "He wants his rights, the rights of which he and his people are deprived. Who is more justified than he in demanding to be free and equal with everyone else? Can you blame him if he constantly feels the injustice which is being done him? That he expresses thoughts which have become the foundation of his being? To breathe and to be free along with his people, both are equally important to him. He neither is able nor wishes to remain silent on the only thing which truly matters to him. Every honorable man must behave this way; I can fully understand that."

These young people fought hard, but the situation did not change rapidly. As the middle of the century approached the same conditions still existed in Hamburg. Despite that, these men and women continued their struggle. Elsewhere matters had changed; Ulla Wolff spoke of this in her story "Naemi Ehrenfest". A young businessman in Breslau felt that great progress had been made by the forties. "The Jews felt very certain of their cultural attainments and even more of their portion in their native land. They believed themselves on the way to achieving all rights since they fulfilled all their obligations with spirited patriotism." Those words were written much later and might reflect a greater distance from the actual events; the novel Jenny was published in 1843.

So far the novels concerned themselves with the urban Jews. There had been some progress in the city and the Jews were more

inclined to fight for their rights. In the rural areas neither the Gentile nor the Jewish population were ready for emancipation in the second and third decades of the century. Berthold Auerbach in "Luzifer" portrayed the fear which existed in the Black Forest, fear of enlightenment and progress. This was mingled with distrust of the big city and of the religious groups which were to be found there. <sup>20</sup> Ulla Wolff's "Die Toten" dealt with the attitude of the rural Jews of Posen in the eighteen thirties. They were perfectly happy to be able to live in peace and desired nothing else. "No one had any ambition of equality with the Gentiles, as in later years; the Jews remained satisfied to possess equal rights on paper. No one in the small provincial cities thought of their practical application." <sup>21</sup> The Jews in these decades wished to be left alone. The government gave them no rights, so they were not enthusiastic to serve it either. Their feeling toward military service had changed, but the non-Jewish population felt no different for these men were not going off to fight a hated enemy, but merely to spend years in various garrisons. Berthold Auerbach had a character compare the conditions in his native village in the Black Forest with those in the United States. "My God, when I think how he (the government agent) walked through the village with the gen-darme, a long list in his hand. The people howled and cried and slammed their doors. Then the press agent carried a pewter plate, a copper bowl, a pan, and a Sabbath lamp of a poor Jew to the vil-lage mayor." <sup>22</sup> Military service was no longer popular. These sentiments were echoed by Salomon Mosenthal in "Jephta's Tochter". A

young coward thought that he would escape military service by not passing the physical examination. He went to it with a smile, but was accepted by the army and had to leave the little city in Hessen-Nassau.<sup>23</sup> Changes were to come very slowly in rural Germany; in the meantime many of those Jews would move to the larger cities.

As the revolutionary year of 1848 approached a variety of sentiments were expressed by these authors. Some of the figures in the story "Der Sohn der Witwe" by Markus Lehmann thought that the Jews themselves were largely at fault. They yearned for the good days under the French and stated that progress could only come now through the adaption of Judaism to modern life. A young, educated Jew claimed that "the government had a right to demand that the Jew set aside his religious peculiarities. One should change the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday, should abolish the dietary laws, should intermarry with non-Jews, then emancipation would come of its own accord. Many governmental leaders had been won to this point of view. One wanted, according to the motto of that time, to educate the Jew first and then to emancipate him."<sup>24</sup> Lehmann gave these opinions in order to refute them as he was an ardent proponent of Orthodox Judaism and despised all changes in the old ways. Others felt that patriotism would bring its proper reward. According to Berthold Auerbach one must feel intensely German; his call to patriotism was directed to all Germans wherever they might live. Even if he emigrated "every German must look back upon his native land as a Jew looks to Canaan, without desire to return<sup>25</sup> there, but still true to it. Europe is the Orient of America."

Along with these grand national ideas local patriotism continued to be strong. Although national unity was the theme of the late forties, some Jews continued to be influenced by the memory of kindness extended them by local rulers. Alphonse Levy used such a situation. In the hectic days of 1847 in Dresden a grandmother reproved her grandson who bore a German union flag at a large public gathering. She reminded him that the local ruler had given them refuge when they and other Jews fled Bohemia at the end of the previous century. Loyalty should always be shown to this nobleman.<sup>26</sup>

Another group was not willing to take a stand on the political issues. Ulla Wolff expressed the sentiment of a group of businessmen who were loyal to the concept of a German nation and separated it in their minds from the present governments. "Native land and government were hostile concepts; one loved the one all the more as one hated the other more."<sup>27</sup>

Ulla Wolff dealt with Jewish participation in the revolutionary events of 1848 and 1849 in her story "Naemi Ehrenfest". She followed the changing moods through the eyes of a liberal newspaper editor who became a delegate to the Frankfurt Assembly. At the beginning there was much hope, but it faded and a feeling of dismay replaced it. Finally the courageous man thought of emigration to America,<sup>28</sup> a land where liberal ideas seemed to have a future. This was the only story in which a Jew participated in the events of those years. Novels and stories dealt with the period, but they did not mention any of the Jews who were involved, except very incidentally, which portrayed nothing of the Jewish reaction to the revolution.

The official position of the Jew did not change much in these years according to these authors. The rights which they had briefly enjoyed under the French were effectively taken away. Despite this the younger ones among them remained hopeful; they could be encouraged by the liberal Christians who were willing to speak for their rights. The patriotism of the German Jew did not decline; they felt themselves to be Germans even if they were not accepted as such.

It was strange to see so little attention given to the revolutionary year of 1848. It would be understandable if authors of the years immediately following those events, or even writers in the seventies avoided the subject; the revolution had failed and its ideals were not accepted by the government. At a later period it could have been dealt with in an interesting manner as a number of important Jewish figures were involved in it. The authors did write about it in a general way, but omitted the Jews who were involved.

## Notes.

## The Jew and the State 1815 - 1848.

1. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, (Jena, 1874), I, 15.
2. Ibid., I, 33 f.
3. Ibid., I, 52 f.
4. Ibid., I, 57 ff.
5. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 214.
6. Ibid., VIII, 192.
7. Ibid., VIII, 208.
8. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 158.
9. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Tante Guttraud", Gesammelte Werke, I, 15 ff.
10. Max Ring, Ein verlorenes Geschlecht, (Berlin, 1867), IV, 165.
11. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte, (Berlin, 1919), I, 81.
12. Fanny Lewald, Wandlungen, (Braunschweig, 1853), I, 131, 268 f.
13. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 197.
14. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, (Berlin, 1872), p. 124.
15. Ibid., p. 19.
16. Ibid., p. 100.
17. Ibid., p. 101 f.
18. Ibid., pp. 264 ff., 332 ff.
19. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 235.
20. Berthold Auerbach, "Luzifer", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, III, 147.
21. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 247.
22. Berthold Auerbach, "Ivo der Hajrle", op. cit., I, 182.
23. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 122.
24. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, (Frankfurt a.M., 1884), V, 132 f.
25. Berthold Auerbach, Neues Leben, (Mannheim, 1852), I, 45.
26. Alphonse Levy, "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter", Erlebt. Erzählungen aus dem jüdischen Familienleben, pp. 24 ff.
27. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 238.
28. Ibid., VIII, 239 ff.

### The Rural Jew and His Livelihood 1815 - 1848.

The German economy remained largely agricultural until the middle of the century; two thirds of the population was engaged in farming. Industrialization had begun, but lagged far behind other European nations. Most of the Jews also lived in the rural areas of Germany, in hundreds of small towns and villages. They were widely scattered throughout this period. A movement toward the cities had started, but it did not gain momentum till the middle of the nineteenth century.

Generally these Jews were traders and peddlers; they supplied the peasant as well as the larger land owners with the products of the city. A few were farmers; Arnold Zweig described a poor Jew who had settled on a farm. The family remained there for only one generation, but they tilled the soil and engaged in nothing else during those years. "The Klopfers came to Germany from Russia, but no one recalls how or when. Jakob Klopfer settled in Posen, somewhere in the Polish section of this Prussian province, in a tiny town whose name I could certainly not pronounce if I remembered it. He was a butcher by profession, but as soon as the opportunity came, he left this trade and bought a bit of cleared land with a miserable shack on it in the midst of the woods. He became a peasant; silent and big, he stalked behind his plow which was drawn by two oxen, his prize possession. .... A fire in his house killed him. One night this poor shack burned furiously; he wanted to pull the oxen out of the barn and was struck down by a blazing beam and killed." His wife mourned him and then continued to work the farm. She carried the potatoes so painfully grown to

the market on foot; it was two miles away. The family was very poor, especially as her husband had not been a good businessman and had once made a bad exchange on some horses which turned into a loss.<sup>2</sup> In most parts of Germany the Jew was not permitted to own land during these decades, but even where this restriction was removed, few Jews were attracted to farming. The peasants whom they saw were poor; to join them was obviously not the road to economic improvement.

At the beginning of this period alongside the peddler existed the Jewish 'factor'. This man carried on the same function as the peddler, but on a much larger scale. Often he restricted his dealings to a few owners of large estates. The relationship between these men and the noblemen with whom they dealt was close. The factor could be trusted with the most delicate matters; he was always given a friendly reception. Clara Cohn had an elderly figure sigh about the past in the eighteen eighties: "Twenty years ago it was different here (in Posen), and fifty years ago right different. Then the 'factors' travelled from estate to estate, one brought them into the house, escorted them out, and shook hands with them. No trading, big or small, was done without a Jew. Now they (the Gentiles) do everything themselves!"<sup>3</sup> The period of the 'factor' had faded away.

The hard life of the peddler was often described by these authors. Some gave a realistic picture of the difficulties; others idealized the role. These men spent their entire life wandering from one village to another, or from one farm to another; their earnings were meager and their legal status precarious. In the

story "Naemi Ehrenfest" Ulla Wolff told of a peddler who had not been born in Germany but had settled there. "He was a Galician Jew and had immigrated to Germany and maintained himself through begging and peddling. He did so despite all the threats of prison and other punishment with which the 'masterless riff-raff', as the 'pack Jews' were designated, was threatened. These poor homeless people were tough; they had a portion of that wonderful drive for self-preservation which has kept this people from extinction. He probably settled in Posen where the atmosphere was friendly; there his father lived too. Most likely he originally went peddling in the neighboring villages like his poor coreligionists, carrying with him a piece of dry bread and some onions in a linen bag - food for the entire week - which was raised to a festive meal through a glass of milk which had been exchanged for some treasure out of his pack at some barnyard. Most of the Jews of this time lived in this exemplary frugal way. They were happy and proud if the Sabbath or festivals made a better fare a religious obligation." <sup>4</sup> The first generation began in this simple manner; in this case the man had brought his family to a land of greater opportunity. His children could improve their lot by moving to the city.

Salomo Formstecher in Buchenstein und Cohnberg showed how children began this way of life. Parents were willing to educate their child until the age of thirteen, but beyond that it was a luxury which the family could not afford. "Then they hung a box on him; in it were combs, knives, forks, small mirrors, string, suspenders, and similar articles. They took him to the market

where he soon learned to be a good salesman. When just fifteen he lost his father and had to exert his business sense not only to feed himself, but also to add a good deal to the maintenance of his younger brothers and sisters." It was a difficult matter to manage this only through honest trading, so he began to use under-handed methods. He never lost this trait, although the urgent need for money soon passed.

Another picture of a peddler in the eighteen forties was given by Berthold Auerbach; the story took place in Waldhausen. The village pastor told of a peddler who visited the community regularly. "When I was a minister in Waldhausen, we had such a peddler who made his home in the village for five days of the week, without becoming a resident. His home town was eight hours away and usually he arrived with us already on Sunday morning. He wandered through the night with his heavy pack, that long journey. There was nothing pressing about him or his method of selling." As the minister recalled there was once a discussion in the local inn about the danger of peddlers; a wit brought it to an end by stating that the danger could be avoided through one word - no. His description of the peddler continued: "Our peddler was a Jew with the name Herz or Hirz, which actually was Hirsch; everyone knew him as Lederherz (Leather-heart or Leather-Hirsch; there is a play on the name later in the story). It was customary in my village for the peasants to purchase big pieces of sole leather, so if they needed new soles, they could let the shoemaker cut off the necessary section. Lederherz delivered these stores and for that reason

carried his badge around with him, for the elbows of his jacket were covered with pieces of leather cut out in the form of a heart. I had been in the village almost a year, but Lederherz had never tried to do business with me. He bought goose feathers from my wife and occasionally she would barter with him. At these times she would praise his honesty and wisdom and also tell me a bit about his life. He was the oldest of four children and had, as one might say, 'defaulted on marriage' for he had to care for the others. His earnings helped the establishment of their homes. Now it was easy for him, for he only had to support his almost eighty year old mother. I only got to know him during the second winter. He thought of the needs of all men, so he brought me a pair of high fur boots which I still own. He explained with clever and good hearted laughter that I must have these boots if during the hard winter I drive to my chapel or pay a sick call on a distant peasant. He drank a cup of coffee with us, unwilling to take anything else. I gladly permitted him to wear his black skull-cap. .... The Lederherz was a long, bony figure; one could see that he did not eat well. For six days of the week he lived almost entirely on bread, coffee, and potatoes; only seldom did he permit himself some egg or flour dish, which was prepared in his own dishes at his host and friend, the shoemaker Lipp." This was a highly idealized picture of the peddler, but there is no doubt that he was a welcome figure in many a village. As Aron Bernstein stated he brought not only many necessities, but also news from the outside world to these cut off villages. "He found lodging and

quarters whenever he came to the peasant. He was not only a businessman, but also newspaper and mail for the farmer and a wandering fashion journal for his wife. Nor were they embarrassed in religious matters, but they helped each other. When the peasant went to church, the Jew rocked the child and looked after the fire. When the Jew left, he trustingly gave the farmer's wife his little pot whose inside had been marked 'kosher' with chalk, in order that she might keep it safe to overcome any scruples of conscience of any other member of that religion who might wish to use the same (pot) for his bit of warm food."

The relationship between the peddlers and their customers was usually good. It often took much bargaining before, and during a business transaction till the matter was successfully concluded. Most of this was accomplished good naturedly; on occasion it was resented. Berthold Auerbach wrote that women relished this process for it led them to think that they had saved money upon each item. "The women are devilishly bent on buying from the Jews; they think they're getting it half as a gift!..,so mocked the mayor," but his wife replied that she had traded with everyone, Jews, Christians, Protestants, and Catholics, the same bargaining, moaning, and protests were to be found with all of them. Some Jews were known for their shrewd trading. Auerbach had a peasant in the Black Forest remark: "If I don't get it, then a Jew will come along and grab it." According to the same author these suspicions of excessive shrewdness and a bit of cheating were sometimes well founded. An auctioneer in the Black Forest regularly hired men to bid up the price of animals on the block;

thus he tricked his customers.

In some places the trading was not so simple. Salomon Mosenthal in "Jephta's Tochter" dealt with the more complicated process in Hessen-Nassau. The peddlers there traded their goods for young geese; these were brought home and fed by the wife and the children. "When they have become fat against their will, they are immediately butchered and given a kosher seal around their neck, and then are carried to the city in a large sack. They are sold to the Jewish heads of households and their wives, after much haggling back and forth. Everyone of these traders in geese has his 'houses' and woe to him who tries to compete here! The curses which will rain upon him will make those at Mount Ebal look puny! For this reason everyone respects the rights of his neighbor and trembles before his justified indignation. Most feared is Tobias Hof. He has the best houses of the city. He knows how to inflate the skinniest geese in such a way that they present a swollen breast, and when one offers him half the price he demands, he swears by his share of Gan Eden that he cannot come down a penny. Finally he gives up half of Gan Eden for his worldly needs." This man had the strength to carry twelve geese in a sack without tiring. His wife also possessed great skill in stuffing them and was a genius at quilling feathers.

In the rural areas Jews were to be found in other fields of endeavor as well. The new areas which had been opened to them by the French at the beginning of the century did not remain open. According to Alphonse Levy a few were able to use this period as the dislocation brought by the war to gain moderate fortunes in

12

trading and as military suppliers.

Another Jew was a butcher; as meat was a luxury it was not a lucrative enterprise. As Berthold Auerbach reported during hard times he was forced to peddle his meat on the road at a very small profit. It was the only possible solution with this item which would quickly spoil.<sup>13</sup> A man who longed for a life in a rural setting in the twenties opened an inn in Upper Silesia. This provided him with the necessary contact with the land and did not burden him greatly with business responsibilities.<sup>14</sup> Even at the lowest level Jews were to be found and were also resented. Berthold Auerbach depicted a Christian rag picker in the Black Forest in the twenties complained to a friend that "things would be alright, but those damned Jews spoil the trade. If the government wanted to be useful, it would forbid rag collecting to Jews."<sup>15</sup>

The poor Jew was disliked as a competitor; those who were rich were considered as a suitable target for robbery. Berthold Auerbach depicts life as fairly lawless in the Black Forest of the second and third decades in the century.<sup>16</sup>

Ulla Wolff gave an optimistic view of conditions during the first half of the century in her tale "Naemi Ehrenfest". "Everywhere trade and manufacturing blossomed; this also benefitted the Jews who were left at peace as the general prosperity kept down the jealousy of those who had risen. Especially in Silesia and Posen were the Jews permitted greater latitude. Their intelligence and ability opened entirely new sources of income and broad segments of the population benefitted from this business abundance."<sup>17</sup>

These books clearly demonstrated that the first half of the nineteenth century was marked by little economic progress for the majority of the Jews. They remained small peddlers in the rural areas of the country and earned only enough to sustain their families. This manner of livelihood was given on to the next generation as early as possible. An additional basket on the road meant a little more money at home. For those Jews who had come to Germany from the Eastern lands this way of life was an improvement. A very large number must have migrated during these decades, but no accurate statistics are available.

The Jews who turned to other ways of gaining a living in the little villages did not rise above the rest. A man might become a butcher or a family turn to farming, but this was not an economic improvement. Perhaps keeping an inn was better, but as shown in the detailed description given during the previous period, it was a hard life filled with much uncertainty.

The authors showed the relationship between the peasant and the Jew to be good. The peddler was welcome and was usually well treated. Sometimes the shrewd bargaining of the Jew brought resentment, but then the humble efforts of the Jewish rag picker was also viewed as dangerous competition.

These writers made the life of the rural Jew vivid, showed the hardships which existed, and romanticized their lot a little for the following generations.

## Notes.

## The Rural Jew and His Livelihood 1815 - 1848.

1. Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany, p. 75.
2. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, (Munich, 1911), p. 14.
3. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, (Berlin, 1907), p. 131.
4. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 208.
5. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, (Frankfurt a.M., 1863), p. 53.
6. Berthold Auerbach, "Lederherz", Zur Guten Stunde, (Stuttgart, 1873), I, 274 ff.
7. Aron David Bernstein, Mendel Gibbor, (Berlin, 1935), p. 13.
8. Berthold Auerbach, "Vom Marktgang", Schatzkästlein des Gevattersmanns, (Augsburg, 1856), I, 155.
9. Berthold Auerbach, "Ein eigen Haus", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, VI, 40.
10. Berthold Auerbach, "Die feindlichen Brüder", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, I, 108.
11. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", Gesammelte Werke, I, 112 ff.
12. Alphonse Levy, "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter", Erlebt. Erzählungen aus dem jüdischen Familienleben, p. 33.
13. Berthold Auerbach, "Florian und Krescenz", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 19.
14. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 13.
15. Berthold Auerbach, "Die Sträflinge", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 152.
16. Berthold Auerbach, "Florian und Krescenz", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 42.
17. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 213.

The Urban Jew and His Livelihood 1815 - 1848.

The second decade of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of a steady shift in the Jewish population. Throughout these years the majority of the Jews continued to live in small villages and to earn their living among the peasants. The more energetic among them moved to the city; first they continued in the trade which they had brought with them. Later they entered other fields. All of this had not been possible at the beginning of the century as the Jewish population in each city was numerically restricted; no new Jews were permitted to settle and not all those born there could be certain of being allowed to continue their residence when they wished to establish their own households.<sup>1</sup>

Few of the occupations followed in the city were fully described. In most instances the authors mentioned them in passing and gave only the facts considered necessary for the main theme of the book. In a few instances the rise of a family in the commercial and the social world was traced by a writer.

Jews were mentioned at every occupational level. Markus Lehmann spoke of one who had sunk to the position of an ordinary laborer due to his drunkenness. He had been a skilled wagon maker with his own shop. As he could not be relied upon, customers drifted away and finally he took a humble position in a large wagon factory. There he was forced to work on the Sabbath, much to the chagrin of his wife; had he not done so, he would have lost the job.<sup>2</sup>

In the second decade in the city of Halle, David Schiff mentioned a used clothing dealer. This man entered the scene in the initial pages of the novel Pumpauf und Pumprich. He traded with the university group and

proved to be a shrewd bargainer, haggling over every item. His livelihood was precarious and he complained bitterly about a delivery<sup>3</sup> to the military garrison for which he had not yet been paid. Berthold Auerbach told of a man who combined this business with tailoring in the Black Forest. He lived there in a small town, but he had been in Berlin for a while. His experiences in the big city made him a fashion expert who designed the clothing of the wealthy and for the Jews of the neighborhood, as they were a bit more sophisticated. Generally it was beneath his dignity to work on peasant garb, but after the War of Liberation he changed his mind. He hired a helper, travelled to Stuttgart, bought old clothing, and restored it. He specialized in the red jackets of those formerly employed in the court and refinished them as vests for the peasants. Surplus military uniforms of the time were used for the same purpose.<sup>4</sup> This character in "Florian und Krescenz" possessed an unusual amount of initiative.

The majority of the Jews in these books were store-keepers. The type and size of their businesses varied. Salomon Mosenthal spoke of a small merchant in Hessen-Nassau who "dealt in everything - furniture, riding boots, pewter plates, fine lace, silver bars, vitriol oil, civil servant uniforms of the previous century, coins, jewelery, wine, wood, coal, lottery tickets of the various German state." This flourishing trade was carried on with the aid<sup>5</sup> of two employees. The same author mentioned a specialty store<sup>6</sup> which dealt solely in needles and thread.

When conditions were good and the owners alert the business expanded. Ulla Wolff stated that the largest wholesaler in all of

Silesia in groceries was a Jew. He was said to have been very  
 7  
 wealthy. Other concerns did not become larger, but better. In  
 "Raaf's Mina" Salomon Mosenthal dealt with the 'Reinach Brothers'  
 which was the most elegant store in a city in Hessen-Nassau in the  
 thirties. Its main business was done in silken goods. The atmos-  
 phere of the store was truly genteel; it bore a strong resemblance  
 to the charity bazaar of a nobleman rather than a place of busi-  
 ness. At the entrance formal greetings were exchanged; the goods  
 were displayed with quiet dignity and the prices were never dis-  
 cussed, or even mentioned. Due to the excellent quality of the  
 merchandise and the honesty of the owners, the store maintained  
 8  
 its position of elegance for a generation.

9  
 One Jewish bookseller appeared on these pages; another tried  
 his luck at it, but finally became the editor of a small town  
 paper. Under his guidance it became influential among liberal  
 circles in the forties. The editor became a delegate to the  
 Assembly of 1848 where his brief political career was traced by  
 10  
 Ulla Wolff.

A portion of this period was quiet and without danger, but  
 the early years were filled with uncertainty. The War of Liberation  
 had badly disrupted communications. August Lewald showed the dis-  
 may of a Jewish supplier who discovered that a client was bank-  
 rupt, but only upon arriving in the city and by speaking with  
 others who dealt with this man. The men concerned quickly gathered  
 11  
 to see what might be salvaged. Later in the century the dangers  
 were not external, but stemmed from recurring depressions which

ruined many business enterprises. A part of Ulla Wolff's story "Naemi Ehrenfest" took place in a depression of the forties. "A recession became evident in Breslau in the eighteen-forties. The safest and most solid houses suffered from it. In the circle of my immediate family we lamented the collapse of my brother Samuel's business, similarly the in-laws of my brother David ... had to stop all payments. Those were terrible times for all of us." As everyone was in the same position help could not be offered by any member of the family. During such a period of crisis every avenue of aid would be sought, both Jewish and Christian as Max Ring portrayed.

The Jews in the smaller cities remained shopkeepers; most of them earned a bare living and did not gain wealth. The temptation to participate in illegal ventures remained great. In the thirties real estate ventures were still closed to the Jews of the Black Forest. In Berthold Auerbach's "Brigitta" a Jew nevertheless brought a buyer and seller together. As the transaction was completed he hovered about hoping for a fee, but both men refused to pay him. They threatened to report him to the authorities unless he left. Near the borders, especially those of the East there was a great deal of smuggling. Goerg Borchardt gave an account of a large Berlin firm which dealt in furs. Their representative travelled to all the tiny villages in Posen and Silesia to buy furs and skins. Much of it had crossed the border "without seeing the custom officials." Salomon Mosenthal also spoke of smuggling, though there the Jew involved was caught. A more refined crime was the obtaining of forged papers; it was also lucrative. David Schiff spoke of a Jew in Halle who was willing to procure the

passport which a student who had gotten into trouble with the authorities needed in order to escape. One Jew became a part of a marauding band of timber robbers. They succeeded in outwitting the government's woodsmen for a long time. Eventually the gang was broken up by the police, but the Jew managed to escape to America. Formstecher placed this incident in the thirties. These were petty criminals who risked a great deal for a small profit.

In the larger cities Jews managed to rise to real wealth in these decades. Their numbers were not as large as they would be in succeeding generations, but fortunes were made and others were increased. Markus Lehmann told of a fortunate family which had gotten wealth in the old era and was now able to multiply it with ease. "Baron Arthur von Löwenheim was the scion of an old Jewish aristocratic family. Since time immemorial his ancestors had lived in Germany and had always enjoyed the favor of the nobility, at whose courts they functioned as factors, as agents, and as commercial advisers. The fortune which the father bestowed upon his children had grown from generation to generation. The father of the Baron, the old Commercial Counselor Löwe, had been elevated to the peerage by the father of the present ruling lord; he had received the name von Löwenheim. The present head of the firm had been made a baron by his lord and was quite proud of that." Although the baron was able to earn much money in the new era, this did not interest him particularly. His ambition was to gain further status, perhaps through the marriage of his daughter to a Christian of an old aristocratic family.

Most of the rich families found in this period were not so

fortunate; they earned their money with difficulty and their prime concern remained financial. They wanted to raise themselves from their humble positions as Ulla Wolff explained in the story 'Mischpoche'. "The ambition and aspiration of all the young people who felt that they had outgrown the peddling and petty trade of their fathers, had only one goal - to establish themselves. How and with what was another matter which was given less attention and concern than the need might indicate. It was understandable as the news of the great business success of the Jews in the large centers of trade came to the provinces, into the small communities. Every man thought that he had discovered a future Rothschild, Heine, or Bleichröder in himself. One only had to try it. It was the same with me as with others. A great urge to leave home possessed me ...; when I accompanied father to the market and was introduced to some of his business practices, I dreamt of trade and commerce on a grand scale as I knew it from books and from hearsay. All the wretched poverty of peddling and trading I compared, rather unreasonably, to the big businessman of whom I had heard, Nathan the Wise." Just the dream to improve was not enough; concrete steps had to be taken to fulfill it. At a Bar Mitzwoh gathering of a relative, the young man broached the subject of an independent business to his father. "I was twenty-three years old and this evening and that conversation will never be forgotten." When the boy was asked with what the new venture was to be undertaken, he listed the entire family as partners. This brought laughter at first, but his father took the suggestion seriously. "Father knew how much this family solidarity meant. He agreed to my plan and took up our cause with so much

enthusiasm and energy that Israel and I were able to establish a cotton goods store, wholesale and retail, after a few months in 1841 in the Silesian mountain city of Weissenburg. The location was good. Out of Weissenburg developed the great Silesian linen and cotton industry which has a place of honor in the history of German business; it was then still in the modest first beginnings." The road was difficult as neither of the boys had any business experience on a large scale. They paid for their mistakes, or their creditors paid for them, when they became bankrupt. "Israel and I had little to lose; we did not possess insight or experience, but enough daring to participate in economic manipulations of which neither one of us understood anything and which overtaxed our means ..., in brief, before three years had passed, we were bankrupt.... It was bad enough, but in those days and especially among Jews, it was not considered such a calamity; I also did not properly understand the significance of this event. A bankruptcy ... one more! What did it matter; the main thing was to be able to begin again after a proper agreement with the creditors. There was an instinct, a dark feeling within me which spoke differently, but I walked the same path as everyone else." The family was able to come to the rescue of the two boys. "Finally the uncle suggested the usual path of relief; he offered the creditors a small percentage of their investment and referred them to better business conditions which the future would bring." As an able businessman and a good talker, he was able to convince them of the advisability of this step. Then the entire family on both sides generously provided the capital necessary to restore the concern. As most of

them were peddlers and small merchants, this was not easy, but they too were persuaded. "The business grew, prospered, and earned a good reputation. I must praise Israel and myself; we worked day and night, used every smallest prospect, and utilized the bad experiences from before. After two years we were respected enough that Mendel Rosenzweig of Posen made me his son-in-law." <sup>21</sup>

"We did well and the two years following my marriage witnessed a considerable upswing in business. All ventures were blessed with the greatest success as if good luck had moved in with Sorel Rosenzweig. We could dare, without straining, to participate in a great enterprise which excited the cotton market of those days and thus open new vistas for our trade from America. We were young and stood in the middle of a move in which the outstanding, most trustworthy, and conservative merchants and industrialists of our field were involved ... There was nothing to fear, no dark cloud marred the sky." But it was the time of the great cotton crisis in New York which severely injured the German cotton industry. Everywhere the most respected firms collapsed; nothing appeared certain any longer. Their business seemed destined for bankruptcy as well, which would have meant permanent ruin. "Help had to be obtained, and it was found in the form of Abraham Bendel. He had managed to obtain the largest number of our outstanding promisory notes. He offered these to us along with an unusually large dowry if Israel would marry his daughter Mali. No one knew our precise position; if we accepted this deal, we were saved. We would be bigger than ever after having withstood such a crisis. There was the deed and I ..and I ..I reached for this rope. Israel was <sup>22</sup> amenable; he too saw only one thing, rescue from new shame."

Although it was not easy to convince some members of the family of the wisdom of this marriage, but it was done and the firm was saved. It grew, finally moved to Berlin, and became one of the biggest cotton good enterprises in the country. The two boys had risen from the position of peddlers to great power and wealth in Berlin by the seventies.

The large cities provided other means of gaining wealth which were quicker; one of these was money lending, which sometimes expanded into banking. This was an occupation which was practiced in the smaller communities as well. Berthold Auerbach told of a money lender in the Black Forest in the twenties. The risks were great and he had to watch the clients carefully. If they seemed unlikely to repay, he would refuse them which caused hard feelings. There was often suspicion of dishonesty connected with these men. Ulla Wolff stated that a wealthy man in Weissenburg had the reputation of lending money at usurious rates; he was also suspected of buying goods from dubious sources; "yet his fortune grew and the district attorney never raised any objections." The people accepted the situation. He was a shrewd trader and knew how to deal with peasants as well as great noblemen. After he had married his daughter to a respectable businessman, the entire matter was forgotten in the next generation. Naturally fellow Jews were treated differently, especially in the case of personal loans for which no interest was taken as several authors mentioned.

The suspicions which existed toward Jewish money lenders was also felt toward the bankers. Max Ring in the novel An der Börse quoted a large Gentile establishment as unwilling to deal with Jews no matter what the circumstances. Even after the Jewish firm had

done them a favor, the trade between them remained at a minimum.

The business recessions which affected the merchants imperilled the bankers too. This coupled with the difficulties of the War of Liberation ruined a small banker; after normal times had returned he did not possess the courage to begin again as Ulla Wolff men-

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tioned. A clever man managed to use the crisis of 1848 as a new opportunity. Many were ruined during this year, but this man converted all his securities into cash and remained unscathed.

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The success took place in a story by Markus Lehmann.

As bankers were discussed in these works and in those of the following decades, it was not surprising to find the Rothschilds frequently mentioned. In one story a man boasted that his ances-

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tors had worked for this famous banking house. Another tale gave

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a thorough description of the Rothschild home. This author,

August Lewald, also told of the numerous charitable contributions

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which the head of the firm had made. In Max Ring's An der Börse

he was portrayed as a financial king of the Jews, a type of

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Messiah. The same author used the name, Rothschild, as a symbol of extreme wealth, usually with some allusion to the Jewishness

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of the family.

Max Ring was the author who excelled in descriptions of the stock exchange. The exchanges grew in importance in these years and Jews became increasingly active in them. Ring's novels were often concerned with the evils of the exchange and with the problems which arose there. He wrote in a vein of light sarcasm. "The distinctions in religion have rapidly disappeared; Christians and Jews are members of the same free community (on the exchange) and

worship one God. Credit replaces belief; anyone who has credit will be blessed here below. A touching feeling of humanity arises from the same source. Nowhere does one find so much true interest and friendship as one can on the exchange. No mother can be more concerned with her child than the members of this company when they inquire - How is Mr. Meyer doing? How does Mr. Wolf stand? How is Mrs. Hirsch? These are daily and hourly questions." <sup>35</sup>

In this novel, An der Börse, Max Ring gave good sketches of some of the men who traded on the exchange. Some were Jews, others were Gentiles. Among the Jews was an unsuccessful trader who acted as middleman for many transactions. He earned enough to feel safe and to say whatever was on his mind; thus he provided the humor necessary in this place of extreme tension. <sup>36</sup> We were told of the personnel and the office of a brokerage house. Everything there was arranged in the most economic manner possible. Nothing had been done to the office for years; the walls needed painting and the furniture was old and broken. The windows had not been washed in years. The brothers who owned the firm were wealthy. One managed the office while the other went to the exchange. They loved each other, but had no friends. Their uncomfortable office had many visitors. "Earls and noblemen often stopped here and many an elegant man shook the hands of this usurer and, quite in vain, used the finest forms of speech and compliments upon him." All entered with a light heart and left with a heavy one. <sup>37</sup> These brothers were not liked by their fellow Jews either. Once the wit of the exchange addressed one of them: "You and your brother are among the best men. His word is like God's, when he has promised something, he keeps it,

even if it might cost him a hundred thousand Thaler. Such a pity that he never makes a promise. By contrast you are a very good man. You promise a man the last thing you've got. It is only a pity that you have such a poor memory and forget today what you said yesterday. For those reasons I have always maintained that there are no better men than the brothers Rosenberg." Despite their business acumen, their greed and bad manners made them totally unacceptable even to the rather tolerant society of the exchange. Publicly few crossed them as they possessed the power to take vengeance; though they used that power quietly. <sup>38</sup> With their great shrewdness, they managed to escape every crisis of the middle of the century. They always ap-  
<sup>39</sup>peared to come out safe and richer than before.

Business life was not the only area which was described in the works. Two authors were concerned with the Jew in the medical profession. Moderate wealth and status could be attained this way. Fanny Lewald told of a Jewish doctor in her novel Wandlungen; his rise was not easy. "Born as a Jew, the doctor preserved a vivid recollection of his childhood and its depressing poverty. He did so although his parents later amassed some wealth and were able to provide their son with all which was needed for a good education. Gifted with iron persistence and indefatigable patience, which are the main characteristics of the existence of the Jewish people, also no longer bothered with the worries about his daily bread, he turned early to the troubles of mankind and tried to remedy both physical and spiritual suffering wherever he met it. He was acquainted the first through the days of his childhood, he knew the second

through the oppression of his people, through the vexations and obstructions which he experienced in his life as a son of this people. Hardly entered into manhood, he became the untiring doctor of the poor, the restless worker for the emancipation of the Jews, through conviction and experience a friend of mankind, a free man." This dedicated individual was successful both as a physician and as a fighter for the Jew. He personally was granted a bit of greater freedom long before others of his faith.<sup>40</sup>

In her novel Jenny Fanny Lewald showed the prejudice which a Jewish physician had to face. "It was Meier's greatest wish to become the director of some well known clinic in order to be useful through learning and teaching. He could not look to such a position at any German university, therefore it became his wish to at least head a hospital. When the death of an old doctor vacated such a position in a city hospital, he did not hesitate to apply for the post, especially as he was held in high esteem by the public. His knowledge, his good manners, and his honesty persuaded the officials, and also the board of the charities to choose him as the director and to seek the official appointment from the central government. Meier was at the peak of joy; in the happiness of his heart, after he had been selected, he pledged not to accept the considerable salary, but to let it be used for the hospital. A few weeks passed in happy expectations; he had received the congratulations of his friends, and had thought of moving from his parent's home to the new official apartment, when the government decision arrived. It did not contain the expected confirmation, but the suggestion that Meier convert to Christianity,

as it was not the intention of the government to entrust any position to a Jew. His remonstrances that religion could be no obstacle in such a position were in vain, as was the query for the legal basis of this refusal; the government stood by its decision. People called Meier an agitator. Those jealous of him, of his talents, who were never lacking, laughed about Jewish presumptuousness; how they elbowed their way to honors for which they are not suited. They forgot that the officials themselves had declared the derided opponent as the most suitable.<sup>41</sup> This Hamburg physician of the second decade in the nineteenth century had advanced further than many others. His relationship with Christian patients was excellent. His father wondered how long this would continue. He reasoned that it was easy to admit a young, single Jew into a Christian home, but it would become difficult after he had married a Jewess. She would certainly not be welcome.<sup>42</sup> The author presented the difficulties of the young doctor and pointed out that there was little hope for improvement. The physician in this novel became a fighter for Jewish rights and for liberal causes.

Ulla Wolff had a figure in "Naemi Ehrenfest" two decades later state that matters had improved. In Breslau it seemed that religion could be forgotten in the medical profession.<sup>43</sup>

Although some aspects of economic life during this period were discussed by these authors, this remained a secondary interest, especially to the contemporary writers. The means of livelihood were incidentally mentioned and were given only the briefest descriptions. This was true of the Gentiles in these works as well as the Jewish characters. Max Ring was the only exception among the contemporary

authors. He took a keen interest in the affairs of the stock exchange and described it well in several novels set in the forties and later decades. This writer was also capable of romantic novels dealing with the family intrigue of the nobility and of historical tales which used the newly discovered material of Jewish history well. He was at his best when writing of the exchange with wit and sarcasm; there he provided the reader with the feeling that he enjoyed working on these books.

In the twentieth century there was a greater interest in the business life of the Jew. Thus Georg Borchardt and Ulla Wolff gave fairly detailed descriptions. Ulla Wolff was most skillful in depicting the rise of a Jewish family; she used this method of telling a story a number of times and devoted considerable time on the means of livelihood.

The professions were neglected in this period and in those to follow. Of them all only the physician was given any mention in detail. During these early years there probably were not too many Jews in other fields, but there must have been a large number of doctors who were neglected in this literature. Fanny Lewald's treatment of the struggle for rights on the part of a doctor was the most thorough given within the century. Large sections of the novel Jenny were concerned with this problem. Although the young man could have escaped difficulties through conversion, he was not willing to purchase office and honors in this way. Judaism had little meaning for him in a religious sense; he did not observe any of the festivals or rituals, but he was not willing to give up that religion under pressure from the surrounding world, or due to family urging.

The novels and stories show that the basic problems of earning a decent livelihood had been overcome by the beginning of this period. There were still many areas of economic life in which Jews were not permitted, but enough remained for everyone to earn a living without undue hardship or constant fear of persecution. Wealth was rarely gained by the urban Jews before the middle of the century. A few skilled, lucky men became rich, but the majority remained poor small shopkeepers.

## Notes.

## The Urban Jew and His Livelihood 1815 - 1848.

1. Marvin Lowenthal, The Jews of Germany, pp. 209 ff.
2. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 16.
3. David Schiff, Pumpauf und Pumprich, (Zerbst, 1826), p. 8 f.
4. Berthold Auerbach, "Florian und Krescenz", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 12.
5. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Schlemielchen", Gesammelte Werke, I, 25.
6. Ibid., I, 22.
7. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 194.
8. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 78.
9. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, (Berlin, 1903), VI, 199.
10. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 239 ff.
11. August Lewald, "Das heimliche Gericht", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, V, 350 ff.
12. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 239.
13. Max Ring, Fürst and Musiker, (Berlin, 1869), II, 103.
14. Berthold Auerbach, "Brigitta", op. cit., X, 146 ff.
15. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte, I, 414.
16. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Tante Guttraud", op. cit., I, 13.
17. David Schiff, Pumpauf und Pumprich, p. 166 ff.
18. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 19.
19. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 45 ff.
20. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche" Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, (Berlin, 1907), X, 228.
21. Ibid., 229.
22. Ibid., X, 230 f.
23. Ibid., X, 232 ff.
24. Berthold Auerbach, "Florian und Krescenz", op. cit., II, 29.
25. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 204 ff.
26. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 205;
- Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 115.
27. Max Ring, An der Börse, (Leipzig, 1852), pp. 60, 149 f.
28. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 191.
29. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", op. cit., V, 126.
30. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 186 ff.
31. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 183.
32. Ibid., XII, 182.
33. Max Ring, An der Börse, p. 7.
34. Max Ring, "Glück und Unglück", Lose Vögel, (Berlin, 1872), I, 71;
- Götter und Götzen, (Berlin, n.d.), II, 20.
35. Max Ring, An der Börse, p. 6.
36. Ibid., pp. 16, 22.
37. Ibid., pp. 65 ff.
38. Ibid., pp. 18 ff.
39. Ibid., p. 209.
40. Fanny Lewald, Wandlungen, I, 132.

41. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 27.
42. Ibid., pp. 12 ff.
43. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 235.

## Social Life and Status 1815 - 1848.

The struggle for status continued in the same manner as during the previous decades. The Jews who had become wealthy and had moved to the larger cities wanted to display their riches to their coreligionists and to the Gentiles. The obstacles which were encountered did not change in this period either. It was not difficult to impress fellow Jews; a few grand social occasions would have the desired affect. With money and a good offer of a dowry at the proper time anyone could marry his daughter into a respectable family. Then the family tree, or the lack of it, and the manner in which the riches were attained were forgotten. It remained difficult to begin social life in the Christian society circles; a few succeeded, but the majority failed. Yet as each new group gained wealth, they proceeded on the same route and continued to try to overcome the familiar barriers.

The majority of the Jews continued to live in small towns and villages; they were poor and their homes humble. Salomon Mosenthal gave a description of the apartment of a poor Jew in a city in Hessen in the story "Tante Guttraud": "We (as children on a visit) entered the room whose peculiar odor caused us some inner revulsions. The sense of smell has a remarkably clear memory. As I write this down, I can almost recall that atmosphere of coal soot, lamp soot, and camphor vapors which I inhaled fifty years ago; whenever I found them again in the tenements of the poor, my soul automatically recalls a picture of Aunt Guttraud. The room was long and low; a seven armed pewter lamp hung from the crossbeams. Two of its arms were lit and threw a crude light on the table with its white table cloth

standing below. Meanwhile the rest of the chamber lay in semi-darkness. The worm eaten floor was strewn with white sand which crackled uncannily under our feet. In one corner of the depth there glowed an iron and stone coal stove from whose door the blasts of wind drove gusts of smoke. In the other corner stood a bed with a red and blue checkered calico curtain in which the husband of the aunt, whom we never called uncle, lay sick.<sup>2</sup> Other homes contained a little more luxurious furnishings, but were far from opulent. The best which could be said of them was stated by Alphonse Levy to whom these homes represented an improvement over those of the previous century.<sup>3</sup>

The home of the richest Jew in the town of Rogasen was described by Ulla Wolff in the story "Die Toten". "The furnishings of the apartments of both families, the old and the young, were quite luxurious according to the concepts of that time. Only the richest were able to afford the luxury of upholstered furniture, big heavy chests and closets. Above all it was the valuable silver which gave the house an air of considerable wealth. The seven armed lamp, the Sabbath candelabrum, the Kiddush cup, the Psomim box, the Menorah, the Seder plate, and other ritual objects were very heavy and richly gilded, of a solidity which properly represented the wealth of the home. Only a few families in the town enjoyed similar wealth."<sup>4</sup> This was the wealthy home of a family which lived in an entirely Jewish environment; they were not concerned with recognition from the Gentiles and made no efforts in that direction. The most beautiful objects in their house were therefore Jewish ritual items. Undoubtedly this gave them a certain standing in the community. They were the leading Jewish

family not only in an economic sense, but also in communal religious affairs.

Aside from money the criterion among Jews remained the family background. Ulla Wolff pointed this out well in "Naemi Ehrenfest"; when a stranger arrived in the community, his family - his jiches -<sup>5</sup> was immediately discussed. The same author told that first rank honors were given to scholarly families. This high status was transmitted to the one or two following generations. A young man wished for the friendship of a merchant in Breslau in the twenties not only because of his wealth, but "as he is the son-in-law of Rabbi Akiba Eger of Posen and therefore belongs to the first Jewish families of the country."<sup>6</sup> Similarly a merchant in the third decade of the century took great pride in the scholarship of his son. He had never had the opportunity to devote himself to study. Even greater happiness was felt when he learned that the boy would marry<sup>7</sup> the daughter of the rabbi of the Yeshiva. This was actually the ideal type of marriage for it united status of learning with riches and gave the family real standing in the Jewish community. As August Lewald pointed out, by this time a fine genealogy without the proper amount of money was worthless.<sup>8</sup> Learning had been the principal path to recognition in the ghetto, but now there were other roads which became continually more significant.

The family and especially the place of origin were important throughout this period however. The Jews of Posen suffered most from these distinctions; this newly annexed section of Prussia was considered only one step above Poland. Those men and women had to prove themselves in society and were generally met with

disdain and suspicion. Georg Borchardt gave a good description of this attitude in a humorous way in the novels Jettchen Geberts Geschichte. A Berlin Jew of the eighteen thirties commented upon a nephew from Posen: "Do you know where he is actually from? From Benschel! Ever heard of Benschel? Well, I know it. You must think of it like this. The whole place is just one street, and if you enter here, you are already out of it there. There is only one danger about that; you must close your eyes in Benschel when you go down the main street, close them tightly, or they will surely steal the whites of your eyes. The Loewenberg's are just charlatans compared to the Benschel's." Such unflattering remarks were commonplace among these big city Jews; another person in this novel stated: "Na, perhaps you would like to marry such a lazy Posener schnorrer?" The feeling of superiority was strong enough that Jews from Posen felt precisely the same way a little later, after they had been in the big city for a while. They quickly forgot their origin.

Among some families in Berlin these matters did not matter any more. In a story by Ulla Wolff a relative with a good education was welcomed to Berlin society despite a very humble family origin. The ancestry was not hidden as a matter of shame, but was often the source of astonished comment. This fact demonstrated that such acceptance was still rare in the fourth decade of this century.

The Jews who lived in the big cities were not satisfied with recognition from their fellow Jews; they wished to be held

in esteem by the Gentile community. They attempted to reach this goal in the same manner as the previous generation, by generous entertainment in their homes. In the novel Jenny which was published in this period, Fanny Lewald spoke of a Jewish home in Hamburg in the eighteen thirties. "The home of the Meier's is one of the most hospitable in our city; the mother is a friendly, sympathetic woman, the father a clever and good man who has a heart open to men and mankind; he possesses a lively interest in all which is grand and beautiful. .... They are good and cultured people; even if the so called elite of society is not to be found there. One does find the largest portion of our scholars and artists, a great many strangers, and splendid conversation with the Meier's."

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This was the home of a family which had grown accustomed to its wealth, so that monetary matters were never discussed there. The family became renown for its hospitality and for the grand parties so tastefully done, which marked the seasons and family events. Their New Year's party was a fine affair. "After much preparation the New Year's eve arrived. The rooms of the house were decorated more than usual and even the friends of the house suspected something special today, although it had always pleased Mr. Meier to show his home in a certain state of elegance. (The engagement of his daughter was to be announced that evening). After the first dances the guests were invited into the greenhouse which had been arranged for the presentation of a tableaux. As the first picture Dendemann's 'Mourning Jews' was chosen; it had been received with much acclaim at the last exhibition." The evening continued in

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splendor and elegance which could not be readily matched. The

efforts of this family remained fruitless. As the author pointed out, the leading families of the city did not frequent the house, even during the most splendid parties. Some satisfaction could be gained from the entertainment of artists and strangers, but this was the highest point which a Jew could reach. The good education and the cultivated conversation made little difference. Fanny Lewald showed the helplessness of the family in this situation. All they could do was continue their pattern of life and raise their children in a modern, cultured manner, with the hope that better conditions would arrive. <sup>15</sup> The same sense of frustration was felt by a family in Berlin according to Georg Borchardt; they had almost abandoned Judaism, but as long as they attained only wealth and culture without formal ties to Christianity, they <sup>16</sup> could not gain social recognition.

Even among very emancipated families who were interested in Christian society, certain days in the year were set aside to strengthen family ties and to stress the intimate Jewish circle of friends. Georg Borchardt portrayed a family in Berlin which set aside New Year's eve for this purpose. All the relatives met together, exchanged good wishes, and reaffirmed their loyalty to one another for the coming year. No strangers had a place in <sup>17</sup> the entertainment of that evening. This was the same family which had almost given up Judaism, but the family continued to be important to them.

Recognition by society was one path to status; another was to be reached through civic honors. During certain decades in the

century such honors were readily given to Jews; it was not so in this period. Almost all honorary offices were closed to the Jew. In the twenties in some sections of Germany honors were not dreamed of; it was sufficient if an official gave a kind greeting, or exchanged a few words with a Jew. This would give him status in the Jewish community; he would then become the man to whom all negotiations with the Gentiles would be entrusted. Thus Max Ring reported in his novel Unfehlbar.<sup>18</sup> In other sections of Germany a greater degree of sophistication existed; such recognition meant nothing and the Jews longed for the lower rungs of nobility. That opinion was presented by some characters in Fanny Lewald's Helmar.<sup>19</sup>

For those Jews whose hopes had been raised by the War of Liberation nothing but disappointment was in store. A man who had aided an isolated fort during that war expected some type of recognition at the conclusion of hostilities. Yet not even his status as a 'Schutzjude' was changed as stated by August Lewald.<sup>20</sup>

Fanny Lewald pictured the characters in Jenny highly elated when a Jew in Hamburg was elected to a minor office. Men and women in that city imagined that a new age had begun, but their fond hopes of the twenties were disappointed.<sup>21</sup>

A number of Jews reached the lower rungs of nobility; one of the main characters in the story "Nur Standhaft" by Markus Lehmann was a baron.<sup>22</sup> When in the middle of life in the eighteen forties, he too felt frustrated. His lord often thanked him privately for his services to the little state, but never gave the recognition desired, which was a higher office. The baron told his wife: "I am thoroughly convinced that if I were not a Jew,

his honor would have appointed me as Chief Finance Minister. His honor has awarded me with the Great Cross, the highest decoration of his house, an award usually reserved for dukes and princes." <sup>23</sup>

The generosity of the lord did not impress him, instead he thought of what might have been his.

Social distinctions were usually reserved for the rich among Jews and Gentiles, but at times they became apparent in stories which dealt with the poorer classes. Salomon Mosenthal in "Jephta's Tochter" had a Christian villager refuse to use the personal form of address when talking with a Jew from the same village. The men knew each other well, but the religious distinction kept them from <sup>24</sup> establishing a real friendship.

The social life of the Jew was given more attention in the novels which dealt with these decades. A great deal of interest still centered around social intercourse among Jews. The criterion which were important there were discussed in these works. An increasing amount of stress was given to the social relationship between Jews and Christians. The wealthy Jew wanted to enter Gentile society, but in this period remained frustrated. In the large cities this effort played the dominant role in the life of the rich Jews. In the smaller towns the Jews with money were still satisfied with the attainment of Jewish communal distinction.

The picture given of these years was substantially the same as presented by contemporary authors as Salomon Mosenthal and Fanny Lewald and by writers who produced their works at the beginning of the next century as Georg Borchardt and Ulla Wolff. The difficulties of those years had been accurately remembered. Fanny Lewald

who witnessed this social ostracism and saw the results among the Jews wrote with more vigor and some bitterness on the subject. The other authors treated the matter more gently, but also with force.

## Notes.

## Social Life and Status 1815 - 1848.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 204 ff.
2. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Tante Guttraud", Gesammelte Werke, I, 5.
3. Alphonse Levy, "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter", Erlebt. Erzählungen aus dem jüdischen Familienleben, p. 22.
4. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 246.
5. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 205.
6. Ibid., VIII, 195.
7. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 244 f.
8. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 178 f.
9. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte, I, 176.
10. Ibid., I, 304.
11. Ibid., I, 175.
12. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 234.
13. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 5.
14. Ibid., p. 119.
15. Ibid., p. 20.
16. Georg Borchardt, op. cit., I, 363 f.
17. Ibid., II, 175.
18. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, III, 5.
19. Fanny Lewald, Helmar, p. 210.
20. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 162.
21. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 19.
22. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 56.
23. Ibid., I, 55.
24. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 145 ff.

### Marriage and Family 1815 - 1848.

The romantic novels and short stories set in this period often dealt with marriage and to a lesser degree with the problems of the family. Most of these books were concerned with action rather than inner thought; therefore family conflict and involved family situations were ideal material for these authors. A good many of these problems arose through intermarriage, but that subject will be reserved for the following chapter.

Some ordinary events were mentioned by these writers too. Ulla Wolff stated that it was the custom early in the century to record the names of children in the family Bible. In this case it was a sad register as four of the nine children had died as small children.<sup>1</sup>

The changing life was to bring tension between the generations. It began to be felt during these years and grew more pronounced in the next decades. In certain families this difficulty had not yet appeared. Ulla Wolff wrote in "Naemi Ehrenfest" that although the members of the family busied themselves more with the outside world than in previous times, the family bonds remained firm. "The more they participated in worldly affairs, the closer was their inner life. Their family life formed a strong castle of the belief of their fathers and of concern and care for the family." This was expressed in willingness to help relatives who were in need, even if they were only distantly related.<sup>2</sup> August Lewald spoke of this desire to help other members of the family; aid was always readily extended.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand there were children who could no longer understand the way of life of their parents. In "Simon

Eichelkatz" Ulla Wolff described a situation in which the young people felt ashamed of their parents. The parents had done much to help them attain their present position, but this was taken for granted.<sup>4</sup>

The pattern of women's life varied during these years. Some authors showed the old ways continuing; among the rich and those of high status, this meant a very sheltered existence for the girls and later for the wives. Among the poor the women were expected to work toward the support of the family. Ulla Wolff gave an example of the former in "Die Toten". The daughter of the head of a Yeshiva in Märkisch-Friedland in the eighteen twenties led a sheltered life. A student in her father's Yeshiva who loved her hardly dared to approach her; it was a long time before he spoke to her. As she was the youngest daughter of a great scholar, life was not easy; children shied away from her and she was able to have few friends.<sup>5</sup>

If the family was poor, the girls would be introduced to business life as early as the boys. In the third decade of the century, "already as a fourteen year old girl Veilchen Cohnberg was introduced to commercial life. She was permitted to count the incoming bales of goods, to check the measurements of the individual pieces, and soon was allowed to wait upon the less important customers." She was clever and rapidly learned to do everything in the store. As she possessed a glib tongue her specialty became selling out of fashion items. Earning money was the primary interest of her life; therefore she was happy later to marry a talmud chochom with a store who was only too willing to leave it entirely in her hands.<sup>6</sup> Thus Salomo Formstecher portrayed the growing years of a young

Jewish girl in his novel Buchenstein und Cohnberg. In the rural areas the women helped in another way in certain sections of Germany. In Hessen-Nassau it was their task to fatten the geese which were then sold in the city by the head of the family. Salomon Mosenthal gave a detailed account of this process in "Jephta's Tochter."<sup>7</sup>

The life of many rural and small town women did not remain unchanged. As the news of the altered pattern of life in the big cities came to them, they wished to change. They heard of the famous women of Berlin and according to Ulla Wolff, tried to model their lives after them. In Breslau in the eighteen thirties "the aesthetic direction was given by two daughters of Israel (Herz and Levin) and their spirit remains influential to this day. Unintentionally they became the standard for the education of young Jewish girls." It became a matter of pride to adhere closely to this trend. The changes brought friction as the traditional religious and family ties were questioned by the new generation.<sup>8</sup> In her story "Die Toten" the same author showed that it took years to bring about this imitative change, but it proved much simpler to adopt the fashions of the large cities. The upper classes, even in Rogasen, dressed fashionably and elegantly. "She looked at her statuesque mother-in-law when she went to Schul to sit in the first row of the barred and curtained women's gallery dressed in a brocade dress heavily ornamented with gold. She was bedecked with many pearls, wore large gold bracelets on her fleshy arms and wore a jeweled chain on her neck. She (the daughter-in-law) sat there beside her, also beautifully dressed in silk and satin, with a

hidden Scheitel and felt herself filled with the pride of learning of her father's house and the wealth of her in-laws." <sup>9</sup>

The amount of education given a girl slowly increased. Even in the forties this made a difference and was a factor in a good marriage; the old virtues were no longer the only things considered. In her story "Mischpoche" Ulla Wolff showed that this was true in as small a community as Weissenburg. "Samuel's wife came from a highly esteemed family in Posen and Sophie Rosenzweig was even 'educated'. That meant that she had enjoyed a German and French education and was armed with the culture of those times. Israel's wife had to substitute great riches for her lack in lineage and good education." When this was lacking the father made the proper <sup>10</sup> substitution.

Love and marriage as in the previous period, continued to be an important element of these novels. In these decades the description of the arrangements leading toward marriage and of the ceremony itself were more detailed than previously.

Generally the marriage involved two people of the same community. Only under exceptional circumstances was a bride brought from another place. Max Ring's Unfehlbar told that the bride for a feeble minded boy was from Poland and that this match had been especially arranged. The wealthy parents who lived in Upper Silesia wished to see their son married and settled down so that they would <sup>11</sup> have no further worries on that account.

The basic conditions for a good match were discussed by a family in Ulla Wolff's tale "Naemi Ehrenfest". The story was set in Breslau in the twenties. "It would have been quite impossible that a son

or daughter from a good home would have married someone of their position. Just as the financial affairs were arranged precisely in advance, so was the merit of the family with which one was about to unite investigated; the genealogy was scrutinized to its most distant branches. An almost greater significance was placed upon the family tree than upon the dowry. It was especially the custom of very rich Jews to marry their children into (the families) of highly regarded talmudic scholars, so that both knowledge and wealth formed the basis of such unions. The word *jiches* was current among all of us. It formed the most important criterion for new friendships and within these circles meant as much as a patent of nobility." In theory all of these matters were important, especially among those of wealth and status. In practice the girl quoted above found herself outside the door of her father's room just after her sister's wedding as the dowry was paid out; that remained a primary consideration. <sup>12</sup> In Jenny Fanny Lewald showed the importance of money and status. A father in Hamburg in 1832 became enraged when his daughter wished to marry beneath her station and wealth. "The old man cried out, "why do I oppose this? Jenny is one of the richest girls of the city; she is pretty and clever and hardly grown up. My name, my firm is one of the most respected. Such a girl must bring me, you (the mother), another son-in-law - one who will bring honor to my firm and to whom I may leave the business, whom I can show to people. You know that my first thoughts are for the happiness of my children, but I am not only a father, I am also a businessman. My firm is also a part of me; I could not dream of permitting my only daughter to

become engaged to a student or a probationer of whom I know absolutely nothing, except that he has been placed under investigation because of demagoguery. Furthermore,' he added softly, 'one who in his pride may believe that he brings a sacrifice and does me honor as he marries a Jewess, this pearl of a girl.'<sup>13</sup> The fact that this was to be an intermarriage was the last and least significant argument.

As Salomon Mosenthal showed in "Schlemielchen" monetary considerations played a major role among the poor. Without a dowry hopes for marriage would be scant. In the forties a kind uncle gave his niece enough so that she could marry. The dowry was provided as linen, silver, and furniture.<sup>14</sup>

The financial affairs of the young couple were settled by the parents; often they made all the arrangements for the marriage and only left the final decision, which was usually in the affirmative, to the young people. A marriage which represented the decision of the youngsters entirely was the exception as<sup>15</sup> Ulla Wolff pointed out. Even an older boy faced difficulties. In her story "Die Toten" one of the best students of the Yeshiva fell in love with the head of the Yeshiva's daughter; after considerable hesitation he asked for her consent. Then he had to bide his time until the subject could be broached to the father; unfortunately it was the season of the high holidays during which such secular matters could not be brought up. After Sukkos the proposal was accepted with ease as he was a gifted student and rich as well. The rabbi was happy for those reasons; while his own father rejoiced because of the jiches involved. Only because he

was older and more mature was there no objection to his making the preliminary arrangements himself. Nevertheless, the fathers met to settle the dowry. <sup>16</sup> Usually a girl had no voice in these affairs, especially among the poorer people, but a clever young woman could guide the choice of her parents. Salomon Formstecher showed how this was done in Buchenstein und Cohnberg. This woman who was enamoured with business matters in Emethofen in the eighteen thirties had her parents choose a young scholar as her husband. This satisfied them for it brought riches to the family; it made her happy as she was able to run the store for the young man who <sup>17</sup> was entirely absorbed in his books.

These weddings which had been arranged by the parents mostly led to happy lives; this was discussed by the characters of Fanny Lewald's Jenny. In the eighteen thirties in Hamburg the young physician, his sister, and their father reached different conclusions on this matter. The doctor stated, "In the years which I have practiced here, I have noticed that happy marriages and solicitous care for their children is more common among Jews than Christians. Furthermore, a jurist told me, there is no comparison between the number of divorces among the two religions; divorce among Jews is very rare." Jenny remarked that this is peculiar as the marriages among Jews are so often arranged by the families and the bride and groom are the last who are consulted. 'This is not only the case among Jews,' replied the father, 'but is generally often so. The world is not quite as romantic in reality as it appears in your seventeen year old head. Regarding the happiness of Jewish marriages, they owe much of this, as of

other good things, to the oppression of the centuries through which they lived. The man who was never granted freedom of movement, who could call nothing his own, not his house, not his yard, and whose hard earned money was taken from him again and again under different pretexts, nothing remained to him except his wife and his children. Only they could not readily be stolen; they remained his, even when separated from him, his through their belief. Only if they separated themselves from it, would they cease to belong to him. Naturally then, wife and child were the Jew's world; to this day the example of happy home life continues to bless many among us, even if the outer circumstances of life have changed.<sup>18</sup>"

These authors spent many pages on the descriptions of the festivities surrounding the engagement and marriage. Some families in these decades followed the Orthodox traditions entirely; others broke with most of the usages of the past.

With the daughter of a rabbi the engagement itself was conducted in the traditional manner according to Ulla Wolff.<sup>19</sup> Orthodox laymen adhered to the same practices; Mosenthal spoke of them in Hessen-Nassau in the forties. The ceremonial bowl or glass was broken and the proper words were spoken on this happy occasion.<sup>20</sup>

In Unfehlbar Max Ring dealt with a wedding in the eighteen twenties; it followed the engagement by one month. There in Upper Silesia it was the custom of the children to seek the forgiveness of their parents just before the ceremony. A formal procession brought the party to the chupe outside the synagogue; it was accompanied by music. The ceremony was solemn and the sermon filled with learned citations. As the groom had considerable difficulty breaking the

glass, the congregation laughed and commented that the woman would rule this house. Following the ceremony the bride's hair was cut and a Scheitel placed upon her head. At the same time the dowry was paid out before two witnesses. Only then did the festivities begin as the guests reassembled. Ring took delight in giving a detailed description of the wedding banquet and everything connected with it. All the particulars were given.

The fullest account of an Orthodox ceremony was to be found in Ulla Wolff's "Naemi Ehrenfest". This wedding took place in Breslau in the second portion of the eighteen twenties; it was elaborate and the whole community participated for this was the daughter of the wealthiest man in the congregation. "There was joyful excitement the week before the wedding in the circle of those who were to participate; not only among them, as the prestige and the status of the families of the bride caused this to be an event for the entire congregation. Uncle Wolf was a well loved personality due to his charities, his communal usefulness, and his jovial disposition. The noble ancestry of his pious wife, the daughter of Akiba Eger, the fine energetic and ambitious sons, the lovely daughters, gave the house special dignity. The couple was very shy and were hardly given an opportunity to see each other, to kiss, or to exchange words privately. There was always someone present who watched over custom and usage. Even the proposal had been delivered by the father, after all the external affairs had been arranged. It caused great excitement that J. and H. would immediately begin a household and not live, as was customary, for a few years in the house of their in-laws and consume a part of the dowry." The days

prior to the wedding were used for the preparations and for discussion of the match.<sup>23</sup> Many out of town guests arrived for this wedding, even cousins from England who knew little German and were accustomed to a different kind of Judaism. They viewed the festivities with the eyes of strangers.<sup>24</sup>

Excitement was at its peak in the town during the arrival of Akiba Eger who was to marry his grand-daughter. He was given a proper welcome by the community. "On Thursday evening he arrived in Breslau. A delegation of the congregation travelled to Obernich to meet him and hundreds of members of the community joined the group. A quadrille of horses was hitched to the carriage in which the small, slim man rode." He spoke and then blessed the people. For the next days eager eyes followed each move which he made in the city.<sup>25</sup>

The bride prepared herself by going to the mikveh three days before the wedding; it was the first time and she was accompanied by both mothers and another feminine member of the family. All the rest of the girls watched with fascination and curiosity, but she would tell her little friends nothing of what had transpire. Upon her return all the women gathered around and wept; then a festive meal was given to celebrate the occasion. Finally everything was ready for the wedding itself.<sup>26</sup>

At the wedding the whole family was splendidly dressed; the author described the clothes in detail, especially the magnificent gown of the bride.<sup>27</sup> Little attention was given to the groom by the party; he spent the last day fasting. Immediately prior to the ceremony the men gathered with the groom and the women with the

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bride; refreshments were served to all but the young couple. Then Akiba Eger went to the bride and "spread a corner of her veil over her face with a special blessing. Then he took a handful of hops out of a silver bowl, which was given him, and scattered it on the bowed head of the bride. One was a symbol of chastity and the other of fertility. Then accompanied by prayers, the bride led by her and my mother and the groom led by the two fathers were brought under the wedding canopy." The wedding had been specially set "according to the custom of those times; the late afternoon hour on Friday just before the beginning of the Sabbath was chosen for the ceremony. The hour in which the Sabbath will also be greeted as a bride by the pious community. The Sabbath eve unites the pair for the first time. Up to this climax there were festive meals throughout the week in both families." So the week passed swiftly; a large number of the guests saw each other only on such rare occasions and enjoyed the opportunity to become reacquainted. Finally the ceremony itself was described: "The ceremony was very festive and formal ... the long Hebrew marriage contract, the benedictions of the rabbi and those of the entrusted guests honored therewith, the holy matter of putting on the ring, the drinking from a common golden cup, the glass which the groom broke with a resolute step." After the wedding the hair of the bride was shorn with due ceremony. A silken cap was then tied over her bald head and a wig fastened to it. Prayers accompanied the ancient rite, but the younger sister cried through all of it.

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This was a grand marriage in the large city of Breslau; a fine festive spirit could also be found in the small villages of

the Black Forest. Berthold Auerbach told of one briefly in "Florian und Krescenz". "The Jewish Festival of Tabernacles was over; now the wedding of Bessel brought music and happiness to the village again. The wedding was held in the open street before the castle under an outspread canopy. The peasants, who liked to lazy around, stood and stared. When the festivities of the evening began, the peasant boys and girls came and danced; some among them brought gifts. According to mutual tradition, they then led three dances."<sup>32</sup>

A decade later in the thirties even an Orthodox wedding omitted some usages. In Ulla Wolff's "Naemi Ehrenfest" the girl married a man of her own choice; this did not cause nearly as great a stir in the community as the fact that she did not cut her hair after the wedding. That had not happened before among the girls of the congregation.<sup>33</sup>

Not all marriages followed these patterns; among those families to whom Judaism meant little only the barest formalities which were necessary were kept. Georg Borchardt depicted such a wedding in Jettchen Geberts Geschichte. The ceremony followed the forms of tradition, but the festive air was absent. "The groom and the bride went to the court in the Jew's Street together before the wedding in order to register the marriage and to deliver the official papers."<sup>34</sup> A little later the wedding took place; the bride cared little about the religious aspects of the ceremony. "She was present and then Julius came to her and she stood alone together with him in the midst of four poles under a canopy. Behind her there was whispering and in front of her

stood a man with a white collar and a black coat; he lifted both arms to heaven and suddenly bellowed with the voice of a hungry lion: 'The ring is rrround, -rround is the ring - a symbol of God, without beginning or end!' Jettchen was so frightened that her knees shook. She stood dazed through the wedding sermon in which both she and the groom were addressed." After she had spoken a few words, it was over. <sup>35</sup> The ceremony was followed by an elaborate dinner (though in this case the bride ran away before the meal). One uncle objected to the ceremony as he thought that the rabbi had recited a paragraph which should have been said by the groom. <sup>36</sup>

Contrary to modern times the life of the young couple changed little after marriage. The girl may have had less freedom than previously; independence had to be won slowly and was not fully attained until years had passed. "With her wedding a girl did not win the great present day freedom and independence, on the contrary, her life was even more restricted and narrow than that of a single girl. She was together only with the closest and most intimate family. She was watched for the proper performance of her marital duty toward her husband and the strict observance of all rituals of married life and of the laws of women. The household with all its complications was led by Gittel (her mother-in-law). She arranged everything, not only for her own well managed household, but also whatever seemed proper for her son and his wife." This was the custom in Rogasen in the eighteen thirties as described by Ulla Wolff in "Die Toten". She and her husband lived 'auf Kost' with the in-laws for a number of years. In this

case the son spent his time studying; the father travelled on business; and the young wife tried to occupy herself with the household, but there was little to be done. It was a great step forward that they had been given separate, but adjoining quarters. Only after she had nominally led her husband's household for a number of years in a pious manner and had several children, was she given more freedom and an apartment of her own.<sup>37</sup>

The authors of this period showed that family life remained stable in these years. Generally the patterns which prevailed earlier continued to be followed. There was no difference in the description given among these writers who lived during different periods themselves. Fanny Lewald's writings were almost contemporary; Salomon Mosenthal and Salomo Formstecher wrote a little later; on the other hand Georg Borchardt and Ulla Wolff did most of their writing on this period fifty years later.

## Notes.

## Marriage and Family 1815 - 1848.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 183.
2. Ibid., VIII, 195 f.
3. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 362 f.
4. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 204 f.
5. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 236 f.
6. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 26 ff.
7. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", Gesammelte Werke, I, 116.
8. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 229.
9. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 247.
10. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 204.
11. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 123.
12. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 204.
13. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 114.
14. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Schlemielchen", op. cit., I, 30.
15. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 229.
16. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 243 f.
17. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 27 f.
18. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, pp. 65 f.
19. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 243.
20. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Schlemielchen", op. cit., I, 36.
21. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 129.
22. Ibid., I, 131 f.
23. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 217.
24. Ibid., VIII, 223.
25. Ibid., VIII, 220.
26. Ibid., VIII, 222.
27. Ibid., VIII, 227.
28. Ibid., VIII, 226.
29. Ibid., VIII, 228.
30. Ibid., VIII, 225 f.
31. Ibid., VIII, 221.
32. Berthold Auerbach, "Florian und Krescenz", Sämtliche Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 43.
33. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 228 f.
34. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte, I, 426.
35. Ibid., I, 465.
36. Ibid., II, 23.
37. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 245 ff.

### Intermarriage and Conversion 1815 - 1848.

Intermarriage increased steadily during this period according to these novels. The problems connected with it were often discussed extensively from both a liberal and an Orthodox point of view. Less objection was voiced in these years than in the previous period; this was true of the Gentile as well as the Jewish party. Intermarriage and the accompanying conversion remained the easiest path into general society.

Jewish families were anxious to have a Christian husband for their daughter, but they were not willing to have one who despised them and thought that he was doing the Jews a favor by marrying their daughter. In Fanny Lewald's Helmar the family was too proud for that. They let their daughter marry a French nobleman as he was without religious prejudices. Furthermore the girl was fond of Paris and was happy to be able to live there.

Families were influenced in their decision by the feeling of the Jewish community. In the novel Jenny set in the eighteen thirties in Hamburg Fanny Lewald showed the vigorous opposition which was voiced against the marriage of a prominent banker's daughter to a Christian clergyman. The father was able to ignore these statements, but the mother was affected by them, especially as they attacked the match on financial and social grounds as well. According to some of the critics, intermarriage should lead to wealth or position and should not occur merely because of the love of the two parties. "The repeated observation that Jenny should expect much better marriage prospects, if she was going to convert, had some influence on her (mother). .... She

began to ponder over the fact that this daughter had married a rich merchant, that one a famous artist, and that one a baron or an earl." She was fond of her future son-in-law, but would have been happier if he had been a man of status. She felt that her son who was a physician should also marry a Christian, but of a different type. "I am convinced that Eduard need only to begin courting in order to get a wife from any Christian household he desires; I cannot deny that there is nothing which I would wish more than to see him in such a union soon!" The son felt differently on this matter. "I will never enter a union of that kind, dear mother, you know that very well. I will never let myself be baptized; your ambitious hopes for me in which you visualize a future full of positions of honor, decorations, and offices will hardly come about..., unless a new era dawns for us."

Georg Borchardt showed the same opposition in Berlin in the novel Jettchen Geberts Geschichte; it was based more upon traditional grounds than on religious ones. The young Christian suitor of the eighteen thirties was told: "You believe that we are tolerant enough to be able to overlook this external accident of chance (that you happen to be a Christian). - Perhaps! But you overlook a certain pride which our family possesses - that we are recognized and honored as Jews. If my father had let himself and us be baptized, a suggestion which was frequently made to him, then we might be von Gebert and would be officers and councilors in the government. It is our pride that we have not done so, that we have not crawled to the cross and have not sold our view in any manner - either this

way or that way. Nor would we like to see it abandoned in our family in the future. Now you understand that?"<sup>4</sup> Later a full discussion of the matter took place and all members of the family expressed themselves on the prospective marriage of this wealthy orphaned girl to a Christian whom she loved. One argued: "Can he help it that he is a Christian!? That was alright in the old century. Today one should not bother about such trivialities - I am serious!" said Ernst red as a beet; the revolutionary ideas of his youth had become part of his flesh and blood." This opinion led to some mocking by other members of the family; one suggested that he contribute articles to a well known missionary magazine. Those views would be fully appreciated there.<sup>5</sup> Finally the uncle, who was the guardian of the bride, gave the decisive opinion. "Even if in my heart I think about our religion precisely as Eli, Jettchen will marry no Christian with our consent. Not with our consent, you do understand. .... I really don't need to explain this to you Jason. It is not a matter of the few customs, nor whether one is later buried in the Chausseestrasse or in the Hamburgerstrasse - it is not that, and you know as well as I why we are attached to Judaism and oppose it dying out in our family. Listen Jason, I would rather that my niece Jenny would not marry at all than see her marry a Christian. (He is questioned whether this would have been the wish of her father, but the uncle continues). It would follow his wish that all be done to make his only child happy - with that his memory could be served much better than with all false sentiment and narrowmindedness."<sup>6</sup> The strong sense of pride so deeply rooted in this family was the basis of their persistent refusal.

The younger generation often felt that the religious differences should not bar the way to the marriage which they desired. Their elders were not always able to prevent the union. Markus Lehmann pictured a dying mother's plea to her daughter; she wished to prevent any possibility of intermarriage, but the daughter replied: "If I meet a young man who loves me and I love him, then I shall marry him and religion may not stand in our path." She was only willing to promise to avoid noblemen who might be interested solely in her fortune. <sup>7</sup> Jakob Loewenberg in Der gelbe Fleck clearly showed that nothing could stop a determined couple; no parental objection on either side had any influence. "She was so blond and so beautiful that a Christian judge fell in love with her; she loved him too. Both sets of parents opposed the marriage, but they remained firm. She abandoned her belief and her family for her lover; she had to do so. The young, socially spoiled judge had thought that his courtship would be joyfully accepted and was bitterly hurt when objections were raised. Strong words followed and in the excitement of the argument he insulted his father-in-law (with the statement) that he didn't need usurious money. After that the break could not be healed. She followed her husband to a distant, strange city where he was transferred as judge. She was never permitted to talk about her origins. He wanted to spare her and himself any unpleasantness. So they lived under foreign colors and the lie continued. But I believe that they were quite happy during the early years of marriage." She remained too proud to seek peace or to ask for financial assistance, though there were many years when it would have been useful. Only after her husband's

death, did she request some money, not for herself, but for her  
<sup>8</sup>  
 sons.

Some feeling against intermarriage remained among the Gentiles, but it was not expressed with as much violence as previously. The prejudice was silent, but persistent. Therefore Markus Lehmann had one of his characters, a Christian nobleman, advise his Jewish councilor against it. The Jew wanted to bring his daughter into the old aristocratic families, but the Gentile told him: "You know the great feeling of prejudice which exists in these circles. Only a down and out Junker could decide to refurbish the glory of his old name with your money. If I were in your place, I would choose a young businessman, a coreligionist, as a son-in-law and leave him the business. You will always find me prepared to arrange that your  
<sup>9</sup>  
 future son-in-law will inherit the title of baron." This story represented a part of the battle against intermarriage which Markus Lehmann tried to carry out.

Jenny Lewald reported similar opposition on the part of a  
<sup>10</sup>  
 Christian father in the eighteen forties. A family which had already converted would find entrance into aristocratic circles possible through marriage. Even they would not be accepted on the same level as 'old' Christians, as a Gentile stated: "He will feel honored through a tie with us. These rich, baptized Jews are  
<sup>11</sup>  
 only too glad to boast of their Christian relations." According to Max Ring in Die Chambregarnisten prior conversion one generation earlier made little difference.

Violent opposition extending to physical threats was mentioned only once by Jakob Loewenberg. An anti-Semitic youth could not

understand his sister's feeling of love toward a Jew. He threatened to shoot the young man, although his mother attempted to dissuade him. Failing in that, she was forced to tell him that he was half Jewish. His response to that news was suicide.<sup>12</sup>

Examples existed in the plots of these stories in which the Christian party was not concerned about religion. Berthold Auerbach expressed such an opinion in the story "Der Tolpatsch aus Amerika". A young man had returned to his village in the Black Forest in the eighteen forties. The father was anxious to see him married and told him to bring home any bride he wished, rich or poor, Christian or Jewish. This was a matter of indifference to that man.<sup>13</sup> In the same period in Hamburg Fanny Lewald portrayed a Christian nobleman who was quite willing to marry a girl whose conversion to Christianity had been far from sincere. The opposition of his own family and of his contemporaries was strong, but did not concern him. Finally he died in a duel defending the honor of his future bride.<sup>14</sup>

The possibility of mixed marriage in which both partners retained their original religious affiliation was mentioned only once in these books. Fanny Lewald dealt with this subject in Jenny. A young doctor in Hamburg in the thirties loved a Christian girl, but he was not willing to convert for the sake of marriage. As there was no specific law prohibiting the marriage between two persons of different religious faiths, he petitioned the government for permission and rested his case on the legality of such marriages in Denmark and Holland. He hoped for success, although his father doubted his chances from the outset and did not feel it proper to

ask a girl into such a dubious adventure. He felt that her family would have grave misgivings, especially as his own sister had converted for the sake of marriage; they would expect the same from him and would be justified. Nevertheless, he made the attempt and was bluntly refused by the government. The physician then insisted on carrying the petition personally to Berlin in order to gain this right for all Jews rather than for himself alone. By that time the case was a theoretical one as his girl had married a Christian  
15  
suitor.

With or without parental approval intermarriages took place. In every case the Jewish partner converted to Christianity. Such conversions accounted for a very large number of all baptisms of the century according to these authors. As in the preceding period, some Jews converted for other reasons as well.

As intermarriage was the goal, conversion was not always sincere; the original intentions might have been good, but at the end true belief in the new doctrines were not always found. Such a case was described by Fanny Lewald in her novel Jenny. The heroine wished to convert for the sake of her fiance who was a Protestant minister. Her father realized that religious instruction would bring difficulties as she had been raised in a very liberal and freethinking environment. He found a liberal Christian minister to give her instruction. This man realized immediately that his charge would never become a strong believing Christian, but would change her religion for the sake of her future husband. He did not take offense at this for experience had taught him that it was possible to be a good Christian without belief in dogmas. He personally felt that way and

could not demand more from his pupils. He constantly emphasized ethics in his sermons and neglected dogma. The father of the prospective convert knew this and skillfully steered his daughter to  
<sup>16</sup> him. Jenny attended the classes and studied hard. The ceremony which marked the conclusion of the course of study was simple. Both sets of parents were present. "In the middle of a round table, covered with a heavy tapestry, stood a silver cup in a silver bowl. Beside this simple altar stood Jenny's teacher, the pastor, and waited like the rest for the entrance of his pupil. She had wished to remain alone during the last hours prior to her conversion." When all was ready she entered, recited a statement of belief, and listened to a short address by the minister. "She appeared very much moved when the baptismal water touched her pale forehead." Then she was  
<sup>17</sup> a Christian and embraced her fiance. Later she discovered that she did not believe. Her fiance could not marry her under these circumstances. She did not revert to Judaism, but remained a non-  
<sup>18</sup> believing Christian. Life became difficult for her; the engagement had been broken, so she needed friends, but she no longer felt close to her old acquaintances, nor to her family since the conversion.  
<sup>19</sup> She was not at ease with them. Such doubts about the newly adopted religion were found among other characters in the novels of  
<sup>20</sup> Fanny Lewald as well.

In the eighteen forties southern Germany was the setting for a conversion in "Brigitta" by Berthold Auerbach. The couple felt dissatisfied with Judaism, but would not convert as long as the condition of the Jews was bad; they would have felt like traitors. The widow later explained the situation: "I had been a Jewess and became

a Christian; I was converted together with my husband, shortly after our marriage. My husband was an unbeliever; all religious forms had no meaning for him. As long as the Jews did not possess the same rights as Christians, he would not convert, as he found it reprehensible to change religions for profit. Now new legislation had removed all class distinctions between religions. We let ourselves be baptized in the Protestant Church. My husband remained an unbeliever. I have a deep inner love for Jesus Christ, who through his life and teachings is as elevated as no one else." They lived happily until her husband died in the revolution of eighteen forty-eight. In spite of her long standing conversion, she found much intolerance. In a mountain resort she had a pastor who constantly preached upon anti-Jewish sections of the Bible, as he had guessed her Jewish origin. She remained a Christian, but was deeply disappointed. She felt that the teachings of that religion had been misused and misunderstood.

Conversion often brought disappointments along with a few benefits. Furthermore the habits and way of life of the Jew did not change because of it as August Lewald illustrated in his "Memoiren eines Banquiers". In the eighteen thirties a rich, converted banker had been given a title and a rank among the nobility; he lived in Hamburg. It had been done as a token of thanks for his charitable activities. The children were raised as noblemen, but the old man remained a Jew at heart. "There went the old, small, baptized, and ennobled Jew, bent and stooped, along the street of the capitol. He was not at all ashamed to make small loans, or to change money for strangers, to pawn a ring or a chain alongside the great ven-

tures of his firm." He enjoyed all of this and was highly charitable. Despite that and his title, he was called "the old Jew usurer." The sons succeeded in climbing upward by ignoring their father as much as possible.<sup>22</sup> Such dissatisfaction and doubt plagued the friends of this man; we were told nothing about his own feelings. When he died an old comrade came to pay his respects; he reflected on the life and death of his friend. "There upstairs lay the old Jew, he had been that once and could never lose it. He had been raised in the synagogue and had spent all his life in Jewish trade and was (a Jew by) his conduct. Now he was dead, with the picture of the Crucified One on his bosom and sprinkled with holy water by the old women who prayed to Jesus for the welfare of his soul. That was a part of Christianity! What feelings would have stirred in the heart of the old Jew, had he been able to see himself? What feelings would be roused in his heart when they gave him the consolation of the new religion, which was only two thousand years old, for his long journey? What might he have thought in the hour of death when he gained momentary consciousness and saw a priest in his garb beside his bed in place of a murmuring rabbi."<sup>23</sup> Such feelings seemed to exist in the minds of a large number of converts; probably more among those who had converted without the pressure of intermarriage. August Lewald gave another example of an unhappy convert. A man in the third decade of the century reviewed the years since his baptism. He had enjoyed the fruits of Christianity, but had never felt entirely comfortable in the new religion, nor had he believed its doctrines, though they had been accepted by his wife. If he were to live again, he would not convert. He felt that the

Jews possessed much more character and intelligence than the  
 24  
 Gentiles. Markus Lehmann portrayed a Jewish baron who had been  
 baptized, but was very unhappy with his new faith. He sought  
 25  
 permission to return to Judaism and it was granted to him.

In certain circles of Berlin in the late thirties as depicted by Georg Borchardt, baptism was so frequent that news of it  
 26  
 brought little excitement. On occasion there was humor in conversion. Salomon Mosenthal in "Raaf's Mina" told of the baptism of the son of the village shames. He had always cursed the local children if they appeared on the street with their heads uncovered.  
 27  
 Now his son married the daughter of a minister.

A large number of Jews became Christians during each period of the century. They did so for a variety of reasons; intermarriage remained the principal one. It was usually combined with a desire for higher status. Some were dissatisfied with Judaism, yet this too was often connected with the search for social prestige, at least on the part of the wife. Another reason for conversion was obtaining government positions. Fanny Lewald mentioned this  
 28  
 in passing in her novel Jenny; this was to become more important later in the century.

The new adherents of Christianity were usually greeted with suspicion on both sides. Even before Jenny herself realized that she was not a believing Christian, her future mother-in-law doubted her sincerity in Lewald's novel.  
 29  
 The Jews of Hamburg were enraged that one of their leading members permitted his daughter to convert, especially as it was a matter of her love, not of status  
 30  
 or money. August Lewald showed that the basic sentiment among

Christians both rich and poor continued to be one of a baptized  
31  
Jew remains a Jew. Even a man long considered a Christian was  
viewed with grave misgiving when the fact of his origin and con-  
version was discovered. A horrified mother learned that her child  
had been married to a convert, one who had been baptized as a  
Protestant not a Catholic like her own daughter. Nothing could  
be done about that, but at least the children were to be saved  
and to be raised as Catholics. Max Ring described the situation  
32  
well in Unfehlbar.

Men and women continued to convert to Christianity during  
this period; the number probably increased as more Jews rose to  
wealth and to status. If their goals were not too grand, they  
could be achieved. Baptism guaranteed acceptance into Christian  
families by way of intermarriage, though some social obstacles  
would remain throughout life. Baptism also made it possible for  
the government to assent to the occupation of certain positions  
and permitted the government to bestow honors. All of these  
things could be achieved easily. Those who sought admission  
to high society were always disappointed; their children might  
reach this goal. Another disappointed group were the men and  
women who were interested in Christianity as a religion and took  
its tenets seriously. They did not receive the welcome which they  
expected from the religion of love.

A large number, more than previously, of authors were concerned  
with this problem. They painted a sympathetic picture of the si-  
tuation as it existed and clearly showed the problems before and  
after the conversion. Similarly they pointed out the fact that the

majority of the Jewish community were shocked by conversions and did not hesitate to show their disapproval. The best descriptions were given by Fanny Lewald and Georg Borchardt, the former a contemporary while the latter wrote in the twentieth century.

## Notes.

## Intermarriage and Conversion 1815 - 1848.

1. Fanny Lewald, Helmar, p. 213.
2. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, pp. 128 f.
3. Ibid., pp. 12 f.
4. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte, I, 260.
5. Ibid., I, 301.
6. Ibid., I, 304.
7. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 77.
8. Jakob Loewenberg, Der gelbe Fleck, (Berlin, 1924), p. 139.
9. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 52 f.
10. Fanny Lewald, Wandlungen, (Braunschweig, 1853), III, 53 f.
11. Max Ring, Die Chambregarnisten, (Leipzig, 1852), p. 139.
12. Jakob Loewenberg, op. cit., p. 136.
13. Berthold Auerbach, "Der Tolpatsch aus Amerika", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, IX, 149.
14. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, pp. 293 f.
15. Ibid., p. 245.
16. Ibid., pp. 142 f.
17. Ibid., pp. 213 f.
18. Ibid., pp. 251 f., p. 258.
19. Ibid., pp. 246 f.
20. Fanny Lewald, Wandlungen, II, 200.
21. Berthold Auerbach, "Brigitta", op. cit., X, 200 f.
22. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 384.
23. Ibid., XII, 384 f.
24. Ibid., XII, 377.
25. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 205.
26. Georg Borchardt, op. cit., II, 101.
27. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", Gesammelte Werke, I, 91.
28. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 27.
29. Ibid., pp. 88 ff.
30. Ibid., p. 128.
31. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", op. cit., XII, 282.
32. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, II, 141.

### Religious Beliefs 1815 - 1848.

The Jew entering modern life continued to be faced with basic religious questions. The younger generation during these years was filled with doubts; they had many reservations about Judaism as it had been transmitted to them by their parents. The authors who were concerned with this period discussed the religious issues and the solutions which appealed to this generation. None of these novels were philosophical, therefore the remarks remained superficial. Religious matters were not the primary theme of any stories set in this period; these things remained incidental to the basic development of the story.

Judaism appeared weaker than it was for there were ties which could not be defined, but which were powerful. Fanny Lewald spoke of them in her novel Jenny as she discussed a young physician's attitude to his religion. This was the young man of Hamburg who in 1832 wished to marry a Christian girl with both parties retaining their religions. He explained his position to his fiance in a letter. "The curse has hovered over my people for thousands of years and now it has struck me. I imagined that the time was ripe for freedom from the papish beliefs which had fettered mankind. It is ironical that the daughter religion strikes at its mother with burning hatred... It is not belief which binds me to Judaism. I could not be a Jew or a Christian in the conventional sense; I am merely a man created by God and am thankful for this. My honor binds me to my people who are groaning under oppression. The role which the nation plays for the Pole, the community plays for the Jew." Neither the state nor his girl understood this vague feeling

loyalty. In another section of this novel the doctor stated his opinion with greater clarity. "Was it really only a belief which he was to deny? Was it not a people into which he was born and from whom he would now have to tear himself? - An ancient people who had maintained their identity through thousands of years of bitter struggle and through it proved their strength. Can anyone tear himself free from his people? It would be particularly unjust to do so now that this people is persecuted. Never! Innumerable coreligionists have remained loyal and true, have suffered exile or death for the sake of their religion and their people, and I should be cowardly enough ... not to be willing to fight for this persecuted people to whom I belong; I cannot be disloyal to this people, but will struggle for them." Although the rest of the family disagreed with this young man, he continued to feel this way and to struggle for additional rights throughout the novel. The same type of loyalty, tradition mingled with pride and persecution, was described by Georg Borchardt in the novel Jettchen Geberts Geschichte. Religion was not an issue in either case as neither family adhered to the practices of the past. According to these authors they felt loyal and expressed it as best they could. The second novel was set in Berlin in the same decade.

Some writers were satisfied to state the matter like this and did not pursue the question further in their novels. Others sought different solutions. Ulla Wolff in "Naemi Ehrenfest" stated that the first notions of change and new religious ideas came to businessmen in Breslau through their broadened contact with Gentiles. They soon felt that the new generation would have to adapt itself

to modern life and enjoy its fruits, or it could retain the old customs and traditions and continue to live under the old conditions. The answer ascribed to this group of Jews was assimilation; they said nothing about intermarriage, but seemed to favor a slow loosening of Jewish bonds. The parents in Lewald's novel Jenny guided their children toward this goal. They gave them no formal religious education; when religion was mentioned in their home it was disparagingly. No ceremonials of any kind were observed in the house. Thus the children felt little inclination toward Judaism or Christianity; one child converted, but without strong conviction, while the other remained a non-believing Jew all his life. Such an emancipated Jew could find company and ready acceptance among the extremely liberal Christians of Berlin in the eighteen thirties. They could discuss religion from a completely humanitarian point of view.

Ulla Wolff described a family in "Naemi Ehrenfest" which was quite liberal as it allowed each member to go his own way. Religious feelings were not discussed in the home and complete respect for each individual's views was maintained. The result was that the older generation kept all the traditions while the young people went their own way. It was hardly a philosophical solution to the problems which faced these people in Breslau of the eighteen thirties, but it kept the family peace and unity.

In a few fortunate communities the congregational structure did not suffer from these tendencies toward liberalism and assimilation. As Salomon Mosenthal pointed out such good fortune did

not last long generally. In a city in Hessen-Nassau the congregation slowly became divided, but for a long time there was no opportunity to do anything about this. Those who were dissatisfied could voice their opinions, yet as the community was officially recognized by the government no changes could be made without the consent of the majority. It was not possible to found another congregation at that time; this right was granted by special legislation in Prussia in 1876. The minority liberal elements could only hold their own services in private homes. The matter was kept from becoming a public issue through the condemnation of the old synagogue; all services had to be moved to various private chapels and each could follow its own pattern. Furthermore the old rabbi realized that the factions were growing stronger and constantly worked for communal peace.<sup>8</sup> Basically he succeeded by ignoring the situation. The piety of the old man restrained overt action, but when he died, powerful sentiment for Reform was heard. Soon there was a move to build a new synagogue into which certain innovations were to be introduced. The old Orthodox members were opposed to this, but could do nothing to stop the congregation.<sup>9</sup> It became a battle between the old and the new generation as every issue was debated. The younger generation, which had the wealthy members of the community on their side, generally won.<sup>10</sup> Salomon Mosenthal described this kind of troubled situation most thoroughly in two stories, "Raaf's Mina" and "Raschelchen". The solution of private synagogues which remained small and could exert control over their members was mentioned by Markus Lehmann in "Nur Standhaft" as well.<sup>11</sup>

The unofficial change occurred much more swiftly than that in the congregational life. Markus Lehmann, a strong proponent of Orthodoxy, discussed it with sarcasm in his story "Nur Standhaft". In Hamburg in the forties Orthodoxy was weakening. "In the house of the merchant prince Frank, a liberal trend reigned as one was accustomed to put it. The business remained closed on the Sabbath, but it was rumoured that many urgent transactions were completed on the Sabbath behind its closed doors. The man, his wife, and his daughter openly spent money on the Sabbath. The household was certainly arranged according to Jewish tradition, but the rabbinic ordinances regarding milk, cheese, and wine, etc. were not observed." <sup>12</sup> In the same decade there were men whose life was modern, but whose religious observance was not affected. Ulla Wolff mentioned a scientist, a young medical student, in Breslau who succeeded in living in both realms. He remained entirely observant all his <sup>13</sup> life.

Slowly permanent divisions were introduced into the Jewish community. Most of these writers did not favor the innovations which were made; this was naturally true of an Orthodox rabbi as Markus Lehmann, but equally so of a convert as August Lewald. Lehmann discussed the matter a number of times in his stories. He pictured a community in Baden which became split as one faction did not wish to worship in the new synagogue which was not completely traditional. At the end of the forties they were permitted a separate congregation. In this case the group began with a modest building, but they were satisfied to pray in a place not

so magnificent, which had "lost its Jewishness through its organ, women's choir, and other such customs." This new Orthodox group also tried to win back the youth whom it had lost. <sup>14</sup> Lehmann spoke of the negative aspects of the liberal movement in greater detail in "Der Sohn der Witwe". The feeling expressed there was that the changes made during the reign of Napoleon had been entirely destructive. The Jews were now attempting to forget their religion. The Sabbath was to be moved to Sunday, the dietary laws were neglected, and intermarriage was to be encouraged. The teachers who had taught true Judaism were dismissed and were replaced by professionals without Jewish background. People were even forced to <sup>15</sup> attend the new liberal services. A convert's description recorded a few decades earlier, within the period here discussed, was no more sympathetic. August Lewald showed the disappointment of a baptized Jew who attended a liberal service in his tale "Memoiren eines Banquiers". "While on a journey, I could not resist the desire and visited a so-called German Jewish Temple. What I found could be called great progress. I heard an 'enlightening' speech given in pure German and listened to beautiful vocal and instrumental music. What a difference the impression of a Jewish service in my youth, a service full of noise, and an un-understandable mumbling. Here I felt happily elevated with all the others. Upon all the faces I could see an expression of satisfaction; all had 'constructively amused themselves' - that is the proper expression. This well behaved gathering, the pretty holiday dresses, the refined mood which could be felt everywhere, added a great deal to

the over all effect. Only holiness was lacking!" That spirit existed in the noise and confusion of the old service. He felt that a religious service could not be reformed. It would have been better to let the old fog enshrouded elements remain, rather than attempt enlightenment. Whatever changes had been made were thought to be imitations of the Christians. Even though German had much power as a language it was felt to lack the force of ancient Hebrew. In the story these changes were interpreted as a means of bringing Judaism and Christianity nearer to each other. It had failed and only demonstrated the differences to this convert. He finished his statement by saying: "Either cease being Jews altogether or remain entirely Jewish - as you were and as you should always have remained." This was the only statement of August Lewald on the subject.

Markus Lehmann returned to the theme of Orthodoxy versus Reform many times. He was the only author who was really interested in the religious questions of the period; in the stories collected under the title Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart he vigorously defended the Orthodox point of view. These stories first appeared in his magazine Der Israelit which was founded in 1860; the collection was printed in 1872-1876. The stories were written in a popular manner and made no attempt to deal with the ideologies of either group; generally the main concern was some specific law or custom which was to be defended. A broad condemnation of Reform was made by a Jewish baron in the late thirties in the story "Nur Sandhaft". The man had once been a proponent of Reform, but now saw the error of his ways. "Since that time twenty years have elapsed and the so-called Reform has had time to show itself as a still-born child.

The great leaders of that time who took themselves for Jewish Luthers and Calvins have disappeared without a trace and have left nothing besides destruction as their legacy; they have shown themselves unable to build or rebuild. Today there are no Reform Jews. Today there are only Jews who live according to the religious laws and those to whom religion is a matter of indifference." <sup>17</sup>

In "Verschollen und Vergessen" the same type of statement was made with the observation that one could not keep the kernel of the fruit and throw the rest away. It would not grow unless surrounded by the rest of the nourishing material. <sup>18</sup> In another place he introduced a sermon on the dietary laws. The daughter of an enlightened family had been given Jewish instruction by a liberal rabbi and had been taught that these laws had little significance today. The character in the book immediately replied that this girl could not have learned much and that her interpretation of the dietary laws was wrong; a discourse in detail on them and upon <sup>19</sup> the six hundred and thirteen commandments followed.

Salomon Mosenthal another writer who lived in this period also dealt with the religious struggle. He appeared to favor some change, but with moderation. In his tale "Raaf's Mina" a strong statement for Reform was made: "Does our time still need the cult of these dead letters?! No! It has marched with giant steps over the ant heaps of talmudic phantasy in which our thoughts had been damned to exist. A new holy spirit rises in those communities which have raised up the noble thoughts of Judaism from the crumbled forms. Preachers with the purest belief in God, armed with a knowledge of history, well versed in the progress of mankind, preach in German, a

language understandable to all, about the 'enlightened' teachings of our religion which is the source of all knowledge of God!" During the discussion which followed it was admitted that some had gone too far in their zeal for change. It was felt that a future existed for all groups as soon as they combined the old learning with modern education.<sup>20</sup> The congregation dealt with in this story set in Hessen-Nassau finally engaged a modern rabbi and built a new synagogue.<sup>21</sup> This was done despite some violent opposition; a shames, for example, swore that he would rather die than find a German speaking rabbi in the community.<sup>22</sup> As pointed out by Ulla Wolff, who wrote at the beginning of the next century, such a rabbi could do much for a community. In that case in Breslau of the thirties, he brought new life to the congregation. The opinions about him remained divided,<sup>23</sup> but the young intellectuals joined his 'Culture and Judaism' group. Others in the same story by Ulla Wolff felt that the real goals of the new group could not be attained. "All this about tolerance and enlightenment is quite nice, but the result will be that we shall be enlightened and will not be tolerated... A Jew remains a Jew! Enlightened or not." The changes in ritual would have no effect on Jewish relations with the Gentile world.<sup>24</sup>

With the exception of Markus Lehmann these authors were more concerned with practical religious problems than with matters of belief. Even Lehmann never discussed the beliefs from a philosophical point of view. In his stories the struggle between the traditional and the liberal forces approaches becoming a major theme; there too it was generally mixed with other religious issues. The remaining authors had one or two characters comment on these

larger issues once, but then they stayed away from them. The sentiment of the times favored Orthodoxy whether the writer was Orthodox himself or a convert to Christianity.

## Notes.

## Religious Beliefs 1815 - 1848.

1. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, pp. 169 f.
2. Ibid., pp. 69 f.
3. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte, I, 260.
4. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 232.
5. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 34.
6. Fanny Lewald, Wandlungen, I, 139 f.
7. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 232 f.
8. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", Gesammelte Werke, I, 69 f.
9. Ibid., I, 90 f.
10. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", op. cit., I, 182.
11. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, 166.
12. Ibid., I, 221.
13. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 207.
14. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", op. cit., V, 133.
15. Ibid., V, 132.
16. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 377 f.
17. Markus Lehman, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 86.
18. Markus Lehmann, "Verschollen und Vergessen", op. cit., I, 223.
19. Markus Lehman, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 47.
20. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 75 f.
21. Ibid., I, 91.
22. Ibid., I, 77.
23. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 230.
24. Ibid., VIII, 198 f.

## Religious Observances 1815-1848.

The authors of the period mentioned various Jewish observances fairly frequently in their works. Long descriptive passages of such matters were rare, however. The more picturesque customs would have lent themselves full treatment, but the writers did not choose to utilize these matters.

The Friday evening and the Sabbath were the most thoroughly treated of all Jewish holidays. Markus Lehmann showed that the Friday evening was honored by both poor and rich. In the home of a humble school teacher the Sabbath was begun with a festive meal and with guests at the table.<sup>1</sup> Aron Bernstein gave a detailed picture of the preparations for the Sabbath which were followed in the small Jewish communities of the East. "As the sun sank, all the tables were set, all the lights prepared, all the kiddish cups were set in place, all the children had been washed, all the wives were ready, all the men shaved, all oil-cookies on the table, all the fish boiled, and all the fires extinguished. All ears waited for the knock of the 'Schulklopfer'; his three knocks on the door announced the welcome guest, the holy day upon which God rested and rejoiced in all his works."<sup>2</sup> In Hessen this was the evening for visiting other members of the family. It was done in the festive spirit of the day immediately after Schul, as Salomon Mosenthal related in the story "Tante Guttraud"; this tale was set in the twenties.<sup>3</sup> In the same decade Berthold Auerbach spoke of Friday evening in the Black Forest. There the Jews participated in the lively discussions held by the local school teacher in the inn Friday and Saturday night. They sat with their Christian neighbors; the

only difference was that the Jews did not smoke. For the Jews this was the main opportunity to learn and to express themselves as they were away the remainder of the week. In the same story, "Der Lauterbacher" Auerbach told that it was the custom of the Jewish boys to march through the village singing on their way home each Friday night.

Among the Jews of the large cities the customs and ritual connected with Friday evening had become relaxed. Fanny Lewald told of a family in Hamburg in the eighteen twenties for whom the night had little meaning. The Sabbath restrictions were maintained primarily for the sake of the older generation. In the novel Jenny a young man stated that he was not willing to ride home from the theater "as it is Friday evening...and I do not wish to cause my mother grief by riding. Out of a child's love, out of piety, I will catch a death's cold in this wet weather." The youth said that he could see no reason for these laws; his friends then jested about their horses resting on the Sabbath while they walked. The heroine of the book voiced the opinion that the Jews ought to rest themselves and let their servants relax too. A woman in the group replied that she had always admired the complete rest which took place on the Sabbath; this was one of the best traits in Judaism as far as she could see. Salomon Mosenthal also mentioned the motive of observance for the sake of the older generation. In "Raschelchen" the playing of a musical instrument ceased on this day for that reason.

Aside from the religious observances of the evening the good food and the dishes which had become traditional were mentioned by

a number of authors. Max Ring and Salomon Mosenthal wrote about them with greatest relish and described them in detail.<sup>8</sup>

A variety of miscellaneous facts about the Sabbath itself were given in these books. Naturally all business affairs were avoided upon this day, especially in the smaller towns where observance was still strict. Mosenthal told that under special circumstances a Jew did discuss financial matters. A poor man who had borrowed money felt badly about not being able to repay the sum quickly. As he only saw the man who had lent to him on the Sabbath, he spoke with him about the loan.<sup>9</sup> The liberal Jews of the large cities conducted some business on this day, but behind the shuttered windows of their stores.<sup>10</sup> Alphonse Levy described the festive touch added to the day by the fine garments generally worn upon it; this made a big impression upon the children.<sup>11</sup> Even in a Yeshiva relaxation was permitted upon this day. The students in the school of a city in Märkisch-Friedland in the twenties were given additional freedom. Ulla Wolff depicted these afternoons: "On Sabbath afternoon one was permitted to concern oneself with matters other than purely talmudic ones. Between Mincha and Maariv lighter things were discussed." Once, however, the students began a hot argument; after that the free time was cancelled.<sup>12</sup> Among others the Sabbath afternoons were used for lengthy walks in the fields near the towns and villages as Salomon Mosenthal told.<sup>13</sup>

The festivals were not given a good description; again only a few facts were reported on each of them. In "Die Toten" Ulla Wolff showed the very serious atmosphere which prevailed in the

Yeshiva of Märkisch-Friedland during the season of atonement. Only  
<sup>14</sup>  
 holy thoughts were permitted at this time. The Day of Atonement was  
 long and everyone looked forward to the end of it. Berthold Auerbach  
<sup>15</sup>  
 mentioned this in passing, while Hermann Schiff made this fact a part  
 of a humorous tale. In the liberal congregation of Hamburg the cong-  
 regation left the synagogue in a body at noon; all went home for  
<sup>16</sup>  
 lunch and then returned to resume their fast.

Max Ring commented upon Passover in Unfehlbar; again he told of  
 the special dishes which were served as well as dealing with the basic  
<sup>17</sup>  
 facts of the festival. Salomon Mosenthal referred to the tension  
 which existed between Jews and Christians in the spring of the year.  
 No matter how friendly relations between individuals of both reli-  
<sup>18</sup>  
 gions might be, this holiday and Easter kept them apart.

In some emancipated Jewish homes none of the festivals were kept;  
 yet the Christian observances were not to be substituted for them,  
 not even in a secular manner. When the younger generation wished  
 to observe Christmas in Jettchen Geberts Geschichte by Georg Borchardt,  
 they had to do so secretly, so that the rest of the family would not  
<sup>19</sup>  
 know about it.

Bar Mitzwoh during this period still meant the end of formal  
 education for all except those who were very intelligent or rich.  
 Markus Lehmann stated that in a poor family of Breslau in the twenties  
 it signalled full participation in adult life. The boy was now ex-  
 pected to help earn a living. In this case, "he, like other boys  
<sup>20</sup>  
 his age can go peddling in the villages." In a wealthy family of  
 Upper Silesia a great feast was held on that Sabbath. Generally

the boy was expected to give a speech at this time and show his erudition. In this novel by Max Ring, the child was not able to do so, he simply read a small portion from the Torah.<sup>21</sup>

Kashrut was difficult to maintain among the rich with social aspirations. A Jewish hostess who hoped to succeed in her entertainment of Christians could hardly continue to observe these laws. In Markus Lehmann's "Nur Standhaft" a rich woman began her household in a traditional manner, but social pressure led to its abandonment.<sup>22</sup> In another wealthy family a young bridegroom was willing to observe the dietary laws if it would satisfy the parents; he did not believe in them, but would follow them for a day, as Georg Borchardt wrote.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand a poor peddler in Auerbach's "Lederherz" left a special set of dishes with his host, so that he could safely eat something warm. The simple girl of the family respected this religious custom.<sup>24</sup>

The peddlers according to the descriptions given continued to be pious. The hero of "Lederherz" always recited his morning prayers. When he was sick and near death, he also said them. Finally he asked forgiveness for his sins of his Christian host and recited the Shema.<sup>25</sup>

In the smaller communities of the twenties the rituals regarding women were fully observed according to Salomon Mosenthal. In the story "Raschelchen" the mikveh was given full attention by the community. "The ritual bath was in the basement of the old synagogue; on its third floor there was a little dilapidated room which was to be given to the caretaker (of the mikveh). Raschelchen was installed

there. She watched over her new job with great care; on the side she dealt in old lace goods or tried her old skill (as hairdresser) on special occasions on the oily hair of her neighbors." <sup>26</sup> referred to

Customs associated with death and burial appeared a number of times in these books. Hermann Schiff told that the rabbi went to the dying to give comfort and to be with the family. <sup>27</sup> If it was a prominent member of the community, a communal leader might accompany the rabbi, according to Ring. <sup>28</sup> This author also reported that a dying banker called for a pious Jew when the hour of death approached and confessed his sins to him. <sup>29</sup> Auerbach mentioned such a confession which was made to a Gentile when no Jews were present in the town. <sup>30</sup>

Burial on the day of death was prohibited by the government, <sup>31</sup> but it took place nevertheless as mentioned in Ring's Unfehlbar.

More emancipated Jews were willing to wait a few days before the funeral. <sup>32</sup> Salomon Mosenthal stated that women were not permitted on the cemeteries. <sup>33</sup> Grand funerals were rare, but one was described by Markus Lehmann; it took place in the forties. "The likes of that funeral had not been seen in the community of D.! The coffin and the hearse were covered with precious flowers. Twelve men clothed in black marched on the sides and bore gigantic wax candles wrapped in (black) crepe. Then came an endless row of mourners as all the inhabitants of the capitol without religious distinction or social position mourned this death. The local nobility sent their carriages." <sup>34</sup> The rabbi gave a fine eulogy for this man.

Following death the family sat for seven days; this was mentioned by Max Ring. Auerbach added that a peddler had a cut in his

coat as a sign of mourning when he travelled around the country-  
 35  
 side.

Other matters were mentioned in passing. Mosenthal referred to  
 36  
 Gomel Benschen in "Jephta's Tochter". Max Ring told of the skull  
 37  
 caps worn under the hats of pious Jews. Salomo Formstecher repor-  
 ted the vow of a woman; her son had become a robber, so she swore  
 38  
 that another child would devote his life to religious purposes.

General observance was taken for granted by the authors of  
 these books. Similarly they did not especially stress the chari-  
 ty of the Jews; it was spoken of on these pages a number of times.  
 In Hessen-Nassau, according to a story by Mosenthal, a wealthy  
 man sent baskets and bottles of wine to the apartments of the poor  
 on each holiday. Under the cork of each bottle were some gold  
 coins. This was done completely anonymously; nor could the name  
 of this man ever be found among those publicly thanked for their  
 39  
 charitable efforts in each week's paper. In the same city there  
 was a Sisterhood which dealt with poor families. It concerned it-  
 self primarily with orphaned girls, trained them to become maids,  
 or if they were talented to be school teachers. The girls were  
 placed with various families who supervised their education. The  
 system worked so well that there was always a waiting list of  
 40  
 homes.

Kindness and generosity toward students was frequent. In  
 Upper Silesia in the thirties an orphan was supported by the rabbi  
 of the community and a few friends; he was the son of the former  
 congregational secretary. These men gave him gifts and had him

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eat at their table during the week. Max Ring used this incident in the novel Unfehlbar. Salomon Mosenthal said that students often ate at different houses in the community; it was the simplest way for the congregants to help them. A wealthy man in Hessen-Nassau gave three hundred Thalers annually for the support of students. Markus Lehmann gave one case in which a young man had to stop his studies due to lack of money; in this story, pride and other matters were factors as well.

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Charity to the students and to the poor was readily given. Markus Lehmann gave an example where it was not even welcome, but extended nevertheless.

45

The majority of the Jews, especially those in the smaller communities, were observant. August Lewald and Max Ring showed this rather clearly by telling of the strong objections which Jews had against the wearing of the cross as a military decoration in the years following the War of Liberation. In the novel Unfehlbar Ring also showed that a flagrant violator of the commandments was subject to communal discipline. He was threatened with the ban unless he publicly confessed his sins and promised to correct his way of life. The military officer involved in this matter had sinned in many ways. "He had been known to eat unkosher food, did not wear arba kanfos, did not put on tefillin, had publicly violated the Sabbath, had read forbidden books, did not pray regularly, and had kept constant company of a Christian who was unfriendly to other Jews." The officer was not willing to repent publicly, nor privately. He converted to Christianity in order to escape from the authority of the community.

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The religious observances described by these writers were incidental to the stories; therefore only a few holidays, customs, and ceremonies appeared on those pages. No picture of Jewish life or of the attitude of the authors can be gained from these occasional references. One may see the slow fading of observance in these novels. It was still possible for a community to place a rebellious Jew under the ban in the second decade of the century; the threat was effective enough for him to convert. By the thirties an Orthodox community, albeit in Western Germany, could not maintain its traditional character. The traditional element was forced to leave and to create their own congregation. Observances were abandoned even more quickly in the large cities. The Orthodox writer Markus Lehmann was well aware of the conditions which existed and mentioned them frequently in his stories which tried to fight the trend. In belief and observance Orthodoxy weakened greatly during this period.

## Notes.

## Religious Observances 1815 - 1848.

1. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 4.
2. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, (Berlin, 1892), p. 44.
3. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Tante Guttraud", Gesammelte Werke, I, 4.
4. Berthold Auerbach, "Der Lauterbacher", Sämtliche Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 67.
5. Ibid., II, 66.
6. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, pp. 52 f.
7. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", op. cit., I, 177.
8. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Tante Guttraud", op. cit., I, 3 f; Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, I, 41, 88; Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 205.
9. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 128 f.
10. Markus Lehman, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 221.
11. Alphonse Levy, "Die Erzählung meiner Grossmutter", Erlebt. Erzählungen aus dem jüdischen Familienleben, pp. 22 f.
12. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 236.
13. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 112.
14. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 243.
15. Berthold Auerbach, Auf der Höhe, (Berlin, n.d.), I, 171.
16. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 9.
17. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 7 ff.
18. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", op. cit., I, 180.
19. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte, II, 149.
20. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 22.
21. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 10.
22. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 33.
23. Georg Borchardt, op. cit., I, 426.
24. Berthold Auerbach, "Lederherz", Zur Guten Stunde, I, 275 f.
25. Ibid., I, 277 f.
26. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", op. cit., I, 168.
27. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, p. 46.
28. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, II, 201 f.
29. Max Ring, An der Börse, (Leipzig, 1852), pp. 238 f.
30. Berthold Auerbach, "Lederherz", op. cit., I, 277 f.
31. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, II, 201 f.
32. Georg Borchardt, op. cit., II, 303.
33. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", op. cit., I, 196.
34. Markus Lehmann "Nur Standhaft", op. cit., I, 91 f.
35. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, II, 201 f; Berthold Auerbach, "Lederherz", op. cit., I, 276.
36. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 147.
37. Max Ring, An der Börse, p. 91.
38. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 19.

39. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Schlemielchen", op. cit., I, 26 f.
40. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 131 f.
41. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, II, 62.
42. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 73 ff.
43. Ibid., I, 83.
44. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", op. cit., V, 134 f.
45. Ibid., V, 128.
46. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 33; August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 221.
47. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 153.

The Community and Its Officials 1815 - 1848.

Jewish beliefs and observances changed rapidly during these years. The new conditions slowly made their impact felt upon the institutions of the community. The synagogue, its officials, and its officers had to face new situations during these decades. There was a rebellion among the young which was helped by the richer elements of the community. They wished a modern synagogue and a rabbi who could serve them in a modern manner. As the middle of the century approached the official community faced these conditions.

The pattern of life which evolved in the communities was not treated as a major theme by any of the writers. They included enough observations in their works so that the steps which were taken in various sections of Germany may be vaguely seen. Many phases of Jewish communal life were, however, neglected.

All the synagogues at the beginning of the century were Orthodox; as Salomon Mosenthal stated, the women naturally worshipped in separate rooms.<sup>1</sup> In "Raaf's Mina" this author observed that some of the houses of worship were still hidden away in their awkward medieval locations in the thirties of this century. "In a dark courtyard there was a hall blackened by oil lamp fumes of many years; it bore the name of its donor. Here the prayers were recited in their original language in a melody partly murmured, partly shouted which earned the common name of 'Judenschule'... In this little conventicle the old Rov gave a drosch (sermon) in Hebrew every Sabbath; it explained a Biblical or Talmudic passage in an ingenious manner."<sup>2</sup> Alongside these congregational synagogues were private places of worship. Hermann Schiff described several such synagogues which existed in the

thirties in Hamburg in Das koschere Haus; in the novel Die wilde Rabbizin Schiff told that such a synagogue was set up as an emergency measure when the communal house of worship was condemned by the authorities. A wealthy citizen set aside a room in his home for the use of the community as a synagogue. This generous man also gave a suite of rooms to the rabbi and his family for their use.

The synagogues, public or private, were simple. Even the wealthier congregations added few decorations to the buildings. Only the ark was given some ornamentation; Max Ring told this in Unfehlbar in a section set in the twenties.

Building a new synagogue was a difficult matter. If the community was small, the rabbi travelled around the countryside until he had collected sufficient funds. Hermann Schiff spoke of an old rabbi who spent many months in this effort.

Prayer in the synagogue was not sympathetically described by the two authors who dealt with it. Salomon Mosenthal who was quoted above did not approve of the noise and the unrest. Hermann Schiff mocked the conditions which existed. In Die wilde Rabbizin this author pointed out that it was necessary to stop the service to bring about proper decorum. Those in the congregation who seriously disturbed the service were fined for their misconduct. Schiff also mentioned the pettiness about seating which occurred constantly in the women's synagogue; the wealthiest were naturally entitled to the preferred positions. A Reform Temple was also mentioned by this author, but only once in a humorous way in the novel Das koschere Haus.

In this period of transition the rabbi faced great difficulties. As pictured by these authors, he had to attempt to fulfill the qualifications of the old and the new rabbinate. Early in the period the rabbi was still accorded great honor by the community.

Ulla Wolff in the story "Die Toten" showed that even in the twenties a part of the status of the rabbi depended upon his relationship to the Gentile community. He could be very useful there and help Jews who were in trouble. He might even appear before royalty with a special plea.

In "Die Toten" Wolff told of the honor with which the head of a Yeshiva in Märkisch-Friedland was greeted when he undertook a journey. In the third decade of the century each community sought to pay homage to him. An official deputation waited upon him; these men were assembled at the Posthouses<sup>13</sup> or in the Relay Stations where the horses were changed. Such journeys soon became triumphal processions. People gathered from all the out of the way forsaken places where Jews had formed communities; they came to see the rabbi and to receive his blessing. The officials of the community approached him wrapped in the tallis with the Torah upon their arms and greeted him with words of piety and reverence. They praised their good fortune in being permitted to see him. Despite this<sup>14</sup> the rabbi remained very modest." The author stated that this reverence might be difficult for the reader of modern times to understand, but it could be comprehended in the light of Jewish misery during this period. The rabbi was the only man esteemed by the general community; he became their symbol of pride. This story<sup>15</sup>

was published in nineteen hundred. A similar reception was given to Akiba Eger when he came to Breslau in the same decade to marry his grand-daughter. He too blessed the assembled congregation and found every move which he made during the entire trip watched.<sup>17</sup>

Ulla Wolff told of this impressive occasion in "Naemi Ehrenfest".

Salomon Mosenthal discussed the tasks of a rabbi in Hessen-Nassau in the eighteen thirties in "Raaf's Mina". "The old 'Rav' was always called that, as if he had never been young. He had a long white beard and wore a three cornered hat. He never left his home aside from attending funerals; weddings were conducted in Bernary's Schul which was across the courtyard from him. .... At home he decided the questions asked by uncertain housewives: Whether a chicken was kosher or not; whether a pot could be used or should be thrown away. He limited his official duties to these matters. He did not bother about talks of Reform and mainly cared for communal peace."<sup>18</sup> When this type of man who could settle ritual matters was not present in a community, he was sorely missed.<sup>19</sup> When the old rabbi died, he was sincerely mourned, for he had the respect of young and old. "The entire community walked behind his casket. Seven days of mourning prayers were recited in each of the prayer-rooms. (The communal synagogue had been condemned and was no longer used.) The community thought of his daughter and arranged a pension of four hundred Thaler for her, 'so that she should be cared for untio her marriage, or should she remain single, until the end of her life.'" Actually one condition which a candidate for the rabbinic position in this community had to fulfill was marriage to this girl.; most of the young men indicated their willing-

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ness immediately upon their arrival in the town. The choice of a new rabbi during this time was always difficult and provoked a crisis in the community as told by Hermann Schiff. When the old rabbin in the city died, the communal peace collapsed as each faction struggled for power. The poor Jews wanted an Orthodox replacement while the wealthy desired a liberal rabbi. The rich succeeded and the congregation had a number of liberal rabbis in succession; each quickly left for a better position. Finally they took a mediocre one who would remain with them longer.

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In "Naemi Ehrenfest" Ulla Wolff gave a vague report of the Geiger Tiktin Affair in Breslau. The author also showed the difficulties which faced a new rabbi in Reissnitz. The new man made a good initial impression which enabled him to bring about changes later. He made the Orthodox angry though lacking a beard and by wearing a robe, a barret, and a narrow tallis; this group continued with quiet opposition for many years. He won the hearts of the young by sponsoring semi-philosophical discussions in his home on Sabbath afternoon. He also did much to improve the German of these youth. His own excellent German led to some antipathy on the day of his arrival. He gave a short address of greeting when welcomed to the community; up to that time the congregational officers had held a monopoly on good German and they were incensed! Through the years he won over most of the congregation, though not all of the officers.

23

The problems of the relationship between the rabbi and his congregation in the forties was well stated in this story: "The more they revered and liked their 'rov', the more they plagued and tormented him. They demanded of him all the qualities which they

lacked - talmudic learning, secular knowledge, and culture. If he was good, he really atoned for the whole community. In those times it must have been the same in all places where the academically trained rabbis began to bear light and truth to the Jews who had become embittered through continual persecution." This rabbi<sup>24</sup> was a scholar; he cultivated friendships with men of similar taste and his home became a gathering place for Jewish and Christians with intellectual inclinations on Friday evening. This too disturbed the Orthodox. They could never complain publicly as no real fault could be found. The wife of the rabbi kept a strictly kosher home; she was more Orthodox than he. He was a great talmudist and often managed to discover a liberal solution to current problems, but many of his congregants preferred to stay with the traditional answers. He was even willing to remove his hat occasionally, but his wife's<sup>25</sup> presence limited those times. The president of the congregation had originally desired this type of a man, but soon found his independence<sup>26</sup> disturbing. The career of the new rabbi in Reissnitz was told by Ulla Wolff in "Simon Eichelkatz".

In contrast to this liberal and modern man Max Ring told of superstitious Jews early in the century who revered their rabbi as a miracle worker. He had correctly predicted the collapse of the synagogue roof and had healed a child.<sup>27</sup> This rabbi rarely gave sermons; those which occurred before various festivals were concerned only with the ritual of the feast. In one case he also attacked a young military officer who was present for the rabbi frowned upon<sup>28</sup> Jews in military service. This took place during and after the War of Liberation; it was reported in the novel Unfehlbar.

The wife of the rabbi did not enjoy the status which had been hers in previous times. According to Salomon Mosenthal the modern women in the thirties were more interested in wealth and fashions than in riches and honors.<sup>29</sup>

The description of the other communal officials was sparse. The cantor had to have a grand voice; he should preferably have sung in an opera company. As Salomon Mosenthal told, in a small town he had to be talented in other ways too; among his tasks were the formation of a choir, the arrangement of music, and the composition of new pieces for the service. The cantor who began with nothing in a little town of Hessen-Nassau in the thirties soon needed an assistant to help with all the activities.<sup>30</sup> Aid for the cantor was always a problem. In Unfehlbar Ring told that the matter was solved in a town by the Polish border through hiring a young boy who sang soprano during the holiday services. His voice formed a pleasant contrast to the bass of the cantor; aside from that he could conduct a portion of the service. This cantor based his ritual mainly on current operatic favorites.<sup>31</sup> The lowest status in the community was held by the shames; his position even made it difficult for his children to rise to a better level of life, as Markus Lehmann<sup>32</sup> remarked.

The congregations were run by elected officers. These officials took care of a variety of matters. They had to settle rivalries in the community and kept order at the services, according to Schiff.<sup>33</sup> They were sometimes at odds with the rabbi and protracted quarrels were mentioned by Wolff and Schiff.<sup>34</sup> The most difficult office was that of president; it took much time and was occasionally held at

considerable personal financial loss, as shown in Max Ring's Unfehlbar  
 35  
 in the eighteen twenties.

Aside from the communal schools which will be discussed in the following chapter few institutions were mentioned. Salomon Mosenthal told of a hospital in the thirties, and also commented upon an orphanage.  
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The changes in religious life took a half a century to be felt by the official community according to these authors. In three decades the men at the head of the congregations had to face the new conditions and to adapt themselves and their offices to them. As these writers indicated, the people did not bother the older generation of rabbis; they were permitted to serve for the rest of their days without troubling about the new tendencies. If they were clever, they ignored them and spent their time upon the traditional duties associated with the rabbinate.

As communal life changed and the Jewish community moved away from the ghetto where they had existed for centuries, they desired new synagogues. In the building of a synagogue the struggle of old and modern was constantly felt. The younger generation wished to introduce innovations while the rest remained tied to the traditions of the past.

The religious service of the synagogue hardly called forth comment by these writers. Those who mentioned it were not favorably impressed. For Hermann Schiff this was suitable material for his satires which were biting. He attacked both the traditional ways and the new liberal movement which had entered the scene. His major thrusts were aimed at Reform Judaism as has been shown in

this chapter as well as previous ones.

The other communal officials and the institutions which existed did not interest these writers. Only the briefest comments upon them were to be found in these books.

The most thorough description of Jewish conditions was undertaken by one contemporary author, Salomon Mosenthal, and by one who wrote at the beginning of the next century, Ulla Wolff. The latter gave the best picture of the rabbinate and the synagogue during this period.

## Notes.

## The Community and Its Officials 1815 - 1848.

1. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", Gesammelte Werke, I, 179.
2. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 70.
3. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 7.
4. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, p. 9.
5. Ibid., p. 45.
6. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 39.
7. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, p. 10.
8. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 70 f.
9. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, p. 59.
10. Ibid., p. 42.
11. Ibid., p. 37.
12. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 9.
13. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 233.
14. Ibid., III, 235.
15. Ibid., III, 233.
16. Ibid., III, 235.
17. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 220.
18. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 69 f.
19. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", op. cit., I, 179.
20. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 86.
21. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, pp. 10 f.
22. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 235 f.
23. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, (Berlin, 1903), VI, 169 f, 211 f.
24. Ibid., VI, 173 f.
25. Ibid., VI, 175 f.
26. Ibid., VI, 210 f.
27. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 31.
28. Ibid., I, 33.
29. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 71.
30. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", op. cit., I, 133.
31. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 41.
32. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 35.
33. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, p. 6.
34. Ibid., p. 8; Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 205 f.
35. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 6.
36. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", op. cit., I, 197.
37. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 88.

## Education 1815 - 1848.

At the beginning of this period the educational pattern continued to follow tradition. The Yeshiva remained the main institution of learning for all except the wealthy in the larger cities. They used private tutors and gave their children instruction in secular as well as religious subjects. Especially gifted children studied beyond the age of thirteen, but the rest ended their education then. They entered the family business and helped to earn a living.

Through these years major changes occurred in the Jewish schools. More emphasis was placed upon secular subjects and it became impossible to keep even students in the Yeshiva away from forbidden books. The authors discussed the changes which took place in the cities and in the small rural Jewish communities.

Illiteracy seemed to be rare among the Jews during this time, but it was not entirely unknown. Ulla Wolff mentioned a case in the third decade of the century in her story "Simon Eichelkatz".<sup>1</sup> Otherwise it was taken for granted that all the characters in the novels and stories knew how to read and write, whether they were rich or poor.

Rabbinic learning was highly valued during the second and third decades of the century. The rabbis were honored when they came to a town; as previously mentioned Akiba Eger was given a grand reception upon his visit to Breslau and the head of the Yeshiva in Märkisch-Friedland was shown reverence by the entire countryside. The people thought it a mark of esteem when they were permitted to speak to him and to receive his blessing. This

reverence was extended to the rabbinic students. The young 'bachur' was given high status in the community, much more than his birth may have entitled him to have. "All doors are open to them; they are welcome everywhere. There was a slight unconscious barrier between the businessmen and these students, but generally they were treated with affection and honor. This was even more so if their talmudic learning was accompanied by university studies." In the eighteen forties according to Ulla Wolff, the old status was still theirs,<sup>2</sup> but it was appreciated if they partook of the new learning.

Ulla Wolff gave the best description of the education of the more gifted boys in her story "Die Toten". Much of that tale took place in a Yeshiva in Märkisch-Friedland in the third and fourth decade of the century. Modernity had not yet penetrated to these communities and they continued to follow the old ways. "The Yeshiva of Rabbi Elieser Gins was well known wherever Jews lived and followed the traditional holy studies. Students flocked to it from nearby and far away as it was especially meritorious to have studied with Rabbi Elieser. His clear mind, his strong sense of justice, and his great piety made this exceptional man famous beyond the ranks of his coreligionists. The Jews were glad to see their rabbi honored by the Christians and the Jews. With much satisfaction they would tell of the honors which he encountered upon leaving his native community. .... These journeys ended as triumphal processions."<sup>3</sup> The students at this Yeshiva came from many different places as Lüben, Lissa, Rogasen, and Brod in Hungary; aside from these more distant towns there were many from the immediate

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neighborhood. The education given in this school was entirely traditional and followed pilpulistic methods. The best students were those who could spin the finest web of logic around a given point. This ability was much admired and also envied by the students and was always granted proper recognition by the rabbi. One young man who was exceptionally able in this type of reasoning was soon considered fit for ordination. 5 Unknown to his teacher and only suspected by his fellow pupils, this man delved into secular subjects as well. He had studied science and philosophy, but kept these matters entirely to himself during his stay in the Yeshiva. Had he been discovered it would have meant an end of his education there. 6 His fellow students also read books which were not approved by the rabbi, but they did so very quietly; as little free time was allotted to them the dangers of this type of reading were small. Even a youth who was supported by the rabbi and a few pious members of the community dabbled into such studies according to Max Ring in the novel Unfehlbar. This boy read Mendelssohn and Lessing secretly; he usually reserved Sabbath afternoon when the entire community was asleep for this reading. As he ate his way around the congregation, the remainder of the time he was under constant scrutiny. 7

Ulla Wolff described the social life of these young students as well. It was highly restricted and all contact with the opposite sex was kept at a minimum. "Yet in spite of the greatest efforts at complete separation of the sexes, there was some secret contact between the young talmudic students and the clever, pretty daughters of the community. The road on which the com-

munity took their Sabbath afternoon walks was the scene of these innocent and harmless rendezvous. Many of these students, once they had a good position, returned to Märkisch-Friedland for their rebbezin.<sup>8</sup> A few did not wait till they held a pulpit, but such exceptions were rare and would only be allowed among those with independent means.<sup>9</sup>

The interest in a good education spread during these years; it became more essential for the affairs of normal life. A part of the education continued in the traditional pattern set by the Yeshiva. In the large cities secular learning was stressed; this more modern education has not been described by any of the authors of the period. The writers of the time who described the Jews of the large cities showed them to be well educated and took that for granted. This was so in the case of Fanny Lewald, August Lewald, Georg Borchardt,<sup>10</sup> etc.

Following the War of Liberation a general education was no longer limited to the chosen few. The Jews who had fought in this war felt that they ought to be able to take advantage of the new opportunities then made available. "The desire for education was awakened in all strata of the Jewish population. What could no longer be attained by the older generation was to be made accessible to the youth. This drive was responsible for the movement of Jews from the country to the city where more possibilities for the much sought cultural life would exist for their sons and daughters.<sup>11</sup> Thousands upon thousands moved to the larger cities." Thus Ulla Wolff described the feelings of the Jews during the second decade of the century.

Girls were included in this new trend toward a better education. In the eighteen twenties girls of rich families only received anything beyond an elementary education. Fanny Lewald in Jenny shows that this was not yet too common in Hamburg and has her hero of the novel plead for an education for this sister. Finally the parents consented to send her to a girl's school. They had been willing to educate her, but through private tutors which meant a narrower horizon of learning. She attended the school for some time and learned to adjust herself to the teachers and the fellow students, but she was never accepted by them. They were willing to attend class with her, but wanted nothing to do with her after school. Finally she realized her lonely position and withdrew from the school. Her education was continued under the guidance of a tutor. That was still the common method of instruction for girls; it was to be found in Max Ring's Unfehlbar. There the tutor introduced his charge to modern subjects as well as those in which the father had asked him to give instruction. In the eighteen forties a father in Buchenstein und Cohnberg by Salomo Formstecher also sent his daughters to a Christian school. A Jewish school existed in that community, but it was directed by a modern, liberal teacher; the man did not want his daughters exposed to these ideas and so had them go elsewhere. The girls met the same fate as Jenny in Hamburg two decades earlier. They were not accepted by their fellow students socially, but in this case life was made difficult by the teachers as well. They were also withdrawn and continued their education under the guidance of a private tutor at home.

The novels of the period which were set in towns or cities assumed that the girls had a fairly good education, even if they did not comment upon it in detail.

Little was said about the teacher during these decades; he faced many difficulties in the slowly growing Jewish school system. Only Auerbach and Loewenberg discussed the problems of the teacher in these years. Berthold Auerbach showed one of the chief difficulties of a teacher in the Black Forest in the eighteenth twenties to have been isolation. If he was fortunate as one teacher in the story "Der Lauterbacher", he found a tolerant Christian teacher in the same village. When the Christian teacher change, the Jew wondered about the attitude of the replacement. In this case the new one was also friendly and both became quite close to each other.

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For one Christian it was the first contact with a Jew. "I had never thought about Jews previously, although there were Jews in my native city. I remembered them as a boy, then I mocked my Jewish contemporaries and if possible beat them up. No one had ever given a thought to our attitude toward the Jews, just as we took our attitude toward horses for granted. On the contrary, through the Bible, every Christian child is led to believe that all Jews have personally done him wrong. A secret disdain forms itself in the soul of a child. I always thought Jews loud. A child could be affectionate to an animal, but not to a Jew. Here I have frequently had contact with Jews and the Jewish teacher is as tolerant and cultured a man as I have seldom met." He admired his erudition and his method of instruction. He attended a synagogue service which

struck him as bizarre - to find these old Hebrew words in the dark forest - but he also thought it strange to hear Latin in these forests each Sunday. This Christian teacher learned tolerance from his fellow Jewish teacher. When he conducted a discussion group at the local inn each week, he was willing to listen to the opinions of the Jews present as of any other participant.

Jakob Loewenberg spoke of the numerous duties which faced a Jewish teacher in the small communities in the story "Der Herr Professor". In the middle of the century this man had not only educational responsibilities, but all the other work of the Jewish community upon his shoulders. "As it was customary in the smaller communities, the teacher was also the cantor and the preacher. Thus he became intimately connected with both the joys and sorrows of each family. He saw the youth grow up and buried the old folk. He was able to bless many of his students at the wedding altar. Then he welcomed their children, whom he humerously called his grandchildren, to school. Jakob Loewenberg had begun his teaching career as a village teacher in a small community and knew the situation well.

Education on the university level was not discussed in the novels and stories of this period. Some Jews attended university, but their number was still limited. Unless one wanted to enter medicine or law there was little reason for proceeding with higher education in this direction. The other fields of endeavor in which a better education would have been required were not yet open to Jews unless they chose to convert. The doctor in Fanny Lewald's

Jenny naturally went to university. There was also little mention of the fraternal life at the universities; it played a major role in student affairs. At the beginning of the century and especially after the War of Liberation these were centers of political ferment. Hermann Schiff in Das koschere Haus told that some Jews were permitted to join these groups.

The authors who set their stories in this period did not emphasize education. They mentioned the schools and the various paths of learning occasionally. Ulla Wolff was particularly interested in the traditional education and gave it the best description in several of her stories. The contemporary authors gave similar descriptions, but did not go into such detail.

From these stories one may see that traditional learning persisted in the smaller and more remote sections of Germany; little official change in the curriculum occurred during these decades. At the same time a modern education was pursued in the larger cities. In part this could be done through newly founded Jewish schools; some sent their children, daughters in these tales, to Christian schools, but they were not accepted there by their fellow students. The majority educated their children through private tutors, if they could afford it.

The picture of the village teacher which was presented by Berthold Auerbach showed his situation clearly. Otherwise the teacher, the growing school, and its relations with the community in which it was established were not used as themes for these novels and stories.

The changes which took place in the pattern of learning

were being made quietly and were not felt during these years. The students of the most pious Yeshivas began to read secular books, but non-religious education was still banned from those schools. In the decades which followed the entire system of education was altered as the Jewish communal school took the place of the Yeshiva as the most important place of learning. This was the picture of education given by these authors.

## Notes.

## Education 1815 - 1848.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 202.
2. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 205.
3. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 233 ff.
4. Ibid., III, 237.
5. Ibid., III, 239.
6. Ibid., III, 240.
7. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, II, 63 f.
8. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 241.
9. Ibid., III, 242 ff.
10. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte; August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, Fanny Lewald, Jenny; Helmar; Wandlungen.
11. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 214.
12. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, pp. 28 f.
13. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, II, 66.
14. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 116.
15. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte; Fanny Lewald, Jenny; Markus Lehman, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.
16. Berthold Auerbach, "Der Lauterbacher", Sämtliche Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 71 f.
17. Ibid., II, 79 f.
18. Ibid., II, 69 f.
19. Jakob Loewenberg, "Der Herr Professor", Der gelbe Fleck, p. 61.
20. Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 19.

### Hatred and Friendship 1815 - 1848.

Many Jews had fought against the French during the War of Liberation. They thought that this would be remembered when victory had been achieved and that they would be granted fuller rights than heretofore. Their hopes were not fulfilled; official recognition of the existing rights was denied through the clever wording of the Treaty of Vienna.<sup>1</sup> The popular reaction followed the same pattern of denial, as was shown by the authors who dealt with this period. During the succeeding years anti-Semitism continued as a strong force among all groups of Germans. Occasionally friendship to the Jews was shown, but such cases were mentioned less frequently than in the first decades of the century. It appeared, judging by these books, that there were few successors to the prince in Fanny Lewald's Prinz Louis Ferdinand.

Ulla Wolff gave the popular feeling toward Jews in her story "Naemi Ehrenfest". In 1819 the situation in Frankfurt was not pleasant; the victory which had been gained a few years earlier portended nothing good for the Jews. "During the preceding two years life was made difficult for them. Injustice and persecution which had lain low during the joyful period of victory and freedom, now cropped up once more. The patriotism and the considerable part which the Jews had played in the struggle was too soon forgotten; malice and envy rose against the Jew in the form of bitter anti-Semitism.<sup>2</sup> .... In the fall of 1819 there were great riots directed against the Jew in Frankfurt and other cities. The dark spirit of the reaction made itself evident everywhere. Although

the Jews had done so much for the liberation of Germany, all of this was forgotten and it was as if they had done nothing. Even the house of Rothschild was threatened during this time, but they managed to save themselves.<sup>3</sup> This was the general situation at the beginning of the period under discussion.

Examples of individual attitudes toward the Jew were given in every decade of this time. The authors did not make hatred of the Jew a major theme of their works, but many of their characters were described as having met such feelings. Anti-Semitism was portrayed to exist among all classes in Germany and was as strong in the rural areas as in the cities.

The poor who hated the Jew and were jealous of him could usually do little to express their feelings. August Lewald showed a servant who felt this way and managed to occasionally inconvenience a Jew.<sup>4</sup> This was annoying, but hardly did great harm. More serious were riots reported in Max Ring's Unfehlbar. In the eighteen twenties a group of artisans in Upper Silesia feared that additional rights might be granted to the Jews. This would have permitted them to enter the trades and the artisans were afraid of the new source of competition. This led to riots against the Jews in several little cities.<sup>5</sup> The same feelings of hatred existed among the peasants of the countryside. It did not lead to riots or mass action, but to individual deeds of ill will; these could be directed against children as well as adults as Mosenthal portrayed in "Jephta's Tochter". A little girl in that story was trying to drive some geese which her mother had bought home. She was teased, the geese were scattered, and all her attempts to bring them to-

gether were frustrated. Later, on the way home, a farmhand mocked her by trying to force her to eat bread with lard on it; then he attacked her. Fortunately a passerby came to her rescue.<sup>6</sup> According to Berthold Auerbach the folk imagination of the Black Forest blamed the Jews for the origin of witches. They were supposedly introduced by Moses after the Exodus. "The old tales of witches are our heritage from Moses and pagan times."<sup>7</sup>

Among the rich the Jews were to be used whenever necessary but few kind sentiments about them were held. Markus Lehmann in the forties showed a Jewish family as good enough to rebuild an aristocratic fortune; otherwise the Gentile would never have gone near them. As it was there was considerable hesitation on the part of a girl whose family wished that she marry a Jew for his money. This family possessed only titles and honors; the Jews whom they despised had been baptized, but that did not seem to matter a great deal. The young woman stated: "Should I marry a Jew whose ancestors would not have dared to touch the seam of my grandmother's dress. No, even if he be baptized a hundred times."<sup>8</sup> In this case the financial reasons prevailed over sentiment; the girl agreed to marry the Jew in order to save her family honor.<sup>9</sup>

The causes of this hatred were numerous as shown by these writers. The church was partially to blame. David Schiff in Pumpauf und Pumprich spoke of the anti-Semitic sermons given in Halle during the eighteen twenties. When Jews were mentioned, they were assigned to the lowest corner of Hell.<sup>10</sup> Berthold Auerbach showed that the Old Testament was treated in a disparaging manner; it was a book concerned with the Jews and so

had little significance for the good Christian. In "Luzifer" the same author told that Jews were considered to be on the same level as other people without a God. The expression used by the author in the tale set in the Black Forest of the eighteen thirties was: "You're as godless as pagans and Jews; you got no religion at all."<sup>12</sup>

Anti-Semitism was aided by the educational system; in many cases Jews were excluded from the schools. In some cities they were allowed to attend, but nothing was done by the teachers to decrease the feeling of animosity directed toward the Jewish student. In the novel Jenny Fanny Lewald portrayed a number of different characters and their response to feelings of hatred as expressed in school. A boy in the early twenties attended a school in Hamburg where he became popular with his comrades and teachers. The boy was happy until he discussed grand plans for the future with the son of a nobleman. He was told: "Poor Meier, all your study will not help you; you can't ever be anybody as you are a Jew."<sup>13</sup> This changed the outlook for the rest of the life of this lad. He began to investigate the conditions of the Jews and became determined to struggle for equal rights for all Jews. "It was not a good era for the Jews. Just during the time of Eduard's childhood new waves of anti-Semitism swept through Germany. This general sentiment naturally penetrated the schools. Mocking and other irritations were felt by him; one hoped that he would just take it, but there they erred. Eduard was fearless and through persistence and exercise he acquired the necessary skills to gain recognition among the students. He learned to swim, ride, duel,

and after he had defended himself successfully a few times, he was not bothered again. Even if this boy had once harbored thoughts of converting to Christianity, this barbaric behavior of the 'cultured' Christians against his coreligionists drove the idea from his mind."<sup>14</sup> This student encountered no prejudice at university and enjoyed the academic freedom as well as fraternity life there. He also participated in the political affairs of the fraternity.<sup>15</sup>

The heroine of the novel Jenny found matters a little more difficult. She encountered similar attitudes in her school, but the difficulties of fighting as a girl and a weaker character led her unto a different path. Discrimination in the fashionable girl's school was felt only socially. The girls were friendly during the hours of school, but refused to accept invitations to her home as she was Jewish. After she had been told this in a moment of frankness, she discovered how alone she was in that classroom. She noticed that the only invitations extended to her by members of the class were to affairs at which the entire group was present; then it would have been too noticable to omit one child. For these reasons she soon left school and continued her education through tutors at home.<sup>16</sup> This was the situation in Hamburg at the beginning of the eighteen thirties. This girl's eventual reaction was conversion to Christianity.

Although Jenny's brother had encountered no hatred directed toward him at the university, a strong feeling of dislike toward Jews existed. At an inn early in the eighteen thirties, he found it necessary to defend the honor of his sister before a group of students. These boys would never have spoken about a Christian

girl whom they respected in this environment.

Discrimination existed in the official acts of the government as well as in its departments. A very good lawyer could find himself addressed as "dumb Jew-boy" in the courtroom. This occurred in a story by Schirokauer set in Berlin in 1848.

The feelings which existed when the Gentile was sober were strengthened by liquor. Markus Lehmann pictured an incident in the eighteen forties in which a Jewish girl was pursued by two Gentile fraternity youths. A young Jew attempted to rescue her, but they shouted at him: "What concern is this of yours, Jew-boy. Come to my quarters tomorrow! I've got some pants I'd like to hock." The boy finally fought with the students and succeeded in beating them off.

Another element which aided anti-Semitism were the racial feelings which became stronger during these years according to these books. Fanny Lewald discussed this attitude a number of times in her novel Jenny. A Christian who was unfriendly toward the Jews expressed himself on the subject: "These Jews stick together like burrs; if you enter one of their circles then you are involved too and must stay with the whole clique. It soon reaches the stage where one does not dare to take a walk for fear of being greeted and then accompanied by a Jew." Another in the same circle, however, replied that this sort of statement belonged to the middle ages and that one must learn to be more tolerant in this age. A Gentile who was generally well inclined toward Jews nevertheless thought "there are certain shortcomings for which Jenny (the heroine) is not responsible as they are national in a sense and are shared by the

majority of all Jewesses. The liveliness and the emotionalism becomes unbearable in most of them. Their manner of speech and their expressions are caricatures. Among the educated, these faults may be overcome ... or put to good use ... In the case of this girl, it means that she is always alive and fresh and never boring."<sup>21</sup>

Among this group there was a young man who admired an actress whom he considered especially beautiful, but he wished that she looked less Jewish.<sup>22</sup>

Jews admitted to some of these characteristics. In the third decade in Hamburg in the same novel one stated: "The custom of always moving in the same circle in which all know each other from the days of earliest childhood, at least by name or relationship, leaves the Jew disposed to relax which must appear importunate and offensive to the stranger. I feel that occasionally. My condition has removed me in part from this circle; there are many whom I scarcely see once a year. Yet when we meet I am compelled to listen to the most unbearable detailed account of family events..."<sup>23</sup>

In the books of two authors certain Jewish characteristics were held up for admiration by Gentiles. David Schiff spoke of the loyalty to tradition which existed among Jews.<sup>24</sup> Max Ring mentioned the heroism with which a Jew fought against religious oppression, at least in past history.<sup>25</sup>

Aside from an occasional good opinion which was held of the Jew, there were also friendships which these writers wove into their stories. Berthold Auerbach pictured more of this than any other author; in the villages of the Black Forest where Jew and Gentile lived side by side it was easier to become friendly than

in the city. In "Florian und Krescenz" a Jewish and a Gentile girl have become good friends; the Christian discussed her friend's future husband. She was sad to see her comrade leaving for Alsace after her marriage, but it was necessary as the dowry was worth more  
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there. In "Ivo, der Hajrle" the tolerance which existed in the United States in the eighteen twenties played an important role. A young immigrant wrote to his native village that he and a fellow Jew from the same town in the Black Forest were not separated by religious differences anymore; they were good friends. The Jew had even been his house guest. The Christian had settled as a farmer and the  
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Jew as a merchant in the new land. This tolerance was admired in the native village. The whole atmosphere of the Dorfgeschichten by Berthold Auerbach was one of friendly association between Jew and Christian; at times this led to real friendship. It is needless to cite the numerous instances in which the author has tried to show this attitude in these stories. In the novel Unterwegs Auerbach pictured such friendly relations in an urban environment;  
28  
they came about very easily between members of the opposite sex.

Generally it was more difficult to form friendships in the city; the troubles encountered have been partially shown in the chapter which dealt with social life and in the section which discussed intermarriage. Fanny Lewald in the novel Wandlungen showed that a liberal and tolerant attitude came most easily to those  
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whose belief in Christianity was no longer firm. Even a liberal theological student could admire the freedom of thought which was  
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allowed by Judaism. On the other hand some in this novel feared the  
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Judaizing tendencies in modern Christianity. The novel Wandlungen

as Jenny was set in the eighteen twenties and thirties. In Jenny Lewald showed a firm friendship develop between a young Christian girl, her family, and a Jewish doctor. There too the first step proved difficult; after the physician had been invited to the Gentile home once, it was easier to ask him again. When the doctor reported the friendly reception which he received from some Christians, a cautious nephew could not believe that it was sincere. He wondered what would happen when they no longer needed the young doctor.

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Max Ring was quite hopeful that the beginnings toward tolerance made in the preceding years would grow. In the novel Fürst und Musiker he expressed this opinion. In the future there would be many free discussions of religious matters as the one pictured in Nürnberg in the eighteen forties.

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During these decades anti-Semitism was not a major theme, but the treatment given it was more thorough than during the preceding period. Hatred of the Jew had grown during these years according to these writers. At times there were riots; generally feelings of animosity were expressed toward individuals. Certainly the high hopes which the Jews had held at the beginning of the period, immediately after the War of Liberation, were not realized. Bitterness did not vanish suddenly.

Anti-Semitism was shown to be stronger in the cities than in the rural areas. Berthold Auerbach spoke often of the friendship which existed between members of the two religious groups in a rural setting. The hatred which existed in the cities boded ill for the Jews, for in the next decades a greater proportion of them

would move to the urban centers.

## Notes.

## Hatred and Friendship 1815 - 1848.

1. Martin Philippon, Neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, I, 89 ff.
2. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 190.
3. Ibid., VIII, 192.
4. August Lewald, "Das heimliche Gericht", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, V, 353.
5. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 60.
6. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", Gesammelte Werke, I, 118.
7. Berthold Auerbach, "Luzifer", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, III, 160.
8. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 105.
9. Ibid., I, 115 f.
10. David Schiff, Pumpauf und Pumprich, p. 43.
11. Berthold Auerbach, "Ivo, der Hajrle", op. cit., I, 194.
12. Berthold Auerbach, "Luzifer", op. cit., III, 197.
13. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 21.
14. Ibid., pp. 22 f.
15. Ibid., pp. 23 f.
16. Ibid., pp. 29 f.
17. Ibid., p. 9.
18. Alfred Schirokauer, Lassalle. Ein Leben für Freiheit und Liebe, (Berlin, 1912), p. 22.
19. Markus Lehmann, "Verschollen und Vergessen", op. cit., I, 229.
20. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 5.
21. Ibid., p. 87.
22. Ibid., p. 4.
23. Ibid., p. 99.
24. David Schiff, Pumpauf und Pumprich, p. 1.
25. Max Ring, Fürst und Musiker, II, 17.
26. Berthold Auerbach, "Florian und Krescenz", op. cit., II, 4.
27. Berthold Auerbach, "Ivo, der Hajrle", op. cit., I, 184.
28. Berthold Auerbach, "Wie der Grossvater die Grossmutter nahm", Unterwegs. Kleine Geschichten und Lustspiele, (Berlin, 1879), pp. 91 f.
29. Fanny Lewald, Wandlungen, III, 151.
30. Ibid., II, 31.
31. Ibid., IV, 165.
32. Fanny Lewald, Jenny, p. 73.
33. Ibid., p. 14.
34. Max Ring, Fürst und Musiker, I, 73.

## V

The Transition 1849 --1870.

The Jew and His Livelihood.

The Revolution and the turmoil of 1848 had little affect on the Jews according to these novels. The works which spanned this year hardly mention the event, or only sufficiently to provide the proper background. Some of the authors as Clara Cohn dealt with the Revolution<sup>1</sup> in their works, but never connected Jews with it. This author rarely portrayed Jews, but none at all appeared in the novels which dealt with these exciting years. 1848 marked an important year in German history; the subsequent history of that land was greatly influenced by the events of this year. For Jewish history the year was not a turning point; the patterns of Jewish life which had evolved during the preceding decades continued. The emancipation of the Jew spread slowly to all sections of Germany; the transition from medieval to modern life continued in every area of life.

Old and new ways of earning a livelihood were mentioned side by side by these authors. The Jews in the rural areas continued their life as peddlers, while those in the cities searched constantly for new and better paths to riches. According to Aron Bernstein the authorities of Posen wished to speed the transition for the Jews; they wanted to force them to stop peddling. The Jew was to be coerced into new fields through restrictive legislation; the Gentile peasant was to be forced to visit the town and to come into closer contact with modern life. In the middle of the century "the officials of those days forbade all peddling without official permission and the obtaining of a liscense." The liscenses were restricted to a small number of the old and weak heads of families. "Through this the

strong, young Jews should be encouraged to give up the old custom of huckstering and seek a new means of livelihood." "One took the point of view that it was a great evil to bring the peasant handkerchiefs, calico, needles, corkscrews, pen-knives, lead buttons, suspenders, combs, mirrors, clothesbrushes, and other such items - to bring them into the village. Likewise if the peasant did not have to disturb his work in order to sell three pounds of hog bristles and a calf skin; instead the peddler would buy it. He would take anything which might be produced - wax, tallow, feathers, wool, honey, or fur. And it was an undeniable fact that especially the Jews of the small towns carried on this peddling and the spreading of manufactured city products in the countryside and the bearing of rural products to the city. It was therefore clear that they ought to be taxed." Bernstein discussed the problems of these Jews with quiet humor. When their life became too difficult and conditions there in Eastern Germany no longer seemed bearable, they emigrated and became peddlers in other lands. In the fifties this happened often; "as suprising as such a sudden decision sounds to our ears despite railroads and steamships, just as confidently did it sound to the small groups in the little Jewish communities which lived from peddling. Many young men from this community had sought refuge in England where peddling was permitted to every man." They often sent a part of their earnings home. Although the Jews of the West were poor, their problems were not so accute. As Jakob Loewenberg pointed out in Aus zwei Quellen different paths of livelihood existed in Westphalia; one could till the land, be a dyer, or peddle. The five peddlers there dealt in grains, hides, clothing, wool, and a combination of these items. The peddlers life East or West was hard; only the Sabbaths and festivals brought some rest. In the small Eastern towns which were largely Jewish, there would be few men at

home during the week. All were wandering through the neighboring areas buying and selling at the behest of the biggest merchant in the town; he provided them with wares and took in their produce which had been bartered from the peasant.<sup>5</sup>

In the Eastern sections of Germany peddling was still commonly undertaken by the Jews. It served a useful purpose in these predominantly rural areas, still remote from the effects of modern life. Conditions were different in the West; as Markus Lehmann showed, this was more likely to be the last resort of a man who had failed. Those who were forced into it were filled with bitterness. Instead of something better, "he should devote himself to this miserable petty trading, should wander through the countryside among rough and uneducated men, should ply them with goods they did not need, or which they would prefer to purchase themselves in the city. He would be mocked, cursed, and often would have to run the risk of daily insults." Until a regular group of customers had been established, it was a miserable existence in the middle of the century.<sup>6</sup> Salomo Formstecher told of the misfortunes which led a man into peddling. He had been robbed, his wife had died, and finally his maid had absconded with the remainder of his possessions. "He undertook the lowest form of work as he was unable to beg. He wandered about for a while as a peddler of small toilet articles, but even in this low rung, he was attacked by those still lower ..." Finally he abandoned this and emigrated to England.<sup>7</sup>

Those who had failed in the city also turned to peddling. Alfred Schirokauer in Lassalle spoke of a man who sold liquor to

the rich of Berlin. He peddled it, along with gossip, from door to door and earned a poor livelihood from this activity.<sup>8</sup>

In ever increasing numbers Jews moved to the larger cities. This trend had begun in the preceding decades and was mentioned by a number of authors.<sup>9</sup> In these years the shift in population increased; the writers hardly concerned themselves with the rural Jews and shifted their attention to the urban areas. Some took the occupation which they had previously followed with them; others began in entirely different fields. Jews entered new areas of work in both the country and the city. Berthold Auerbach told of a Jewish iron-monger in a village near Frankfurt.<sup>10</sup> Alfred Schirokauer mentioned a Jewish foreman in a large iron works in Berlin. This man's father had been a teacher and synagogue official in Heiligenstadt im Eichsfelde, but he had migrated to Berlin and begun life anew in this factory.<sup>11</sup> These were not the main paths followed by Jews in the cities; usually they entered the fields of business or finance.

The beginning of such a business career could be rather abrupt. Arnold Zweig described such an occasion in his novel Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer. "One day father hitched the horse to the light wagon; mother dressed the fourteen year old boy in his best garments, which were in questionable condition, and drove to Gnesen to the confectionary of Josef Roth. Roth was indignant about this approach; he put on his prince-nez, looked at the boy, let him draft two or three letters, which he did in decent German with a wonderful regular hand-

writing, and then let him remain, so that his mother drove home alone with the sorrel. Moritz was efficient, attentive, and frugal. He rose from the office to the store, from the store to travelling. He remained a good, glib, and successful travelling salesman until his military service."<sup>12</sup>

The authors Ulla Wolff, Max Ring, and Julius Rodenberg spoke of a number of small business enterprises in which Jews were engaged in the fifties and sixties. Ulla Wolff told of little shops dealing in tobacco;<sup>13</sup> another sold gold and silver items.<sup>14</sup> In Berliner Kinder Max Ring stated that the most elegant store of women's apparel in Berlin during these decades was owned by Jews.<sup>15</sup> The fortunate were successful and built large stores; their business reputation would rise. Despite that, they remained insignificant socially; men of the upper class would mention the merchant who owned a large clothing store in the same breath as a used clothing dealer. This incident occurred in The Granddiers<sup>16</sup> by Julius Rodenberg.

The transition took its toll; some who attempted to establish a business in the city failed. Max Ring pictured a man who became bankrupt and was not able to rebuild his enterprise. He was forced into simpler work and became a bookkeeper.<sup>17</sup> Ulla Wolff humorously told of a man who made a living from bankruptcies; they had become his way of life. In "Simon Eichelkatz" the man was known as the 'brankrupt' of Reissnitz. Through most of the eighteen sixties he always salvaged enough to live in comfort until his next bankruptcy.<sup>18</sup>

Those who did not enter business became money lenders or pawnbrokers according to Max Ring. In the novel Berliner Kinder

the life of a pawnbroker was given in some detail; it was described as seen by a Christian youth who later became a friend of the son of the pawnbroker. The shop contained a bit of everything, from the poorest garb of a workman to the silk and satins of the wealthy. Each piece in this odd museum had its tale of woe. The Christian who saw this felt anger and disgust toward the pawnbroker and his young Jewish friend felt the same way. Yet the business sustained the family. The boy wished to leave the shop and become a poet, but whenever he mentioned that notion to his father he was told that there was no money in it. The boy slowly became reconciled to the fate of continuing in the shop or amassing money on the stock exchange, which also interested him. <sup>19</sup> The young Christian was surprised at the appearance of the father, the proprietor of the store. "Instead of finding a despicable, and old cut throat with a curved hawk's nose and the sharp claws of a vulture, he sees a good natured jovial fifty year old man with a fairly large nose, full rounded cheeks, with a grey beard. .... However, Samuel Pinkus possessed two completely different faces like the God Janus - a sharp serious and perhaps hard one for business and his customers, and a mild, pleasant, almost weak one for his private life and especially for his family. His heart was built similarly and in certain ways was also divided into two parts. When it was a matter of his own advantage, a matter of great or small profit in financial matters, then his pleasantness ceased. He knew no consideration, no mercy, and considered every means, each shrewd trick, as permitted and was untouched by pleas; however, he was never dishonest or

without conscience. At other times he appeared very generous, friendly and charitable to the poor, helpful and willing to sacrifice for his friends, and thankful for the smallest favor. He was very lovable toward his own; he was an exemplary father and husband." This man who could squeeze the last penny of interest from a customer was generous to his coreligionists; he gave generously, although it might hurt him to part with a large sum of money. In the novel a vivid scene of bargaining between a needy, helpless workman and the proprietor of this shop was presented. The laborer soon discovered that the sum which he needed would never be allowed him for the poor items which he wished to pawn; no amount of pleading could change that fact. This was not a pleasant enterprise, but Max Ring pictured it fairly; he showed the good and the bad sides of the characters involved as well as the reasons for their actions.

The same author in Götter und Götzen returned to one of his favorite themes, the stock exchange. He described it in terms similar to those used in An der Börse which was largely set in the previous period. "From all sides the hordes of worshippers, believers, and unbelievers, Jews and Christians, Levites and laymen, the adherents of all faiths, who assembled under one roof with noteworthy tolerance. The novel continued in this mocking vein as it told about Jewish and Gentile members of the exchange in Berlin during the fifties.

Among Gentiles the Jewish bankers and stock brokers had the reputation of being speculators according to some of these writers. Clara Cohn told that peasants considered this to be so in the

sixties in the villages near Berlin. In the city of Berlin itself a Gentile in Der Kampf der weissen und der roten Rose by Georg Hirschfeld stated that his firm "speculated with the help of an efficient banker - not a Jew, as they could not decide on that - ..." To work with a Jew in such matters was not only distasteful for the man, but was also considered too dangerous.

This incident was set in the sixties. The reputation for improper dealings was partially meritted. Julius Rodenberg in The Grandidiers told of a partner who did not hesitate to cheat his associate, although this was his nephew. He escaped legal action and established a new firm in another section of Berlin during the sixties.

Only one doctor was given a role in the novels of this period. He appeared in Buchenstein und Cohnberg by Salomo Formstecher. The difficulties of the medical profession so vividly described by Fanny Lewald in Jenny during the previous decades had not disappeared. A new young physician in Emethofen not only faced the usual obstacles of a professional man, but the added problem of his religion. He realized that unless he happened to perform a miraculous cure, he would be barred from most Christian homes. During the early days in Emethofen, he spent much time treating laborers without charge, or for only a small fee. This did not make him more acceptable; it brought an anonymous letter which charged "that he was purchasing the good will of the people in order to displace his colleagues; this accorded with the Jewish ways of haggling and bargaining in every area of life, even in matters of charity. In spite of the fact that Jews generally

reckoned their advantage so well, he had miscalculated here. He shall not believe that the illness of the old, ill-mannered Lebrecht will provide him with a practice; the citizens would nevertheless only call him 'the Jew doctor' and the better, more elegant people would look forward to the moment when he would leave their homes." This attitude was so discouraging to the young physician that he decided to succeed in Emethofen or to abandon  
26  
medicine altogether.

The authors of this period provided us with a glimpse of business and professional life during these decades. Few works were set in these years; those which exist did not deal with the Jew in detail. One must again notice that these writers did not show more than a slight interest in the Jewish working man or the craftsman; these two groups loomed large in the middle of the century, but they have been neglected in these works. This was so of the authors who were living and writing in this period and those who wrote at the beginning of the next century.

The description of the life of the peddler given by Bernstein showed the distinction which existed between life in Eastern and Western Germany. This difference was to disappear during these years; the steady movement of Jews to the large cities and the constant emigration brought an end to the old way of life.

## Notes.

## The Jew and His Livelihood 1849 - 1870.

1. Clara Cohn, Das Eisen im Feuer, (Berlin, 1913); Die Vor den Toren, (Berlin, 1949).
2. Aron David Bernstein, Mendel Gibbor, p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
4. Ibid., p. 47; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, p. 3.
5. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 32.
6. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 24.
7. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 291.
8. Alfred Schirokauer, Lassalle, p. 9.
9. Georg Borchardt, Jettchen Geberts Geschichte; Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg; Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII; Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III; etc.
10. Berthold Auerbach, Waldfried, (Berlin, n.d.), p. 110.
11. Alfred Schirokauer, Lassalle, p. 88.
12. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 17.
13. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 181.
14. Ibid., VI, 211.
15. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, (Berlin, 1883), I, 148.
16. Julius Rodenberg, The Granddiers, (London, 1881), I, 149.
17. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, II, 149.
18. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 207.
19. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, I, 85; II, 243.
20. Ibid., I, 87.
21. Ibid., I, 205 ff.
22. Max Ring, Götter und Götzen, (Berlin, n.d.), III, 159.
23. Clara Cohn, Die Vor den Toren, p. 169.
24. Georg Hirschfeld, Der Kampf der weissen und der roten Rose, (Berlin, 1912), p. 62.
25. Julius Rodenberg, The Granddiers, I, 258 ff.
26. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 40 f, 70 ff.

## Social Life and Family 1849 - 1870.

The living conditions of the Jews continued to improve during these decades. There were many who remained poor after they had moved to the larger cities. Generally this set the stage for a more attractive life for the following generation. The problems most frequently discussed were those which concerned the wealthier elements. The authors pictured the various efforts made toward gaining status, the problems of marriage which faced these families, and the troubles of intermarriage. None of these matters were fully discussed in the novels set in this period, but they were mentioned by a large number of authors.

Jewish homes in the rural areas varied a great deal. A description by Jakob Loewenberg in "Die schwarze Riwke" showed a poor home of a village Jew, probably in Westphalia. The wife earned the living in this home as the husband wished to study undisturbed. "Her household had suffered because of her business duties. Her rooms, which often served as storage places for rags and furs, were not particularly clean. The children frequently ran around dirty and dressed in rags." <sup>1</sup> On the other hand a wealthy family lived well even in the smaller communities. Ulla Wolff portrayed such a family and told that when they decided to move to Breslau in the middle of the eighteen fifties, they took the entire household along. A whole train of wagons filled with their possessions lumbered toward the city. <sup>2</sup>

Social contact between Jews and Gentiles remained rather restricted during these years. Max Ring spoke of a family which was willing to entrust all of its affairs to a wealthy Jew, but con-

tact other than this was not even mentioned. The Jew was given neither additional freedom, nor honors; he was not granted a permanent permit to reside in the province.<sup>3</sup> In another novel by Max Ring, Der Geheimrath, a Jew was invited to the home of a Gentile only because the latter needed a sizable loan. The other guests of the evening were chosen with great care, so that none might feel insulted by the presence of a Jew. The man and his wife considered this invitation as a great social triumph and were overjoyed.<sup>4</sup>

A few Jews were given honors and titles during this period and the previous one. Obviously this annoyed certain Christians. Berthold Auerbach had a Gentile in Das Landhaus am Rhein state that "today nobility is only a name, a decoration, nothing more. One has already gone so far as to ennoble Jews." Another, however, replied by suggesting that the Jews belonged to the oldest nobility in the world already and so could not be elevated.<sup>5</sup>

The remaining contacts between Jews and Christians were reported in connection with intermarriages and conversions. From the few statements made by these writers it is clear that intermarriages occurred frequently. The reaction which could be expected from either the family or the Jewish community had become much less violent. Twenty years earlier a congregation might impose a formal ban on an irreligious Jew and of course have nothing to do with a convert;<sup>6</sup> if the community did not act as a whole, the individual members ostracized him, so that he was effectively isolated. This was a difficult position for the period of transition<sup>7</sup> when neither the old nor the new society accepted the man. In

these years matters had changed. Alfred Schirokauer thought that there were families who would not find any ground for opposition to intermarriage. In Lassalle one character said: "Do you find an obstacle in the religion? Think of Varnhagen von Ense who married his Rachel and Professor Stahr who took Lewald, and isn't von Dönniges happy with Miss Wolff! Why should you not in reverse marry Miss Krafft (a Christian)?" The statement was made to Lassalle by a man who wished to arrange this wedding; neither of these Jews could find any objections to this marriage. Max Ring in Der  
Geheimrath also portrayed an incident in which marriage with a Gentile was a matter of indifference to the younger as well as the older generation. The Christian parties in both of these cases felt no hesitation either.

Conversion to Christianity was treated a few times by these writers. Salomo Formstecher portrayed a scene in which a rich patient attempted to convert his Jewish doctor. The patient was a zealous member of a missionary society, but had little luck with this object of his zeal. Arnold Zweig mentioned a pastor in the hill country of Posen who taught a Jewish boy secular subjects. The young lad first drove his sheep out to the pasture and then returned to the town for a few lessons. The minister made no direct attempts to convert the youth, but hoped that he would become interested in Christianity.

When the son of a rabbi converted, it was considered a major tragedy. In Jüdische Familienpapiere Herzberg told that the name of the boy was never mentioned in the household. His picture always hung covered on the wall; on the Day of Atonement the co-

13

vering cloth was removed.

Family life and the position of the woman were given a little more thorough treatment in these books. The women of the rural areas continued to live simple lives; they aided their husbands in the business enterprise as much as possible. Max Ring told that in Posen they fattened the geese, along with the aid of the younger children.<sup>14</sup> Under extraordinary circumstances a woman could be forced to take a more active role in business. Jakob Loewenberg in "Die schwarze Riwe" dealt with a woman who had married a scholar; he was a poor businessman as he was not interested in such affairs. It became her duty to peddle goods around the countryside in order to maintain the family. "With the basket upon her arm she wandered daily from village to village in order to sell all kinds of trifles; thread, ribbon, yarn, needles, and similar items. Or she would exchange them for bones, rags, or hide. The peasant wives liked to deal with her as her quiet ways pleased them. She never became officious and was friendly even where there was no business to be transacted. If she arrived at a home where work was pressing, she would put her basket into a corner, and without a word help with the household in any way she could." Some of the peasants liked her well enough to wait with their purchases until she arrived, even if it meant some inconvenience to them.<sup>15</sup> Naturally the household suffered under this lack of care.<sup>16</sup>

When the simple country women moved to the city, their lot was difficult. Those that did not have social ambitions which were far beyond their horizons managed well even in Berlin as Max Ring told in Berliner Kinder. "Whatever she did not possess in intellect and

education, she compensated in other valuable qualities and virtues. She was an excellent mother, an exquisite hostess, and no woman in the Jewish community could cook better."<sup>17</sup>

Marriages continued to be arranged in this period; the young couple was hardly consulted, or only belatedly asked about their wishes. As the adults made the arrangements, financial considerations remained basic. When these preliminaries by the parents were not followed, great anger would meet the erring groom or bride. Generally the young people accepted the situation as Herzberg told in his Jüdische Familienpapiere;<sup>18</sup> some responded in anger. Salomo Formstecher described such a situation in Buchenstein und Cohnberg. The father "belonged to those men who were unable to grasp the concept of love. Their idol was money and a steady income." The man weighed the possibilities and chose a husband for his daughter who represented the best long term investment currently available; it had to give financial return and status. This was not to be a teacher, nor a clerk, but a candidate for the rabbinate in his town. When the daughter begged her father to change the decision, he replied: "Love is folly; engagements precede marriages so that both parties may weigh and see where they may find the greatest advantage. Once you have been married a year, you will recognize my better judgement and will thank me for what you now consider my harsh procedure." As both the mother and her brother agreed with the decision, little could be gained by verbal protest. Instead she ran off to the United States with a Gentile. She took a large sum of money which she considered adequate for her dowry.<sup>19</sup>

A young man who proceeded to ask the girl for her hand before speaking with the father was greeted with similar anger in the same novel. The youth was a rabbinic student and was advised to find a position before thinking of marriage. The young man was accused of planning to seduce the girl. The dowry counted for a great deal in most of these family tales. However in Formstecher's novel a rabbinic student finally married a girl whose family had lost all of its money, but this rarely happened among the middle class. As Jakob Loewenberg told in Aus zwei Quellen the poor married with little dowry and few formalities. There the couple only had twenty four Thaler when they married. Only in middle class families with unusual pride was money not enough if the girl was also acceptable. Ulla Wolff in "Mischpoche" mentioned the shock of certain members of the family at a proposed marriage undertaken to save a business. The dowry was the main element of that match; the anxiety over it brought a heart attack to one member of the family.

The traditional engagement ceremony was still used in certain parts of Germany. Salomo Formstecher spoke of it in Buchenstein und Cohnberg; an engagement could not be broken easily. It was especially difficult if the father of the bride was no longer legally competent as in this case.

Weddings were celebrated with varying festivity. Salomon Mosenthal briefly described a Reform wedding in the story "Raaf's Mina"; it was performed in Hessen-Nassau in complete privacy. Only one witness was present for it and no celebration was held.

Aron Bernstein told of an Orthodox wedding which also took place in the fifties, but in the East near Danzig. In that remote, little town

a long procession brought the couple to an open place before the Schul. After the ceremony had ended the assembled congregation shouted 'good luck' twice; then the festivities began and they lasted for many hours. <sup>25</sup> Salomo Formstecher in Buchenstein und Cohnberg told a little about the excitement and celebration which preceded the wedding day. A week before the wedding the groom was called to the Torah with special ceremony by the cantor. The Torah portion was chanted in a slightly different way. After the service a festive meal was held in the home of the groom; all the wedding guests were present for this feast. The remainder of the day was spent visiting, but the men and the women were in separate <sup>26</sup> rooms. On the night before the wedding both families gathered for counsel; the young people were made aware of the importance of the occasion and of the significance and the holiness of their <sup>27</sup> duties. In this case the sister of the groom was to be married just two weeks later; her mother lamented that the two ceremonies could not be combined, but that was not possible according to Jewish law. The wedding feast itself took place at the local inn; <sup>28</sup> it was a grand affair.

Despite the care taken in arranging marriages and the tradition of a good family life which was strong among Jews, not all turned out happily. In these years it was not easy to give a divorce; the community made life difficult for both parties afterwards. Ulla Wolff spoke of this in "Simon Eichelkatz". There a man in the eighteen nineties in Reissnitz said: "One now hears about divorce more often. At an earlier time it was considered a disgrace. A divorced woman was considered as someone degraded and rejected;

a man who gave a divorce was also considered of low repute. It always had a bad savor, especially in this congregation. If someone stumbled into it, then he had to remain there, always bearing the yoke onward."<sup>29</sup>

Only a single love affair was mentioned in these books. It took place between the son of a rabbi and an actress. For some time there was thought of marriage, but this did not occur. This was reported in Jüdische Familienpapiere by Herzberg.<sup>30</sup>

Little change in the social and family life of the Jews was reported in the novels and stories of this period. The way of life continued as in the previous decades. The authors were more concerned with the rural Jews and those who lived in small towns; only on a few occasions were conditions in the large cities mentioned.

As social life remained static so did the attitude to the Eastern Jew. Jakob Loewenberg pointed this out in Aus zwei Quellen; the villagers of Westphalia in the sixties were hospitable to these wandering Schnorrers, but were also a bit ashamed. Men changed their names in order to escape their background; Sittenfeld spoke of a newspaper editor who adopted the name of his home town in Galicia and was subsequently embarrassed when he met a nobleman entitled to the name von Greifenstein.<sup>31</sup> Others also changed their names during this period.<sup>32</sup> 33

In every way the pattern of life which had existed during the preceding period continued. Few modifications were to be found in the novels and short stories set in these decades.

## Notes.

## Social Lifesand Family 1849 - 1870.

1. Jakob Loewenberg, "Die schwarze Riwke", Der gelbe Fleck, p. 21.
2. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 250 f.
3. Max Ring, Ein verlorenes Geschlecht, (Berlin, 1867), IV, 143 f.
4. Max Ring, Der Geheimrath, (Prague and Leipzig, 1857), p. 152.
5. Berthold Auerbach, Das Landhaus am Rhein, (Stuttgart, n.d.), II, 147.
6. Max Ring, Unfehlbar, I, 153.
7. August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 305.
8. Alfred Schirokauer, Lassalle, p. 12.
9. Max Ring, Der Geheimrath, p. 248.
10. Alfred Schirokauer, Lassalle, p. 10; Max Ring, Der Geheimrath, p. 249.
11. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 72 f.
12. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, pp. 16 f.
13. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, (Zurich, 1893), p. 40.
14. Max Ring, Ein verlorenes Geschlecht, IV, 151.
15. Jakob Loewenberg, "Die schwarze Riwke", op. cit., p. 20.
16. Ibid., p. 21.
17. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, I, 88.
18. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 137.
19. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 259 f.
20. Ibid., pp. 103 ff.
21. Ibid., p. 198; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, p. 3.
22. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 221.
23. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 220.
24. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", Gesammelte Werke, I, 108.
25. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 111.
26. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 157.
27. Ibid., p. 161.
28. Ibid., p. 158.
29. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 216.
30. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 38.
31. Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 89 ff.
32. Konrad Sittenfeld, Wer ist der Stärkere, II, 168.
33. Ibid., II, 106; Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 264; Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 164.

## Judaism 1849 - 1870.

The quest for new solutions to religious problems continued in these decades. The authors showed that matters of belief and questions of ritual and worship had not yet been properly worked out by this generation. The old thoughts and the forms of tradition no longer satisfied a large number of Jews, especially those who lived in the larger cities. The new religious ideas which had been offered to them had not yet led to a proper solution.

A number of personal solutions used by various families were mentioned by the authors. Salomo Formstecher in Buchenstein und Cohnberg wrote of a family in which the younger generation remained Orthodox only out of fear of their parents. They wished to maintain peace in the home and so continued with rituals which had no meaning for them.<sup>1</sup> For the older generation the Orthodox way of life was filled with meaning; it could be continued as if no changes had occurred in the outside world. Formstecher also told of a man in Emethofen in the eighteen sixties who carried on a large halachic correspondence.<sup>2</sup> Ulla Wolff described the life of an Orthodox scholar who had moved to Breslau in the middle of his life; he remained a pious, observant Jew. When the students of the Breslau Seminary came to his house to discuss Talmud, they left the modern world outside the doors. For the old man, the life of his youth was continuing.<sup>3</sup>

In the idealistic novel Das Landhaus am Rhein Berthold Auerbach spoke of an entirely different religion which would not be faced with the problems of ritual and which would appeal to men of all

ages and faiths. This religious mood was to adore the beauties of nature; no inquiry into the individual's past was to be made. If it was found possible to believe in more than this, then the individual would gradually discover it. This was a fine dream<sup>4</sup> presented with many others in the novel, but it was hardly the type of solution which the Jews of the period desired.

In congregational life the pattern followed depended much on the location of the community. In the rural areas and the small towns the erosion of beliefs and practices had only begun. The more liberal elements of the younger generation had been affected, but the older people were loyal to the traditions. The proper leadership could guide the community toward a new pattern of life. Salomon Mosenthal showed how this was done successfully in "Raaf's Mina". The rabbi who began his duties in the congregation in the fifties proceeded with caution. Through his excellent sermons and enlightened ideas he appealed to the youth; he impressed the older people by his thorough Talmudic knowledge. With this combination he brought the congregation across the<sup>5</sup> threshold into the modern era without conflict. In "Simon Eichelkatz" Ulla Wolff pictured a congregation which was not so fortunate. Widespread disagreement over innovations and new ideas<sup>6</sup> brought about a split which was not easily healed. According to Salomo Formstecher's Buchenstein und Cohnberg there were communities in which the Orthodox members who lost the battle for the continuation of a completely traditional synagogue resigned. In Emethofen and in Rohrstadt the traditional members of the board

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left the congregation when it became liberal. In the latter community the rabbi tried especially hard to make the new Judaism  
8  
understandable to his people.

The picture of the individual's groping toward a new philosophical basis for religion and of the communal efforts to an acceptable pattern of synagogal life was only sketched in the barest outline by a few of the writers. The problems of Judaism during these decades were not a basic theme. The authors were more concerned with various customs and practices; these were described as a part of the background of many novels set in this period.

Aron Bernstein in Vögele der Maggid showed that the Sabbath still had much meaning in the large Jewish communities of Eastern Germany. In the towns where the Jewish population was sizable the influence of the Gentile world was much smaller than in the communities of Western Germany. These rural areas anyhow remained isolated from modern thought during the first portion of this period. Friday remained an important business day for the Jews of these towns. All business was transacted in haste as it had  
9  
to be completed before the day was over. In the evening many homes would be honored by guests who remained for the whole Sabbath. They would attempt to repay the hospitality extended to them by giving little talks on the Torah portion of the week. They also entertained their guests with information about the outside world  
10  
which these travellers had seen. Everything was done to make the Sabbath a comfortable day of rest; the homes contained stoves specially designed to keep the food warm through these twenty-four

11  
 hours. All was done to bring a festive air into the home as pictured in  
Judische Familienpapiere by Herzberg where flowers and white covers appeared  
 12  
 on all tables. As Formstcher stated it was a day of absolute rest for the  
 13  
 older generation; the cares of the week were forgotten. Those too old to  
 attend services observed the day at home. Anyhow as Jakob Loewenberg poin-  
 ted out in Aus zwei Quellen much was made of the day at home, especially in  
 the small towns. There was special dress and special food, all vividly des-  
 14  
 cribed. The services on Friday evening and the Sabbath were impressive.

The holidays were kept with rigor in the rural areas. Rosh Hashono  
 was remembered for the special blessing given to children by their parents;  
 the white garments of Kol Nidre and the serious tone of that evening were  
 recalled. Succos, Hannukoh, and Purim with their joyful atmosphere were  
 high points in the life of a child; they were described by Loewenberg along  
 with the careful preparations made for Pesah. Formstecher also mentioned  
 15  
 them and the numerous new items purchase then. Hermann Schiff told of the  
 special custom of the president of the congregation receiving a special  
 blessing on the last day of Pesah. In his absence it was given to the vice-  
 president and this caused much ill feeling in the community in Die wilde  
Rabbizin. It was one of the reasons for conflict between the rabbi there  
 16  
 and the president. Ulla Wolff spoke humorously in "Simon Eichelkatz" of  
 the difficulties faced by a congregation which had imposed a complete day  
 of fasting on itself for the seventeenth of Tamuz which occurs in the heat  
 of the summer. They preferred this to many days of half fasting, mainly  
 17  
 abstaining from meat. Salomo Formstecher briefly mentioned Hannukoh; other-  
 18  
 wise there was no discussion of holidays.

Many customs were briefly mentioned by these writers. Max Ring  
 pictured an Orthodox factor in Posen in the middle of the century;

this character in Ein verlorenes Geschlecht was entirely kosher in his way of life. He refused wine which a Christian nobleman offered him.<sup>19</sup> The Scheitel continued to be worn by numerous women and appeared in several of these novels.<sup>20</sup> Superstitious customs were to be found in these decades as well. Salomo Formstecher told of a man who changed the name of his wife when she became seriously ill.<sup>21</sup>

In the rural communities the congregation remained strong enough to impose its will on the local Jews. Salomo Formstecher in Buchenstein und Cohnberg told of a case in which the community wished to take action against a young man who read impious books, even read them in the synagogue. He also kept company with Gentiles which made him suspect. In addition he was suspected of spending his Sabbath afternoons gambling. Later this individual was convicted of manufacturing false coinage.<sup>22</sup> The rabbi in Vögele der Maggid by Aron Bernstein used his authority to stop the chason from giving his daughter too much education. He had taught her to sing from the Machsor and familiarized her with much of the devotional literature for women. When she became fifteen the education was halted by the intervention of the rabbi who felt that "whoever teaches his daughter erudition only teaches her indecency."<sup>23</sup> In the same novel there was a long humorous description of the problems which the congregation faced with its Erub; it had been constructed around the city with special poles. Its destruction before one Sabbath caused much inconvenience to the congregation. The rabbi immediately proposed an explanation for the disaster; it had happened as a "consequence of the godless times which can

be recognized through the fact that in Posen, Thorn, Bromberg, and Culm married women walk around with artificial Scheitels. Worse calamities will occur unless this custom is stopped immediately." <sup>24</sup>

In the novel Mendel Gibbor Bernstein mentioned the Kapporo. <sup>25</sup>

Moral and charitable qualities encouraged by Judaism were portrayed in both the rural and the urban setting by these writers. Every poor wandering Jew could expect generous hospitality on the Sabbath as mentioned by both Bernstein and Herzberg. <sup>26</sup> The charity of the Jews was praised by Herzberg in the character of a beggar who found them kinder than the Christians. <sup>27</sup> Berthold Auerbach in "Der Tolpatsch aus Amerika" had a Gentile praise the Jewish concern for the poor members of the family who remained in Germany. "This we must concede to the Jews, no Jew who emigrated from this town has forgotten those at home. Everyone sends something, even those who must earn a living as domestics. It seems to me that this can't be such a bad religion." <sup>28</sup> As Max Ring showed a number of times, charity was extended as fully to Christians as to other Jews. <sup>29</sup> This author also told of the city Jew's kindly feelings toward the workingmen who were just beginning to organize. <sup>30</sup> In Berliner Kinder Lassalle was spoken of once; more important was a lengthy discussion between a Jewish pawnbroker and a Christian worker. The latter argued for the doctrines of Communism, while the Jew opposed him vigorously, but he was willing to help the laborer on the path toward a better way <sup>31</sup> of life.

In the books set in the cities there was mention of customs

as well, but generally these remarks were so incidental and so scattered that little could be gained by listing them. For example Herzberg told that Jahrzeit was observed in the middle of Jüdische Familienpapiere,<sup>32</sup> but he did not describe the day or the feelings of the people involved. This was a novel concerned with Jews, but the same thing happened in many novels into which a single Jewish character was introduced for a few pages.

Some attention was given by the authors to the Jewish community, its officials, and its institutions. Several writers gave fairly thorough descriptions of these elements in Jewish life.

By the eighteen fifties the synagogues were no longer hidden away in little side streets, but stood where they would make a good impression on both Jew and Gentile. Herzberg described an impressive building which was the synagogue of a larger city.<sup>33</sup> In the small towns according to Ulla Wolff in "Simon Eichelkatz" they remained modest structures. There too they were often new buildings erected since the Jews had moved out of the ghetto.<sup>34</sup>

Salomo Formstecher had a rabbinical student present some opinions of synagogue decorations in Buchenstein and Cohnberg. The building should be "joyful and uplifting, but simple according to the essence of Judaism. It should be free from all multicolored decorations and elaborations through which many synagogues built in modern times have lost the sober character of a Jewish house of God and rather stand as a mixture between theater and mosque. One can see the confusion of the architects in the multicolored and striped halls. The Christian architects imagine that a synagogue must appear in Oriental style and erect a bizarre

structure which a simple Jew would never recognize as his Jewish Schul, while an educated one looks upon it only unwillingly and with contempt... The Jew is simply not accustomed to an Oriental style anymore."<sup>35</sup>

When a new synagogue was built Formstecher showed the women of the congregation becoming quite excited about providing the ritual objects for it. Those which could be made by the congregants as the Torah mantels and the curtain for the ark were carefully prepared by them. The other items as the yad, the silver crowns for the Torah, and the Torah shields were purchased by the women's group.<sup>36</sup>

The same author described the dedication of a new synagogue in the week before the New Year. The entire congregation participated in the opening ceremonies, even the Jews who were rather assimilated. The women presented their gifts at this time. Finally late in the afternoon of the special day "the board of the congregation took the decorated Torah scrolls (out of the ark); then Joseph, the preacher for this occasion, gave some touching words of farewell in the old sanctuary. Finally the procession, artistically arranged, began to make its way to the new sanctuary. Joseph walked behind the bearers of the Torah between two officials of the community. Neither they nor the rabbi were in favor of this procession, but as the distance was short no harm was done. When the procession entered the new synagogue, the organ played and the choir sang wonderfully."<sup>37</sup> The leading Gentiles of the community attended the ceremonies with their ministers; they were properly impressed by them.<sup>38</sup>

Ulla Wolff told of the dedication of another synagogue in "Simon Eichelkatz". That building had been erected with much difficulty and the rabbi had made numerous enemies during the struggle. For this reason the community officials invited a rabbi from Berlin to preside at the opening ceremonies. The local rabbi swallowed his pride and remained happy with what he had accomplished.<sup>39</sup> These synagogues were not only places of worship, but were used for reading and study as well; this was especially true of the smaller ones which were not surrounded by other facilities.<sup>40</sup>

The only other communal institution mentioned was the Mikveh by Bernstein in Vögele der Maggid.<sup>41</sup>

The role of the rabbi and his family remained difficult for most of this period. Hermann Schiff described behavior which was insulting on the part of certain congregants toward their rabbi. As this man in Die wilde Rabbizin was rather weak, he was often humiliated.<sup>42</sup> Herzberg told that the rabbi was still concerned with most of the communal tasks;<sup>43</sup> in his household too the temptations of modern times were felt. A pious rabbi worried about his son who had a long affair with a Christian actress; it might have led to an intermarriage.<sup>44</sup>

Ulla Wolff commented upon the wife of a rabbi and her relationship to the Jewish community in "Simon Eichelkatz". In a small congregation she was very important as she could halt criticism through her actions, or lead it to his door.<sup>45</sup> In Reissnitz the congregation thought "the more modest the more unpretentious the

rabbi might be, the prouder and the more demanding his wife." It had to be so, otherwise the Jews would have "danced on his head." She protected the rabbi and was generally feared by the congregation. Of good lineage and possessing a fine education, she was proud and looked down upon the congregants who did not possess similar qualifications. This led to friction, but nothing would induce her to change. She was a generous woman and headed the women's charities in the city; her aid during a cholera epidemic was admired and respected. Despite her many activities, she kept aloof from the congregation. Furthermore she voiced her opinions without fear when she thought that her husband had not been properly treated.

Rabbinical students appeared in Buchenstein und Cohnberg by Salomo Formstecher. Some were filled with much idealism while others were extremely practical. At first the Jewish community thought little of these academically trained men. One individual gave a very candid opinion of his own son-in-law: "He did not feel that he was Orthodox enough or knew enough, but he was able to reassure himself from his experience with other such young rabbis. After a short while in a position one could hardly see that they had ever studied secular subjects. They explained the Talmud as true rabbis, lived strictly according to its injunctions, and even wrote responsa. He hoped that this would happen to his son-in-law too." Where this kind of opinion was widespread the young men met opposition in the communities. Often their first appearance for a trial sermon settled the issue of selection. In this novel the

underhanded methods of one of the candidates played an important  
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 part in the selection. As such rabbinical positions were generally  
 connected with Jewish schools, the approval of the government was  
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 necessary. The candidates obtained the best education possible  
 and combined traditional knowledge with doctorates from the uni-  
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 versity; the latter varied considerably in value.

Next in importance in most communities was the cantor. In a  
 small congregation a volunteer might lead the service at the syna-  
 gogue. Max Ring spoke of a Jewish factor who acted as cantor for  
 a little congregation in Prussia; this was mentioned in Ein  
 55  
verlorenes Geschlecht. In the larger towns the cantor played a  
 major role in the congregation if he was sufficiently clever. Ulla  
 Wolff portrayed such a man in "Simon Eichelkatz" in the town of  
 Reissnitz. He was shrewd and knew all the people well. He played  
 cards with them and once counselled the rabbi to do the same, as  
 a joke. He could have helped the rabbi with the community, but  
 he rarely did so. Although he treated the congregants with utter  
 contempt, they always gave him what he wanted. They admired him  
 as he sang, for he was able to move them religiously. He had an  
 advantage over the rabbi as they did not have to think about his  
 music. Furthermore he was willing to join them for a glass of  
 wine after the services. His personal opinion of the rabbi was  
 very high and he told the congregation that he considered him a  
 56  
 pearl cast among swine, but they did not take him seriously.  
 Bernstein told of the special pride felt by a community whose  
 57  
 cantor composed new melodies for the services.

Although granted no honors and given little status in the

community, the shames played an important part in synagogal life. His pay was poor and his vigilance over the piety of the community was rarely appreciated as has been shown in the previous period.<sup>58</sup> These conditions persisted in these decades. As it was not a desirable position it was given to a cripple in a Westphalian community. This man attempted to augment his meager earnings by the ritual slaughter of small animals, by studying occasionally in a house of mourning,<sup>59</sup> and by preparing a Bar Mitzwoh boy. Thus Jakob Loewenberg portrayed his life. Formstecher told that one shames took it upon himself to watch over the sick during the night;<sup>60</sup> people were most grateful to him for this.

All the officials connected with the synagogue were listed by Ulla Wolff in Reissnitz; aside from those mentioned there was a synagogue servant, a Shabbes goy, and a treasurer who concerned himself with the relief of the poor.<sup>61</sup> In Vögele der Maggid Aron Bernstein added some others found in the Eastern communities as a mikveh servant;<sup>62</sup> he also had to allow himself to be called to the Torah for the reading of the curses.<sup>63</sup> A Schulklopfer announced the coming of the Sabbath each Friday evening and undertook the proper allocation of the guests.<sup>64</sup> In Mendel Gibbor a wandering musician employed for weddings was mentioned.<sup>65</sup> Herzberg stated that some Schnorrers considered themselves an essential part of the community as they gave Jews the opportunity to practice charity, a great mitzwoh.<sup>66</sup>

The congregations were governed by a group of elected officials who soon became rather permanent despite the elections according to

Ulla Wolff in "Simon Eichelkatz". Offices were passed from one generation to the next, especially if the wealth remained in the same family. Men of wealth in all the communities were soon charged with congregational responsibility. If they were in office too long, they could become insufferable. Yet they were not removed as these men generally held the respect of the Gentile community. In Buchenstein und Cohnberg Salomo Formstecher showed that they concerned themselves with ritual matters too, as the obtaining of proper flour for the matzos of Passover.

In the villages the office of president might be occupied by a poor peddler who was especially revered as Jakob Loewenberg told in Aus zwei Quellen. Often he had to hurry home, dress, and then attend to communal affairs before the Friday evening service began; weekends were the only time that he was at home. When a new teacher was engaged for the congregational school he had to make the arrangements. When documents had to be presented or small purchases made, he took care of these matters and often forgot to ask for reimbursement. In this novel the president was not a well educated man, but he respected learning, so the village teacher left his books to this man upon his death. He and the village musician were the only ones close to the teacher in that lonely spot. This president was on very good terms with his Gentile neighbors.

The novels of this period showed the difficulties which were faced by Judaism. The changes which occurred in the practices led to the adaptation of the synagogue ritual to modern times. A large number of Jews were partly assimilated and showed little interest in these problems as they arose in their own communities; another segment remained strictly Orthodox. Observance, except for the rural areas,

decreased during the years according to these books. The fact that Judaism and its rites were hardly mentioned in the novels set in the larger cities demonstrated the indifference, at least in the intellectual circles in which these authors moved.

The number of books during these decades concerned with religious problems was small; in the remainder Jewish matters were only given the barest mention. It was characteristic of all of these novels that they devoted more space to the synagogue, customs, and holidays than to religious thought. The various intellectual positions of Jews at the middle of the last century were hardly explored in fiction. This was equally true of the writers who published during this period and those like Ulla Wolff and Jakob Loewenberg who wrote later. Deep discussions were not a part of these novels. Even the high ideals of Auerbach in Das Landhaus am Rhein were superficially discussed. All of these books were good in their description of character; sometimes the development of character was ably portrayed, but the innermost thoughts of the individuals who passed through these pages were not clearly revealed.

Throughout this period the old and the new existed side by side, but the older way of life was fighting a losing struggle and slowly faded away. This was shown to be true of all areas except the small towns and their Jews.

## Notes.

## Judaism 1849 - 1870.

1. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 116 f.
2. Ibid., p. 108.
3. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 254 f.
4. Berthold Auerbach, Das Landhaus am Rhein, II, 29.
5. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", Gesammelte Werke, I, 98 f.
6. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 171.
7. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 281, 124.
8. Ibid., p. 141.
9. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 37.
10. Ibid., p. 50.
11. Ibid., pp. 42 f.
12. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 231.
13. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 100.
14. Ibid., p. 11; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 5 ff.
15. Ibid., pp. 21 ff; Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 90.
16. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, pp. 4 f.
17. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 178 f.
18. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 1, 6.
19. Max Ring, Ein verlorenes Geschlecht, IV, 142.
20. Julius Rodenberg, The Granddiers, I, 256; Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 235 f.
21. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 217.
22. Ibid., p. 94.
23. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 18.
24. Ibid., p. 72.
25. Aron David Bernstein, Mendel Bibbor, pp. 41 f.
26. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 116; Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 50.
27. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 115.
28. Berthold Auerbach, "Der Tolpatsch aus Amerika II", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, IX, 167.
29. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, II, 17; Unfehlbar, I, 201 f.
30. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, II, 239.
31. Ibid., II, 145 f.
32. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 261.
33. Ibid., p. 123.
34. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 183.
35. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 284.
36. Ibid., p. 155.
37. Ibid., pp. 286 f.
38. Ibid., p. 283.
39. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 208 f.
40. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 65.
41. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 14.
42. Hermann Schiff, Die wilde Rabbizin, pp. 5 f.

43. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 4.
44. Ibid., p. 38.
45. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 175 f.
46. Ibid., VI, 174 f.
47. Ibid., VI, 205 ff.
48. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 86.
49. Ibid., p. 107.
50. Ibid., p. 110.
51. Ibid., pp. 119 f.
52. Ibid., pp. 259, 273 f.
53. Ibid., p. 295.
54. Ibid., p. 135.
55. Max Ring, Ein verlorenes Geschlecht, IV, 144.
56. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 213.
57. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 1.
58. Markus Lehmann, "Nur Standhaft", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, I, 8; Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", op. cit., I, 70.
59. Jakob Loewenberg, "Die schwarze Riwe", Der gelbe Fleck, pp. 19 f.
60. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 216.
61. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 205 ff.
62. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, pp. 22 f.
63. Ibid., p. 40.
64. Ibid., p. 44.
65. Aron David Bernstein, Mendel Gibbor, pp. 5 f.
66. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, pp. 21 f.
67. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 181.
68. Ibid., VI, 203 f.
69. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 22.
70. Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 5 ff.
71. Ibid., p. 3.
72. Ibid., p. 6.
73. Ibid., p. 41.

## Education 1849 - 1870.

In most areas of Jewish life few major changes occurred during these decades. The patterns which had been established during the preceding years continued to be followed. The exception was Jewish education which was altered radically in these years.

Traditional methods of learning had continued through the first half of the century. The communal school was the Yeshiva and the curriculum consisted of the Talmud. In the towns and cities the richer Jews who had been influenced by modern life sought a slightly different education for their children; they obtained it through the use of tutors who gave instruction in both religious and secular subjects. A few parents sent their children to Christian schools, but this was rare as it was not easy for the child. Being one of a few Jews in the school, he had to fight for tolerance and recognition. Modern Jewish schools existed in the largest cities, but they were not mentioned by these authors; furthermore they only taught a small percentage of Jewish youth.

In this period the predominance of the Yeshiva came to an end as described by these writers. Secular Jewish schools were established in many communities. Forbidden books of former generations were now a part of the course of study.

Aron Bernstein told that the Yeshiva was no longer an institution prized by the town in Vögele der Maggid. It had been established against the wishes of the community and they felt that it was a needless financial burden. The regular Jewish school in the city had been closed by the government which was not willing to grant recognition to its Jewish teachers; the teachers had not been properly

trained. The Yeshiva attempted to fill the vacuum, but only a few of the town's children were willing to attend it. The remainder received no education or were sent to neighboring cities.<sup>1</sup> In Jüdische Familienpapiere Herzberg stated that the problem of students for a Yeshiva in Prussia had become pressing. The rabbinical head of the school realized that he was attracting students of only fair competence. They came from the lower classes of society and had not been exposed to modern thought. The remainder of the young people were not interested in Jewish studies, but wished to imitate the Gentiles.<sup>2</sup> The new Jewish youth were eager for all modern learning. Bernstein reported that they read Schiller and other romanticists avidly.<sup>3</sup>

The older generation naturally continued to respect the traditional pattern of learning. Herzberg showed that they continued the traditional studies throughout their life.<sup>4</sup> The weaker side of Talmudic learning, its pilpulistic manner of reasoning, gave Bernstein a good occasion for humor in Vögele der Maggid. He described the great sage of the community who was the idol of all; his accomplishment lay in the feat of pyramiding inexplicable questions and inexplicable Biblical verses. After the tower had been completed, he would with equal artistry set everything aright again.<sup>5</sup> This was the delight of all those who admired pilpul.

Interest in the new learning was felt in the more remote sections of Germany according to Arnold Zweig. A boy in Posen who "was bright and also more eager than the majority drove the cattle far out for a while and then left them in the care of his brothers.

In the meantime, he returned to the village to the minister who taught him, naturally without payment. It is not quite certain whether he did so out of pure friendliness or whether he hoped for a convert.<sup>6</sup> Nor could modern learning be kept away from strictly Orthodox children as Ulla Wolff pictured so well in the story "Die Toten". The parents of this youngster kept him at home for the first five years of his education and had him instructed by tutors. Finally they realized that he ought to attend a school in order to broaden his horizon. The new world which was opened to him there came as a surprise; he enjoyed the systematic presentation of subjects and the well ordered facts presented by the teachers. He did very well scholastically, but had trouble making friends in the school as he was one of the few Jews in attendance. Jewish learning had been stressed during the early years and now he was to be initiated to the rest of knowledge.<sup>7</sup>

Education was now given to girls more often; as Max Ring stated in Der Geheimrath they now received the basic elements of culture. In addition to ordinary subjects they studied piano, singing - alone and in choirs - poetry, and other such matters.<sup>8</sup>

In the Jewish family of the fifties an attempt was made to give each member some education, especially among those who were more affluent. This would result in a better future and a more solid family life as Ulla Wolff observed in "Mischpoche": "She was the head of a friendly, respected household; it was not extravagant or rich, but yet showed the comforts of moderate means. The children were well dressed and well educated. One married a merchant, a tobacconist in Leipzig, with several thousand Thaler as dowry;

Moritz was studying at the Seminary in Breslau; the three others were still at home. Though Lazar who attended the Gymnasium in the neighboring provincial capitol was at home only one weekends.<sup>9</sup>

The progress which could be made in education depended entirely on the speed with which a school system could be built. In some areas, as the Black Forest according to Auerbach, village schools were founded in the eighteen twenties. In "Der Lauterbacher" Auerbach told of the difficulties which faced a young teacher who had been given the task of establishing such a school. He had to struggle with both the pupils and with their parents.<sup>10</sup> Toward the middle of the century the difficulties remained the same, but more schools were founded in all parts of Germany. In "Simon Eichelkatz" Ulla Wolff noted that a communal school did not come into existence until it had been pushed by a new local rabbi. This occurred in a town in Posen; a school for boys and another for girls was established by this energetic man.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout these years there were great difficulties with teachers. Almost all of them were men who made this their profession and had to support families on their salaries; few women teachers were mentioned in these books.<sup>12</sup> The requirements for teaching became stricter and schools were closed by the government if the faculty did not meet the proper standards as Aron Bernstein noted in Vögele der Maggid.<sup>13</sup> The tasks left to the teachers were difficult, but the status given them in the community was low and the salary even lower. If a young rabbinic graduate had to begin his life as a teacher, his marriage prospects

were doubtful. He would be given a cool reception as in a scene of Buchenstein und Cohnberg by Salomo Formstecher. "What! My son-in-law is going to teach in a Cheder and he is going to wait there until the children bring him a few pennies each month; who is going to send their children to such a fashionable, sinful man. I would rather my daughter marry an artists." In this case the future father-in-law objected to the liberal education which the young man had received.

The economic plight of the teachers in the eighteen sixties was best pictured by Ulla Wolff in "Simon Eichelkatz". The teachers of Rogasen were always underpaid; they had to depend upon the good will of the community for each raise in salary and for every improvement which was made in the school. The school there had three regular teachers and two part-time teachers for the elementary grades. All of them were married and blessed with children, but unfortunately not with large incomes. "The congregation was not in a position to pay a livable salary as it already had rather large expenses with its staff of communal officials. The teachers managed with difficulty to care for their families decently. In bad times when all side income from tutoring and other little activities was cut off, they suffered. Sandberg (one of them) could still manage as he acted as secretary to the congregation in his spare afternoons. He took care of the records and kept the minutes at the congregational meetings. Deutsch on the other hand had a difficult time; he had two daughters and a son who worked in a candy store in Breslau. The wife and the daughters did their best to augment the income

through embroidery work for the local stores. The son also helped the family so that outwardly they appeared to be better off than the other teachers. Yet this was their downfall. There was anger in many homes at the nice way in which the daughters of the teacher Deutsch were dressed, not like a poor teacher's daughter, but like rich people.

The teachers had decided to petition the congregational board for a raise as the conditions had become impossible. Bread, potatoes, coffee, and sugar were exorbitantly expensive; meat was anyhow only consumed once a week on the Sabbath. Aside from that it was impossible to purchase enough fuel for the cold winters." The teachers pleaded for a raise in salary and the petition was well presented. They stated that it was not good for the school to have its faculty worried about their families while giving instruction. A raise of thirty Thaler per year was granted to all except Deutsch. Unfortunately his daughters had just received a new coat as a gift of their brother in Breslau. As the family appeared to be affluent, he was not granted an increase despite all arguments and pleas. A teacher had to suffer the pettiness of a small community.

In the novel Aus zwei Quellen Jakob Loewenberg dealt with the problems faced by a teacher in Westphalia in the sixties. The Jewish school there was not founded until the child of a wealthy member was ready to attend it. Prior to that time the Jewish children had attended the public school; now the community was to hire a teacher who would also conduct religious services. The elderly teacher's pay was pitiful; he was given a one room apartment, the privilege of eating the main meal each day with a different family, and a hundred Thaler per year. The author humorously stated that this eating around solved all problems

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of parent teacher relationship; they saw each other regularly. His first test came in the synagogue where he acted as cantor and preacher; the entire congregation listened to his melodies carefully and were happy about a new 'l-cho dodee'. As the sermon he gave touched the women, he was soon established in the community. The excitement felt by the entire community during this weekend was well described. The congregants did not praise his singing or his preaching too much as they feared that this would soon lead to a demand for increased salary. He was a popular teacher to the young and a good pastor to the remainder of the community. When he died a few years later the entire congregation mourned him sincerely.

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As pictured by these novels and short stories the transition from the old method of education to the new was achieved rather rapidly during this period. The seeds of change had been sown much earlier at the conclusion of the previous century. For a number of decades the Yeshivas attempted to restrict the spread of secular learning; they failed as the students studied the material secretly. In this period the traditional schools had trouble gathering enough students to maintain themselves. A new type of Jewish school was founded in many communities, but usually with difficulty.

All of the authors were sympathetic to the new learning and showed little regret over the end of the Yeshiva. Even Markus Lehmann, the champion of Orthodoxy, did not speak in their defense.

## Notes.

## Education 1849 - 1870.

1. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 101.
2. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 105.
3. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, pp. 5, 11.
4. William Herzberg, Jüdische Familienpapiere, p. 56.
5. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 69.
6. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 17.
7. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 257 f.
8. Max Ring, Der Geheimrath, p. 152.
9. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 207.
10. Berthold Auerbach, "Der Lauterbacher", Samtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 72.
11. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 171.
12. Ibid., VI, 195; Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 105.
13. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, p. 15.
14. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, pp. 50 f.
15. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 222 f.
16. Ibid., VI, 225.
17. Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 2 f.
18. Ibid., p. 4.
19. Ibid., pp. 6 f.
20. Ibid., p. 9.
21. Ibid., pp. 40 ff.

## Hatred and Friendship 1849 - 1870.

Hatred of the Jew existed during this period, but it was generally expressed moderately. Rarely was violence done to any Jews; most anti-Semitism was expressed through discrimination and through a refusal to grant equal rights to the Jew. He finally won them, but in many states only toward the end of this period.

As in previous decades anti-Semitism was expressed on all levels of society. Aron Bernstein in Mendel Gibbor spoke of the restrictive laws concerning peddlers which were enacted in the middle of the century in Posen. All peddlers were to be licensed, but the licenses were only given to the older men, so that the youth might be forced into other activities. These restrictive laws failed as they were difficult to enforce. The local governments were indifferent to the measures; all had to be done by the provincial government and its police. The latter were given an incentive by being promised a large portion of the goods of any man peddling without the necessary documents. However, the old gendarmes had lived peacefully with the Jews for a long time and had found them useful in apprehending real criminals, so they did little enforcement. The peasants who could have informed against the Jews failed to do so as they welcomed the traders and the goods which they brought. In this case the wishes of the state had been frustrated.

Hatred of the Jews in the books of these decades was usually set in the rural areas. In Richard Huldshiner's novel Die stille Stadt the children of a mountain village teased an elderly Jew. He was dressed in Eastern European garb and appeared to be quite

accustomed to this type of greeting. He ignored the children and walked on, only cursing under his breath. A little later an old woman on the street cursed him as the "Christ killer."<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the bitterness had more serious consequences; such an incident was the climax of the story "Die schwarze Riwke" by Jakob Loewenberg. The tale was set in Westphalia in the eighties and concerned a Jewess who peddled her goods among the peasants. She was well known and liked by many who insisted upon trading with her alone. One day a child who had last been seen with Riwke disappeared. She was suspected of kidnapping her, was immediately accused of killing the girl and it was claimed that her blood was needed for a Jewish rite. A mob surrounded Riwke; she was asked whether her husband was a butcher and was charged with seeking Christian blood for the Passover ritual. Her basket of wares was spilled on the ground and the mob began to lynch her, but suddenly the little girl who had been considered dead reappeared. She had merely run off to spend some time with an aunt. The mob dissolved, but no one uttered a word of apology, nor did anyone offer to help her collect the scattered goods. The peasants returned to their homes. They tried to be friendly when she called to trade again, but Riwke could never feel at home after that in the village of Bergeln.<sup>3</sup> The outburst of hatred affected Riwke. The villagers did not bother her again, but her mind had been deranged by the affair. She felt that there must be substance to the blood libel of which she had been accused; how else could these men and women who knew her and trusted her suddenly turn against her. She brooded about it for a long time. Finally she took the child

of whose death she had been accused and jumped into the river with her before the eyes of the horrified villagers.<sup>4</sup>

The undercurrent of anti-Semitism which existed could be brought to the surface readily. According to Jakob Loewenberg anti-Jewish feeling slowly increased during the sixties among the peasants. "One suddenly found the inscription 'Jews and swine may not enter here' on many a peasant's barn. Though these villagers felt that she (Riwke) was not meant by this statement. They felt that she was part of the village and always made her feel welcome."<sup>5</sup> Despite those sentiments, Riwke quickly became the target for general hatred.

Among the poor in the city the disdain of the Jew was intensified by liquor. In Quartett Fritz Mauthner showed how wine loosened the tongues of one group and revealed their attitude to Jews quite clearly.<sup>6</sup> In the same novel Mauthner used a character who was only a quarter Jewish; this small amount of Jewish ancestry was sufficient to make him an outcast in certain circles.<sup>7</sup> He was treated as a full Jew by them. Some associated certain physical characteristics with Jews. In Die stille Stadt a man was recognized as a Jew by the shape of the back of his head and his underlip.<sup>8</sup>

In the towns and cities the strongest manifestations of anti-Semitism were felt in the schools. The younger generation expressed its views clearly and without hesitation. No attempt was ever made to change this attitude, either by the parents or by the teachers. Prejudice was rarely expressed in the classroom, but outside the Jewish children often faced many difficulties ac-

cording to a number of writers. The teachers felt that matters not  
 concerned with the classroom were not their responsibility. A girl  
 in Berthold Auerbach's Waldfried was teased by her classmates as "the  
 Jew-girl"; she was not Jewish and this was merely mocking done because  
 of her dark complexion. <sup>9</sup> Gentile youths set upon a Jewish boy in Max  
 Ring's Berliner Kinder; fortunately he was rescued by another Gentile  
 who later became a close friend. <sup>10</sup> Better treatment of Jewish students  
 was mentioned by Ulla Wolff and Jakob Loewenberg. Wolff's teacher at-  
 tempted to show the class that a Jew could do well, but the wording of  
 his statement displayed his own prejudices. In "Die Toten" he stated  
 that the work was good especially when one considered that "it was only  
 a Jew" who had done it. Loewenberg told of the anti-Semitic teasing  
 to which a class submitted a new Jewish pupil in a town school, but the  
 teacher immediately set matters right. In Aus zwei Quellen the students  
 were told: "Henceforth Jewish children will attend school together with  
 you. Watch yourselves that you do not call them names like Jew, Mauschel,  
 or Itzig. They are now just as much my pupils as the rest of you and they  
 are just as good people as you." These words greeted the students imme-  
 diately after the usual morning prayer, the 'Our Father'. <sup>11</sup>

The children's reaction to anti-Semitism varied; in Berliner Kinder  
 the boy tried to fight. Konrad Sittenfeld in Die Alten und die Jungen  
 portrayed the quiet courage of a determined Jewess in the sixties in Berlin.  
 She neither cried nor complained to her parents, but vowed vengeance.  
 "Wait, one day you will beg for a word of greeting from this 'Jewish  
 bitch'; your backs will tire with bending, and your knees ache from curt-  
 sying as you try to enter the salon of this 'Jewish bitch'." She succeeded  
 later in life. <sup>12</sup> Adults struck back; Aron Bernstein had an anti-Semitic

watchmaker appear in Vögele der Maggid. The Jewish community of the town kept him from obtaining a position there by concerted  
 13  
 action.

Alongside the outpourings of hatred there were also some friendships between Jews and Christians during these decades. Business association which began casually could lead to closer ties as in Max Ring's Der Geheimrath. The social gap was not readily bridged,  
 14  
 however. It was simpler when comradeship could be shown in a purely business manner. Thus the Gentile creditors of a Jewish firm which had been defrauded by employees were happy to extend new credit and not cause difficulties about current debts. This act of kindness  
 15  
 was mentioned by Formstecher in Buchenstein und Cohnberg.

Children occasionally became friendly as Max Ring told in  
 16  
Berliner Kinder. Berthold Auerbach presented liberal points of view on close contact with Jews a number of times in his stories. In "Brigitta" a doctor testified to the gratitude which he received from his Jewish patients. He had treated all kinds of people, but found that the Jews did not forget his kindness toward them. He realized that they were "moaners and had much self-pity, but their  
 17  
 thankfulness compensated for those defects." In "Das Nest an der Bahn" a character voiced the opinion that "basically all religions are equally good; there are good and bad men in each, even in India and China. Therefore I will not support any missionaries." In the story it became clear that this tolerance also extended to  
 18  
 the Jews who lived nearby.

The authors realized that conditions were better in some other lands and pointed it out a number of times. Auerbach spoke

of the tolerance extended to all in America. Formstecher presented the people of England as good to Jews in the middle of the century.<sup>20</sup>

The attitude of Jew and Christian about future relations between the two groups was expressed in Formstecher's novel Buchenstein und Cohnberg. The Christian was fairly hopeful. He argued that much progress had been made in the preceding fifty years; it was impossible to expect a solution to an age old problem so quickly. Patience was necessary. The Jew felt that it had been easy for his grandfather to accept conditions as they were; to him it was a natural state of affairs. He also felt that he would be given a reward in the world to come. The modern Jew did not possess this feeling and felt very vulnerable. Furthermore the possession of some rights and not of all made matters more difficult.<sup>21</sup> An additional source of grievance was the feeling among Jews that the Gentiles preferred to deal with a downtrodden, uncultured Jew<sup>22</sup> rather than with a modern, well educated person.

The period under discussion was a quiet one; the Jews gained certain additional rights, but no radical changes occurred. They continued to suffer from minor anti-Semitic incidents, but these years were considerably more peaceful than those which had preceded them. One is given the feeling by these books that hatred of the Jew had not materially decreased, but was dormant for the time being. Jakob Loewenberg illustrated how the deep rooted emotions of bitterness could be called to the surface very rapidly. In every sphere of life the Jews were left alone in these years;

no one bothered them, nor were there any great efforts made to improve their condition. The friendships which were reported by these writers were isolated cases; none of the Jews was accepted by more than a single Gentile.

The general impression of the relations between the two faiths was one of improvement, but the progress continued to be very slow.

## Notes.

## Hatred and Friendship 1849 - 1870.

1. Aron David Bernstein, Mendel Gibbor, p. 14.
2. Richard Huldshiner, Die stille Stadt, (Berlin, 1904), pp. 68 f.
3. Jakob Loewenberg, "Die schwarze Riwke", Der gelbe Fleck, pp. 23 f.
4. Ibid., p. 27.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. Fritz Mauthner, Quartett, (Dresden, 1888), p. 196.
7. Ibid., pp. 207 f.
8. Richard Huldshiner, Die stille Stadt, p. 72.
9. Berthold Auerbach, Waldfried, (Berlin, n.d.), p. 209.
10. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, I, 78.
11. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 259; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 62 ff.
12. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen. Sozialer Roman, (Leipzig, n.d.), I, 235.
13. Aron David Bernstein, Vögele der Maggid, pp. 33 f.
14. Max Ring, Der Geheimrath, p. 147.
15. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 197.
16. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, I, 85.
17. Berthold Auerbach, "Brigitta", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, X, 186.
18. Berthold Auerbach, "Das Nest am Rhein", op. cit., X, 73.
19. Berthold Auerbach, "Der Tolpatsch aus Amerika II", op. cit., IX, 211.
20. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 236.
21. Ibid., pp. 43 f.
22. Ibid., p. 71.

## The New Germany 1871 - 1914.

## The Jew and the State.

The closing decades of the nineteenth century found the Jews of Germany gaining more of the rights for which they yearned. Their struggle was directed less toward legal enactments and more to the practical application of the laws on the statute books. The feelings of prejudice remained among government officials long after Jews were supposed to be treated as other citizens.

These were years of nationalism and of great patriotic fervor; according to the authors of the period the Jews shared the love of Germany fully. Ulla Wolff described the joy of a young man who had just been appointed editor of a literary magazine in Berlin in the middle of the eighteen seventies. He was happy about the position, but he was even more glad that it was to bring him to Berlin, the capitol of the newly united Germany. In "Feine Seelen" he wrote the good news to his parents and hoped that they would share his patriotic enthusiasm although they lived in Austria and would not be able to understand it entirely. The young man felt that all energy must now be devoted toward the creation of a strong united Germany. Loyalty was shown to Germany at personal risk; in Clara Cohn's Das schlafende Heer a Jewish innkeeper living in a disputed border area of Posen, which was largely settled by Poles, wished to show his feelings. He hung a picture of the Kaiser in the inn. He realized that the Germans of the area would recognize it, but hoped that the local population would not. It took courage to demonstrate German allegiance in this border area, especially as the innkeeper was largely dependent upon Polish customers. This scene was

set in the eighties. At the turn of the century Arnold Zweig told of a woman who felt so strongly toward Germany that she could not leave the land. Her father was going to live in Israel, but she wished to remain in the land of her birth.<sup>3</sup>

Military service was another way of demonstrating patriotism. The authors show that this was the source of pride, but also of considerable trouble for some Jews. In Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer Arnold Zweig dealt with the success and failure of various Jewish soldiers in the seventies. Some participated in the Franco-Prussian War; others stayed in the garrisons throughout their military career. Service in the army was obligatory and Jews appeared in all branches of the army. One from a city in Posen was in the field artillery during the Franco-Prussian War and suffered from the shock of cannonading long after the conflict had ended.<sup>4</sup> Another from the same family served in the engineers, but he remained at home during this short war. He found anti-Semitism in the barracks, but took care of the trouble by vigorously beating the offending party. His officer aided him; he looked the other way and took no interest in either party of the quarrel.<sup>5</sup> Jews in service depended very much upon the officer in charge; earlier in the century a young Jew found the situation bearable only because of the efforts of his officer to establish decent relations between Jews and Christians in his unit.<sup>6</sup> Despite the occasional difficulties the army presented an opportunity for advancement to some men. "My grandfather had learned his trade (as a saddler) and was given an opportunity to gain proficiency during his service time as a Hussar with yellow bands. He really liked

soldiering and had friendly memories of his Upper Silesian garrison and of his regiment, so later he joined an organization of former Hussars and became one of its officers,"<sup>7</sup>

Military service was compulsory, but exemptions were granted in cases of severe hardship. Arnold Zweig told of a case in Posen in the eighties in which the father of the family was a cripple and the mother was able to show that the son was her sole means of support. She stated that she needed him more than the King of Prussia and succeeded in keeping him at home.<sup>8</sup>

The great regiments of the army were generally closed to Jews. By the nineties, however, the son of a well known banker was able to serve with a crack regiment, the "Gardedragonen". His father had enough wealth and status to place him there.<sup>9</sup>

The Franco-Prussian war brought its share of casualties to Jewish families. As far as possible the sad news was received bravely. In "Naemi Ehrenfest" Ulla Wolff had a father show great love of country upon hearing of the death of two sons. "Our native land has demanded a great sacrifice from us everywhere,- in all groups, of every rank; from all our brothers without distinction of rank, fortune, or belief. A difficult thing has been demanded of us - the most difficult! Shall we murmur? Shall we remain behind the others in willingness to sacrifice, in love of country? Ours sons have served for its honor and welfare; they have served in its elevation to greatness."<sup>10</sup>

Although the patriotism of the Jew could not be doubted according to these authors, a great deal of discrimination remained. Clara Cohn pictured an incident which showed the official position

of the Jew in Posen during the eighties; this was part of the novel Das schlafende Heer. In a crucial election held near the Polish border a baron was surprised to find a Jew promising him his vote as he attempted to flatter the baron. The baron thought: "One ought to throw the man of my property for his impudence! .... He felt offended; so the Jew considered himself his protector!" The Jewish population of the area was large, but their official representative allowed himself no sign of friendliness toward them.<sup>11</sup>

The Jews remained second class citizens and felt this in both the political and the social realm. In Berlin during the nineties it led one rich Jew to withdraw from society as he would never receive proper recognition. When a visitor came to greet the wealthy man on New Year's Day, the servant who announced him was told: "Did you tell him that the big congratulatory reception does not take place here anymore since it has been clearly indicated to us that we are second class citizens who have no claim and no part in the festivities of the others." Thus Theodor Weiss expressed the feelings of men in Berlin in his story "Beim Patriarchen".<sup>12</sup>

The Jew realized that he was not to be treated as an equal, therefore he did not feel welcome in any public office and entered this field reluctantly. In the same story by Theodor Weiss a successful lawyer and politician withdrew from political life because of his religion. After working hard for the nation all he could expect were a few words of thanks and compliment, but neither honors nor public recognition were to be granted; that was not considered appropriate for a Jew.<sup>13</sup> Government service remained closed to young Jews; all educational and social qualifications were of little avail.

The son of a wealthy banker in Berlin who had a doctorate in law, had served with a crack regiment - the 'Gardedragonen' - and was now an assessor in the Superior Court, did not even consider government service. He knew that his religion would bar him; even if he succeeded in entering a civil service post advancement would be extremely difficult.<sup>14</sup>

Other authors dealt with the consequences of hatred for the Jews as exhibited by government officials. Salomo Formstecher used the incident of a judge who felt strong prejudice against Jews in the late sixties or early seventies. The man did not possess a good knowledge of the facts of the case, but had already decided against the Jew. In this portion of the novel Buchenstein und Cohnberg the accounts of a businessman had been forged, much to his own surprise and dismay; the judge treated him with great rudeness. "Instead of answering him, the city magistrate looked at him with a scornful smile and replied coarsely: 'We'll soon find out, you Jew!'"<sup>15</sup> It was necessary to go to a superior court to obtain justice which in the first instance meant bail. Even then the city magistrate acted with "malice and hardly controlable ill will against the liberal judge" who had granted bail, but he had to obey the higher tribunal.<sup>16</sup> In the same decade Markus Lehmann showed that a crime, thus far only suspected, was used to stir anti-Semitic feelings against the local Jews. The officials were not inclined to halt this.<sup>17</sup> In the early part of the century Jewish prisoners faced an uncertain future while serving their sentence, but during this period they were treated as other prisoners according to Clara Cohn in Das Kreuz im Venn.<sup>18</sup>

In "Simon Eichelkatz" Ulla Wolff spoke of an occasion of good will between a government official and the local rabbi of Reissnitz. The authorities there respected the rabbi; thus he was able to persuade them to give lenient treatment toward Jews who had accidentally violated the border.

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The difficulties which Jews continued to incur during these years did not daunt their spirit. The struggle for emancipation and for other solutions to the problems of the Jew continued. Halberthal in Das Rätsel: Jude described the militant attitude which young Jews took toward the end of the century. A group of students discussed the matter; they felt that words alone were not enough anymore, physical battle had to be undertaken wherever necessary. "It is no longer a spiritual struggle, but a raw power struggle; anti-Semitism today is spurred on by the lowest, filthiest instincts... We must fight against that... Especially as Jewish students of Germany are we obliged to do so. .... There has been no spiritual battlefield where Jewish blood has not been shed, no cultural struggle in which Jewish ability and Jewish will did not help to secure victory; we must demand a share, not as booty, but as our right as Jews, as men; a right to life, a right to freedom, a right to rights!"

20

These young men were staunch patriots, but they were also loyal Jews and wished to obtain their rights as Jews. Emancipation had been the sole dream of the Jews for much of the century. Its slow, sporadic progress led some to the search for other solutions to the problems of the Jew. One of these was Zionism. This new idea was mentioned by only a few authors; no

full discussion occurred in any of the novels or short stories. In "Die Toten" Ulla Wolff spoke of a rabbi who pleaded with a prince in favor of Jewish settlements in Palestine. In the strange novel Die stille Stadt one of Richard Huldshiner's characters discussed Jewish resettlement in Palestine. He spoke of it with fervor; he mainly expressed the wish for a land in which he and his brothers could live in peace. Toward the end of the century the movement began to take form in the large cities. Arnold Zweig described it as still an oddity. "At that time when his son Peter was about fifteen, the odd Zionist movement which wanted to give the Jews a sense of unity deeper than the religious one, began. He gave the very young and much mocked group much attention, as it seemed natural to him. For a while he was the president of the group in his native city. With that he always remained a Hussar and a German patriot; he founded an organization of saddlers and became its leader, became active in a rifle club, and took an interest in liberal politics." For this character in the novel Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer Zionism remained one of many varied interests.

The new ideal began to appeal to students in the nineties. They were no longer interested in assimilation or conversion as pictured by Theodor Weiss in "Beim Patriarchen". They had also tired of the old struggles and were attracted by the new dramatic solution. They organized themselves. "This group was not only composed of the poor, but of those who according to birth, wealth, or social status could have reached the most pleasant business positions as young doctors, lawyers, or professionals. Each of

them, however, had only one goal, to dedicate themselves to the problem of their unfortunate oppressed people." The possible solutions were constantly discussed when the students met.<sup>24</sup>

The movement was strongest in Berlin and spread to other universities from there; Halberthal described its slow progress.<sup>25</sup>

Some students in the novel Das Ratsel: Jude felt that the organization had value even if it failed to gain its main objective.

It would at least serve to unite Jews and to give them a common meeting ground in modern terms.<sup>26</sup>

Arnold Zweig told of the establishment of the branch of a German firm in Palestine early in the twentieth century.<sup>27</sup>

The relationship between the Jew and the State improved during this period, but many problems remained. The authors clearly indicated that the Jews made every effort to demonstrate their loyalty to Germany. As civilians and as soldiers they felt the tie to their native land deeply. Even this genuine effort did not bring about the desired result.

There was little difference among the writers in the picture given of the period. To all of them it seemed that the lines were clearly drawn and that the Jews were more determined than ever to win the rights due to them. Some members of the older generation may have been willing to retire from the field of battle, but the younger generation wished to win. In these decades they affirmed their allegiance to Judaism as well; among them the new solution of Zionism had some, though a very limited, appeal.

The problems of the Jew and the government were touched upon by several of the authors, but they did not become the main theme of any work. Very little of the discussion was set in the first decade of the twentieth century; one was given the impression that conditions remained the same in those years.

## Notes.

## The Jew and the State 1871 - 1914.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", Der Mischpoche-Rentner und andere Erzählungen, (Berlin, 1913), p. 157.
2. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, p. 224.
3. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 25.
6. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Jephta's Tochter", Gesammelte Werke, I, 135.
7. Arnold Zweig, op. cit., p. 39.
8. Ibid., p. 31.
9. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, (Berlin, 1901), IV, 143.
10. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 177.
11. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, p. 266.
12. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 202.
13. Ibid., IV, 173.
14. Ibid., IV, 143.
15. Salomo Formstecher, Buchenstein und Cohnberg, p. 176.
16. Ibid., p. 186.
17. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, p. 17.
18. Clara Cohn, Das Kreuz im Venn, (Berlin, 1922), pp. 127 ff.
19. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 230.
20. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, (Berlin, 1904), p. 62.
21. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 235.
22. Richard Huldshiner, Die stille Stadt, pp. 220 ff.
23. Arnold Zweig, op. cit., p. 40.
24. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 183.
25. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 78.
26. Ibid., pp. 121 f.
27. Arnold Zweig, op. cit., p. 48.

## Small Business 1871 - 1914.

The population movement from the rural areas to the towns and cities which had been evident throughout the century gained further momentum in this period. This was the natural course of events as Germany changed from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. The authors concerned with these decades show Jews continuing in some of the same trades as previously; there were innkeepers, peddlers, and petty merchants, but they were no longer as common as earlier in the century. Furthermore the status of the men engaged in these enterprises had decreased. The new generation would not be interested in following the path of their parents.

Jews were to be found as innkeepers, but now the inns were located in small towns. Clara Cohn spoke of such an inn located in Posen. In the novel Das schlafende Heer she told of the care exercised by the Jewish proprietor not to arouse the anger of the Gentile population. During Lent he observed the restrictions placed upon him to make drinking a bit more difficult and less attractive than normally. "The windows of Eljakim Hirsch, which first shone like brilliant stars, were dark now; one remembered the Easter season." The customers did not mind and were content to drink in darkness.<sup>1</sup>

Drunken customers were a constant danger to the Jewish owners. At the end of the century the innkeeper of Raudnitz tried to separate two brawling guests. As he failed, he took one of them and threw him out; unfortunately the man landed on his head and died immediately. Despite the circumstances a lynch

mob gathered immediately and the police was able to arrest the owner only with great difficulty. The mob then turned its anger upon the family and the inn. "The windows were broken, the store was destroyed, and the brandy - that unhealthy corrupting 'expeller of cares' - was poured out onto the street. The family was manhandled with blows and kicks while they attempted to save their goods and their property." This was accompanied by many harsh words. The police took their time in restoring order. These events were part of Ulla Wolff's "Simon Eichelkatz" and were set in a small mining community; rough talk and strong action were not unusual there.

Innkeeping had been a desirable trade attracting those with greater ambition; in these years it became the last resort of those who had failed in other enterprises. In Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer Arnold Zweig mentioned that one of the characters after bankruptcy "bought a pub which was patronized by townsmen and soldiers and so fed his family." This unfortunate individual did not succeed here either; finally he moved from Lower Silesia to Upper Silesia and began once more as a small merchant which had been his original field. In another instance in the same novel, "his in-laws, the brothers of his wife Johanna who were all rather wealthy manufacturers and businessmen, bought an inn in a Posen suburb for the husband of their sister. It was a very common 'hotel' with a bar and dance music each Sunday." The brothers did not know of any other way of establishing this weak member of the family; in the inn he could at least earn a living with the help of his family.

The fate which had overtaken the innkeeper was destined for the peddler as well. Earlier in the century this had been the most common way of earning a livelihood; now it became the last resort of those who had failed. The peddler no longer served the useful function which had once been his. With the arrival of modern means of communication he remained of use only in the remote sections of the country; there he might still find the trade necessary to support him. Markus Lehmann pointed out the plight of an Orthodox Jew who could find nothing which would enable him to continue to practice his religion fully; he turned to peddling in "Der Sohn der Witwe". "The well educated man, who had once been destined to become a bank director and as such would have had his own carriage, now wandered with a pack on his back and a club in his hand. He went to villages located far from the world connecting railroads and there sold a peasant wife an apron, or a shepherd a penknife or a silver pocket watch!" This story was set in Baden in the eighteen seventies; the author meant for it to demonstrate the difficulties which an Orthodox Jew would endure for the sake of his religion. <sup>6</sup> The profit in such business was very small. This trader who sold cloth at forty-two Kreuzer per Elle earned six Kreuzer on each Elle. <sup>7</sup> The whole enterprise was conducted with little items, so Martin Beradt mentioned that a Thaler was sufficient to purchase a mirror and a good red band from a peddler. <sup>8</sup>

The border areas of Posen remained backward during much of this period; a peddler could still earn a living there, but other difficulties were encountered. The changing custom regulations had to be taken into account. A butcher and meat peddler in Clara Cohn's

Das schlafende Heer found that new tarrifs had suddenly elevated the price of meat out of the peasant's reach. Formerly he had been able to allow himself the luxury of meat on rare occasions; now it was impossible for him. Furthermore the anger of the frustrated 9 peasant was expressed against the Jew, not against the government. In order to eke out a meager living this peddler was forced to bargain more vigorously during both the purchase of the animals and the sale of the meat. The peasants were unusually suspicious as the prices rose just before Easter, one of the few times when they were 10 accustomed to have meat on their table.

These poor peddlers of the last decades of the century tried to expand their trade; they dealt in anything which might find a market. In Das schlafende Heer the man also bought pelts and rabbit skins. The ruling nobleman was not inclined to trade with him, but his forester supplied furs occasionally. It was illegal, but both thought that fifty rabbits would not be missed on the huge 11 preserve. This was a precarious way of earning a living. In "Der Sohn der Witwe" the peasants were shown to be aware of the fact that the peddlers lived as much on trading as on selling. The bartering was generally conducted for agricultural products, but at times a peasant was willing to part with other items. A woman who had nothing else to offer asked the peddler to take a stone jar with the words "such a trading Jew can use everything." The piece turned 12 out to be a valuable antique.

Other occupations were followed in the small towns as well. Arnold Zweig sketched the life of a Jewish saddle-maker in a small Silesian city at the end of the century. He dealt mainly with the

local military garrison. A village Jew in Posen in the novel Die Alten und die Jungen by Konrad Sittenfeld owned a mill which later led to a grain business in the city. "The old man possessed a mill which undertook large orders for institutions and the government... Lately business had decreased as business in the whole province is killed by Berlin. For that reason he wanted to move his enterprise to Berlin in the next years." This elderly gentleman in the closing days of his life wished to see the enterprise flourish again, so in 1888 he suggested that it be moved to  
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Berlin.

Many wished to begin anew in the city and a large number tried their luck there. "Eduard began as apprentice in a grocery store in Posen. He changed himself from a cattle herder who wore pants of sacking and possessed a big, yet not ugly nose, to a clever helper ... and when after the close of the store he went to see his girl with his round, stiff cornet and his very pointed shoes, which by the way he was always constrained to change, he could be reckoned a cavalier. Besides this he was economical, saved much, on occasion sent money home, and lived this way busily and unnoticed until he became a soldier." The change in the life of this  
15  
poor lad was well depicted by Arnold Zweig.

Success in the city was hard to attain. Sometimes it depended upon clever sales talk. In Go-Martin Beradt told with humor of certain sections in Hamburg in which one could see "peasants in their high sheep lined boots standing silently before a store with a Jew persuading them."  
16  
Often there was room for only one store in a town and the arrival of competition could bring speedy ruin.

In the eighteen eighties a storekeeper in Das schläpfende Heer voiced bitter complaints in a little town in Posen. He was unable to meet the new competition. "The competition was a calamity! That this happened to his son-in-law Leiser Hirsch, the only large store owner in the city. A competitor set on him with a large pane of glass in the storefront, and with the first name of Nepomunk who was the honored saint of this district - that could not be overcome. Before opening his store, Mr. Propst (the local priest) had walked around the counter, spoken his blessing, and showered the walls with incense. Who would compete with that!? Even if the price of cloth was three Groschen cheaper with Leiser Hirsch, the coffee five pennies cheaper per pound, the syrup sweeter, the petrol lighter, the whiskey stronger, the herring saltier, the price of pants a joke, the kettles did not immediately lose their bottoms, or the potatoe hoes their handles - they still all ran to Nepomunk Wisniewski as Mrs. Propst had said 'Buy from him!'" This was competition from a man and from the church. The interest of the church was understandable; they would gain a wealthy member in their midst.

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In the same novel Clara Cohn told of the troubles of another businessman. The old man Loeb Scheftel "as his son Isidor no longer supported him, often had to work late into the night and be in the cellar with his meats. Now he had gone upstairs with his little lamp, sat down in order to check his books. In the meantime his wife and Röschen, his daughter, already snored in the back room. He sat there worried, leaning his pointed beard on his left arm while he reckoned with quill in the right hand. Very little profit could be entered into the main account book. God of justice, ex-

pensive times, bad times. He sighed and scratched his head with the quill. If the land owners continued to demand such prices for their cattle, how could one continue!? Not to mention hogs. The border to Russia had been closed, not even a piglet could be brought across, no flitch of bacon from America, no barrel of lard was any longer permitted! Now all that was missing was that the summer bring red murrain or the prohibition against all cattle due to hoof and mouth disease, then one could go bankrupt."

Unexpected hazards were encountered in the cities; the trend of the general economy could bring ruin as Arnold Zweig told of a firm in a Lower Silesian town. A man dissatisfied with his position as a saddler in a small town moved to a larger one and entered the forwarding trade there. He dealt in grain, straw, potatoes, and coal. All went well until the depression of the eighties. His customers could not pay their bills and he could not meet the demands of his creditors. Finally bankruptcy became the only possible solution. A luckier man managed to survive until the end of a depression in the early nineteen hundreds in Berlin. He used bluff and ingenuity to build an elegant restaurant during those hard years and then to begin its operation. Finally clever talk proved to be insufficient and the venture collapsed. Georg Hirschfeld dealt with this colorful character in the novel Die Belowsche Ecke.

Some of the newcomers to the cities entered new fields; one of them was newspaper publishing. Wer ist der Stärkere by Konrad Sittenfeld described the Jewish owner of an influential Berlin paper in the eighties. It was said to have a circulation of ten thousand, but composed of the top echelons of society. The editor

Grafenstein "came years ago from the depth of German Galicia as a poor writer who now managed to live from his wife's money." As he was a powerful man, he was admitted to Berlin society. Otherwise he hardly possessed the necessary qualifications. The editor of a literary magazine could look back upon humble beginnings. This character of Ulla Wolff's "Feine Seelen" was born in Austria in a small town near the Polish border. His father was a communal official "who at that time had to combine all qualifications necessary for the Jewish ritual service. He was religious teacher, cantor, preacher, and was responsible for the governmental records of the community's marriages, births, and deaths." He had to give the ritual decisions for the community, but was qualified for this as he had studied in the Pressburger Yeshiva. The income from all of these duties was small; it was difficult for him to educate his children properly. The mother of the family shouldered much of the financial worry. As the boy's family could not afford a higher education for him, he left home immediately after his Bar Mitzwoh and studied in Leipzig with the help of various benefactors. As the oldest of the family he had to rely entirely upon strangers and often suffered from the methods of charity, but it took him through the university. Upon graduation he was offered the position of editor of a large literary magazine; he intended to use his earnings to aid his parents as well as the younger members of the family. The prospects of moving to Berlin filled him with happiness. Unfortunately the new position did not give him the freedom of expression which he desired; he soon left the post and lived in Berlin as a private scholar. Literary ventures had brought both of

these journalists to Berlin.

In related fields Josefa Metz described a widow who earned her living through the translation of novels into German. This was mentioned in the short story "Eine glückliche Ehe". A Jewish theatrical agent appeared in Der Eid des Stephan Huller by Felix Hollaender.<sup>23</sup>  
<sup>24</sup>

The humble beginnings ascribed to merchants and journalists also led men to the medical profession. Ulla Wolff spoke of the lowly origins of a physician in "Simon Eichelkatz". "His father was a dealer in raw leather in Preitskretschan. He was an industrious, decent Jew who could neither read nor write; his mother was an ordinary woman who was a cook with Bernhard Markus." The boy had been the son of their old age for they had married late in life. They were determined to make something of him. "They lived to have the joy of seeing him ashamed of them. After he had settled as a doctor and had attained honor and respect and had been given positions of honor in the city and the community, then he knew how to hide the raw leather dealer and the Jewish cook well. Only in utter secrecy and privacy was he their son. It might have harmed his public position and it would have hurt his standing. Those who had labored untiringly day and night so that their son might reach a higher rank in life, could only enjoy it from a distance."<sup>25</sup> This doctor became so wealthy that he was able to offer a dowry of fifty thousand Mark with his daughter.<sup>26</sup>

Most of the medical men described in these novels were not as fortunate as the character in "Simon Eichelkatz"; they were not

given positions or honor in recognition of their services. In Berlin during the eighties Halberthal stated that this could not be expected.<sup>27</sup> Despite this the physicians continued to do much charitable work as was mentioned by a number of authors.<sup>28</sup>

The associated medical profession of nursing was mentioned only by Arnold Zweig in his Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer. Naturally during wartime women volunteered their services to care for the wounded as they returned to each city.<sup>29</sup>

The novels almost ignored the remaining professions; lawyers were rarely described. The best avenue upward in the field of law was government service, but this remained closed to most Jews. A lawyer could not rise far according to Theodor Weiss' description in "Beim Patriarchen". "Justizrath Dr. Friedheim... was well known in the legal world through his excellent commentary on the laws of commerce and had played an important part in the period of the Reichstag in the National Liberal Party. He declined re-election on the grounds of ill health. Anyone who saw this vigorous man in his prime years would readily agree that there were other deeper and unmentioned reasons which had estranged this able and important politician from working for his native land."<sup>30</sup> The only other lawyer spoken about in these novels was a dishonest man who absconded with his client's funds. He appeared in Die Belowsche Ecke by Georg Hirschfeld.<sup>31</sup>

The positions of professor at the universities remained closed to most Jews during these years. It was generally necessary to convert in order to attain the appointment.<sup>32</sup> Salomon Mosenthal told of the elevation of a Jew to a professorship as a highly unusual

event in "Schlemielchen".

The ways of gaining a living described by the authors of the period were highly selective. Large segments of the population were ignored; the professions were given only brief mention. Much more significant was the omission of Jewish artisans from these novels and short stories. The proletarian Jewry of the large cities was never used in these books. Several of the writers of these years published works of social protest which dealt with the working man and his problems, but Jews did not appear in those books, or were given positions in other classes. The problems of the poor Jew who had not been successful were not treated in this literature.

The description of the middle class given in these works was usually incidental to the main theme of the novel. None of these books dealt primarily with the Jewish peddler or the Jewish shopkeeper. The material was always fairly presented, so that the problems which these men faced became clear to the reader.

Many of the authors were more interested in the exciting careers of the rising big businessmen. Their careers offered ample material for novels more sensational than those dealing with the poor shopkeepers.

## Notes

## Small Business 1871 - 1914.

1. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, p. 375.
2. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 191.
3. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 209.
4. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 40.
5. Ibid., p. 27.
6. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, 157.
7. Ibid., V, 165.
8. Martin Beradt, Go, (Berlin, n.d.), p. 33.
9. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, pp. 335 ff, 351 ff.
10. Ibid., p. 263.
11. Ibid., pp. 130 f.
12. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", op. cit., V, 167.
13. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 38.
14. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, (Leipzig, n.d.), II, 137.
15. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 24.
16. Martin Beradt, Go, p. 83.
17. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, p. 132.
18. Ibid., p. 398.
19. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 40.
20. Georg Hirschfeld, Die Belowsche Ecke, (Vienna, 1914), p. 350.
21. Konrad Sittenfeld, Wer ist der Stärkere, (Berlin, 1897), p. 111.
22. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", Der Mischpoche-Rentner und andere Geschichten, p. 152.
23. Josefa Metz, "Eine glückliche Ehe", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, (Berlin, 1908), XI, 233.
24. Felix Hollaender, Der Eid des Stephan Huller, (Berlin, 1918), p. 13.
25. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., pp. 204 f.
26. Ibid., VI, 202.
27. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 11.
28. Ibid., p. 12; Hugo Landsberger, Der neue Gott, (Dresden, 1891), p. 68.
29. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 30.
30. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 165.
31. Georg Hirschfeld, Die Belowsche Ecke, pp. 158, 295.
32. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 264; Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 162 f, 226 f; Jakob Loewenberg, "Der Herr Professor", Der gelbe Fleck, pp. 67 f.
33. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Schlemielchen", Gesammelte Werke, I, 66.
34. Felix Hollaender, Der Eid des Stephan Huller; Felix Hollaender, Jesus und Judas; Richard Huldshiner, Fegefeuer; Hugo Landsberger, Der neue Gott; Max Ring, Berliner Kinder; Konrad Sittenfeld, Maschinen; and others.

### Big Business 1871 - 1914.

Germany became a great industrial power in the decades which followed the Franco-Prussian War. Every sector of the economy expanded rapidly. The Jews had their share in this growth. They were involved in the primary industries, in manufacturing, in transportation, retailing, banking, the stock exchange, and the exploitation of new inventions. They had been freed from the ghetto early enough to raise a generation accustomed to the modern way of life which was able to participate in the changing economy.

The authors interested in this period did not describe Jewish enterprise in all of these fields. Much was omitted, but vivid accounts of individuals in certain establishments and of the rise of men to great positions were given by several writers. Others lampooned the businessmen who had only recently risen and did not know how to act in their newly acquired position of status.

The most detailed account of the rise of a tycoon was given by Georg Hirschfeld in Die Belowsche Ecke who devoted a large portion of the novel to this man. The scene of the tale was Berlin, a city of opportunity during all of these years; the hero of the story was Berthold Ascher who became the founder and owner of vast department stores and many other enterprises. "Berthold Ascher had come to Berlin thirty years ago (about 1860). The assistant shop clerk was poor, ugly, and felt that people were repelled by him. But the power of his talents did not let this frighten him. He immediately took up the battle. For him there was only victory or defeat. At home one had mockingly told him that in Berlin money lay on the streets, when the little red haired youth arrived, he saw

that it was really so. He set himself to a stubborn, all engrossing study of earning money. He needed nothing for his body - coffee, bread, and cheese were sufficient. But his spirit filled itself like his warehouse of the future with all the elements of life which surrounded him.<sup>1</sup> He made his way upward, although the beginnings were small. In ten years he had married and established a store. "The beginnings of this Napoleon were small. Ascher's first store in the Rosenthaler Street did not specialize; it provided the townsmen's household with all that was new and useful. So far there were no department stores in Berlin, but this cramped store with its gas flame was the first pioneer. Only husband and wife clerked there with the help of a pock-marked girl. It was not particularly clean or presentable at the Ascher's, but a Groschen and a half cheaper than anywhere else. This was passed around and this made their fortune. Two salesmen were hired; the boys went to high school, and the store was moved to a bigger site on the Königsstrasse. Ascher had sought the center of Berlin from the start and his wife, an older Berliner, had strengthened him in this." His wife died soon after the relocation and he spent the rest of his years educating his sons and expanding the business. He was full of new ideas and longed to put them into practice. "He expanded the store in the Königsstrasse. He began to deal in the wares of the small merchants and sold them for a fraction less. He calculated on a grand scale and broke the spell cast by the townsmen's fairheartedness."<sup>2</sup> He soon realized that the city was expanding; it was no longer a single city, but a bundle of suburbs. The people were still willing to come a great distance to his store, but this

would not last. A new location was needed; a very expensive piece of property at the Potsdammer Platz was acquired. He was not afraid of the cost, for he saw that the sum necessary for this had been earned as net profit during the preceding decade. The extra financial backing was not difficult to obtain. Naturally the new store was bitterly opposed by the small merchants who saw their own doom approaching. Some thought of the new store with wonder. "That Ascher on the Königsstrasse is buyin' up the whole neighborhood - the corner, Leipziger and Friedrich; there'll rise a department store the like of which Berlin hasn't seen yet; even crazier than in America. Five floors, a thousand clerks, and five hundred girls - that Jew is nuts, but he'll succeed." An idle spectator could afford the admiration, but the small merchants adjacent to the huge new store wondered about their future. They did not become truly excited till the construction was under way. "The demolition was quickly finished and the new building arose; it was the sensation of Berlin. Wunschel's store bordered on Scheer's commercial palace (Scheer was the builder and contractor). It was like a caricature, but his enmity (which had arisen over the marriage of his daughter; the young couple had subsequently left the country) against his neighbor forced him to continue. He cursed the owner of this department store wherever he found himself." His anger continued, but no one took him seriously. His own business vanished as the customers walked by, but did not enter the little shop. Others felt indifference toward the new store; they thought that such a step in merchandizing had been long overdue. After the store had been finished and opened, its owner and a university professor discussed

the purposes and goals of the enterprise. The professor contended that it had to raise the taste of the people, but the Kommerzienrath replied: "That would be nonsense. I am not directing a high school. This is the great market place. Here you can buy everything. I do not wonder about any request which is made, the crazier the better. I am not there to criticize my customers, but to serve them. My private taste is a personal matter. If I read a good book at home, or drink my glass in the evening here in the Belowsche Ecke, that is enough for me." After a while the reception of the new store by the people became excellent. At first they wondered about the quality of the merchandise, but they soon realized that the goods were as good and considerably cheaper than elsewhere. A gifted businessman had succeeded in his efforts.

Ascher had interests in other enterprises as well. A new restaurant had been built on the same principles as the department store, but it had failed due to lack of capital. Ascher bought the enterprise and successfully reorganized it.

Many men rose from humble positions to great wealth during these years. They accomplished this in other ways as well. Markus Lehmann spoke of a man who was able to use a single incident of the Franco-Prussian War to his advantage. In "Der Sohn der Witwe" he told that this character had simply bought the principal share of the crop of hops in Alsace at a ridiculously low price; he sold it at the normal German price a little later. After this single venture into the trade in grain, the man restricted himself to banking ventures which were non-speculative. A character in Artur Landsberger's Millionäre earned enormous profits in building

and in real estate speculation. Good opportunities existed in manufacturing; a man in Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer by Arnold Zweig pictured the rise of a saddler. He had begun with a small shop in a little town, but slowly turned it into a factory. Finally he was engaged in producing fine leather goods as well as automobile seats; he even established foreign branches of the enter-  
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 prise. A traditionally easy road to success was part of the hero's life in Ulla Wolff's "Simon Eichelkatz". He had been a poor clerk in a large firm, but he married the owner's daughter. In this case the wedding was not a happy one as the two individuals were very different. By the beginning of the seventies the son had become head  
 11  
 of the firm.

The main enterprise described by these authors was banking; they were interested in the Jews who had established themselves in other areas of the economy, but banking and the stock exchange received the most thorough treatment from them.

The center of German financial activity was Berlin, but small Jewish banks existed in other cities. Alfred Dessauer dealt with a Jewish banking firm in Munich in Die Schicksale des Alfred Haupt; the story was set at the end of the century. The banker was conservative and unwilling to participate in grand transactions or to take great risks. "In the strict sense of the word Neuburger was not rich. His entire fortune was in the business. He had never entered into large transactions and certainly not into speculative ones. Thus he lived comfortably from the profits of the small banking business. The fortune of his wife had been set aside untouched for his daughter and had earned much interest, so that it amounted

to a nice dowry now." This description set the stage for a thorough robbery of the assets of the firm by a trusted employee. The remainder of the book was devoted to finding the criminal.<sup>12</sup> Men not willing to speculate remained in the smaller cities, but those who yearned for great wealth found their opportunity in Berlin.

The bankers of Berlin often began humbly, either there or in other cities. The usual road into the field of banking was through money lending and pawnbroking. A few pawnbrokers were mentioned in these novels. Hugo Landsberger stated that their enterprise filled both Jews and Christians with disgust. He described the owner of a pawnshop in the novel Der neue Gott.<sup>13</sup> According to Max Ring's Lose Vögel most of them were honest, even if usurious,<sup>14</sup> but a few were willing to deal in stolen goods. Both of these authors wrote of the pawnbrokers of the eighteen seventies and eighties.

Theodor Weiss gave an excellent description of the rise of a banking firm in Berlin in the story "Beim Patriarchen". The author told of a trader and banker who had established himself in his father's business in a city of Posen. After his father's death he moved the enterprise to Berlin. "Josua moved the bank and grain business whose co-partner he was to Berlin. Here it made such advances that Josua Benas was soon reckoned with those firms which flourished in those days in the national capitol (about 1870) and which stood in the first rank of every financial and industrial enterprise. He was a partner in the establishment of a large bank,

on the board of the greatest industrial firms. He became a Kommerzienrath already in the eighteen-seventies and a few years later in special recognition of the delivery of arms to the state was named Geheimerkommerzienrath. There were rumors of more important decorations, but nothing came of this and the secret hom of Mrs. Fanny had to be abandoned as the ever increasing wave of anti-Semitism of those times decreased the positions of honor open to Israelites. No one rose above Geheimerkommerzienrath." <sup>15</sup>

Money remained the sole interest of some of these businessmen. Konrad Sittenfeld the yearning for riches well in the story "Im Rechtsstaat" which was set in the eighteen eighties. For one of the main characters of the tale everything else in life was secondary and could be justified only as it contributed to earning wealth. This banker gave a huge and very lavish party with two objectives in mind. He wanted to gather the right people under his roof and be able to talk with them in a friendly atmosphere; secondly, he wished for all Berlin to speak of his party. The evening would cost him thirty or forty thousand Mark, but it was worth it to gather men of wealth, princes, and ministers at his home. Above all <sup>16</sup> if would aid him in floating a loan for the government of Siam. This banker considered his family as part of the business ventures which he undertook. They represented a portion of an investment and their primary function was to give the firm the proper social standing. He addressed his children in this fashion: "Do either one of you think that I would spend one penny for your sports nonsense if I did not need your acquaintance with the proper clique? Do you imagine that I would spend the hard earned money which I put

into your pocket month after month for your ballet instructor so that you can amuse yourself? I wouldn't spend a single Groschen if I did not want it said in Berlin that Benno Goldfelder has the most expensive one ..."<sup>17</sup> This was the same man who could not bring himself to pay the damages of a cab driver whose vehicle had been wrecked by his son in an accident.

The proper connections were very important in this field. Felix Hollaender showed that the right friends in government circles could effectively protect any man. As the banker in Sturmwind im Westen<sup>18</sup> had them, he and his family felt secure and at peace.

Most of the bankers were honest men, but the years of heady growth gave ample opportunity for fraud. A banker in Hollaender's Sturmwind im Westen engaged in fraud on a grand scale. He managed to keep his intricate theft hidden from the rest of the financial world of Berlin during the eighties. "There stood the honorable Geheimerkommerzienrath Baer, the head of one of the most famous banking houses, which already held a dominant position under the late Baer, the father of the present owner. Baer was avidly discussed. He was called a noble man; one should only know all that he did for his relatives in Posen; one should only follow his generous contributions as soon as any charitable act was to be performed or any memorial chapel was to be built. One should reckon it - it would amount to thousands." So it appeared when viewed from the outside, but the truth was very different. "This man, one of the most revered financial giants of Berlin had been bankrupt for forty years; he had found his firm ruined at the death of his father, but

he did not have the courage to admit this to the world. Like his father, he had stolen from the deposits of trusting customers and had thought of the attractive fairy tale of his fear of railroads, so that he need not leave the scene of his elaborate thefts. He never released the keys from his quivering, guilt spotted hands. He had been Commercial Judge and Stock Market Commissioner for decades. Ministers visited his home as did artists and learned men. With unbelievable brazenness he had played the role of housebreaker. Basically degenerate and incapable, he had lost all economic sense in the defrauding of such large sums. What difference did it make to this thief of the accounts of his clients, if he was the benefactor of his relatives in Posen, or the patron of every church building in order to obtain titles and decorations from the highest officials. These good deeds seemed ridiculous to him - to him whose entire life had been an anesthetizing, forgetting, and slow dulling of all sense of conscience. Only one thought process governed him all those years - to discover new means to continue this half life. He succeeded, as the old gentleman was always able to attract new customers with whose money the old creditors could be satisfied. Irresponsible to the last degree of moral insensitivity, he sought to quieten his sane thoughts with all kinds of hazardous and novel distractions." He succeeded in landing in the most famous salons instead of in jail. Finally this man involved himself in a great railroad speculation with the notion of earning enough money to solve all his problems, but the venture failed. A new government decided to build the road without his aid. This brought total ruin; other members of the family who had their own banking houses refused

to help and rather saw the firm which had been involved in such doubtful dealings given a decent burial. Hollaender gave an excellent portrayal of this man. Artur Landsberger gave another example of dishonest business practice in the humorous novel Millionäre. The businessman son cheated his father out of a sizable sum of money; naturally no action was taken, although the young man repeated the action a second time.

Dishonest schemes were used quite advantageously on the stock market. An employer in the tale "Im Rechtsstaat," who knew that his firm was failing, did not hesitate to accept the life savings of a household employee for investment in it. Konrad Sittenfeld showed this stockbroker as a man who would stop at nothing. In the novel Die Alten und die Jungen by the same author actual theft was reported of the playboy son of a wealthy banker and stockbroker. After he had exhausted his supply of money, he forged his father's name. This incident was set in Berlin during the eighteen nineties. Much more serious was the manipulation of the stock market mentioned in this novel. The stockbroker used the news of the illness and slow recovery of the Crown Prince in 1887 to his advantage. He had sent an agent to Italy where the prince was being treated and ordered him to send daily cables to Berlin. A clever embezzler took vast sums of money from a firm and then escaped to Australia, or America, or China with his loot. He was never discovered in a tale by Arnold Zweig.

Jews were reported as victims of financial tricks as well. One individual in Felix Hollaender's Sturmwind im Westen was swindled

out of a large amount of money. He had been so interested in gaining social status that he had failed to watch his affairs properly. <sup>26</sup> Another small Jewish banker was the tool of blackmail; the Jew had lent money to one man, then the notes were purchased by a second. The Jew was blamed in Wer ist der Stärkere by Konrad Sittenfeld, <sup>27</sup> but he had been innocent.

The sharp and semi-legal means which were at time employed seemed legitimate to the older generation. All their life had been a struggle in a hostile world; they had been oppressed and this was the only way of correcting the situation. The younger generation felt differently; they were sensitive to public opinion and desired nothing more than a good reputation. In Werther, der Jude the young hero carefully guarded himself from dealings which were traditionally associated with shrewd Jewish bankers. The boy "did not like to see his father participate in such enterprises which he despisingly called 'speculations'. His special sensitivity wanted to remove anything which could make the notion of banker unpleasant from the reputation and standing of his father. His father is, and has to be, so he dreamed, the perfectly honest businessman. Through his honesty, uprightness, and integrity in business affairs, he must do his share in removing the ugly savor of cheating, of hunger after profits, and so forth associated with 'Jewish bankers'" As he was filled with these fears, he was anxious about the future of a new company which his father had just organized in his native city; it might prove to be a speculative venture in which much money would be lost by the small investor, but not by the underwriting firm. <sup>28</sup> This youth, so well pictured by Ludwig

Jacobowski, also felt badly over the high interest rates charged by his father. At times it amounted to two hundred percent. Speculations were viewed in the same manner by others of the younger generation as was mentioned in Arnold Zweig's Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer.<sup>29</sup> Some among the older people were ashamed of these dealings and despised them. Max Ring recorded such an opinion with his characters in Der grosse Krach.<sup>30</sup>

The stock exchange remained one of the favorite settings of a number of novelists. Max Ring again gave good descriptions of the general operation and the Jewish characters involved in the novel Der grosse Krach. He contrasted two Jewish types in this book; one was the old, rather coarse speculator who was able to earn large sums of money. The second was his son who was just as shrewd and as able, but participated fully in modern life. He was a young dandy, everywhere except on the exchange.<sup>31</sup> This author stressed the tolerance which was shown on the market floor; the only concern of the men involved was money. Nothing outside of this mattered at all to them.<sup>32</sup> Naturally the exchanges offered grand opportunities and fortunes were made quickly; in Berliner Kinder Max Ring provided a complete picture. He portrayed the swift rise to riches and the sudden fall; both were characteristic of the stock market.<sup>33</sup> The novels by Max Ring were set in Berlin in the eighteen eighties and seventies.

Many dangers existed on the exchanges and they too were mentioned. The market was a place for clever business dealing, but not one for sentimentality; the Jewish characters who appeared on it were hard headed financiers who admired good business methods.<sup>34</sup>

If an old historic firm could not adapt itself to modern times, they were quite satisfied to see it liquidated. Tradition meant little to these men who wished for additional assets which could be used to establish a more vigorous enterprise. Artur Landsberger pointed this out in his Millionäre.<sup>35</sup> There were occasion as one described by Max Ring in Der grosse Krach in which it was better for the Jew to remain in the background. The actual proceedings were carried out through a firm more acceptable to the public. "The necessary negotiations with the government were left to the respected and higher standing Kommerzienrath Selden (in a railroad venture), while he was satisfied with the role of secret 'macher' and board member."<sup>36</sup> When the enterprise collapsed, the Jew had no scruples about extricating himself from it and leaving the ruins in the hands of his friend, the Kommerzienrath.<sup>37</sup> The Jews thus portrayed used every means available to them to make their fortune, but they were not really dishonest.

Gentile opinion as shown by these authors varied. A Christian banker in Der grosse Krach showed admiration for the Jewish methods of banking and speculation; there was much to be learned and copied. He spoke to another member of the firm about a Jewish house: "You ought to hear about the business which he does, really grand - enormous; ten or twenty times as much as we. One is forced to be ashamed. We appear as beggars by contrast. The last loan itself has brought them a half a million. That man is better than his reputation and certainly no worse than a hundred other stock exchange people who envy him only for his luck. When one become better acquainted with him, one must respect his business talents. I

must admit that this Guttman has ideas, really splendid ideas. All  
of us can learn from him." <sup>38</sup> Another member of the same firm in Berlin  
during the eighteen eighties held precisely the opposite opinion.

He thought that an aristocratic Gentile should never demean himself  
by dealing with a Jew, no matter what profits might be involved.

"For me it is not only a point of honor, but also a command of good  
sense to refuse any connection with such double dealing speculators  
even if they offer us a solid and profitable piece of business." <sup>39</sup>

Max Ring attributed these feelings to other Gentiles toward the end  
of the century as well; he stated them again in the novel Der grosse  
Krach. <sup>40</sup>

Other Christian firms felt that Jewish banking houses should  
be used primarily for dishonest business dealings. Max Ring had  
a house which wished to sell watered stock turn to Jews in Berliner  
Kinder. "I know a young, smooth, shrewd banker who is quite the  
proper man to bring these stocks onto the market and then to mani-  
pulate their price upward. He is a small beginner, but a born finan-  
cial genius who will go far. He is the son-in-law of the wool  
merchant Goldstein with whom we do business." <sup>41</sup> In the eyes of  
several characters in Konrad Sittenfeld's Die Alten und die Jungen  
the Jews were speculators and robbers who took the hard earned money  
of others. It had been gained honestly, but now was taken disho-  
<sup>42</sup> nestly. The poor felt that the Jews represented the most heartless  
elements in society. When a Jewish firm had purchased a block of  
apartments and wished to raze them in order to build a new structure,  
a tenant in Konrad Sittenfeld's Ablösung Vor stated: "Such a banking  
Jew! Do you think he cares for the likes of us?" This incident was set

at the beginning of the twentieth century in Berlin.

Aside from some general descriptions, two types of stories appealed to the writers concerned with this period. They liked to portray the path from rags to riches and they were interested in the Jewish financier. The description of Jews on the slow path upward was sympathetic and emphasized the good traits of the men. The Jews in the financial world were shown differently; most of the pictures given stressed greed, shrewdness, and an all consuming hunger for money. The novels of Konrad Sittenfeld and Felix Hollaender were part of a trend toward realism; they wished to show the evils of society, but in doing so they were rarely fair to the Jew. It was their general tendency to portray the Jew to fit the stereotype of the anti-Semite. There were better Jews in their novels, but hardly any strong, noble ones among them. This was in contrast to Max Ring, who wrote a little earlier, and succeeded in pointing out the evils of the stock exchange as well as the terrible conditions which existed among the poor of Berlin. He pointed to certain Jewish financiers as responsible, but others in his works were shown to be interested in social reforms. The picture of the Jew in those books was better balanced.

The small businessman was shown in the previous chapter to be at the mercy of anti-Semitic Gentiles frequently. The Jews who were involved with great enterprises in Berlin did not suffer from this. Their wealth and their power relegated anti-Jewish sentiments to the social world; there was no room for it in business life. The feeling of dislike was present, but its expression was limited

to words. No one dared to attack these powerful men.

This area of life held a powerful appeal to the popular writers of the period under discussion. It gave the authors an opportunity to deal with the hidden evils of society and it provided the setting for sensational novels. Sensationalism was exploited to the fullest by several men as Hollaender, Sittenfeld, and Artur Landsberger. The resulting picture could hardly be expected to be entirely fair.

## Notes.

## Big Business 1871 - 1914.

1. Georg Hirschfeld, Die Belowsche Ecke, p. 30.
2. Ibid., pp. 32 f.
3. Ibid., p. 41.
4. Ibid., p. 115.
5. Ibid., p. 100.
6. Ibid., pp. 112 ff.
7. Ibid., p. 437.
8. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, 145.
9. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 30.
10. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 48.
11. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 219.
12. Alfred Dessauer, Die Schicksale des Alfred Haupt, (Leipzig, 1913), p. 36.
13. Hugo Landsberger, Der neue Gott, (Dresden, 1891), pp. 49 ff.
14. Max Ring, "Ehrlich währt am Längsten", Lose Vögel, (Berlin, 1872), II, 253.
15. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 135 ff.
16. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 196 f.
17. Ibid., p. 199.
18. Felix Hollaender, Sturmwind im Westen, (Berlin, 1896), p. 239.
19. Ibid., pp. 247 f.
20. Ibid., p. 303.
21. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 22.
22. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, p. 198.
23. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, II, 251.
24. Ibid., II, 131.
25. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 49.
26. Felix Hollaender, Sturmwind im Westen, pp. 240 f.
27. Konrad Sittenfeld, Wer ist der Stärkere, I, 107; II, 237.
28. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, (Berlin, 1893), pp. 39 ff.
29. Ibid., p. 41.
30. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 69.
31. Max Ring, Der grosse Krach, I, 8 ff.
32. Ibid., II, 22 f.
33. Ibid., II, 188 ff.
34. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, I, 142.
35. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, pp. 27, 125 f.
36. Max Ring, Der grosse Krach, II, 188 f.
37. Ibid., III, 51 ff.
38. Ibid., II, 6 f.
39. Ibid., II, 59.
40. Ibid., II, 25.
41. Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, III, 125 ff.
42. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 181.
43. Konrad Sittenfeld, Ablösung Vor!, (Berlin, 1911), p. 10.

Social Life and Status 1871 - 1914.

Great fortunes were made during the period under discussion; in a few years men rose from dire poverty to enormous wealth. The newly rich wished to display the money which they had amassed. The writers concerned with these decades described the ostentatious way of life led by many of the Jews in the large cities. Wealth was displayed through building fine homes and by giving lavish parties. Both represented a powerful effort on the part of the Jews to gain entrance into Christian society. While the men earned money and struggled for power in their commercial enterprises, the women fought for status and social prestige.

The search for status through luxurious homes and fine parties was generally confined to Berlin. In the other cities the social ambitions of the Jew were not so great according to these authors. Alfred Dessauer portrayed a small banker in Munich at the beginning of the twentieth century as quite satisfied with a modest apartment near his firm. He had developed a taste for antiquities and owned some fine objects, but otherwise there was nothing extravagant about his home. "The banker had much love for old furniture, pictures and vases. Through the years his apartment had become too richly filled with these things. The individual rooms resembled an antique store more than private rooms. Nevertheless it was comfortable and the whole gave the impression of solid prosperity." Other Jewish homes in the same novel, Die Schicksale des Alfred Haupt, were rather poorly furnished; their inhabitants did not possess any special interests. The only sign of wealth in the apartments of such rich Jews was a large fire-proof safe; otherwise all was either

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old and worn, or new and tasteless.

In Berlin only the homes of the extremely wealthy Jews were described. Even the novels of social protest did not deal with the poor Jews and their problems. Many of the wealthy homes could properly have been called palaces. In the short story "Mischpoche" Ulla Wolff told of a richly appointed Jewish home in Berlin during the eighteen seventies. "The room which they entered presented itself as charmingly cozy. The luxury of the furnishings was not showy or gaudy. It was an almost circular chamber whose broad windows gave a good view of the Tiergarten." Many fine objects stood there - excellent china and silver items, a tea machine, and vases filled with flowers. All had been arranged in the best of taste. This family also owned a summer home at the sea-shore. "The villa which was built into the forest on the dunes was separated from the beach by a large garden ... It was a picture in which wealth and elegance were paired. These people seemed to be very much part of the luxury and beauty which surrounded them." This was a newly rich family which lived grandly, but they were not interested in social success. Their home was more of a gathering place of the family and close Jewish friends.

A picture exaggerated for effect was given by Max Ring in Lose Vögel; it was set in the next decade. "The broad marble steps with tasteful bronze rails led to the upper floor. The walls painted flaming red were hung with delicate arabesques and splendid frescoes. In the niches there stood beautiful busts and pictures of gods, surrounded by green leafy plants and laurel. .... The reception room (had) parquette floors covered with

Turkish carpets, so soft that one sank in with each step. There was charming silk wallpaper, the most valuable embroidered curtains, swollen couches and divans, covered with irreplaceable Goebelins, crystal chandeliers, what-nots and cabinets of rosewood, the most wonderful boulettes, Florentine mosaics, priceless oil paintings of well known masters, Indian ivory carvings, Chinese vases, Japanese boxes with metal inlay, a real exhibition of all lands and people in the world.<sup>5</sup> Other homes were as elegant as Theodor Weiss mentioned in "Beim Patriarchen" at the end of the century.<sup>6</sup> Naturally there was no shortage of servants in such houses; the mistress of the home merely trained and supervised them.<sup>7</sup>

The attempt at elegance by those who did not know how to attain it was ludicrous. Ulla Wolff pointed this out well through a character in "Mischpoche". The woman had no taste of her own and tried to imitate what she believed to be proper. "Marie, who in typical parvenue fashion, always desired to have that which she saw amongothers, constantly undertook changes in her apartment."<sup>8</sup> This occurred in the eighteen eighties.

The appointments of the elegant homes paled besides the parties which were given in them. Some were clearly designed to display the greatest amount of wealth to the largest number of people as in Die Alten und die Jungen by Konrad Sittenfeld. Money and labor were no object; an impression of unlimited supply of both was to be given by the parties. "The servants constantly carried in new bowls filled to the brim with the most expensive and rarest dishes of the season! How the thick

bottles with their plaster sealed necks stood around by the dozens! This was a daily occurrence in that house. It was the pride of this newly rich, of this braggard, to show his guests what he could afford through his wastefulness. Behind it lay the dark feeling that he could not compete with the intellectual stimulation or the chosen company of the truly elegant homes. There was the wish to substitute great material indulgence for the deficiency in other areas. One could not satisfy the mind of his guests, therefore let them at least spoil their stomachs.<sup>9</sup>"

Most of the parties were not meant for other Jews, but for the Christian social world. Any Gentile of standing was welcome; military officers were frequent guests as the limited means at their disposal did not permit them to entertain lavishly. In this way they could spend a delightful evening at someone else's expense. In Max Ring's Lose Vögel it went so far that one officer bore a general invitation to all the others in the garrison.<sup>10</sup> In this case the lady of the house issued the invitations and looked after the parties as her husband had no interest in social affairs. A lieutenant even wondered about a guest who did not fit into that scene in Berlin during the eighteen seventies; he was the master of the house. "Nor could he easily understand the presence of a small, homely man in an old fashioned dresscoat and rather unkempt in such a brilliant party as the salon of the wife of the Geheimrath. His appearance reminded him half of an old clothing man, and half of a stock broker and usurer. The lieutenant wondered even more as this odd guest paid almost no attention to the other guests and was in turn entirely ignored by them, as if he did not belong to it

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at all."

Rarely was the husband so disinterested; he was as eager as his wife that the proper people should be found in his home. A wealthy Jewish stock broker in the seventies explained his parties and entertainments to a Christian banker in Der grosse Krach by Max Ring. He wished to impress him and entice him to his home. "In my house you will be able to find all estates represented, from earls upward and down to a measly university professor. .... You will find exceptionally fine company there, only the best - the Earl Biber von Biberstein, the Baron von Strauchwitz, Sir von Schnorrenberg." In this instance the Jew did not succeed and the Christian banker did not join the list of distinguished personalities.  
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Not all parties were intended for social prestige, some were directed toward success in a business venture. Konrad Sittenfeld mentioned one in the eighties in Berlin which was designed to set all Berlin talking and also to gather a distinguished, wealthy crowd in the banker's home. It was to be 'the' affair of the year. A few days before the party the wife of the host had to inform him that twenty of the three hundred guests had excused themselves; among them were the Minister of Finance and the Duke, but there still was some hope that the Under-Secretary and the Director of the National Bank, as well as the Prince might attend. The preparations for the evening in "Im Rechtsstaat" were very elaborate. Roses were to be brought directly from Nice; special favors were prepared for each couple. A professor had been engaged to entertain with tableaux and a prima donna would

sing for the assemblage. That alone would cost six hundred Mark, a token of thankfulness to her. The husband wondered whether a pair of earrings would not suffice, but rejected the idea, as it might cause unfavorable comment. The wife was anxious about the great cost of the evening, but the husband reckoned it as a business investment. Naturally the party was to be reported fully in all newspapers of the capitol.<sup>13</sup>

As shown above the hosts of these parties were constantly worried about their Christian guests. First they wondered whether they would come at all; then they were anxious about the impression which they may have made. The efforts were usually in vain for the Gentiles who attended scoffed at the affairs and at their hosts as in Felix Hollaender's Sturmwind im Westen. The Christian reflected on the evening; it was actually below his dignity to go. Most people came out of business reasons or because they were hard pressed financially. "Slowly and thoughtfully he marched through the hall and reviewed, half mockingly, half attentively, this assemblage of exchange brokers which met here in the house of Kommerzienrath Baer. There were also a few attorneys and doctors who were in some way associated with the great financier. A few men and women from the theatrical world hardly disturbed the general picture, whose frame was sparkling and brilliant enough and also displayed a certain solidity."<sup>14</sup> The guests came to enjoy themselves, to view the spectacle, to repay an obligation, but they also came to laugh.

Extravagant parties were not limited to Jews; they were even more frequent among recent converts. As Ulla Wolff pointed out

in "Mischpoche" those families had every reason to expect general social acceptance. Parties were given, large donations to public charities were made, yet these methods failed with them as well. Christian families hesitated little about accepting the invitation to the convert's home, but they did not invite the 'new' Christians in return.

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The elegance with which the rich Jew or wealthy 'new' Christians sought to surround themselves usually did not suit them. They appeared as masqueraders at their own parties. Only one exception to this picture was given by Theodor Weiss in "Beim Patriarchen". The newly rich heroes of this story fitted into their grand home as if they had always belonged to the aristocracy. Their private life became elegant. "The family gathered in the small round salon. The Geheimrath leaned back in his American rocker, beside him in a movable magazine rack, the evening papers were laid out exactly. He smoked a 'Henry Clay' and studied the stock market reports in the 'National Zeitung'. His wife, Fanny, sat at the tea table which looked beautiful with its silver service, the valuable embroidered silk table cloth, and the wonderful old Meissener bowl filled with bakery and fruit. The whole room was filled with an intimate ease and gave a comfortable impression despite the expensive furnishings." This was the description of an ordinary evening during the eighteen nineties. When the family gave a simple dinner, it meant a dozen people in the small dining room.

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These people portrayed by Theodor Weiss were the first to realize the futility of attempting to force the door to general society; they gave up the attempt and taught their children that

this was wasted effort. The son of the wealthy Berlin banker in the eighteen nineties, a time of considerable anti-Semitism, recalled "the last New Year's dinner during my teens in our house. How Herr von Knesebeck gave the toast to the Kaiser in conjunction with an appropriate motto for the New Year. How jovial and with what kind condescension the District Attorney von Uckermark spoke about my mother! What honor. The guests were greeted as honored friends of the house. Then and now we are strangers to them. They came because we gave a good party and today they would refuse even that." For this reason the father no longer gave any parties and did not hold a New Year's reception either. When a stranger called on New Year's Day, a servant was asked to tell him: "The great New Year's reception no longer takes place among us, ever since it has been made quite clear to us that we are second class citizens who have no claim to and no part in the festivities of the rest." The words were bitter; the life of these Jews had changed and in the future they would pay little attention to Gentile society.

Others were not willing to abandon their goal so easily. Artur Landsberger satirized a couple which sought every possible path into Gentile society. In "Millionäre their lack of success in Berlin led them to chase after society in the summer resorts of the rich. At the beginning of the twentieth century it was possible to view the whole enterprise with humor as was done by Landsberger, but earlier it had been a very serious matter.

In addition to purely social goals the Jewish businessmen were interested in attaining the honors generally given to professional

and business people. In "Mischpoche" by Ulla Wolff it was shown how happy Jews were to receive the title of Kommerzienrath in recognition of the social and civic work done in the community.<sup>22</sup> Whether this honor was given readily or after much hesitation depended upon the mood of the government at the time. In some decades many Jews reached this rank, in others very few.<sup>23</sup> Arnold Zweig told of a character in Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer who was given various titles by a grateful community.<sup>24</sup> If outstanding service for the public good had been accomplished, a man might be made a Geheimerkommerzienrath. According to Theodor Weiss' "Beim Patriarchen" Gentile citizens could continue to move upward,<sup>25</sup> but the road was closed to Jews. On the other hand Theodor Weiss also mentioned a lawyer in his story; this man had done much for his country, but was merely thanked and not honored.<sup>26</sup> As Artur Landsberger noted in Millionäre there were different degrees of Kommerzienräthe; those of Prussia were considered most valuable.<sup>27</sup> Others could practically be bought.

Toward the end of the century some Jews realized that there was little chance of progress in this direction. Theodor Weiss portrayed a man who stated that the Jews were apparently fit to be generous donors to charity, but were not considered fit for society.<sup>28</sup> As Ulla Wolff saw it, tolerance had been attained, but nothing beyond.<sup>29</sup> In Das Mädchen von Lille Georg Hirschfeld pictured a family which was too proud to try to open doors so obviously closed to them. Tradition and ancestry did not permit them to thus lower themselves.<sup>30</sup>

German Jews did not gain social acceptance in the period

immediately prior to the end of the nineteenth century according to the authors who wrote of this time. This goal was reached to a large measure in the twentieth century, but this has not been described in the novels written before nineteen fourteen.

Alongside the new symbols of prestige and the attempt to enter Gentile society there remained the social distinctions among the various groups of Jews. The feelings against the Eastern Jews continued to be quite strong. A. Halberthal showed their powerful hold upon university students in the novel Das Rätsel: Jude. In the eighteen nineties the Jewish students in Marburg decided to organize a Jewish fraternity as they had been excluded from all Gentile organizations. They in turn kept the Eastern European students out. At the opening meeting grand speeches about freedom and equality were presented. Someone then asked the embarrassing question about the exclusion of Russian and Polish students: "You do not grasp the problem fully or honestly if you only speak of German Jews, if you understand the notion of Jew so narrowly that you did not even ask the foreign groups to this meeting. I have come to this meeting to declare that this is narrow minded and un-Jewish." A German student replied to this charge: "The customs and ways of the foreign Jews hinder the German Jew from becoming friendly with them." He pointed to the questioner as a symbol of the ill-manners of the foreign students, for he had

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come only to disturb the meeting. These thoughts about the Jews of the East, which included Posen, seemed to be common among the younger generation. A very modern and otherwise sensitive young man living in Königsberg in the eighteen nineties

could not endure his nephew from Posen who had come to work in his father's banking firm. "When I remember this man, with his nasal dialect, his shrewd eyes, his cunning speech, and the black pointed mustache..."then he always felt badly. Thus the hero of Werther, der Jude expressed himself. <sup>32</sup> Artur Landsberger pointed out in Millionäre <sup>33</sup> that this sentiment occurred frequently. Some good portions of the older system of status remained too. Theodor Weiss stated in "Beim Patriarchen" that the feminine descendent of a great Talmudic scholar was just as proud of her ancestry as of her husband's title of Kommerzienrath. She did realize that the <sup>34</sup> latter was more important in the Berlin of the nineties.

The authors who wrote of this period were interested in the social aspirations of the newly rich Jews. They gave ample space to descriptions of their homes and their parties. The hopes of the Jews were clearly presented, but they ended in failure, which was equally thoroughly pictured. This was the period in which great fortunes were made, but no social success to equal them was reached.

The old system of status founded upon ancestry and learning as well as land of origin had largely decayed; only the prejudice against the Eastern Jew remained. Yet the Jews were in the strange position of not being accepted in the new system of status which they eyed to eagerly. Socially this was a period of frustration which was well described in the books of the time.

## Notes.

## Social Life and Status 1871 - 1914.

1. Alfred Dessauer, Die Schicksale des Alfred Haupt, p. 35.
2. Ibid., pp. 1 ff.
3. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 215 ff.
4. Ibid., X, 231 f.
5. Max Ring, "Ein Brautwerber", Lose Vögel, I, 14.
6. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 134 ff.; 151 ff.
7. Ibid., IV, 133.
8. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 216.
9. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 213.
10. Max Ring, "Ein Brautwerber", Lose Vögel, I, 10.
11. Ibid., I, 30.
12. Max Ring, Der grosse Krach, I, 7.
13. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, pp. 197 ff.
14. Felix Hollaender, Sturmwind im Westen, p. 4.
15. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 222.
16. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 165.
17. Ibid., IV, 141.
18. Ibid., IV, 162.
19. Ibid., IV, 203.
20. Ibid., IV, 202.
21. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre; also Lu, die Kokotte; Teufel! Marietta!; Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte.
22. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 213.
23. Ibid., X, 214.
24. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 18.
25. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 135.
26. Ibid., IV, 173.
27. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 112.
28. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 192 f.
29. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", Der Mischpoche-Rentner und andere Erzählungen, p. 93.
30. Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, (Berlin, n.d.), p. 16.
31. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 64.
32. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 40.
33. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 122.
34. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 134 ff.

## Marriage and Family 1871 - 1914.

The strains placed upon family life were considerably greater in these decades than in the preceding period. Nevertheless, the writers who set their novels in this period stressed the strength of the Jewish family. According to the authors of the time family life had not changed much in the concluding years of the last century.

A decent relationship among its members was maintained under difficult conditions in "Mischpoche" by Ulla Wolff. Two brothers were business partner and managed very well in the office by never discussing their wives who did not like each other. "The authority of the Kommerzienrath, his tact, and the elegant demeanor of his wife permitted the appearance of friendship to exist." <sup>1</sup> The bond was so strong that wrongs committed within the family were rarely mentioned outside its confines, although Artur Landsberger mentioned the fear which a son who had cheated his father had of him. In Millionäre he dreaded the visits which rarely took place. <sup>2</sup> In the same novel Landsberger showed that contact might be broken for an entire generation, but the next generation could easily renew those ties; they then felt them very strongly. <sup>3</sup> Conversion to Christianity did not void the bond. A distant relation who had been baptized was welcomed to the family circle when he suddenly appeared in Berlin in the nineties. At the first meeting described in Theodor Weiss' "Beim Patriarchen" the head of the family stated: "The word 'family' matter (which the young man had stated he wished to discuss) is a kind of passport in our house which obviates the formalities otherwise considered necessary. In this matter we have brought the tradition of our provincial home into the big

world. The word 'family' has special meaning for us." This family<sup>4</sup> was able to spend hours discussing the paths and fortunes of its members.<sup>5</sup> They possessed a tree which went back into the middle ages; it listed the generations, their place of residence, and their occupation. The family had become widely scattered by the nineties of the last century; its members were to be found in all sections of Germany and in many parts of the world.<sup>6</sup> As Georg Hirschfeld reported, it was a matter of great pride if a family was able to trace its lineage to medieval times. The descendants<sup>7</sup> considered themselves the equals of Gentile nobility. In Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer Arnold Zweig stated that this was not particularly rare; a number of families possessed<sup>8</sup> old family trees.

Although the novelists described family solidarity this was not their primary concern in dealing with the Jewish home. They were much more interested in courtship, the arrangements of a dowry, marriage, and the place of women in the modern Jewish household. Each of these topics was the subject of considerable discussion.

Toward the end of the century women were given a general education in the Jewish or the general schools. This had become a necessity for those desiring a good marriage, but it was not always appreciated. Some felt as a young man in Ludwig Jacobowski's Werther, der Jude that the Jewish girls were too sophisticated: "He often did not like the Jewish girls. They were too refined,<sup>9</sup> entirely without sweetness! Without innocence!" The opposite opinion was given by a youth in Halberthal's Das Rätsel: Jude

who thought that the women had not been properly educated and could not discuss a subject intelligently with men. <sup>10</sup> Certainly the older generation of the opening decade in the twentieth century did not possess sufficient education to manage a business successfully. A woman who was left with a store upon the sudden death of her husband in Nachwelt by Georg Hirschfeld found it a difficult task. "It was a hopeless struggle which Rosa Lewing carried on. She honored the memory of her long deceased husband. Jonathan Lewing had not left her a good inheritance with his store. Yet the struggle for existence had to be fought; the children were growing; two daughters helped in the store. She had persuaded her son to go to Berlin." She hoped for a better life for <sup>11</sup> him there.

The cultural attainments of a woman were a major factor in marriage, but the most important matter remained the dowry. This was especially true as a large number of marriages continued to be arranged by the parents with little consultation of the parties involved, at least during the preliminary steps. Markus Lehmann presented us with the requirements of a suitable candidate for the daughter of a wealthy man in "Der Sohn der Witwe". The parents had intended to find a Gentile nobleman for their daughter, but failing in that they sought a Jew of great means and some social standing. The right man must "have a grand position, a salary of ten thousand Thaler, a free apartment in the bank building, an expense account, and a share in the profits. Now I would have expected something better and greater for our dear child," but the present candidate who gave these as his qualifications was

12  
acceptable. In "Simon Eichelkatz" by Ulla Wolff the sums of money  
involved in the dowry were mentioned. A physician was presented  
with several offers for sixty and seventy-five thousand Mark at  
the end of the century. As he wanted a well educated girl, he was  
willing to settle for the smaller sum.<sup>13</sup> Alfred Dessauer early in  
the twentieth century spoke of a dowry of a hundred thousand Mark.<sup>14</sup>

Marriages among the members of the upper class involved such  
large amounts of money. The financial arrangements were the most  
important element to the older generation; they could become sig-  
nificant to the younger one too. Konrad Sittenfeld described a  
girl in Die Alten und die Jungen to whom this course of events  
seemed entirely natural. Her suitor stated that "he knew that  
this daughter of the speculator had heard nothing aside from  
stock exchange matters since her youth and that she would con-  
sider her body only as an article of value to be marketed as high  
as possible for a life long income which would grant the greatest  
benefits - the gratification of her vanity, her self-indulgence,  
status, and luxury."<sup>15</sup> Such a purely financial marriage could lead  
to unhappiness and mistreatment of the bride very quickly. In  
this case set in eighteen eighty-eight the bride was treated  
badly on her honeymoon.<sup>16</sup>

The young people did not always accept these arrangements  
calmly; toward the end of the century they felt that the decision  
ought to be their own, not that of the parents. Kurt Münzer pic-  
tured some stormy scenes between an angry daughter and her family  
in Der Weg nach Zion. The daughter told a friend: "My father is  
already negotiating with a man and in eight days the relatives

will come and celebrate my engagement. He is a little black Jew who has tired of his affairs of the street; he needs money and my father is buying him for me!" The girl had led a free and very independent Bohemian life; she did not hesitate to express her feelings when the suitor called upon her. "My money has been soundly invested; you shall not be cheated in any respect. Now you can also see that I am as pretty as the schadchens said. But there is one thing I'll tell you - as long as there is a breath left in me, as long as I can move a single limb, you shall not touch this body." <sup>17</sup> She threatened to run away, but this did not intimidate her family. Finally she announced herself no longer a virgin before the shocked assemblage of relatives. The suitor did not care and simply demanded an additional ten thousand Mark to take care of this defect. It also emboldened him in his advances toward the girl. Finally in utter desperation she ran off. <sup>18</sup>

Parents feared such independence. A father in the eighteen seventies worried a great deal about his daughter. In "Der Sohn der Witwe" by Markus Lehmann her life had been saved by a fine young man; unfortunately he was poor. The father wished to keep him from becoming friendly with his child as they might eventually consider marriage; a poor match like this one could not be proper for his daughter. <sup>19</sup> In the novel Eheleute Martin Beradt stated that a couple in the eighteen nineties was determined that their children would be given free choice in this matter. They themselves had not been permitted to marry for love. <sup>20</sup> In the middle class weddings in which love was an important consideration and the decision was made by the young people were mentioned by Arnold Zweig in Aufzeichnungen

über eine Familie Klopfer. "He became engaged to a young woman ... who was not exactly beautiful, but had a small fortune, and who liked him." Money was important, but so was the fact that she liked him.<sup>21</sup> The same author told of a soldier who had fallen in love with a girl and was willing to marry her even after discovering that she possessed nothing. These intentions were carried out after he had completed his two years of military service in the eighties.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the difficulties portrayed in cases of arranged marriages, a Christian early in the twentieth century attributed the stability of the Jewish marriage to this factor. This character in Alfred Dessauer's Die Schicksale des Alfred Haupt thought that arrangement by the parents accounted for the small number of divorces among Jews.<sup>23</sup> Divorce did occur, yet according to Martin Beradt's Eheleute was considered a disaster. When a mother in the novel learned of the divorce of a member of the family, she acted as if there had been an unexpected death.<sup>24</sup>

The weddings themselves were hardly mentioned in the novels of these decades. In the nineties Ulla Wolff felt it was sufficient to declare that the ceremony had been performed according to the "usual practice."<sup>25</sup> Martin Beradt in Eheleute told of a civil marriage between two Jews.<sup>26</sup> In the first decade of the twentieth century a marriage in Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel kämpfte by Artur Landsberger was merely mentioned as having taken place, but it was not recorded whether it had been a civil or a religious ceremony.<sup>27</sup> Among the highly assimilated wealthy Jews religious practices were neglected.

The authors of this period not only discussed love and marriage, but also described love affairs. Affairs between Jews and Christian girls had been infrequent early in the century. They increased as the Jews moved to the larger cities and mingled freely with the Gentile population. Konrad Sittenfeld devoted much of the story "Im Rechtsstaat" to a long affair in the eighties in Berlin between the son of a wealthy banker and the daughter of a cab driver. She was his first mistress and hoped desperately for marriage, but when she became pregnant he merely provided for the necessities of her confinement. <sup>28</sup> Felix Hollaender's Sturmwind im Westen spoke of a wealthy stock broker who took a mistress of high station in society; his own wife did not fit into the social life of the big city and this solved his problem. <sup>29</sup> A wealthy young artist in Die Alten und die Jungen had a number of different <sup>30</sup> mistresses.

Students naturally looked to shopgirls who were willing to go with Jews as described in Jacobowski's Werther, der Jude. <sup>31</sup> The attitude of the girls to affairs with Jews was given by Kurt Münzer in Der Weg nach Zion. Two girls discussed the steps which led to their present position. "I was like that. Many are like that. They are thoughtless happy girls; then such a Jew comes along; such an elegant, dissipated, lustful one who would like to purchase a fresh, clean piece of meat with his dowry! He profanes love on the first night. He is pampered, blase, and needs disgusting allurements. He teaches well and quickly turns a girl into a <sup>32</sup> skillful whore and ruins her body. That is my case." These authors did not discuss the affairs of Christian students which followed the

same pattern. In both of these novels the Jews were generally pictured as weak and as the cause of many wrongs.

Jewish girls had Christian lovers as well. Konrad Sittenfeld showed a wealthy girl who enjoyed the caresses of her carriage driver, though she did not permit him to venture further. Later in "Im Rechtsstaat" she married the man and emigrated to the United States; this occurred after the collapse of her father's business.<sup>33</sup> The same author described a wealthy banker's daughter experimenting in sex with a Christian delivery boy.<sup>34</sup> In the second portion of that novel, Die Alten und die Jungen, she had to submit to another Christian who had witnessed the first occasion and threatened to blackmail her.<sup>35</sup> A Christian student in Werther, der Jude by Jacobowski stated that he preferred Jewish girls. "Sborch, the long blond one, went after Jewish waitresses because black was his favorite color and because they 'had three devils in them.'"<sup>36</sup>

Arnold Zweig mentioned the only Jewish prostitute in these books. Her parents attempted to correct the situation early in life, but they were not successful.<sup>37</sup> The same author told of a man in Berlin in the nineties who used his wife to re-establish his credit. Her pleas were always successful. The entire family was ashamed of the situation,<sup>38</sup> but there was little which they could do.

A number of authors stressed the solidarity of the Jewish family within this period. According to the incidents reported of marriage and family life in the novels of these decades, the basic unity of the family persisted; the bond remained strong. Signs of weakness were evident, however; among them might be cited the excessive attention to financial considerations in marriage, the considerable

number of love affairs, and above all the increase in intermarriage which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The picture which the writers of these decades presented of the Jewish family could hardly be considered balanced. They were primarily interested in descriptions of the upper class; they stressed the sensational. This was especially true of Konrad Sittenfeld and to a lesser degree of Felix Hollaender. These authors as well as some of the others despised the Jew. The Jewish characters in their novels were generally among the villains.

## Notes.

## Marriage and Family 1871 - 1914.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 223.
2. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, pp. 23 f.
3. Ibid., p. 306.
4. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 142.
5. Ibid., IV, 242.
6. Ibid., IV, 152, 168.
7. Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, p. 16.
8. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 69.
9. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 59.
10. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 79.
11. Georg Hirschfeld, Nachwelt. Der Roman eines Starcken, (Stuttgart, Berlin, 1914), p. 299.
12. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, 150.
13. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 197.
14. Alfred Dessauer, Die Schicksale des Alfred Haupt, pp. 4 f.
15. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 244.
16. Ibid., II, 223.
17. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion. Ein Roman, (Berlin, 1907), pp. 23 f.
18. Ibid., p. 141.
19. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", op. cit., V, 146.
20. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, (Berlin, 1910), pp. 447 f.
21. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 18.
22. Ibid., p. 25.
23. Alfred Dessauer, Die Schicksale des Alfred Haupt, p. 5.
24. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, p. 169.
25. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 217.
26. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, p. 303.
27. Artur Landsberger, Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte, (Munich, 1918), p. 28.
28. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, pp. 264 f.
29. Felix Hollaender, Sturmwind im Westen, p. 12.
30. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 234; II, 32.
31. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 258.
32. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, p. 335.
33. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, p. 306.
34. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 300.
35. Ibid., II, 129.
36. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 84.
37. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, pp. 28 ff.
38. Ibid., p. 22.

### Intermarriage and Conversion 1871 - 1914.

The conversion of Jews to Christianity continued to be one of the main subjects of discussion in the books of the period. The increasing number of close contacts between Jews and Gentiles in the large cities were a major factor in intermarriage and the subsequent conversion. Akin to this was the desire of the newly rich Jews to gain admission to Gentile society. The authors gave the impression that the trend to conversion was weakened at the end of the century by the rise of anti-Semitism. At that time the 'new' Christians were accepted with many reservations by the Gentile society.

A variety of attitudes toward intermarriage was expressed by Jews during these years. Contrary to earlier periods no opposition was voiced from the Christian side in these novels and stories. Ulla Wolff pictured the shock given a Jewish teacher in a small town when he learned that his daughter loved a Christian. The opposition was primarily on religious grounds; the contact between the two was halted. The girl suffered very much from this and found love again only after many years of marriage with a man whom her father had chosen. The girl gave a resume of her life at one point in "Simon Eichelkatz": "In a decent Jewish home the love between man and wife is the love of their children!" She had been the daughter of a teacher in Beuthen; with a good background, she wanted to take her teacher's certifying examination. For this purpose she was sent to a school in Breslau with a stipend from the community which made her studies possible. There she met a young Christian painter, and a pure but very deep love developed between

the two young people. When the parents discovered this, they immediately brought her home. Her studies were finished and she remained at home with the pain of unhappy love, with a quiet and closed heart." A few years later her father asked her to marry a rather well-to-do wine merchant and innkeeper. She consented for she knew that this would ease the burden at home and simplify the future of her younger sisters. Her husband lacked education, but he loved and admired her. He did not object to her giving help to her family.

Objections of financial grounds were more frequent. In the story "Mischpoche" a man expressed the sentiment that the Gentile party to an intermarriage was only interested in the monetary arrangements and not at all in the girl. In this tale by Ulla Wolff he stated: "The millions will now fertilize aristocratic soil. Von Wörlitz will hardly trouble himself about their origin - whether it was from a Jewish coin-minter, real estate usurer, or money lender, toute meme chose! You know how they disdainfully mock about a newly rich Jew who has pushed himself into their ranks and has unfortunately been accepted there. .... They know nothing of the difficult, troublesome, tireless labor which has created great fortunes among us. What they see appears strange, laughable, or contemptible; those whom they judge accordingly are certainly not the best among us." In the next decade, at the end of the eighties, a wealthy banker was portrayed as quite concerned by Konrad Sittenfeld in Die Alten und die Jungen. His daughter was to marry an earl; his wife yearned for this match as she was desperate for a Christian son-in-law, but the husband

objected vigorously: "Am I a gilder? Let him polish his coat-of-arms and his rusty crown where he will, my gold is too dear for that." He preferred to find a wealthy husband for his daughter, so that his hard earned money would not be wasted "on such a loafer."<sup>3</sup>

An affair with a Gentile aroused a strong protest by parents in Berlin during the seventies; they felt that this might lead to intermarriage. The incident was mentioned in Kurt Münzer's Der Weg nach Zion.<sup>4</sup> The objections of the older generation continued throughout the period as was recorded in the works of a number of different authors.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand there were families who were delighted at the prospect of intermarriage. In these decades that point of view was presented mainly by Artur Landsberger with the intent of holding it up to ridicule. In Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte a Berlin mother at the turn of the century was delighted to see her daughter married to an idiot nobleman.<sup>6</sup> The Jewish community greeted the news differently. Some were critical as they were jealous of her social triumph. Others were happy as they had always been invited to parties at that home and now hoped to associate there with the highest strata of Berlin society. They did not realize that at that precise moment the mistress of the house was removing their names from the guest list. They were no longer suitable company now that a higher social position had been reached.<sup>7</sup> In Millionäre the Christian party was equally happy about intermarriage. Furthermore they knew that Jewish girls from socially ambitious families would always be available to them. One Gentile stated: "Don't worry

dad, I can get a rich Jewish girl any day as government counselor<sup>8</sup> and reserve officer, even after your retirement."

Unforseen opposition was once raised by the younger generation in Konrad Sittenfeld's "Im Rechtsstaat". The father had picked a Christian nobleman with all the proper social attributes, but the daughter did not wish this match. She wanted to marry for love and especially did not want to spend the rest of her life with this young man who had no interests outside sports and gambling.<sup>9</sup> This brought violent words of rebuke from her father.

Konrad Sittenfeld proposed intermarriage as a solution to the Jewish question in the words of one character of Die Alten und die Jungen: "I have always favored intermarriages. Only this way can Germany be completely Germanized. Naturally the girl must convert to Christianity; perhaps then the whole family will follow - think of it - what a triumph!" This opinion was based upon the premise that such converts would gain acceptance into Gentile<sup>10</sup> society as complete equals.

Conversion always accompanied intermarriage. Jews became baptized for other reasons as well. Some sought a new faith as Judaism had lost its meaning for them. Such a man was to be found in Felix Hollaender's Traum und Tag. In Silesia at the beginning of the twentieth century the Jew converted and became precantor in the town church. He conducted classes for the townsmen; as he learned more about his newly adopted faith, he realized that it oppressed the people in that community and did not help them. He felt deep disappointment and finally abandoned<sup>11</sup> the new religion. Theodor Weiss pictured an idealistic youth who

converted on a trip to Rome with a Catholic friend. Later he also changed his mind and wished to return to Judaism, if the family were willing to accept him. In "Mischpoche" Ulla Wolff dealt with conversion for family unity; parents wished to follow their children to Christianity.

Aside from intermarriage most cases of baptism were to be found among teachers and university professors. Jews could hardly hope for an appointment to the public school or university faculty. At the end of the century minor posts might be open to them, but not the rank of full professor. A Yeshiva graduate in Ulla Wolff's "Die Toten" was baptized for this reason. He also changed his name in order to hide his origin. In Aus zwei Quellen by Jakob Loewenberg a Christian School Director suggested conversion to a young teacher seeking employment; only when this condition had been satisfied could the young man teach in the school system. The Director could not conceive of a Jew teaching 'German' history and 'German' literature not matter what his qualifications. The indignant young teacher refused and spoke with vehemence. Few took this course in these novels; the son of the main character in Ulla Wolff's "Simon Eichelkatz" became a Christian to accept the appointment of professor. The father severed all contact with the young man. The frustration of a young Jewish scholar who was not allowed to teach was best explained by Jakob Loewenberg in "Der Herr Professor" as the converted son wrote to his father: "Do not damn me father! You have never known what it means to possess strength which can not be utilized. I have been born to teach; I have inherited that from you (his father had been village teacher and the religious leader of a small Jewish community for fifty years and could not understand this) and I must have students with whom I can work and constantly exchange ideas. My books have been recognized; my experiments have won approval, but one would have let me stay a private scholar all

my life, or would have isolated me with an honorary professorship. The scholar was tolerated, but the door was closed to the Jew." Finally he also stated that he no longer believed in the traditions nor did he observe the festivals and rituals. He would have liked to keep this painful matter from his father, but that was no longer possible. The father in this instance was so grieved that he threatened suicide unless the son returned to Judaism. As the boy was not willing to do so, he killed himself. As may be seen from these cases, conversion outside of intermarriage also met with strong opposition.

Some Jews were attracted to Christianity, but did not actually change their religion. Ludwig Jacobowski in Werther, der Jude pictured a youth who admired the ideals of Christianity. The festivals of that religion held certain attractions as well. An interest in its doctrines was expressed in Das Mädchen von Lille by Georg Hirschfeld. Occasionally an attempt at arousing an interest was made as in Josua Kersten by Ernst Heilborn. A minister tried to convert his best childhood friend. In the same novel another friendship survived only because both parties, one Jewish and one Christian, agreed to avoid discussion of any religious matter. This succeeded and the two boys in Berlin during the eighties remained good friends.

The authors did not give much attention to the Christian attitude toward the converts. A pastor who had expected a great deal from a convert in Silesia wondered eventually whether he had not baptized too hastily. He expressed doubt in Felix Hollaender's Traum und Tag whether the allegiance to the new faith was deeply

rooted. The uncertainty was justified as this man returned to  
 22  
 Judaism.

In Artur Landsberger's novels the 'new' Christians were primarily concerned with social advancement. The change of religion was made with absolute nonchalance; it was taken for what it was  
 23  
 by society. No efforts on the part of the 'new' Christians could gain full acceptance by the remaining Christians; generosity to all charitable ventures made no difference, as shown in Ulla Wolff's  
 24  
 "Mischpoche". Nor were any other efforts successful as Artur  
 25  
 Landsberger pointed out so humorously.

The Jewish attitude to conversion was discussed in several stories. The converts themselves were shown to have remained partially dissatisfied. Ludwig Jacobowski pointed out that a Jew did not feel comfortable in a church; the 'all encompassing  
 26  
 love' was not always broad enough to include him. Much unhappiness followed conversion in Ulla Wolff's "Mischpoche". The new circle of friends which the older generation expected to materialize did not develop. They were not accepted by Christian society. Furthermore their Gentile son-in-law had married merely for money and had promptly lost much of it through gambling and on the stock exchange. The young man openly took a mistress and frequently insulted his father-in-law. The marriage ended in divorce, but not until a large portion of the family fortune had  
 27  
 been dissipated. Nor had conversion brought much advantage to the son of a wealthy Berlin merchant at the beginning of the twentieth century. Artur Landsberger showed in Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte that it had enabled him to become an officer

and be permitted to pay the bills of his proper friends. Nevertheless his father considered conversion for himself if his second child married a Christian. He was the son of a cantor, but  
 28  
 Judaism meant nothing to him. Not much advantage had been gained by the boy, but the father was willing to experiment a little longer.

To those who remained loyal to Judaism converts remained anathema. Within families the parents were shown many times to cut  
 29  
 all ties with baptized children. Ulla Wolff in "Mischpoche" told that it meant the end of a long business partnership; the man could not continue the relationship upon learning of his brother's con-  
 30  
 version. The opportunism of that case was violently criticized. "They go to church each Sunday, as George who arrived yesterday reports to me; furthermore Erich, the youngest offspring, recently declared that he could now serve with the Gardedragonen as a commission was certain since his conversion. That I call a Christian who is neither Jew nor Christian! Not Protestant, but Opportunist!  
 31  
 The believers in Opportunity!" Later the brother expressed himself more vigorously. It was all the greater shame as it had taken place in the Berlin of the eighteen eighties; "in a time of anti-Semitism which leads all Jews who have even a spark of honor, a bit of conscience and self-respect together again, even if they were very assimilated and had become strangers to the community. Only totally vile renegades who sought advantage in the tragic situation were to be seen in the ranks of the assailants, and among them were  
 32  
 the family of Julius Loewenberg." The affair lent itself to humorous remarks and to much gossip as it took place during the quiet summer

months when there was nothing else to talk about. The Loewenberg's were open to ridicule as they had made a festive occasion of the conversion. It had taken place on the ancestral estate of their ennobled son-in-law and had been a moving tragicomedy.<sup>33</sup> All attempts of the converted brother to bring reconciliation with the Jewish part of the family failed.<sup>34</sup> Theodor Weiss also showed how the motive of social opportunism was thoroughly despised by the Jewish relatives.<sup>35</sup>

In a society where conversion and intermarriage were fairly common parents took steps to keep their daughter from such thoughts in Theodor Weiss' "Beim Patriarchen".<sup>36</sup>

The most tolerant Jewish attitude was expressed by the old patriarch of the family in Weiss' "Beim Patriarchen"; he was willing to have a converted relative attend his ninetieth birthday party. He felt that it might lead the young man back to Judaism.<sup>37</sup>

The basic attitude of both sides was summarized by a character in Ulla Wolff's "Feine Seelen": "Jew remains Jew! It must remain so now and always. God has marked him so deeply in body and soul, so that he cannot deny it. Even if he renounces his faith, he can never blot out his descent, not even in the second generation." As one cannot effectively escape, one might as well remain a Jew. This was the opinion of a youth at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>38</sup>

The writers of this period were concerned with intermarriage and conversion and provided a rather full discussion of the problem in one social group, the extremely rich. Many

among this class felt no objection to intermarriage; those which were voiced were usually based upon financial rather than religious grounds. The only middle class intermarriages which occurred were those of university professors; in each case the opposition of the parents rested upon a religious basis. In Ulla Wolff's "Mischpoche" and in Weiss' "Beim Patriarchen" religious objections were given by the upper class. The ties to tradition among the rich of the big cities, primarily Berlin, had become fairly weak by the end of the century; this was certainly so in the old generation.

The novels of Artur Landsberger written at the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century vigorously satirized the conversions of the wealthy status seeking Jews. By that time matters had changed; the younger generation had largely turned from the unsuccessful attempts at assimilation and sought other solutions. This tendency was shown in these and other novels dealing with the period after the turn of the century.

## Notes.

## Intermarriage and Conversion 1871 - 1914.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 193 f.
2. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 222.
3. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 233 f.
4. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, p. 142.
5. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, p. 170; A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, pp. 96 f; Georg Hirschfeld, Nachwelt, p. 302.
6. Artur Landsberger, Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte, p. 271.
7. Ibid., pp. 247 f.
8. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 285.
9. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, p. 200.
10. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 229.
11. Felix Hollaender, Traum und Tag, (Berlin, 1905), pp. 321 f.
12. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 207 f.
13. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 233.
14. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 264; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 211 ff.
15. Ulla Wolff; "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 162 f, 226 f.
16. Jakob Loewenberg, "Der Herr Professor", Der gelbe Fleck, pp. 67 f.
17. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 108.
18. Ibid., p. 54.
19. Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, p. 148.
20. Ernst Heilborn, Josua Kersten, pp. 53 f.
21. Ibid., pp. 49 f.
22. Felix Hollaender, Traum und Tag, p. 240.
23. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 133.
24. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 271 f.
25. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 238.
26. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 36.
27. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 269 f.
28. Artur Landsberger, Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte, p. 253.
29. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 162 f, 226 f; Jakob Loewenberg, "Der Herr Professor", Der gelbe Fleck, p. 74.
30. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 240.
31. Ibid., X, 222 f.
32. Ibid., X, 270.
33. Ibid., X, 250.
34. Ibid., X, 249.
35. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 139 ff.
36. Ibid., IV, 192.
37. Ibid., IV, 219.
38. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", Der Mischpoche-Rentner und andere Erzählungen, p. 94.

Religious Beliefs 1871 - 1914.

The doubts which had beset generations earlier in the century continued to trouble the young people of this period. Some authors were satisfied to picture the troubled thoughts of their characters. Others showed that the difficulties with the faith of their fathers led to assimilation. Another group overcame the thoughts of youth and remained loyal to Judaism.

The lack of conviction did not exist in homes indifferent to Judaism alone. Ulla Wolff showed it growing in a youth raised in a completely Orthodox environment. The child had been born to parents who lived in the world of the old scholarship during the eighteen seventies. His heart was full of questions which he felt could not be asked of his parents. A relative summarized his feelings: "That is the trouble of modern Jewish youth; doubts about the traditions nag at their hearts and spirits, accompanied by the ambition to be like the others."<sup>1</sup> This young man in "Die Toten" would normally have been destined for the rabbinate, but he did not believe in the future of that profession. He had seen many rabbinic students from the Breslau Seminary and wondered whether they actually believed and taught their congregants 'the word of God.' This young man yearned for the world of his persecutors, but he was not at home in either world and in despair committed suicide.<sup>2</sup> Similar confusion about Judaism existed in the mind of another boy as Halberthal pointed out in Das Rätsel: Jude. The hero of the book grew up in Berlin during the eighties and nineties. His mother had taught him nothing about Judaism or any other religion. The father had died early and there were some rites

connected with his memory as well as a vague knowledge that he was different from his Christian friends, but nothing else. After reaching his teens he sought a philosophy of life; this brought about some discussions at home. The mother told him of the feelings of his father who had been a liberal with the notion that a good life was the essence of religion. The specific forms of Judaism had been of minor importance to him.<sup>3</sup> The boy was hardly acquainted with Jewish ritual or traditions as he had no Jewish friends during childhood.<sup>4</sup> He learned of Judaism only after beginning university education; a deeply religious friend provided the proper philosophic background for a good understanding of Judaism. The young man became active<sup>5</sup> in Jewish affairs while attending the University of Marburg.

Another figure in Das Rätsel: Jude by Halberthal sought to leave Judaism due to the difficulties which this religion had brought about in her family. Her father had been a bandleader in Berlin during the nineties. He was offered a fine position, but found it withdrawn the next day when the people realized that he was a Jew. This caused a change in her attitude to Judaism. "I realized that the individual personality was always given a secondary position and that is difficult for me, as individuality matters most to me. I concluded that Judaism was a historical unit which belonged to the past. The present demands its due; or rather I demand the right to live from it. As I sprang from historical Judaism, I am in this dilemma from which I wish to free myself. Judaism as a religion has little meaning (as little) as any other religion; therefore, I only receive the handicaps from my Jewish heritage - the hate and the prejudice. My problem is how to free myself from

these restrictions imposed by the accident of birth." At first she considered it cowardly to abandon her religion, but later she decided that as it meant little to her and as she did not possess a fighting nature, it was best to convert. "I proceeded from the thought that had my grandfather or great-grandfather felt and believed as I, had they torn themselves away from the group, then not the slightest instinct of a Jew would remain in me. I want to bring about this evolution... They may not have wished to change out of spite, stubbornness, or shame, who knows...; or their world was small enough to have room for religion. I am a modern being and as such face enough struggles... I want to cast off all burdens... I don't even know whether this burden weighs others down so heavily. Frankly I would not be happy if this were a mass feeling - it would block my path and make my goal difficult to attain... I consider myself only as a single being whose ties to Judaism are completely dead. I have never really known that mood. My only yearning is for life, to live it in strength and health." A part of this feeling was rebellion against her parents who were opposed to a prospective inter-marriage and had sent her to Marburg to reconsider the matter.

Theodor Weiss spoke of disappointment with Judaism on different grounds in "Beim Patriarchen". A Jewess portrayed there could not understand these people with their great heritage who did nothing to preserve it in this century. "It is not understandable that the Jews so often lack the courage to acknowledge their own faith. The others feel that they must defend themselves

and fear Jewish influence on their own national characteristics. It is astounding that the Jews lack any sense of self-preservation, that they are not proud and spirited enough to defend their individuality and to maintain it as much as other groups, an individuality which is marked by so many precious qualities and such glowing capabilities. Until our age one bond held them together... belief. But today that belief has become shaken... Among all people national feelings have risen to new heights, but not among the Jews." She continued by pointing out that there was sufficient history and tradition upon which to base such feelings. She also stated that one could not rely upon the old believing Jews, for they would soon die, but one must provide a new spirit for a new age. Nationalism rather than religion was her ideal. For this girl there was a Jewish answer to her religious doubts.

A similar feeling of regret and disappointment, but without any hope for future developments was portrayed by Artur Landsberger in Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte. This story was also set in Berlin, but a decade later at the beginning of the twentieth century. The girl was Jewish, but had never learned about Judaism. She wondered about this religion which did not possess the strength to hold its members. Why should she take an interest in it? Why pledge her loyalty to it? "It was clear to her that a small people which debased itself so, could be of little worth. All that had been told her by her father of the good old days and their religious life was surely phantasy and imagination, although he told it with warmth and appreciation. Yet this reli-

gion could hardly serve to support a weak being as she felt herself to be. It did not possess even the strength to guard its members from temptations which consisted in nothing further than personal vanity, and the aping of others without, however, reaching the desired goal of equality with them. This religion could give her no support. She did not even think of any inner freedom any more." For these reasons and due to an impending intermarriage this girl considered conversion.<sup>9</sup>

With the exception of the young Jewess in "Beim Patriarchen" and the hero of Das Rätsel: Jude these Jews had given up any hope of discovering anything meaningful in their religion. Conversion was the easiest answer for them; while the two exceptions would seek a solution in Jewish nationalism. Conversion appeared to be an answer, but as Artur Landsberger pointed out with good humor in Millionäre that was an illusion. A boy in that novel told his parents who had converted to Christianity what he thought of their baptism. One might wish to adopt another religion, but it was not possible. In his eyes a Jew could no more become a Christian than a Negro a German, despite all the proper papers which he might possess, he remained a black Negro. "I am of the opinion that one may think it a blessing or a curse to be Jewish; that is a matter of taste for which no one is responsible. There is one thing which cannot be done, that is to change it. Even if one becomes newly baptized every Saturday night! It is of no use! I will not think any less of you, as you remain Jews in my eyes and for that matter in the eyes of the world too."<sup>10</sup> Actually the solution was often not so simple; Kurt MÜNZER in Der Weg nach Zion showed that it might be

the fate of the convert to be accepted by neither side. He would  
 not be considered a member of either community.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the Jews portrayed in these novels and short stories did not determine their religious position through deep thought and philosophizing. Their Jewish feelings were shown to be weak and they leaned toward assimilation although this could occur quite unconsciously without any effort on their part. Such indifference to Judaism appeared earlier in the century as well. Max Ring showed it most clearly in the fifties in Götter und Götzen. In that novel the fact that some of the leading figures were Jews was mentioned incidentally late in the book; these people had freed themselves from all traces of their past and participated fully in the general life of Berlin society.<sup>12</sup> What was new in this period was not the sentiment, but the fact that it was widely held. Arnold Zweig told of a man in Posen in the seventies who "considered himself a German who incidentally happened to be of the Jewish faith. He thought himself abreast with the age if he was charitable and attended services on the High Holidays, praying in German as he knew little Hebrew."<sup>13</sup> Among Berlin big businessmen Ulla Wolff pictured one interested in furthering the assimilation of Jews. In the story "Mischpoche" this man "spoke repeatedly of the necessity for big Jewish business to interest itself in Aryan matters. This was the only way to assimilation. It was also necessary to become owners of German soil in order to advance this goal."<sup>14</sup>

The tendency toward assimilation was strong among those who were raising families in the nineties. As shown by Theodor Weiss

in "Beim Patriarchen" they taught little about Judaism to their children. The few facts and rituals which they saw were witnessed as observed by relatives who had remained somewhat observant.<sup>15</sup> The lack of education did not necessarily lead to abandonment of Judaism. The hero of Halberthal's Das Rätsel: Jude returned to Judaism after beginning with such a background.<sup>16</sup> The same was shown to be true in Artur Landsberger's Millionäre; the son of the newly converted parents refused baptism although this act cost him the financial support of his parents. He knew little about Judaism,<sup>17</sup> but wished to remain loyal to it. Arnold Zweig described the incident which brought a young soldier back to Judaism in Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer. The youth felt little attachment to Judaism, but while serving in Posen in the eighteen eighties as a soldier he became closer to his religion while defending himself against anti-Semitism. "When a Subenkamerād mocked and insulted his almost forgotten and indifferent Judaism, his easily aroused<sup>18</sup> temper was awakened and he beat him up terribly."

Among the younger generation the weak ties which existed could be strengthened. As Martin Beradt pointed out in Eheleute some felt that the ceremonies no longer had any value in the<sup>19</sup> eighteen nineties, but they wished to remain unobservant Jews. A Jewish doctor in Reissnitz at the beginning of the twentieth century felt strong emotional bonds which his rational view of Judaism could not break. He, as pictured by Ulla Wolff in "Simon Eichelkatz", saw both the strength and the weakness of his religion; he yearned for the old thought and the old forms, but did not dream of entering a synagogue for prayer. He also thought that assimilated

Jews lost the special characteristics and the originality of the Jewish people. Arnold Zweig portrayed a figure in his Aufzeichnungen <sup>20</sup> Über eine Familie Klopfer which could find little satisfaction from the old ways or from the new liberal Judaism. The man finally became interested in the new Zionist movement and joined this cause with enthusiasm in the eighteen eighties in Silesia. <sup>21</sup> The emotional ties were so strong that Arnold Zweig was able to present a convincing picture of a young man who had married a Christian girl and presumably converted, but still retained some bond with Judaism and <sup>22</sup> continued to observe certain rites.

Jews who remained Orthodox appeared in the novels of this period as well. Some were observant only on special occasions as a time of gratitude; a character in Ulla Wolff's "Feine Seelen" suddenly <sup>23</sup> felt thankful and prayed. In "Mischpoche" by the same author <sup>24</sup> Orthodox customs were observed during a period of serious thought. No matter what the religious affiliation of the parents might have been, no obstacles were ever placed before young people who wished to marry. As long as both were Jewish the specific religious feeling <sup>25</sup> made no difference according to Halberthal's Das Rätsel: Jude.

German Orthodoxy was shown to pale when compared to that of the East according to Theodor Weiss' "Beim Patriarchen". Even Rawitsch <sup>26</sup> in Posen appeared modern when compared to Poland. The Orthodox were tolerant; at a Seder and celebration of the ninetieth birthday of the patriarch of the family all types of Jews were present, even one convert, but no one raised any objections. Naturally the affair was conducted in a strictly Orthodox manner. This too was mentioned <sup>27</sup> by Theodor Weiss. As this author showed, many were able to transfer

that spirit of loyalty to tradition from Posen to Berlin. Arnold Zweig showed that with the proper spirit and attention it could be transmitted to the following generation. A real effort had to be made, otherwise it would be lost as Halberthal pointed out in

29

Das Rätsel: Jude.

30

Aside from these religious problems few other religious matters were discussed by the writers of this period. Georg Hirschfeld and Martin Beradt dealt with the nature of God, but the remarks were neither deep nor original. Heilborn compared the Jewish and Christian ideas of God and Clara Cohn dealt with the concept of the Messiah.

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The authors of this period showed belief in Judaism to have been very weak among the intellectuals and the wealthy. The matter was not used as a theme among other classes of Jews. The general tendency as portrayed by these writers was toward assimilation. The best which could be shown was a vague loyalty to Judaism upon which new movements, especially Zionism, might build. Even writers sympathetic to Orthodoxy as Theodor Weiss and Ulla Wolff did not set any of their observant heroes within this period. They mentioned some pious Jews, but they belonged either to the past or to other Jewries.

The discussion of religious belief was given in a fuller form in the stories of these years than any previous ones. It showed that the authors were deeply concerned with the issues involved even if they were not able to present a solution to the reader. The best which they could do was give the answer suggested by Halberthal's Das Rätsel: Jude in the final pages. The bonds of tradition were

strong and they would hold us to Judaism no matter what might  
34  
happen. The emotions which are felt will keep us loyal.

## Notes.

## Religious Beliefs 1871 - 1914.

1. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 267.
2. Ibid., III, 275.
3. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 9.
4. Ibid., p. 17.
5. Ibid., p. 110.
6. Ibid., p. 91.
7. Ibid., p. 91 ff.
8. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 230 f.
9. Artur Landsberger, Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte, p. 256.
10. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, pp. 187 f.
11. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, p. 496.
12. Max Ring, Götter und Götzen, II, 9.
13. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, pp. 17 f.
14. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 240.
15. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 188 f.
16. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 81.
17. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, p. 202.
18. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 24.
19. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, p. 16.
20. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 210 f.
21. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 40.
22. Ibid., p. 74.
23. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", Der Mischpoche-Rentner und andere Erzählungen, p. 149.
24. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 210.
25. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 10.
26. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 234.
27. Ibid., IV, 210.
28. Ibid., IV, 189.
29. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, pp. 61 f.
30. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 135.
31. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, p. 34; Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, pp. 38, 155.
32. Ernst Heilborn, Josua Kersten, pp. 47 f.
33. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, p. 398.
34. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, pp. 132, 139 ff.

## Religious Observances 1871 - 1914.

The doubts which were felt by many Jews who lived in this period brought about a less pious attitude toward the rituals of Judaism. The authors who dealt with the rich assimilated Jews of Berlin described them as non-observant. Jewish rites were mentioned only upon special occasions; none of the festivals, nor the Sabbath were observed. Judaism as a religion was hardly dealt with in those books. Other writers discussed the problems of observance which faced the modern Jewish businessman or described rituals as they saw them practiced.

Markus Lehmann led the struggle for Orthodox observance through his newspaper and his short stories. In "Der Sohn der Witwe" one of the chief issues was the Sabbath observance. The tale began in the late eighteen fifties and continued through the seventies; it was set in a town in Baden. The mother of the family was strictly Orthodox; "to Josephine's great sorrow, her husband conducted his business affairs on the Sabbath as on weekdays. He tried in vain to convince her of his views, but on the other hand her pleas brought no change." The woman was worried about raising her son as an Orthodox Jew in this type of home. After her husband had died and the boy was forced to seek work, she discovered that few places were closed on the Sabbath. "In practically all the bigger business enterprises of the city the Sabbath was desecrated. The few which were closed on the Sabbath did not need an apprentice just then." Some stated that they would permit the boy to absent himself on the Sabbath and holidays, but she did not want him to work in such an environment and among this kind of people. Finally

a banking firm found room for the boy.<sup>2</sup> The position did not last long as the old owner soon died. His successor demanded that the bank remain open on the Sabbath and that all employees work on that day; the young man left the position.<sup>3</sup> After a long struggle he was finally offered employment as the head of a banking firm; this occurred in the eighteen seventies. Arrangements were made for a substitute to look after affairs on the Sabbath and holidays, but the owners of the firm were dubious about this as the times were critical. They demanded that he attend to office matters a few hours on those days, even though he need not do any work, but he refused and lost the position.<sup>4</sup> This event was greeted with mixed feelings by the community. "Some praised it; others think it is absurd - "How noble, what character! I'll tell you what he is - an ass, a fool. What do females know about character! One possesses character if one honestly earns a lot of money, if one conducts the struggles of life in an honest manner and raises oneself above the every day standards. A self-made man, as the Americans express it, that is a man of character."<sup>5</sup> The young man then accepted a very humble post and even lost that during the depression of 1873. Many sacrifices were demanded from a young Orthodox Jew.<sup>6</sup>

Konrad Sittenfeld showed the confusion which existed among some regarding the Sabbath in Wer ist der Stärkere. A Jew of the eighties in Berlin was not willing to complete a business transaction on this day; after persuasion he agreed to the matter if nothing was committed to writing.<sup>7</sup> In the same decade a wealthy family pictured vacationing in their villa in Schweinemünde kept nothing of the Sabbath. One member of the family travelled to Berlin on business;

only the relative who was a rabbi refrained from smoking on the  
 8  
 day. This family as described by Ulla Wolff in "Mischpoche" felt  
 loyal to Judaism, but they observed no ritual.

In Millionäre Artur Landsberger gave the subject his usual  
 humorous treatment. The Sabbath rites were to be dropped now that  
 the family had moved from a small town to Berlin; they did not fit  
 into the environment of the big city. All that was Jewish and old  
 fashioned was abandoned. The daughter of this family reminded her  
 mother that father did not like to go out on Friday evening; he  
 wished to leave that evening free out of piety to past tradition.  
 The mother responded: "There must be an end to these Friday nights!  
 I was willing to go along with this sort of thing in Neutomischel,  
 but here in Berlin - it makes one ridiculous in society. Here the  
 Sabbath is Sunday. If it is on Sunday, then we can't begin to ce-  
 lebrate it on Friday evening." Despite these parental feelings, the  
 children continued to celebrate the Sabbath, however, in a liberal  
 9  
 manner.

The attitude of the younger generation was clarified by a  
 student at the University of Marburg at the end of the century. This  
 figure in Halberthal's Das Rätsel: Jude had been given little  
 Jewish education; he had no feeling for the Sabbath. Neverthe-  
 less he believed that it might become a source of strength for his  
 daily life. When he spoke of his feelings to his mother, she remi-  
 niscid about her pious parents and the observances in their home.  
 10  
 She had never attempted to transmit this mood to her son.

The Sabbath, though discussed, was hardly described in these  
 books. Jakob Loewenberg in "Der Herr Professor" told that in one

village it was customary for the teacher, who also led all religious services, to bless the children at the conclusion of the Friday evening service.<sup>11</sup> According to Weiss' "Beim Patriarchen" wealthy families prided themselves in having fine ritual objects<sup>12</sup> in their homes in the nineties. In the homes of the poor a simple candelabrum had to suffice for the celebration of this day as told by Felix Hollaender.<sup>13</sup> On the Sabbath Jews were accustomed to walk in the afternoon. In Waldfried Berthold Auerbach mentioned that nature was inaccessible in the city of Frankfurt, so the Jews of the eighteen seventies gathered near the railroad station where there seems to have been room for promenading.<sup>14</sup>

The season of atonement was described only in passing in the novels of these decades. Richard Huldshiner and Ulla Wolff mentioned the impressiveness of the Day of Atonement.<sup>15</sup> Ludwig Jacobowski told how the children were awed by the white garb<sup>16</sup> which their father wore on this day.

The Seder and some aspects of Passover were dealt with in detail by Theodor Weiss in "Beim Patriarchen". The ceremony was also meant to celebrate the ninetieth birthday of the patriarch of the family. Every member who could possibly attend did so; all came to the small town of Rawitsch during the closing years of the century. All was done in a strictly Orthodox manner although many members of the family had abandoned strict observance in their personal lives. No money or effort was spared as new dishes and silver of a very expensive variety were purchased. A cook was specially sent from Berlin and the hostess, a granddaughter from Berlin, spent the last three days supervising the

preparations personally. She also brought many delicacies from  
17  
Berlin. On the day before Passover the entire family went through  
the house searching for chometz; they were led by the old man who  
carried "a light, a few quills, and a cooking spoon in his hand  
and is followed by the entire family." 18 "At the Seder itself he  
was dressed in a white cloak which had once been his wedding garb  
and which would finally be his burial cloak." He wore a silk skull-  
cap beautifully laced with silver and sat in "his easy chair deeply  
sunk in pillows. At his side was Hannchen, his daughter-in-law in  
a gray brocade dress with a gold chain and a cap (which is then  
fully described); this head cover which is still worn by strictly  
Orthodox Jews." It was also worn by his eldest daughter, though in  
a more stylish form. "In contrast the relatives from Pinsk still  
wore a silk Scheitel which hid the hair of the married women com-  
pletely, and in place of this natural adornment they wore expensive  
ornaments. Strings of pearls surrounded their heads. The Russian  
relatives shone with their elaborate jewels and diamonds, so that  
the Geheimrath (the very wealthy host) could hardly restrain him-  
self from laughter." The Russian husbands appeared in long Kaftans,  
skullcaps, and sidecurls. The table presented a strange mixture of  
19  
old and new, of East and West. A wonderful Seder plate had been  
20  
made for the occasion as the gift of one grand-daughter. At the  
Seder every type of Jew from the blackest Orthodox to the most  
liberal and even one convert was present. All professions except  
the rabbinate were represented - they had to tend to their congre-  
gations. There were soldiers and university students with their  
21  
duelling scars, but all was harmonious in this festive setting.

Few other observances were mentioned. Ulla Wolff briefly commented upon Rosh Hashono in "Mischpoche", but the family was too emancipated to make much of the day. In Halberthal's Das Rätsel: Jude Purim was rediscovered by a university student; he was happy to be able to celebrate it in a friendly home. A little play was given and masks were worn throughout the evening. The same author reported that a Bar Mitzwoh was held a bit early in Berlin during the eighteen eighties as the boy needed to go to work. Several writers stated that women still wore the Scheitel.

Daily prayer was the subject only of Markus Lehmann's "Der Sohn der Witwe". An Orthodox peddler in the seventies in Baden each day "took off his pack, put his staff down and took out his tefillin in order to recite the morning prayers. He did not wear a tallis as he did not want to appear conspicuous to passersby; therefore he satisfied himself by pulling out the corners of the tallis-koton which he wore, and used those tzitzies. He prayed there in the out-of-doors with great devotion."

There was some discussion of rites connected with the burial of the dead. As reported by Salomon Mosenthal in "Raschelchen" in the eighteen sixties and seventies a 'chevre' usually prepared the dead for burial. They began by pouring out all the water in the home of the deceased. In a city in Hessen-Nassau an old woman actually washed and prepared the corpse; after that the 'chevre' watched over the dead. "The open coffin stood in the middle of the room lit only by two candles burning in two black candelabrum; it stood there still open and covered with a black cloth." The coffin was closed while appropriate prayers were recited. Just before the funeral

procession began, the old woman who had previously washed the body took a measurement of the two mourning sisters with a long string and placed it plus a bit of her own hair into the coffin. Burial and mourning were generally conducted in the traditional manner as Ulla Wolff described it as well. There were rare exceptions as the non-Jewish funeral of Lassalle in the sixties. In the large cities the only change was the addition of more formality; in the eighties in Berlin men appeared in formal attire according to Hugo Landsberger's Der neue Gott. Families visited the cemetery from time to time as in Georg Hirschfeld's "Jenseits". Jakob Loewenberg attested to the use of traditional rites during the time of death and burial in Aus zwei Quellen. Hirschfeld also spoke of Jews attending Christian funerals.

Suicides were rare among Jewish characters in the novels of the entire century. Arnold Zweig, Jakob Loewenberg, and Ulla Wolff mentioned a number of them within this period.

Aside from custom and ritual the moral aspects of religion were discussed occasionally. Many of the novels of the period written by Jewish authors were concerned with social change, the hardships suffered by the poor during the industrialization, the toll taken by disease in city slums, and other evils of the city. The novels mentioned only a few Jews who labored to better these conditions. Ulla Wolff spoke of a rich manufacturer in "Mischpoche" who improved the lot of his workers, but he was primarily motivated by the desire to become a 'Kommerzienrath'. Sincere interest in suffering was described by Jakob Loewenberg's Aus zwei Quellen in which a Jewish teacher lost his life in Hamburg battling against the cholera. A Jewish physician and his sister helped the poor in Hugo Landsberger's Der neue Gott. The doctor helped union organization; his sister began a

Kindergarten and also gave lessons in sowing to the women. Examples  
 of charity without personal involvement were given by Theodor Weiss.

On the other hand there was the hard heartedness of a millionaire  
 in Konrad Sittenfeld's "Im Rechtsstaat". This man was unwilling to  
 settle the justified claim of a cab driver against his son. He  
 ruined the man by forcing him to bring suit and by continually de-  
 laying the trial. Ironically the millionaire became bankrupt before  
 the decision against him became effective.

A few facts incidental to Judaism were also recorded in these  
 books. Ocassionally a Jewish dialect was used, but no more than a  
 few phrases occurred in the whole century. Other authors mentioned  
 Hebrew words a few times in their books. Halberthal spoke of a  
 Jewish hotel in Das Rätsel: Jude. The use of a copy of the Shekel  
 hakodesh as a charm by some Jews was mentioned by Markus Lehmann  
 in "Der Sohn der Witwe".

The authors were little concerned with the traditional beliefs  
 of the Jew, but they showed more interest in Orthodox practices.  
 Generally the descriptions pointed out the lack of observance.  
 The young man devoted to a strictly pious life, as depicted by  
 Markus Lehmann, was an exception. The beautiful Seder ceremony  
 held in Rawitsch was attended by foreign Jews who kept the details  
 of the holiday and German Jews who were non-observant. The best  
 hope for the future presented by these writers was the account of  
 the rediscovery of various rites by the hero of Das Rätsel: Jude  
 by Halberthal.

Many matters were omitted by the writers; no one dealt with  
 the liberal observant Jews. They had no protagonist like Lehmann

to give their point of view in fiction. There was no serious discussion of the religious problems of the Jew from Posen. In the whole century the changes which occurred were given rather superficial treatment.

In matters of observance there was less concern with the wealthy Jews. Men of the middle class were described in this chapter alongside some who were rich.

## Notes.

## Religious Observances 1871 - 1914.

1. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, 130.
2. Ibid., V, 135.
3. Ibid., V, 137.
4. Ibid., V, 150 f.
5. Ibid., V, 152.
6. Ibid., V, 153.
7. Konrad Sittenfeld, Wer ist der Stärkere, p. 107.
8. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 247 f.
9. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre, pp. 12 f.
10. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, pp. 51 f.
11. Jakob Loewenberg, "Der Herr Professor", Der gelbe Fleck, p. 65.
12. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 134.
13. Felix Hollaender, Der Eid des Stephan Huller, p. 147.
14. Berthold Auerbach, Waldfried, p. 168.
15. Richard Huldshiner, Die stille Stadt, p. 184; Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 226.
16. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, pp. 49 f.
17. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 215 f.
18. Ibid., IV, 234.
19. Ibid., IV, 235 f.
20. Ibid., IV, 237.
21. Ibid., IV, 236 f.
22. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 260.
23. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, pp. 101 ff.
24. Ibid., p. 9.
25. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 235 f; Julius Rodenberg, The Granddiers, I, 256.
26. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", op. cit., V, 161.
27. Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raschelchen", Gesammelte Werke, I, 163 f.
28. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 208.
29. Alfred Schirokauer, Lassalle, p. 406.
30. Hugo Landsberger, Der neue Gott, pp. 178 f.
31. Georg Hirschfeld, "Jenseits", Erlebnis und andere Novellen, (Vienna und Leipzig, 1905), p. 73; Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 259 f.
32. Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, p. 91.
33. Jakob Loewenberg, "Der Herr Professor", Der gelbe Fleck, p. 74; Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, pp. 21, 44, 92; also Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 259 ff.
34. Martin Beradt, Das Kind; Max Ring, Berliner Kinder; Christkind-Agnes; Das Kind; Ein falscher Name; Konrad Sittenfeld, Maschinen; Plebs; etc.
35. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 213.
36. Hugo Landsberger, Der neue Gott, pp. 49 f, 179 f; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 271 ff.

37. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 192 f.
38. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, pp. 223 f.
39. Clara Cohn, Das Kreuz im Venn, p. 128; Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, p. 38; Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 317; Hugo Landsberger, Der neue Gott, p. 51; August Lewald, "Memoiren eines Banquiers", Gesammelte Schriften. Ein Menschenleben, XII, 306; August Lewald, "Das heimliche Gericht", op. cit., V, 349; Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Raaf's Mina", Gesammelte Werke, I, 72; Max Ring, Berliner Kinder, I, 85, 91, 205; II, 147, 244; Max Ring, Der Geheimrath, p. 52; Hermann Schiff, Das koschere Haus, p. 14, 34 ff; Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 212, 233; Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 176, 191, 235; Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 205 f, 212, 229; Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", op. cit., VIII, 206; Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 170, 191 f, 217; Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", op. cit., III, 237, 261 ff; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 88 ff. These are the major instances of the use of dialect found in the novels of the period 1800-1914. It is not an absolutely complete list.
40. Berthold Auerbach, "Der Lauterbacher", Sämtliche Schwartzwälder Dorfgeschichten, II, 93; Berthold Auerbach, "Luzifer", op. cit., III, 185; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, 6 f, 9, 12, 21, 26, 40, 60, 62, 91 f, 94, 258 f; Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Schlemielchen", op. cit., I, 27, 29, 33, 37, 39, 40, 46; Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal, "Tante Guttraud", op. cit., I, 14 f. These are the major instances of the use of Hebrew words in the books of the period 1800-1914. It is not an absolutely complete list.
41. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 44.
42. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", op. cit., V, 175.

## Education 1871 - 1914.

The education of the majority of the Jewish youth had begun to follow the pattern of modern methods and curriculum by the eighteen seventies. The old style of learning had fallen into disrepute and continued in isolated instances as well as among the older generation. The authors concerned with this period sometimes described the educational process; most of the time they merely ascribed a good general education to their characters. Similarly the reader was given the impression that Jewish learning was at a minimum and that more was not necessary; Jewish scholarship no longer represented a path to honor and recognition. Perhaps the sole exception to this was found in Posen at the end of the century.

The generation which had been given a traditional Jewish education continued to develop it throughout their lives. Markus Lehmann in "Der Sohn der Witwe" spoke of a poor peddler in 1873 in Baden who spent his leisure time studying. "The poor peddler, who had encountered undeserved vexations, who reckoned himself fortunate if he sold a few yards of silk ribbon or a box of needles, now was deeply engrossed in a study of the institutions of the old Jewish courts and state as he read from a pocket edition of 'Sanhedrin.'<sup>1</sup>" The author also mentioned classes which were held on Sabbath afternoon for the Jewish businessman who wished to<sup>2</sup> study seriously.

Generally the old learning existed in isolation. Ulla Wolff described a scholar in Breslau in her story "Die Toten" who taught

some boys, but they were all enrolled in the modern rabbinical seminary of that city and simply left the new approach to learning outside the door for the hours spent with the old teacher. Furthermore he could afford to follow this pattern as his means made him independent.<sup>3</sup> In this story one figure was of the opinion that Talmud and Jewish knowledge was being neglected in favor of modern material. He felt that "one has to be grateful if he (the rabbi) knows a bit of Talmud." The older generation remained unimpressed<sup>4</sup> by the learning of the new rabbis. According to Theodor Weiss respect for Jewish learning remained strong in Posen and a few other isolated portions of Germany.<sup>5</sup>

The new rabbis were educated at the universities and at modern seminaries. The authors were rarely concerned with them; never were they accorded the honor reported of rabbis in previous decades. In the eighteen nineties Martin Beradt's Eheleute contained a character who was a liberal rabbi; he was so generally monotheistic and so far removed from Judaism that no position was available to him.<sup>6</sup> Arnold Zweig showed the status of a rabbi in the eyes of some in Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer as he spoke of a marriage. "Finally she married some rabbi and lived with this useless and meek man in Germany, in Breslau, unless my memory fails me."<sup>7</sup> In communities where the rabbi was overshadowed, the president became the real leader of the congregation as well as its representative.<sup>8</sup> As Josefa Metz pointed out in "Eine glückliche Ehe" other Jewish communal positions were partly left to those who couldn't earn a living in anything else. In one case the wife tried to help her husband who

was an unsuccessful shames by selling oil for lamps. It was of little avail as the man was a drunkard and squandered whatever he possessed.<sup>9</sup> This general position of those hired by the congregation did not lead to greater respect of the rabbi, unless he was a strong personality who could overcome these matters.

Students who had originally been destined for the rabbinate decided upon other fields in its place. They chose medicine or various professions. These young men in Ulla Wolff's "Naemi Ehrenfest" stated that this did not indicate a diminished loyalty to Judaism and cited Riesser as an example of the modern, emanci-<sup>10</sup>pated, proud Jew. The rabbinate had become less attractive and men wandered to other fields.

A good education had become a necessity by the beginning of the seventies. It was a part of the background expected of a businessman; the lack of it could lead to embarrassment in social circles. Virtually all the novels which dealt with the Jews who were interested in making a social impression showed them to be well educated.<sup>11</sup> As Martin Beradt pointed out in Eheleute it had<sup>12</sup> become a definite factor in the marriage of a boy; Ulla Wolff mentioned in this period and the previous one that it had been<sup>13</sup> a significant consideration in a girl's marriage prospects.

Great efforts were made by the parents and by other members of the family in order to assure a good education to their children. In "Simon Eichelkatz" Ulla Wolff told of humble parents who<sup>14</sup> labored for years to get their boy through medical school. In the same story the community was willing to pay for the education of the daughter of their teacher. He would never have been able

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to afford this from the slender salary given him. Arnold Zweig in Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer portrayed an older brother who sacrificed his own progress for the sake of the younger members of the family. If no one in the family could provide help the ambitious youngster might be left to fend for himself from the tender age of thirteen. Ulla Wolff described such a selfless young man who managed to find support from many sources and finally finished his studies at the university. His difficult path upward was described in the story "Feine Seelen". Naturally those who were wealthy spent a great deal for the education of their children. One of the main figures of Ernst Heilborn's Josua Kersten was the son of rich Jewish parents and was given any special equipment which he desired.

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Good education depended upon decent teachers. The problems which had plagued the community in previous times continued in these decades. It was often difficult to pay the teachers a good salary as Ulla Wolff reported a number of times. Ludwig Jacobowski in Werther, der Jude wrote of a teacher whose principal problem was hunger. He taught with the stick, but became lenient and filled with joy when he was paid for his instruction. This man's subject was Hebrew and he taught the children little more than the alphabet and the rudiments of reading. Naturally he did not impart much love for Judaism in the children. As this author stated, a teacher of general subjects also suffered from lack of proper pay; he would be fortunate if the wealth of the family could be added to a humble salary.

Despite the low pay, a good teacher was recognized as important for the community. He often succeeded in making a place for himself in the hearts of its members. As Jakob Loewenberg showed so well in "Der Herr Professor" he was held in high esteem and would be honored for his services on appropriate anniversaries. Loewenberg described an anniversary in Albhausen; the teacher and congregational leader had been in the community for fifty years. The celebration began with the synagogue choir serenading him in the morning at home. His classroom, thereupon greeted him with festive decorations and two of the students gave speeches in his honor. The school inspector presented his congratulations and awarded him a medal of honor; he also declared the day a holiday. Later the mayor of the city and then the congregational leaders came to add their good wishes as well as two gifts - a gold watch and a beautiful silver Seder plate. The services of the following weekend were dedicated 22 to his honor and a large dinner was tendered him on Saturday night.

The educational pursuits of Jews at the universities were rarely mentioned by the authors of this period; Ulla Wolff and Georg Hirschfeld told that some Jews gained scholastic honors. 23 The social and fraternal life at the university was given more attention. During these decades some Gentile fraternities were willing to accept a few Jews. Even when a Jew was permitted to join as in Ludwig Jacobowski's Werther, der Jude he was not safe from insults or anti-Semitic remarks from even the lowliest pledge. In this novel the pledge succeeded in spreading anti-Semitism through the group. Although the Jew had been a member for a number of years and had shown sufficient courage in duelling, members were no longer

as friendly to him. The Jew and his opponent almost fought over  
 one insult, but peace was brought about by a fraternity meeting.<sup>24</sup>  
 The young Jew felt the cool attitude of the group at the next  
 party which was held by the family of the anti-Semite.<sup>25</sup> When the  
 students found their Jewish members in serious difficulty after the  
 suicide of his mistress, he was treated without sympathy and was  
 asked to resign.<sup>26</sup>

The best path which the Jewish students could take was the  
 founding of their own student group. The formation of one was  
 described in detail by Halberthal's Das Rätsel: Jude. This group  
 was formed at Marburg in the nineties.<sup>27</sup>

At the beginning of this period the Jewish student could not  
 defend himself through duelling. That privilege was denied him as  
 the Jew was not considered to possess any concept of honor. This  
 was shown to be true of students and of all Jews by Alfred  
 Schirokauer in Lassalle, at a slightly earlier time. Ulla Wolff  
 told that a convert might find the same difficulty in having his  
 challenge accepted.<sup>28</sup> The matter was discussed in "Mischpoche"<sup>29</sup>

Later the slightest provocation on the part of a Jew could  
 bring about a duel. Jakob Loewenberg showed offense taken at  
 a grin in Der gelbe Fleck; that indirect insult was considered  
 sufficient.<sup>30</sup> If the Jewish student fought back with words and  
 with deeds, he might win some respect as pointed out by Felix  
 Hollaender's Jesus und Judas. This condition of general hatred  
 and the constant need for self defense did not change at the  
 beginning of the twentieth century as Kurt Münzer showed in his<sup>31</sup>

novel Der Weg nach Zion.

The picture of Jewish education given by the writers concerned with these decades was brief and lacking in detail. Partly this may have been due to the fact that the transition in the pattern of education had already taken place. By the eighties the curriculum and the methods were well established and a decent education was expected of every Jew, at least in the big cities.

The authors did describe the struggles of individuals to avail themselves of higher learning. This was a part of the success stories of the period.

More Jews were attending the universities and met social problems there. These were the same issues which would bother them for the rest of their lives. As they failed to gain admission to the fraternities, so they later failed with general society.

Throughout the period the author's attention was focused on general education, not upon Jewish learning. It was mentioned only in connection with the older generation and with professionals as rabbis. The ordinary layman was not expected to have much Jewish knowledge. The process had been reversed in the course of the century; at its beginning secular knowledge was rare and Jewish learning common. At the end secular education was common and Jewish scholarship was almost unknown.

## Notes.

## Education 1871 - 1914.

1. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Auß Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, 165.
2. Ibid., V, 136 f.
3. Ulla Wolff, "Die Toten", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, III, 252.
4. Ibid., III, 261 f.
5. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 214 f, 236 f.
6. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, p. 32.
7. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 21.
8. Ibid., p. 32.
9. Josefa Metz, "Eine glückliche Ehe", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, XI, 235.
10. Ulla Wolff, "Naemi Ehrenfest", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VIII, 205.
11. Artur Landsberger, Millionäre; Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel Kämpfte; Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und Die Jungen; Plebs; Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X; etc.
12. Martin Beradt, Eheleute, p. 200.
13. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 197; "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 204.
14. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 204 f.
15. Ibid., VI, 193 f.
16. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 20.
17. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", Der Mischpoche-Rentner und andere Geschichten, p. 152.
18. Ernst Heilborn, Josua Kersten, pp. 46 f.
19. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 193; "Feine Seelen", op. cit., p. 152.
20. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, pp. 46 f.
21. Ibid., p. 159.
22. Jakob Loewenberg, "Der Herr Professor", Der gelbe Fleck, pp. 60 f.
23. Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille; Die Belowsche Ecke; Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", op. cit.
24. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, pp. 10 f.
25. Ibid., p. 181.
26. Ibid., p. 77.
27. Ibid., p. 345.
28. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 56.
29. Alfred Schirokauer, Lassalle, p. 111.
30. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", op. cit., X, 274.
31. Jakob Loewenberg, "Der gelbe Fleck", op. cit., p. 133.
32. Felix Hollaender, Jesus und Judas, pp. 64 f.
33. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, p. 205.

## Hatred and Friendship 1871 - 1914.

Early in the century the Jews had not expected friendship from the Gentile world around them; they received little of it from the Germans, but were well treated by the French. A little later as they left the ghetto they were aided by a number of Gentile Germans who spoke and fought for their rights. By the eighteen seventies most Jews had become modern men and women; they expected to be well received by the rest of the population and to see anti-Semitism slowly disappear from the scene. They were disappointed for hatred far outbalanced friendship during these decades. This was the picture of relations between Jews and Christians given by the authors of the century for the entire period.

Many anti-Semitic incidents were mentioned in the novels and short stories of these decades; twice it was the main theme of the novel.<sup>1</sup> Hatred of the Jew was vividly depicted among all classes of people; emphasis was placed by these writers upon the feelings of the lower class and the middle class. There were occasions when the bitterness was justified as in Konrad Sittenfeld's "Im Rechtsstaat". A cab driver of Berlin had an accident with a wealthy Jewish play-boy in the eighteen eighties. The boy's father refused to pay the damages although the young man had clearly been at fault. The poor cabman was forced to take the matter into court and suffered great losses during the prolonged hearing which was constantly delayed by various stratagems. Naturally the poor victim hated the wealthy Jewish banker, but this was soon turned into bitterness toward every other Jew as well.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the animosity did not have such a good basis, but was

as deeply felt. Some waitresses and shopgirls were shown to despise Jews; the good one was an exception to them. Konrad Sittenfeld pointed this out through several characters in Die Alten und die Jungen. A Berlin waitress in this novel commented upon a young Jew who tried to force his attentions on her. "Such swine..., they think that they can do what they like, just because of their tip of a few Groschen...they're drunk...they feel that as they've had luck with other girls, they'll have their way with every girl... I slapped that fat Jew down; he wont start up with me so soon again. There are some things you've got to permit as a waitress - it is part of the job, but this was going too far." Whenever this waitress referred to a Jewish customer, it was "the Jew-boy." She continued her comments upon Jews a little later. "She can't stand them. They give by far the best tips, but they are also the meanest and coarsest customers. It is not that she had qualms about sleeping with someone, but she must like him. She wont just do it for money; after all she is a waitress and earns enough for her needs. Such a Jew-boy, however, feels that he can just jingle a few coins in his pocket and that does the trick; he doesn't try to be a bit nice." This as well as the following incident was set in the eighties nineties.

These poor girls were often involved in affairs with Gentiles and Jews in these novels. They and their families took them rather casually. Ludwig Jacobowski in Werther, der Jude showed that there was little discussion about the morality of the matter, nor was there much opposition from home, except when a Jewish boy was involved. The Jew was cursed and mentioned in the vilest manner; only terms

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as "that idiot Jew" or "that damned Jew-boy" were used. In this particular case the father appeared less belligerent, so the daughter, who was involved with a Jewish student, tried to talk to him about the situation. She asked: "The Jews, the Jews - what have you got against the Jews? There are so many among them who must be considered first as men and then as Jews. You must think of people without looking at their religion." The father replied simply: "'You just don't know the Jews.'" When he saw that his daughter really pleaded for them and for tolerance, he stated that she had already become quite Judaized." He himself felt nothing but deep hatred and bitterness against the Jew who was involved with his daughter.<sup>9</sup> Derogatory statements about the Jew were so much a part of the daily vocabulary that this girl who tried to defend them used these words herself. She remarked on a person sitting nearby in a restaurant as "that ugly Jew."<sup>10</sup> The word "Jew" was odious to her; when her Jewish lover reproached her for this usage, she replied with some justification that he was too sensitive.<sup>11</sup>

A similar attitude was shown by another shop-girl in this novel of Ludwig Jacobowski. This young woman used her leisure time to attract the attention of men sitting in a nearby outdoor cafe. Once when she had succeeded she felt quite pleased "until she noticed that these young men were 'Jew-boys' and one of them had such a long nose, while another reminded her of a chimpanzee when he tried to smile. She was pleased with this apt comparison. She would certainly never dream of going with a Jew unless he were very rich and could give her grand presents."<sup>12</sup>

Beneath the love and the friendship of these girls there lay bitterness against the Jews. Kurt Münzer showed this feeling leap to the surface in Der Weg nach Zion. An affair in Berlin during the first decade of the twentieth century was about to end. The girl spoke her mind to her Jewish lover and called him every conceivable name. Finally she discovered the term which contained sufficient venom - "Jew, damned Jew" - which she then repeated a dozen times. <sup>13</sup>

Strong dislike of Jews was shown in a housemaid by Ludwig Jacobowski's Werther, der Jude. Jewish guests frequented this particular home. If they gave too little she cursed them. Finally if they were generous, she felt that "a Jew can naturally afford such a sum." The woman attempted to blackmail a Jew who had not tipped her sufficiently, but she failed. <sup>14</sup>

The strong feelings expressed by the lower class in the city were to be found among the peasants and villagers in the rural areas. In the small town of Landsdorf in Silesia a newcomer was eyed with suspicion as shown by Ulla Wolff in Das Wunderkind. He was dark and this complexion led many to believe that he might be of Jewish stock. They did not consider that he could be Italian or Spanish just as well. Only the Christian devotion of both the man and his wife quelled these doubts. He actually was a Jew by birth. <sup>15</sup>

The underlying animosity was demonstrated in little ways by several authors. Berthold Auerbach in Der Forstmeister had a Jew appear in the dream of a peasant during the eighteen seventies; he appeared in hell. <sup>16</sup> In Das schlafende Heer Clara Cohn discussed a Posen villager who liked a certain Jew; he considered the man his

friend, but he did not wish to ride in the same wagon with him if this could be avoided. This was set in the eighteen eighties.<sup>17</sup>

Crisis and liquor brought latent anti-Jewish feeling to the surface. A sober villager might have thoughts of hatred, but did nothing; a drunken villager acted according to his feelings without restraint. Clara Cohn gave a vivid description of mob violence against a Jew in Das schlafende Heer. In a village in Posen in the eighties a group of drunken peasants reeled through the streets; they saw the light burning in the store of a poor Jew and decided to punish him for his wickedness, which consisted in charging too much for meat and other foods. They discussed the matter among themselves and decided that although God punished the wicked in hell, the Jews were so evil that they ought to begin their punishment here on earth. They wanted to treat the Jew as the Jews had once treated Jesus. The Jew, who was worrying over his account books into which he could hardly enter any profit, was surprised. He wished that the night watchmen would come to his aid, but they did nothing. They heard the noise, but as the drunken peasants were only directing their mischief against Jews, it was of no concern to them. The peasants began to beat on the door of the store and the Jew realized that the bars would not detain the mob long, so he and his family escaped through a rear window and ran for their lives. The shop of the Jew was destroyed and the effect of the mob left him afraid and nervous for the rest of his life.<sup>18</sup>

Ulla Wolff reported another mob action in the Silesian town of Raudnitz in the nineties. In "Simon Eichelkatz" a Jew ran a gin-shop; he accidentally killed a Christian in the attempt of

separating two brawling customers. He was almost killed by a mob which gathered quickly, but the police finally succeeded in rescuing him. As he was removed from their grasp the people turned their anger on his wife and daughter as well as the shop. The family felt the hatred of the population as long as the man remained alive. The innkeeper himself committed suicide while  
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in prison before he had been tried.

Georg Hirschfeld told that anti-Semitism was the only bond which united the disgruntled elements in a small town in the Riesengebirge during the early years of the twentieth century. In Nachwelt he wrote: "The peasants who could not make a living from the soil hated the weavers who worked in the factories. Both groups together, however, hated the Jews. The Jews were the poorest group in the city, but they were accounted rich - that was the tradition. The morality of the Jews was high, but they had killed Christ; that  
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could not be denied."

The middle class in both the country and the city felt the same antipathy toward Jews. Markus Lehman in "Der Sohn der Witwe" described a miller in a village in Baden during the seventies who despised Jews. When he saw a Jew approaching his mill, he ordered him out of his yard and threatened to set his dogs on him, if he  
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did not leave immediately. A master-builder in Berlin toward the end of the century wished to emphasize a point in an ordinary conversation in the novel Der Baumeister by Felix Hollaender. He stated: "I believe that if I had a rich Jew in front of me now, I'd kill him without a moment's hesitation were it necessary to  
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reach my goal."

Most of the writers who dealt with the feelings of the middle class and business circles set their incidents in Berlin. Max Ring in Der grosse Krach summarized the attitude of many bankers toward Jewish firms and their personnel. "One must keep such men at least ten paces distant no matter how friendly and accomodating they might be. I trust them only as far as I can see them. After all even a pirate's ship may fly an honest flag. If we lose money through this, it means nothing, but if we lose honor, then, <sup>23</sup> everything is gone." There were businessmen who felt differently; they were willing to deal with Jews, but limited social contacts to a minimum <sup>24</sup> unless it happened to be necessary for business reasons. The main stream of middle class thought followed these lines. In financial affairs the Jews were to be watched with care while social contact was hardly a matter for discussion. Ulla Wolff showed how wide spread that feeling was during the eighties in her story "Feine <sup>25</sup> Seelen". When the occasion presented itself these people liked to mock the Jews. A quarrel took place in the apartment of a Jewish family in Kurt Münzer's Der Weg nach Zion; the Christian neighbors stood outside the door and shouted insults at the Jews inside. Then one stated: "When such a group of Jews get together you always think that they'll kill each other;" the <sup>26</sup> family arguments inside had become quite heated by that time. If the feeling of dislike was not expressed directly, it was done in an indirect manner understood by all. A woman in Ludwig Jacobowski's Werther, der Jude spoke to a Jewish boy during a fraternity party held at her home. The situation demanded superficial friendliness, but nevertheless she hinted

at her suspicion that his father had earned his wealth largely  
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 through dishonest business dealings.

These attitudes were shared by professors and ministers as well. A Christian professor in Das Mädchen von Lille by Georg Hirschfeld remained aloof from a well educated Jewish neighbor. He considered it below his dignity to address him although the man's grandson was one of his students. The Jew in this novel was filled with equal pride and was not willing to beg for atten-  
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 tion. Clara Cohn portrayed a minister in Das schlafende Heer who would give no credence to news heard from Jews; their word was  
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 sure to be unreliable. A liberal minister was encountered in Ludwig Jacobowski's Werther, der Jude. He had a Jewish friend for many years, but thought of him as the exception, the good Jew. He once wrote: "Were all Jews like you, there would be no Jewish problem." This was the most enlightened statement he  
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 could bring forth.

The upper class continued its old prejudices. In a disputed border area of Posen in the eighties Clara Cohn attributed utter dismay to one of her characters, a baron, in Das schlafende Heer; he was shocked by the promise of a poor Jew to vote for him in a coming election. He wished to have no contact with these people and did not care for the thought that he might in part be  
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 beholden to them. In Berlin at the end of the eighties another nobleman stated that "a real German cannot stand a Jew, though he might like their wives;" the conversation in Konrad Sittenfeld's  
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Die Alten und die Jungen continued in this vein. A more sympa-

thetic word could be expected readily only from a foreign tongue as from a French officer, slightly before the period under discussion. In Fanny Lewald's Ein armes Mädchen he spoke well of Berlin Jews and disagreed with his German counterparts on the attitude toward Jews.

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These prejudices expressed by all groups in adult society involved a considerable loss to Germany from its Jewish citizens. They had been willing to serve their country, but were shown that they were not welcome. Thus, as Theodor Weiss has shown in "Beim Patriarchen", they withdrew from public office or did not attempt to enter government employment initially.

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Anti-Semitism was fostered by many segments of German life. Its roots could be traced to childhood when the feelings of hatred began to be nourished. Arnold Zweig spoke of it in the primary grades in Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer. Ludwig Jacobowski pointed out that Jews and Christians sometimes formed close friendships during the early years of school, but the bitter break invariably came. After one sad experience the harm could not be undone and the break became permanent. The incident took place in Werther, der Jude and was set in the eighties. The same author told of the difficulties which a Jewish girl suffered in a small school. She was new to the town of G<sup>u</sup>nterthal, where the opening portions of the novel were set; she immediately felt the antipathy of her classmates and was ostracized by them. No opportunity to form any friendships was given her; the situation was made more difficult through her

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unfortunate ugliness. In the previous decade at the university level the same anti-Semitic feelings existed according to Jakob Loewenberg in Aus zwei Quellen. When the student arrived he found the legend "Jews get out" inscribed on the benches. The fraternities did not have restrictive clauses in their charters, but just did not take Jews. Many in the neighborhood of the university town expressed similar hatred of the Jew.<sup>37</sup>

Matters did not change at the beginning of the twentieth century; Kurt Münzer in Abendteuer der Seele dealt with a Jewish child lying near death in a hospital ward. Anti-Semitism was found there at the point of death.<sup>38</sup>

Jews defended themselves, but generally with little success as Ernst Heilborn has shown in Josua Kersten. A new Gentile lad had entered the class; at the end of the first day a Jewish child approached and told him that the teacher had ordered a difficult assignment to be completed by the next day. The youngster spent much of the night on it only to be told that it was a joke the next day; he had been teased. Now an anti-Semitic group in the class enlisted the new boy. The leader spoke of his hatred of Jews: "The Jews are our worst enemies. They deceive everyone! - just like Sternberg has tricked you. They have wormed their way into our life and seek to displace us. As all methods are fair to them, it isn't difficult for them. They already have gotten all the money... They are shrewd, but we are strong... In our class we have an anti-Jewish club called 'Holy Justice'. I am its leader and you can join it. There are ten members who meet before the hour of religious instruction when the enemies are absent. (Although this activity was well known by the entire class no faculty member ever tried to halt it). They then pick a victim who is ready for their fists from among the Christ-killers. Once the victim has been chosen, one of the group begins an argument with him; the rest of them then jump into the fray, spontaneously and proceed to beat him up. The group also secretly

subscribes to an anti-Semitic jokebook, entitled 'Justice'." Membership in this group gave the newcomer prestige among his classmates. <sup>39</sup> Later this boy felt sorry for one of the victims chosen by the group and became his best friend, but not without the occasional taunts of his other friends. <sup>40</sup> That boy died during the same year and the entire class attended the funeral. After it was over the boys of the anti-Semitic group sat in a bar and imitated the rabbi who had officiated at the cemetery. <sup>41</sup> The feeble attempts at defence generally failed as in this case.

Other Jewish students simply became accustomed to the hatred of their fellow citizens. Ludwig Jacobowski portrayed such a university student in Berlin during the nineties in his novel Werther, der Jude. The boy wandered around the streets of Berlin dreaming idely; "often unconsciously (he) knocked against a lamp-post, or against a passerby, but when he pushed against a man, the rude words: "'look where you're going Jew-boy,' awoke him to reality. He felt that he had become weak and enervated; daily he had taken such insults from street loafers, workers, and well dressed people also. He no longer possessed the vigorous hatred of former days. His hatred of these people had diminished. Their words had lost meaning as well through continuous repetition. He remembered that in childhood he had not even known why he was to be cursed; he had run to his mother's skirts and had hidden himself." <sup>42</sup>

Conditions in the schools had not improved, they had slowly become worse according to Jacobowski. A principal of a school in his book stated: "You must realize that anti-Semitism has made

great progress - this is a fact; but you must also realize that the people are illogical. They are illogical and they generalize all specific cases." In the mind of this man there was no true solution possible as this illogical state of mind could not be  
 43  
 approached successfully.

Anti-Semitism was spurred on by the newspapers as an example from Ludwig Jacobowski's Werther, der Jude pointed out. A boy had an affair with a Gentile girl; it had ended unhappily for both and the girl committed suicide. The Berlin paper told the story in the following vein: "Our reliable sources have informed us that this girl had an affair with a Jewish student - naturally! - who left suddenly when the consequences of the affair made themselves evident. In order to escape her shame, the girl leaped to her death in the waves. This 'honorable gentleman' is the son of the banker W. in G. who is said to have brought about the collapse of a stock issue a few months ago. Again an example of the corruption in our affairs brought about by Jews! The old ones deceive the plain, honest Michel while the young ones seduce his daughter!  
 44  
 Good Michel - do you still sleep? Awake!!..." This student who had left the university and gone home was sent the clipping by a fraternity brother without a note or signature. He had always been very sensitive about Jews and had felt that most Christians  
 45  
 were against him and his people. In his extreme sensitivity he felt that the Jews themselves were to blame for much of this  
 46  
 hatred. He always minimized the faults of any Christian. While wandering through the poor sections of the city, he felt shame and  
 47  
 blamed Jews for the poverty; upon reading of a court action against

usurers, he scanned the newspaper for Jewish sounding names and  
 was filled with fury if he found them.<sup>48</sup> When he fell in love with  
 the wife of a Gentile school director, he felt guilty although  
 nothing serious happened. The feeling of love indicated the  
 decline of morality in him and among all Jews.<sup>49</sup> He had a long  
 affair with a Gentile girl and then abandoned her; in this case  
 too he accused himself of callousness.<sup>50</sup> Distinctive Jewish types  
 were hated by him; he could not bear a cousin who had come into  
 his father's firm to help;<sup>51</sup> he was too Jewish and too sly.  
 These haunting fears had been built up slowly in his mind. The  
 difficult years as a student which had begun with the friend-  
 ship of his Gentile classmates, but had ended with their hatred;  
 his very sensitive nature; and the affair with the girl had driven  
 him to a nervous breakdown. Finally the news of the suicide of  
 his mistress and the attack upon him by the newspaper led him to  
 suicide.<sup>52</sup>

Hatred of the Jews was to be found in politics, even among  
 the liberal elements. When a Jew addressed a rally in Berlin at  
 the beginning of the twentieth century, he found it difficult to  
 work for the cause, as he continually had to defend himself as a  
 Jew.<sup>53</sup>

The matter of race and looks was mentioned a number of times  
 by the authors of this period. The feelings here added to anti-  
 Semitism. The editor of a great Berlin newspaper was described in  
 Konrad Sittenfeld's novel Wer ist der Stärkere. "Now a little man  
 stepped into the circle with crooked leg, crooked nose, a forest of  
 pitch-black hair in his face, dressed in badly fitting, worn, long

coat, according to his looks a second-hand dealer from the Spandauer Strasse or a peddler. At his side was a fat, middle aged, tastelessly, gaudily dressed woman with her features thickly encrusted in rouge." The features and the manner of dress were considered Jewish. Kurt Münzer mentioned that Jewish women were always thought of as dark and were surrounded by an aura of mystery. Several of the Jewish characters in the novels and stories considered these characteristics as correct. A young artist in "Feine Seelen" by Ulla Wolff claimed that he could recognize Jews without fail due to their racial features. Theodor Weiss admitted that there were a number of blond and blue eyed Jews as well; yet most as Ulla Wolff pointed out in "Simon Eichelkatz" could be considered Oriental. A student in Werther, der Jude did not think of himself as Jewish as he possessed Aryan features.

Another element in the sources of anti-Semitism was the odium connected with the word 'Jew' in the eyes of men from every class of society. Among the poor it was simply used as a bad word. Among the rich and the business classes various derogatory terms were used. Max Ring in Goldene Ketten used "the essence of the gilded Talmud" to describe one Jewish figure. A group of students in Felix Hollaender's Jesus und Judas felt that the Jews among them were too talkative; the slogan among them was "become a Jew and criticize." Merchants in Konrad Sittenfeld's Ablösung vor! used the phrase "those noblemen bargain like Israelites."

Jewish reaction to hatred varied. As had been pointed out in the case of students some sought to fight back slyly, but most became resigned to the constant expression of prejudice. In the

closing decade of the century there were a few who felt that the Jew must become a better fighter. This was proposed by a figure in Ulla Wolff's "Mischpoche". "One must learn to be an expert in riding, driving a carriage, skating, gymnastics, and swimming - then we shall also have the physical strength to defend ourselves." 63

Others had the attitude shown in Werther, der Jude; the cries of "hep-hep" would follow them throughout their lives. This resignation was aided by the fact that many knew frustrated Jewish architects who had become rich land speculators; government workers who had resigned as they could not be promoted; and other tales of goals not reached because of religion. Theodor Weiss gave these examples in "Beim Patriarchen". 64

As this author wrote, there had been better times earlier in the century, but even then tolerance had been given grudgingly. 65

A few were loathe to reveal their identity as Jews as long as it could be avoided; Felix Hollaender spoke of that in Traum und Tag. 66

The Jews of Western Germany felt as some of the leading figures in "Beim Patriarchen" by Weiss. They were filled with bitterness. The young saw only obstacles before them; the old recalled a lifetime of hopeless struggle behind them. 67

In Eastern Germany matters were different; a strong feeling of animosity existed against Christians. A banker in GUnthersthal in the nineties stated in Werther, der Jude by Ludwig Jacobowski: "One can be tolerant if one does not know the 'goyim', but if one has suffered then it is different." This man had been beaten by Gentiles when only four years old, had been insulted, and had felt the terrible pangs of hunger. There was only one form of revenge

which he could effectively take - to cheat them whenever the opportunity presented itself; he had no scruples about doing so. A little later in the novel even this man was attracted by the liberal views of his son, but he could never entirely understand that attitude of tolerance and friendship.

The occasions of friendly relations between Jews and Gentiles in the novels of this period were very few. Toward the end of the century a young liberal minister was willing to maintain contact with a Jewish comrade of his youth, as told by Weiss. Common interests were shown to attract men of the two religions. In Hugo Landsberger's Der neue Gott the bond was political; in Konrad Sittenfeld's Die Alten und die Jungen it came about through simple good conversation. Men of both faiths mixed to some extent at summer resorts as mentioned by Fritz Mauthner in Die Sonntage der Baronin, or at regular guest tables in fine restaurants as in Die Belowsche Ecke, Georg Hirschfeld's novel. At times the Jew would cause the Christian to doubt his religion; this happened in Ernst Heilborn's Josua Kersten. There were some prostitutes who preferred Jews as one in Kurt Münzer's Der Weg nach Zion.

As shown in a previous chapter Jews often attempted to take the initiative in forming friendships, but generally this was stimulated by the desire for social advantage. In Das Mädchen von Lille by Georg Hirschfeld a very proud Jew began a friendship with a haughty Christian as he believed that he might be able to help him and his family.

According to the records of the time and the presentation in

works of history, conditions were not as grim as they have been painted by the authors of this period. They seemed impressed mainly by the darker side of the picture and above all by the lack of progress. During these years anti-Semitism had grown stronger rather than weaker. The struggles which had seemed to assure success and with it complete equality had failed. The hatred which existed in their time, latent and expressed, led them to the thought that no solution to the problem of anti-Semitism existed. Most of the works of this period viewed the matter with little hope. It led some to despair; it brought others like Herzl to Zionism; still another group began a re-examination of Judaism. Clearly the future which the Jews had hoped to see under a newly united Germany had not come about.

## Notes.

## Hatred and Friendship 1871 - 1914.

1. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude; Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude.
2. Konrad Sittenfeld, "Im Rechtsstaat", Plebs, p. 192 ff.
3. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 106.
4. Ibid., I, 107.
5. Ibid., I, 111.
6. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 25.
7. Ibid., p. 96.
8. Ibid., p. 230.
9. Ibid., p. 281.
10. Ibid., p. 25.
11. Ibid., pp. 26 f.
12. Ibid., p. 220.
13. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, p. 519.
14. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 197.
15. Ulla Wolff, Das Wunderkind, (Berlin, 1884), p. 17.
16. Berthold Auerbach, Der Forstmeister, (Berlin, 1879), p. 75.
17. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, p. 204.
18. Ibid., pp. 394 ff.
19. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, VI, 191.
20. Georg Hirschfeld, Nachwelt, p. 299.
21. Markus Lehmann, "Der Sohn der Witwe", Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, V, 164.
22. Felix Hollaender, Der Baumeister, (Berlin, n.d.), p. 8.
23. Max Ring, Der grosse Krach, I, 69.
24. Ibid., I, 61.
25. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", Der Mischpoche-Rentner und andere Erzählungen, p. 166.
26. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, p. 147.
27. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 30.
28. Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, p. 16.
29. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, p. 192.
30. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 45.
31. Clara Cohn, Das schlafende Heer, pp. 264 f.
32. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 74.
33. Fanny Lewald, Ein armes Mädchen, (Berlin, 1862), p. 15.
34. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, IV, 173.
35. Arnold Zweig, Aufzeichnungen über eine Familie Klopfer, p. 61; also A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, pp. 23 f.
36. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 81.
37. Ibid., pp. 32 f; Jakob Loewenberg, Aus zwei Quellen, pp. 142 ff.
38. Kurt Münzer, "Das Geheimnis des Kleiderspindels", Abenteuer der Seele, (Berlin, 1908), p. 189.
39. Ernst Heilborn, Josua Kersten, pp. 42 f.
40. Ibid., p. 45.

41. Ibid., pp. 66 f.
42. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 20.
43. Ibid., pp. 156 f.
44. Ibid., p. 347.
45. Ibid., p. 56.
46. Ibid., p. 52.
47. Ibid., p. 68.
48. Ibid., p. 53.
49. Ibid., p. 194.
50. Ibid., p. 199.
51. Ibid., p. 7.
52. Ibid., p. 349.
53. A. Halberthal, Das Rätsel: Jude, p. 125.
54. Konrad Sittenfeld, Wer ist der Stärkere, I, 109.
55. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, pp. 56 f.
56. Ulla Wolff, "Feine Seelen", op. cit., p. 93.
57. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 180.
58. Ulla Wolff, "Simon Eichelkatz", op. cit., VI, 236.
59. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 106.
60. Ibid., p. 25; Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, p. 519.
61. Max Ring, Goldene Ketten, (Breslau, 1881), III, 210.
62. Felix Hollaender, Jesus und Judas, p. 23.
63. Konrad Sittenfeld, Ablösung vor!, p. 128.
64. Ulla Wolff, "Mischpoche", Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, X, 254.
65. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, pp. 45 f; Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 176 f.
66. Felix Hollaender, Traum und Tag, pp. 36 f.
67. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 156 f, 159 f, 173 f.
68. Ludwig Jacobowski, Werther, der Jude, p. 324.
69. Ibid., p. 330.
70. Theodor Weiss, "Beim Patriarchen", op. cit., IV, 183 f.
71. Hugo Landsberger, Der neue Gott, p. 51.
72. Konrad Sittenfeld, Die Alten und die Jungen, I, 165.
73. Fritz Mauthner, "Zwei Sommer in Reinerz", Die Sonntage der Baronin, p. 145.
74. Georg Hirschfeld, Die Belowsche Ecke, p. 10.
75. Ernst Heilborn, Josua Kersten, p. 67.
76. Kurt Münzer, Der Weg nach Zion, pp. 154 f.
77. Georg Hirschfeld, Das Mädchen von Lille, pp. 89 ff, 138 f.

## VII

## Conclusion.

In the preceding chapters the German Jewish novel and short story has been analyzed. The major areas of Jewish concern treated there have been discussed. The changes which took place in German Jewry from 1800 to 1914 were reflected in the books of the period. A number of general conclusions may be drawn from this material aside from the matters discussed within each chapter.

The books and stories used for this thesis were written for the general reading public; only a few of them were directed specifically toward a Jewish audience. They were popular books and attracted a large number of readers; this must have limited the scope of the authors to some degree. A number of them as Auerbach, Bernstein, and others wrote essays and articles on Jewish subjects in which they expressed themselves more fully and more philosophically upon Jewish matters. In these popular novels such themes would have been out of place.

The novels and short stories followed the changes in form and style of the time as has been briefly noted in the introduction to the literature of the age. A form which was almost entirely lacking was that of apologetics. Only Salomo Formstecher wrote a novel with the purpose of correcting the Gentile impression of the Jewish world. The stories of Markus Lehmann defended a particular Jewish point of view, but they were not concerned with the attitude of the Gentile world. The tales and novels did not idealize the Jew nor did they attempt in an obvious manner to defend Judaism or the Jew. The German Jew of the last century was eager to be accepted by the Christian social and cultural world; many examples from history and

from the literature of this period could be cited. Despite that these books were not used for apologetic purposes although they might have lent themselves to this easily.

In evaluating these writings it would have been useful to know something of the lives of each author. In most instances very little material was available. Only a few authors have been discussed in lengthy biographies. Others were mentioned briefly in works of reference or in the more readily accessible periodical literature; there were a number of writers for whom no biographical data could be found. It might be noted that the use of pseudonyms was common among these writers. With the exception of Aron Bernstein who wrote under the pen name A. Rebenstein, all effectively hid the Jewish origin of the writer or in the case of women authors, their sex.

A number of authors converted to Christianity; among them the most prominent were August Lewald, Fanny Lewald, and Clara Cohn. Baptism did not embitter them against the people of their parents. On the contrary both of the Lewald's gave sympathetic treatment to most of their Jewish characters. They dealt with the problems faced by Jews in an understanding manner. The minor writers who converted continued to favor Jewish figures as well. The bond with Judaism had not been completely broken. In the nineteenth century there were anti-Semitic converts in Germany, but fortunately none appeared among the novelists of the period.

Jewish life of the nineteenth century can be seen more clearly through these books. Many problems as well as customs were made vivid by the descriptions given, but the writers avoided large areas of Jewish life. The material discussed represented only a rather small portion of

the German Jewish scene; the interpretation given was often too sweeping to be accurate. Despite the large number of writers most of them emphasized certain elements and avoided others. This was not so noticeable in the books which dealt with the first half of the century; most aspects of Jewish life were portrayed. The precarious existence of the peddlers and innkeepers was vividly shown. The strength and the weakness of family life were fully given. The changes in social, religious, and educational matters were well presented both in the rural areas and in the cities. The difficult years which followed the War of Liberation and the disappointment so keenly felt by the Jews who longed for equal rights were fairly treated. The picture which was presented to the reader by both contemporary authors and by others who wrote much later was full and fair. The figures in the novels and short stories were occasionally too romanticized, but this affected the Jewish and Christian characters equally; it marked the style of certain authors. Others painted the scene very realistically.

During the second portion of the century and the period to the First World War matters changed. The attention of the authors, in several cases the same men who had written earlier, shifted to the cities and their problems. By this time a large portion of the Jewish population had moved to towns and cities as well. The authors no longer presented all aspects of Jewish life, but concentrated upon social and economic problems. They no longer dealt with different classes of Jews, but emphasized the newly rich Jew and his rise to power. The areas primarily described were the stock exchange, the banks, the factories, and the department stores in the realm of

economics; in the social world marriage, intermarriage, conversion, assimilation, and anti-Semitism were the principal elements of these novels. The poor Jews of the cities, the large group of shopkeepers, artisans, white collar employees, and the professionals were practically omitted from these books. The problems which faced these men and women interested the authors, but they chose to depict Gentiles in those roles rather than Jews. Many novelists wrote with bitterness of the painful existence led by large numbers in the big cities, yet few of those who suffered were shown to be Jews. The Jews who labored for better conditions among the working classes in politics or in the realm of trade unions appeared rarely in these works.

Other matters were omitted as well. Although America was mentioned fairly frequently in the books, the emigration to that land or to any other was never fully described. Berthold Auerbach and Aron Bernstein wrote of it several times, but other novelists were not interested in this theme.

Religious matters were given indifferent treatment; customs and ceremonies were described, though not often fully, but the basic changes in Judaism were not discussed. The 'Science of Judaism' was not mentioned even once; the Reform movement or attempts at organized religious changes were described in passing references.

Even in the areas specially chosen by these authors much was omitted. The emphasis was placed upon the Jew as financier while the Jew in industry was virtually neglected. Anti-Semitism was given great attention, but the good relations which had been built up by many small town Jews played a minor role in the books.

The authors naturally stressed the exciting and the unusual, yet

when that has been considered the area of Jewish life which appeared remains suprisingly narrow.

At the conclusion of the century the authors showed the frustration felt by many German Jews. The high hopes of full acceptance into German life had died; the paths which appeared open to them earlier in the century were now closed. The hopelessness made itself apparent in literature decades before it was generally felt by the German Jew. There seemed to be no answer to the problems which had faced the Jew through the entire century. The solutions suggested by the twentieth century, among them Zionism, a reappraisal of Judaism, and new philosophic approaches as that of Rosenzweig, had not yet appeared on the scene or were only beginning to be evident. The realistic novels of that time and the bitterly sarcastic ones held out no hope.

These books which discussed Jews and Judaism and were widely read in Germany must have had an effect on the German Gentile public. Many of the works were very popular; they appeared first in serial form in magazines or newspapers. A large number appeared in various editions. Some authors had a public sufficiently loyal to publish fifty different novels; in other cases fine editions of the collected works appeared. The books reached a large audience and thus added to the picture of the Jew possessed by the German.

The portrait given during the first half of the century was sympathetic. The Jews for the most part lived in simple rural surroundings or had just moved to the cities. Sometimes the characters were idealized; in other cases gentle humor was used. The rural and the urban Jews were presented fairly with their weakness

shown alongside their good points.

During the remainder of the period to the First World War the rural Jew continued to be treated sympathetically, but the number of authors concerned with him decreased to less than half a dozen. The urban Jew was shown in a different light. Some Jews of the big city were drawn straight from life; money lenders, pawnbrokers, and petty merchants were treated realistically and the reader had them set before him without judgement. Most of the other Jewish characters were painted in the worst possible light. All the characteristics attributed to Jews by anti-Semites may be found in the realistic and naturalistic novels of the turn of the century. These Jews were credited with few good traits. Undoubtedly the Jews were guilty of many of the evils connected with the growth of an industrial society, but they were not so universally and exclusively guilty. The authors in some cases were guided primarily by a desire for the sensational; even that should not have led to such extreme characterizations. The general picture of the Jew and Jewish life given a Gentile by these books would not differ greatly from that presented by anti-Semitic literature. Here was the rich, greedy Jew anxious for social success, deeply concerned with assimilation, often ready for conversion, troubled by anti-Semitism, and indifferent to his religion as well as his historic past. The precise impact which this image of the Jew had upon the German public would be difficult to evaluate. It would be interesting to see whether the Nazis made any use of these descriptions of Jews by Jews.

The German Jewish authors entered the nineteenth century filled with hope for the future of their people in Germany. They firmly

believed that the stream of German life and Jewish life could be effectively united. This dream remained for much of the century, but at the end it faded away. The solution for which they hoped had not come to pass; when the 'final solution' came, most of these authors had mercifully passed from the scene.

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