Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618–1945

Marion A. Kaplan,
Editor

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English Glossary

We have used the standard Sephardic pronunciations and spellings of Hebrew words in the text (similar to modern-day Hebrew) rather than the original *Ashkenazic* pronunciation or spelling.

ABITUR: University qualifying exam given at the completion of the Gymnasium.

ALTREICH: Pre-1938 Germany.

ARBA KANFOT: (lit. "four corners") Fringed four-cornered garment traditionally worn under outer clothing by Jewish males.

ASHKENAZ: Hebrew for Germany, later extended to all parts of northern Europe where the descendants of the medieval German Jews settled.

BAAL SHEM: (lit. "Master of the Name") Title of a rabbi who ostensibly made miracles happen.

BAR MITZVAH: (lit. "Son of the Commandment") The ceremony in which a boy attains religious manhood and responsibility upon reaching the age of thirteen.

BEDECKEN: Veiling ceremony before a traditional Jewish wedding.

BEHELFER: (lit. "helper") Teacher's assistant in a traditional Jewish school (*heder*).

BETH HAMIDRASH: House of study in which male householders and scholars studied religious texts and held religious services.

BILDUNG: Education and cultivation, including character formation, moral growth, and good breeding.

BOCHER: An unmarried yeshiva student.

BRAUTSCHAU: Viewing of the bride by the groom before he decides if he will marry her.

Cholent (also called *shalet*): Traditional Sabbath dish that baked overnight and was eaten at the mid-day meal on Saturday. Recipes vary.

Dayyanim: Judges in a rabbinical court of law.

Eruv: ("Sabbath boundary") Symbolic enclosure (usually of poles and wire) creating the legal fiction of a walled area within which carrying objects on the Sabbath is permissible.

Galchisch: (lit. "tonsured," pertaining to Christian priests) Writing in Latin letters, that is, in the non-Jewish alphabet.

Gemara: Babylonian Talmud, an expansion of Mishnaic teachings.

Goy: A gentile (non-Jew).

Gymnasium (pl. Gymnasia): Secondary school with a classical curriculum based on Latin and Greek, intended to prepare boys (and, after 1908, girls) for the university. One can leave *Volksschule* to attend Gymnasium after the fourth grade.

Halachah (adj. *halachic*): Rabbinic jurisprudence dealing with religious obligations, encompassing practically all aspects of human behavior.

Hallah (pl. *hallot*): Special loaves of bread, usually braided, for the Sabbath and festivals.

Hanukkah: Eight-day festival to commemorate the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem in 164 b.c.e.

Haskalah: (lit. "enlightenment") The movement of Jews toward more secular knowledge during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries parallel to their emancipation.

Hazan: Cantor who leads synagogue services.

Heder (pl. *hadarim*): (lit. "room") Traditional religious school that usually met in the teacher's home.

Hehalutz: Organization of young Zionists connected with the Jewish labor movement in Palestine.

Hevrah (pl. *hevrot*): Traditional Jewish charity organization.

Hevrah Kaddisha: Burial society.

Höhere Schule: Upper-level school. After four years of *Volksschule*, pupils can attend either a *Realschule*, Gymnasium, or Realgymnasium. These are also affiliated with (mostly private) elementary schools.

Holekrasch: Baby naming ceremony common in southern Germany.

Huppah: Canopy at a wedding ceremony under which the bridal couple stood.

Kabbalah: Doctrines of Jewish mysticism.

Kaddish: Aramaic prayer traditionally said by mourners on behalf of deceased close relatives.

Kashrut: Kosher or dietary laws separating milk and meat products, prohibiting certain foods, and requiring ritual slaughtering.

Kest: Financial support of a newly wed couple by their parents for a period of time.

Ketubah: Jewish marriage contract.

Kiddush: Prayer recited over wine or bread on the eve of the Sabbath or a festival.

Lilith: Some traditional German Jews believed her to be a female demon who would harm newborn children.

Maskil (pl. *maskilim*): Proponents of a Jewish Enlightenment.

Matza (pl. matzot): Unleavened bread eaten on Passover, made from dough free of yeast and baked before it could rise.

Mazal Tov: Congratulations.

Medina (pl. *medinas*): Term used by Jewish traders for the territory in which they regularly did business.

Melamed (pl. *melamdim*): Hebrew teacher.

Meshumad: Apostate, a Jewish convert to Christianity.

Mikveh (pl. mikvaot): Ritual bath.

Minyan (pl. *minyanim*): Prayer quorum of ten adult males.

Mishnah: (lit. teaching or instruction) Compilation of rabbinic teachings (oral law) dating from the land of Israel around 200 c.e.

Mitzvah Tanz: Dance with the bride in which the male dancers hold one end of a belt or handkerchief and the bride holds the other end.

Mohel: Circumciser.

Nothhandel: (lit. "emergency trade") Pejorative term for Jewish petty trade.

Pentateuch: The first five books of the Bible, also known as the Torah or the Five Books of Moses.

Pitum: The end of the citron used on the holiday of Sukkot, consisting of the remnant of the wilted flower.

Realschule: Six years of schooling beyond the first four years of *Volksschule* (or private school). Offers a mid-level degree and focuses on modern, rather than classical, education.

Rebbe: Colloquial title for a teacher in a traditional Jewish school. Also the title of a hasidic rabbi.

Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (*RVe*): Central Association of Jews in Germany, forced on the Jewish community by the Nazis after the November Pogrom (1938).

Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden (*RV*): Central Organization of German Jews forced to change its name after the Nuremberg Laws (1935) to *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (*RV*), Central Organization of Jews in Germany.

Responsum (pl. *responsa*): Written answers on issues of Jewish law and learning from rabbinic scholars to queries from lay people, communities, or other rabbis.

Rishus: (lit. "evil") German-Jewish term for antisemitism.

Rosh Hashanah: The Holy Day celebrating the Jewish New Year.

Schacherhandel: Pejorative term for Jewish petty trade.

Schulklopfen: The traditional practice of loudly knocking on the door of Jewish homes to call adult males to religious services.

Secessionist Orthodoxy: The Prussian Law of 1876 made secession from the synagogue community possible without simultaneous loss of membership in the Jewish religion. Thus Orthodoxy split between those who seceded and those who remained within the original community.

Seder: Ritual meal eaten on the first two nights of Passover.

Shabbesgoy/Shabbesgoye: Gentile man or woman who did work (like lighting and extinguishing fires) on the Sabbath forbidden to Jews by religious law.

Shammash: Sexton, responsible for synagogue maintenance and physical preparations for religious services.

Shehitah: Ritual animal slaughter.

Sheitel (also *Haarsheitel*): (lit. "part in the hair") Marriage wig prescribed by Jewish tradition for married women.

Shofar: A ram's horn blown as a kind of trumpet in rituals during the High Holy Day synagogue services.

Shohat (pl. *shohatim*): Kosher meat slaughterers.

Shtetl: Small eastern European market town with large Jewish population.

Siddur: Prayer book.

Simhat Torah: (lit. "rejoicing of the Law") Celebration of the completion and beginning anew of the annual reading of the Torah on the ninth day of Sukkot.

Simultanschule: Public school not associated with a specific religious denomination (but often having a Christian atmosphere).

Siyyum: A festive meal or refreshment served at the completion of studying a tractate of the Talmud.

Sukkah: Small booth with openings to the sky used to celebrate.

Sukkot (also Sukkos): Feast of Tabernacles.

Synagogenordnungen: Regulations introducing decorum into the synagogue service.

Talmud: Body of Jewish law and lore collected between 200 b.c.e. and 500 c.e. incorporating the Mishnah and the rabbinical discussions of the Mishnah known as the *Gemara*.

Tefilin: Phylacteries. Boxes containing scriptural verses tied on to the left arm and forehead by Jewish men during weekday morning prayers.

Tisha B'av: The ninth of Av, a holy day in which Jews fast, mourning the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem.

Tkhines: Women's supplicatory prayers in the vernacular.

Torah: Jewish religious law and teachings. In the narrower sense refers specifically to the Pentateuch.

Tosafot: (lit. "additions") A series of commentaries on 30 tractates of the Talmud written by a school of scholars known as the Tosafists between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

Tse'ena Ure'ena: (lit. "Go forth and see") Traditional Yiddish paraphrase of the Bible intended mainly for women and known as the "women's Bible."

Tzaddik: (lit. "righteous man") Title of a Hasidic rabbi.

Volksgemeinschaft: Nazi term for "racial community."

Volksschule: Elementary school, ending after eighth grade, and obligatory for all children (insofar as they do not attend the first years of a *Höhere Schule*).

Yeshivah (pl. yeshivot): Schools for males studying advanced Talmud.

Yom Kippur: The Day of Atonement.

Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618–1945

Introduction

Marion A. Kaplan

The history of German Jewry is a drama depicting the gradual ascent of Jews from impoverished outcasts to comfortable bourgeois citizens and then their striking descent during the Nazi years. This history has been analyzed from the "outside," by looking at the histories of antisemitism,[1] state discrimination, or political emancipation (the almost century-long process of granting equality to the Jews).[2] It has been studied from the "inside" by scrutinizing religious, social and cultural changes, and the politics of Jews toward their state or national governments or toward each other. More recently, historians have looked at local and regional histories, family histories, and women's histories.[3]

German-Jewish historiography has benefited enormously from social history, its studies of demography, socioeconomic structure, social mobility, occupational patterns, and organizations. But "social history has preferred the impersonal to the intimate"[4] and often misses individual variations by leaving out important issues, such as gender, milieu, mentalities, and identities. Our approach grew out of a desire to examine the everyday lives of ordinary Jews in Germany. Building on social, economic, and political history, it focuses more closely on how changing structures and cultural shifts affect subjective experiences and on how individuals carved out a place for themselves in society. We have attempted to reveal the qualitative aspects of ordinary life—people's emotions, perceptions, and mentalities.[5] We wondered how ordinary Jews made sense of their world: How did they construe changes brought about by industrialization? How did they make decisions to enter new professions or remain with the old? How did they interpret the newly flourishing organizational life that grew in the context of late nineteenth-century antisemitism? Did they join non-Jewish associations or not? We attempted to explore the

material circumstances and social relationships of daily life, concentrating on "social history in its experiential or subjective dimensions."[6]

A historian of everyday life, Alf Lüdtke, has coined the term *Eigensinn*, "self-affirmation" or "agency," to describe how people became active agents in their worlds, how they refused merely to be acted upon by outside forces, and how they pushed against boundaries. He noted "the innumerable small ways in which [workers] created and defended a sense of self, demarcated a kind of autonomous space, and generally affirmed themselves in a hostile and limiting world."[7] He could have been writing about German Jews. Within frequently hostile political, social, and cultural structures, Jews were not just victims but also agents: they deciphered and reframed events, defended themselves, and sometimes got their way. Moreover, even when they adapted to German culture, they did so through a process of negotiation, retaining elements of Jewish culture that were important to them. In addition, when they faced antisemitism publicly and courageously, the internal costs were often high. Even in the best of times, antisemitism continued to limit aspirations and achievements and to cause anguish. Whether Jews responded by flight, fight, or something in between, antisemitism affected self-reliance, self-respect, and self-determination. Histories of daily life allow us to see these private, personal, often concealed reactions.

Germany's Jews lurched between progress and setbacks, between fortune and terrible misfortune. German society shunned Jews in the eighteenth century, opened unevenly to them in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and turned murderous in the Nazi era. From the Jewish side, the adoption of secular, modern European culture (the Enlightenment) and the struggle for legal equality (emancipation) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries exacted profound costs in terms of effort, anxiety, and frustration. Even in the heady years of progress, awareness of a basic insecurity accompanied Jews, confirmed and intensified by each new menace, and stored in the memories of successive generations. Despite vast differences in wealth and culture, German Jews retained a shared awareness of their tenuous situation.[8]

This does not mean that Jews always lived in dread of genocide or that genocide was inevitable. This is often the popular view of German-Jewish history. Of course, antisemitism persisted as a frightful leitmotif throughout German-Jewish history. Medieval and early modern rulers, supported by church and popular opinion, discriminated against Jews in politics, the economy, and society. Jews could not live where they chose, had to pay extra taxes, and suffered a variety of both petty and significant discrimination depending on the will and whim of the local rulers and elites. Moreover, they were recurrently at the mercy of angry crowds. In the modern era, religious intolerance burgeoned into racial hatred. Germany has the unenviable distinction of being the land in which the term "antisemitism," with its implication of a Semitic "race," was coined and popularized, in addition to the land that perpetrated the Holocaust.[9]

Still, from the mid–nineteenth century through the Weimar Republic, Jews achieved success amid and despite antisemitism. In the second half of the

nineteenth century, German state governments emancipated Jews, allowing them to settle where they wished and to participate in the economy with few formal restrictions. In addition, universities opened up to them and, after unification, the German Empire (1871–1918) permitted full Jewish political participation. The history of these years belies the simplistic interpretation that German antisemitism followed a straight path from Luther to Hitler.

Just as German history cannot be typecast, neither can Germans. They were not uniformly antisemitic, and they encompassed a wide variety of religious, regional, political, and class allegiances that fostered different attitudes at different times toward Jews. Often, in Imperial Germany, Protestants and Catholics, Prussians and Bavarians, and workers and employers were more hostile to each other than to the tiny Jewish minority—hovering at around 1 percent of the population.[10] Germans interacted with varying degrees of openness toward and distance from Jews. One could argue that during the entire period under study, Jews could not predict individual Germans' reactions at the grassroots level: both an eighteenth-century Jewish woman merchant and a persecuted Jew in Nazi Germany could find individuals willing to do business with them or show kindness toward them.

Between these chronological and political extremes, Jews could encounter non-Jewish Germans willing to accept them in politics, the economy, education, clubs, and culture. In many of cases, in fact, Jews were central, not peripheral, to the enterprise. In addition, Jews could encounter non-Jewish Germans willing to befriend them and even marry them. There were also individual Germans who would accept some of these inclusions but balk at others, inviting Jews to their clubs but not to their homes, for example. These moments of inclusion and exclusion provide another vantage point from which to study German society. A variety of German behaviors emerge in the history of Jewish everyday life that would rarely be apparent from other perspectives. This approach forces us to acknowledge diversity among Germans and inhibits the tendency to read the history of Jews and Germans backward from the Holocaust.

Like the diversity among non-Jewish Germans, our research unearthed a wide array of Jews in Germany, not only over time but also at any given moment. Often within the same region—even village—and within the same class, diversity trumped generalizations. For example, in the late nineteenth century, one could still distinguish varieties of religiosity within a single, tiny village known for its religious observance. Individuals themselves demonstrated divided loyalties and fluid identities. After emancipation, a person's circumstances often determined which identity—or combinations of identities—prevailed at a particular time, be it Jewish, German, Bavarian, student, mother, or veteran of the war of 1870.[11]

There were probably as many German-Jewish histories as there were German-Jewish identities. This does not mean that we have found only trees and no forest. On a macro level—over three hundred years—we have noted the change from a community with a culture of its own and restricted ties to the surrounding German society to a modern minority, one in which Jews be-

lieved that they were Germans "of the Jewish faith." This trend toward a changed consciousness and toward integration with the surrounding society—and its striking reversal under the Nazis—is indisputable. Still, we tried to respect the multiplicity of expectations and social behaviors among Jews and between Jews and non-Jews even as we delineated larger transformations. And we tried to historicize Jewish identities rather than taking them for granted or seeing them as self-evident.[12]

We have examined the ambiguities of acculturation, the desire of most Jews to adopt what they considered "German culture," and of assimilation, the attempt by a small minority of Jews to melt into the majority, ultimately through intermarriage or conversion. Starting in the late eighteenth century, German Jews acculturated as a result of their positive valuation of German Enlightenment culture, not only in response to the lures of emancipation or the fear of antisemitism. Yet Jews refashioned "German culture" for themselves, drawn by an equally powerful desire to retain some degree of Jewish identity. Acculturation remained in dynamic tension with Jewish affinities and traditions. Ambivalence, conflict, and compromise marked the attempt by Jews to retain their religious or ethnic distinctiveness while also participating as modern, secular citizens. Could one be both a German and a Jew? If so, where, when, and how? How did Jews reevaluate their multiple identities before and after emancipation, during the Weimar era, under Nazi persecution? We have shown how individuals' thoughts and behaviors can be used to answer some of these questions.

Jews' attitudes toward and observances of their religion shifted not only over time but also within a lifetime. We have looked at these patterns of change by focusing on personal, gendered, and spontaneous expressions of faith and heritage rather than on scholarly texts, religious debates, or institutional developments. We analyzed the milieu in which religious practice continued or diminished, looked at the attachments of individuals to their religion, and tried to understand how these attachments could change. Daily experiences shed light on how historical processes affect religion. In addition, they offer an answer to the question of what religion meant in a particular historical context—faith, practice, and community, or some combination of these elements?

Our research has brought a number of surprises. For example, Jewish men traveled a great deal to earn a living, from the seventeenth until at least the early twentieth century. The effects of this travel on Jewish family life revised some sentimental and idyllic notions of it. Moreover, we discovered that early modern Jews were not as isolated from non-Jews as has been commonly thought: the ghetto was not at all typical of early modern life.[13] Throughout the period under study, Jews had intensive and extensive contacts with non-Jews. They often lived in the same neighborhoods, sometimes in the same buildings, and did business with each other.

The sweeping notion of "change," too, does not hold up in the face of new evidence. Change was uneven. Many of the demographic, religious, and cultural patterns of preemancipation Jewry persisted into the 1840s, and sometimes into the 1870s. Even after urbanization, economic improvement, reli-

gious reform, and the acquisition of German education, not all Jews moved to cities or quickly entered the bourgeoisie. Indeed, when most did, in the Imperial era and the Weimar period, great variety persisted. Even as the Jewish community faced widespread and rapid decline under the Nazis, individuals experienced the effects of persecution differently.

This book begins in the seventeenth century, the early modern period among Jewish communities in the German states, principalities, and duchies, and concludes in 1945, a caesura in German-Jewish life (but not the end of Jewish life in Germany, which continues through today). Robert Liberles wrote the first section, ending around 1780 (the beginnings of the debate on emancipation); Steven Lowenstein continued from that point until the foundation of the German Empire; and Marion Kaplan analyzed the era of Imperial Germany. Trude Maurer concentrated on the Weimar and Nazi periods, including an extra chapter on Jewish life *in extremis*—increasing persecution, forced labor, deportation, and hiding. The study's geographical core remains roughly within the perimeter of Imperial Germany despite the existence of German-speaking Jewry in bordering areas. During the Nazi era, we focused on Jewish life in Germany, not on the death camps to the east.

Within these boundaries, we looked at materials from the entire German Empire, but we homed in on specific urban areas and regions for depth and differentiation. For example, Berlin, the capital city, and two other major cities, the former Hanseatic city of Hamburg in the north and the city of Frankfurt am Main in the west, offer different urban political and cultural atmospheres. In southern Germany, particularly in Baden and Franconia, we found many examples of village and small-town Jewry. The wealth of sources coming from these urban and rural areas (and, of course, the large number of Jews living there from the mid–nineteenth century onward)[14] offered greater variety and intensity to our study.

To delineate "Jewish life," we focused on both internal Jewish life—family, religion, culture, and Jewish community—and the external world of German culture and society in which Jews and non-Jews mingled, made business relationships, cultivated friendships, and (from the later nineteenth century onward) sometimes married. Each section, organized chronologically, spotlights specific topics. Individual chapters describe the surroundings in which Jews lived; examine the nuclear and extended family; explore paid work and housework; inquire into religious and secular education; analyze religious beliefs, practices, and affiliations; and depict the variety of leisure-time activities open to Jews. What we did not do was to focus on Jewish regional or national institutions or leaders. Nor did we look at how Jews interacted with or lobbied German institutions or how they worked within political parties and the state. There has been some research on these topics, although more is surely needed.[15]

Our sources ranged from memoirs, letters, and diaries to rabbinic *responsa* (replies by rabbinic scholars applying Jewish law to queries concerning the exigencies of daily life), communal and organizational histories, and Jewish newspapers.[16] Each source came with its own set of strengths and weaknesses.

Memoirs, letters, and diaries can offer an abundance of detail about everyday life and can provide valuable, often rare glimpses into emotions. Nevertheless, contemporary platitudes, a nostalgic glow, and writers' conscious and unconscious self-representations and motivations surely color these texts. Even subjective "truths" emerge as expressions of or in tension with prevailing conventions.[17] Another warning is in order: individuals who left the Jewish community would most likely not have written memoirs about Jewish topics or given them to archives collecting such materials. Hence our sources do not offer insights into the lives and concerns of the most disaffected Jews. With these and other caveats in mind, we nevertheless believe that these personal documents can convey a sense of daily life.

Rabbinic *responsa* also offer a gold mine of information, particularly on early modern Jewry, impossible to glean elsewhere. While valuable, they can also be misleading. Sometimes one cannot determine exactly where or when the case took place or even whether the case was actual or hypothetical. Jewish newspapers provide a counterpoint to more personal sources, yet they sometimes convey alarm, even when most individual Jews remained calm or indifferent.

Each of the authors had different varieties and quantities of sources with which to work. Sometimes the sources provided striking sources of information on ordinary life and emotions, the essence of a history of everyday life. Other times the sources offer data more relevant to traditional social history. Our history is a blend, stressing grassroots phenomena and personal experience where the sources allow.

The volume reflects not only the kinds of sources available but also the nature of Jewish life in a particular era. Jewish lives deeply embedded in Jewish belief, behavior, and community gave way during emancipation and industrialization to lives more integrated with German society. Nazi persecution forced Jews to withdraw into their communities once again—although these were less religious and more tightly organized than in preemancipation times. The various emphases in our narratives reflect the shifting histories of Jews in Germany.

Recently, the Leo Baeck Institute published a major four-volume survey, *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, written by a team of historians and edited by Michael A. Meyer.[18] Based essentially on secondary literature, it is a comprehensive synthetic project, reflecting the current state of research about German-Jewish political, economic, intellectual, religious, and social life. It does not focus on the everyday experiences of ordinary Jews. Nor, as became apparent in our research, is there as yet an overall history featuring the daily experiences of Jews in Germany. While there are many excellent local and regional studies of Jewish everyday life and a superb collection of published memoirs,[19] there are no general surveys that pull these together. Thus, our volume is the first attempt to present Jewish daily life in Germany across three centuries. We see it as a preface and inducement to scholarly work on the history of everyday life still to come.

Part I
On the Threshold of Modernity: 1618–1780

Robert Liberles

The early modern period in European Jewish history encompassed a dynamic meeting of the forces of modernity with still strong elements of traditional Jewish life. In German lands, the emergence of Absolutism helped frame the context for the establishment of hundreds of small and scattered Jewish communities. Increased toleration of Jewish settlement and enhanced economic opportunities attracted an increasing number of Jews from eastern Europe that made up a significant part of the growing Jewish population. External and internal factors alike influenced the appearance of new religious forms and structures, and the printing press dispersed knowledge to wider circles. On the other hand, religious life suffered greatly from the impact of undersized, dispersed communities, making accessibility to schools and synagogues a matter of great difficulty for many, if not most, Jews.

Both males and females played an active role in the changing occupational orientation, as the merchants' stalls and peddlers' backpacks established commerce at the core of Jewish economic life. Jews and Christians now encountered each other in numerous settings. While their respective religious traditions divided them, their lives were actually anything but separate. They lived in great proximity and traded extensively with each other. Sometimes these associations extended to simple social relations and to a few business partnerships. Still, few Jews could speak German well, and in their daily lives, the two groups constructed a relationship filled with both connecting links and separating barriers.

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1

The Environment of Jewish Life

The fusion of early modernity and traditionalism that took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries helped produce a series of significant and exciting events and movements in European Jewish history. The dispersion of Sephardi Jews from Spain and Portugal, often in the guise of Marranos or secret Jews, resulted in readmissions that reversed the medieval expulsions from countries like England and France. Germany too was bursting with important Jewish activity. The development of Absolutism and changes in economic thinking provided the context for fundamental political and economic changes in German lands as well, including the rise of the court Jews and the establishment or reestablishment of hundreds of Jewish communities.

Because of Germany's fragmentation, virtually every study mentioning land, borders, and peoples of eighteenth-century Europe reaches some kind of impasse when it comes to dealing with the German lands.[1] For those on the roads a great deal, and that certainly included Jews, fragmentation caused numerous hindrances at borders: guards inspected carriages; travelers paid customs; and at times people were detained or refused admittance. Currency differences had to be accommodated as well. Lawsuits and other legal matters crossing territorial lines presented greater problems and complicated commerce even further. Still, many and perhaps even most Germans may have been only remotely aware of these difficulties.

Vienna, Prague, and Metz all played an important role for German Jewry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Vienna had considerable political significance as capital of the empire, and Prague rose as intellectual cornerstone of the German rabbinate. Alsace and Lorraine were the most integrated of these peripheral areas to the social, economic, and religious life of what we call German Jewry in this era.

Estimates of the size of the German-Jewish community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can only be approximated. Azriel Shohet's conjecture of 60,000 Jews in Germanic lands in 1750, or a third of a percent of the general population, is repeated regularly in the literature. Estimates for later in the century have to include the effects of Polish partition.[2] In general, the study of Jewish demographics in Germany requires a new and systematic research effort. But two characteristics warrant special attention. First, restrictions on settlement rights caused most Jews to live in rural areas as part of small, often tiny communities. Jews in German lands were dispersed into several hundred such communities. Although there were relatively large concentrations in Frankfurt, Fürth, Halberstadt, Altona-Hamburg, Berlin, and Prague, no single community dominated the scene as Berlin did much later on. This dispersion profoundly influenced the social, economic, and religious dimensions of their lives. Second, the numerical growth of German Jewry during the eighteenth century resulted primarily from immigration from Poland. Significantly for religious life, this immigration wave supplied most rabbis and teachers in Germany at the time.[3]

The emergence of the elite class of Jewish courtiers known as court Jews, who filled a spectrum of financial and commercial tasks for many German princes, symbolized much broader shifts, especially the new economic opportunities that attracted Jews to German states. The changing distribution of wealth and the increased contact with non-Jewish surroundings helped give rise to social and intellectual unrest, although strong traditional powers within the community resisted these processes of change. Germany developed a vibrant center of rabbinical activity, stronger than England but not as strong as traditional bastions in eastern Europe. And while Jews in England and Holland integrated more extensively into the surrounding economic and social structures, the very resistance of German society to such integration helped give rise to the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment movement. But the encounters between traditionalism and modernity and between continuity and forces of change are most exciting when observed in the actual daily lives of Jews in German lands.[4]

Surroundings

Probably no illustrated sketch of early modern German-Jewish life is better known than the 1628 street plan by Matthäus Merian of Frankfurt including the ghetto. But a graphic presentation of only buildings and streets excludes the human element. Referring to just such a seventeenth-century street plan also by Merian, historian Ulinka Rublack expressed the shortcoming succinctly:

> One of his views, of Memmingen, shows the size, boundaries, gates, markets, streets, and important buildings of this upper Swabian Imperial city. . . . [But] we see neither humans nor animals. . . . Outside the forti-

> fied walls, nobody moves on the paths, the environs are empty. . . . We see no peasants, out-burghers, tradesmen, or wanderers. Instead our gaze is directed to the houses and religious and communal buildings in the town itself.

As Rublack asked: "How might we put some life into this town?"[5]

Where and how Jews actually spent their time are questions of primary significance for an inquiry into daily life, placing houses and neighborhoods at the very beginning of this study. Housing in all its diversity also represents a key to illuminating a number of the basic issues in Jewish life. The social context of housing encompasses questions of economic status within the Jewish community and economic and social interactions between Jews and non-Jews. Housing also illustrates advances and regressions in legal rights, as reflected not in battles for political rights but in confrontations with authorities and the surrounding populace over which domiciles on which streets in which neighborhoods Jews could live. But if housing illustrates rather powerfully the conditions of daily life, we must also heed the advice given earlier: houses contain households, and it is the people inside who are the real objects of this inquiry.

To think of the daily life of preemancipation German Jewry is to think of the image of the ghetto: a crowded street or streets where Jews were forced to live in densely populated conditions separated from Christian Germans. Very few communities actually approximated this description; Frankfurt and Prague were the most prominent. A 1702 census of the Prague ghetto counted 11,517 people, of whom 7,352 were above the age of 10. Houses were three to five floors high and legally divided into separate units. Near the end of the seventeenth century, 34.6 Jews lived on average in a single building. But a major fire virtually destroyed the Prague ghetto in 1689, and by 1702 not all buildings had been restored. At this point, some 54 people lived on average in each multiunit house. The ghetto area covered approximately 21 acres. This amounted to a residential density of 1,371 people on about two and a half acres.[6]

The Frankfurt ghetto provided another example of the effects of spatial restrictions. Population increase combined with the confinement of the ghetto resulted in extreme density and unsanitary conditions. By the end of the seventeenth century, some three thousand people lived in two hundred houses, averaging 15 people to a house. Worms was also known for crowded conditions. In Hotzenplotz in Moravia, some 596 Jews lived in 39 houses.[7]

An anonymous portrait of the Frankfurt ghetto viewed from the outside and dated near the end of the eighteenth century described its setting:

> Picture to yourself a long street, more than half a quarter of an hour long, shut in by houses at least five or six stories high. Think of these houses as having houses [in] back of them with scarcely enough yard space to admit daylight, every nook up to the roof full of rooms and chambers in which are crowded together 10,000 human beings who think themselves fortunate when they leave their dens to be able to breathe the air on their dirty, damp street. . . . There you have an approximate idea of the Jews' quarter. The spaces in front of the houses are used all day long for all the

> employments of both men and women, for these miserable people could not stand working inside their houses. . . . Behind an old, black wall, thirty feet high, rose the gables of back buildings each eight to ten feet wide. The roofs were crowded with chimneys. Chamber-pots, dirty bedding, and other such things were exposed to view at the upper windows, or, where they were missing, broken window panes showed the target of mischievous boys. The whole effect had a prison-like appearance and made a terrible impression of our city on outsiders.[8]

Goethe, as he recalled in his memoirs, dared get a bit closer, looking in from the ghetto gates:

> The closeness, the dirt, the crowd, the sound of the disagreeable language, all this made the most unpleasant impression, if one merely looked through the gate. It was a long time before I ventured to go in, and it was not easy to return once I had escaped the importunities of the many persons who tirelessly offered or demanded something to haggle over.[9]

Ludwig Börne added a different element to the deficiencies of the ghetto when he recalled the impressions of his eighteenth-century youth: "The children had no private yard space or little garden where they could play their childish games."[10] There is a particular poignancy to Börne's remark, for it implies that these surroundings provided Jews with little space and little opportunity for self-expression.

These literary snapshots of the habitat of Frankfurt Jewry in early modern times portray an imagery of miserable Jewish existence. In fact, the everyday reality of the German-Jewish environment was far more complicated. Although Jews generally did not live in ghettos, they often lived in concentrated neighborhoods, in some towns by their own free will, and in other places as a result of legal restrictions. In Koblenz, Mannheim, and Trier, and in many other locations, Jews lived close together voluntarily, but almost everywhere they also lived together with Christian neighbors, even in the same buildings.[11]

There were a number of configurations for Jewish residences and their relation to Christian houses. In some communities, Jews lived within a fixed area but together with Christians. In other locations, most Jews lived in proximity to each other, but a few lived outside that immediate area. The well-known Prague rabbi Ezekiel Landau referred to a community where some Jews lived within a defined area known as Jew Street, while others lived elsewhere but came regularly to pray in the synagogue or for other purposes.[12] That kind of arrangement occurred, for example, where influential Jews got permission to live outside the usual Jewish area.

In the Swabian region of Burgau, Jews lived in one or more concentrated areas, but always interspersed with the Christian population. In Kriegshaber, they lived mostly along the main street of the village; in Pfersee, most lived near the synagogue, but the remainder were scattered; in Binswangen, Jews lived in two areas on the edge of the village, with the synagogue located between the two focal points; and in Buttenwiesen, the majority lived near the

center of trade. In all of these villages except for Binswangen, the Jews lived in central locations.[13] In Emmendingen in Baden, Jews lived with Christian neighbors and, in many cases, rented from Christians and shared houses.[14]

Throughout German lands, neither Jews nor gentiles were consistent in their approach to the location of the Jewish neighborhood. In some communities, influential Jews actively sought houses in more central, convenient locations but were not always granted permission by the authorities. In 1779, a group of Breslau merchants protested Jewish residence in the town center because this proximity to the heart of business affairs presumably enabled the Jews to spy on Christians and know their affairs: "[Jews petitioned for that location] in order to be that much closer to the city scales, so that they could watch over the Christians trading with total convenience at all hours of the day."[15]

In Halle, the authorities also complained that Jews had monopolized the best houses and streets in town. Similarly, in Berlin in 1704, when Jacob Veit, who already owned a house in the area permitted to Jews, petitioned to purchase a home in an exclusive section of town, the mayor and city council complained that it was inappropriate for Jews to live in the finest houses on important streets. They objected that not only did Jacob Veit already own his own home, which he would have to sell expressly to a Christian, "but the situation was also that while his earlier [house] was in a bad part of the town, this one was in one of the most prestigious streets of the city, [and he would be] living among the most important people including the King's own high ministers." The petition concluded with the request that "it should be absolutely forbidden for Jews to purchase houses on the most prestigious streets of the capital."[16]

Conversely, a 1687 petition by the Jews of Bamberg to build their houses in a remote location out of concern for their physical welfare was rejected, as was a similar petition put forth by the Jews of Vienna. These authorities apparently preferred to keep their local Jews closer at hand.[17] Yet distance from the town center also had its disadvantages. Asher Levy, who owned a house near the water on the outskirts of his small Alsatian town in the early seventeenth century, considered the location dangerous, noisy, and vulnerable to thieves because of the distance from other people. The authorities granted him the right to move only after a number of frustrating attempts.[18] Thus, the search for security resulted in a move to the outskirts for some and toward the center for others. In some communities, Jews living in groups preferred to keep their distance from the Christian population, while individual Jews sought a more central location, sometimes as a reflection of enhanced status and at times simply for better protection.

Concentrated neighborhoods also had both advantages and liabilities for the Jewish population. Such neighborhoods facilitated the functioning of communal institutions, but ghetto gates restricted people's comings and goings, and spatial restrictions prevented expansion necessitated by population growth. Concentration also meant that it was easy to isolate Jews and threaten them. Rabbi Yaakov Reicher referred to a wave of incidents in one community

in 1713 in which the Jewish street was completely closed off and only special intervention made it possible for essential supplies to get through.[19]

Houses

Because of the lack of space in the ghetto areas, dwellings rose to three, four, and even five floors and often expanded outward in higher floors so that the houses partially covered the streets. This reduced light and air circulation in the ghettos of Frankfurt and Worms.[20] But a traveler's account of a sixteenth-century German town shows similar constructions in non-Jewish quarters: "As evening approaches, our traveler strolls forth into the streets and narrow lanes of the town lined with overhanging gables that almost meet overhead and shut out the light of the afternoon sun, so that twilight seems already to have fallen."[21]

Interior descriptions of houses in Frankfurt reflect the crowded conditions. There were beds in most rooms, with folding beds employed in rooms that filled other functions during the day. Poorer Jews had no space for closets, resulting in clothes being scattered around or stored in chests or even in barrels.[22] In general, rooms served multiple functions. Even in less crowded circumstances, the *beit hahoref* or shtube—the room where the stove was located—filled a number of roles because it was the warmest room in the house. An inquiry addressed to the rabbinic authority Jair Hayyim Bacharach indicates a case where a scholar kept his books in this heated room. He could find no other place in his house for his books, but this was also the bedroom and where his wife nursed their baby. He wrote to request permission to leave the sacred books in place despite the inappropriate surroundings.[23] In another case, two brothers shared a house, each with his own territory, but with only one oven. The written agreement between them allowed the brother without possession of the stove to use it in order to prepare for Sabbaths and festivals. Problems arose, however, when this brother also sought to use the stove to prepare the circumcision celebration for his newborn son.[24]

Not all Jews lived in such crowded conditions. Especially in smaller towns, but also in Altona and even in Worms, generally known for its cramped quarters for Jews, houses could also be much more spacious and fulfill a spectrum of personal and religious functions. Cellars were used for storage, including milk, for wine production, and for churning butter. Often shops were located within the house as well, even on upper floors.[25] Those families with greater means, and not just the very well-to-do, allocated space for religious purposes: a room for study and prayer, a mikveh or ritual bath, and in some cases, an oven. Some houses also had courtyards, which could be used for wine cellars, spare rooms, or planting trees.[26]

Asher Levy's new house included a small room for study and prayer; an oven for making *hallot*, special breads for the Sabbath, and the traditional Sabbath *cholent*, or stew that cooked overnight; and a separate small oven to bake matzot for Passover. He also built his own bath near the stove because he pre-

New moon prayer in front of synagogue, 1724. Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute.

ferred to bathe in the privacy of his own home rather than use the public facilities for both Jews and Christians.[27] In small communities one could also find exceptionally large homes belonging to Jews. Abraham Jacob of Steinbiedersdorf, the wealthiest Jew in town, owned an estate, which included a large house, with a court, garden, and stable. The house contained a synagogue, a study room, a separate apartment for the community rabbi with its own kitchen, bedroom, and living room, and an additional apartment occupied by the prospective husband of a granddaughter. Still other parts of the house were rented out. In addition, the house provided a focal point for communal activity, both religious and business.[28]

In most communities, Jews lived in mixed neighborhoods with Christian neighbors. This was the case in Aurich, and in Braunschweig, even if Jews also lived in proximity to each other.[29] In Altona, the renowned rabbi Jacob Emden [c. 1697–1776] related in his memoirs that he purchased a house occupied by a Jew but owned by a gentile. Although the tenant complained that Emden had displaced him from his home, Emden maintained that the house had been ad-

vertised publicly and that if he had not purchased it a gentile would have bought it and moved in.[30]

Dwellings occupied by Jews in Altona were designated by the authorities as "Jewish houses" and could be transferred to other Jews. Indeed, according to the editor of Emden's memoirs, this particular apartment remained in Jewish hands for almost two centuries until Nazi times. Also in Höchst in Hessen, houses purchased by Jews were sometimes designated as Jewish houses and remained in Jewish hands for at least several generations.[31] The same expression was also used in Prussia. In its immediate context, the term applies to the specific house itself, as in comments that such a house remained Jewish for generations, but the term was also used in reference to the number of houses owned by Jews. Thus, a 1703 document stated that a Jew who purchased a house from a Christian must sell his previous house to another Christian, "so that in this way, the number of Jewish houses [*Juden-Häuser*] would not be increased."[32]

One document, however, provided a totally different picture from the usual complaints and petitions concerning housing for Jews. In a 1749 petition, a group of Christian citizens in Berlin complained that the Jewish community had organized a system to force lower rents on Christian landlords. According to this petition, Jewish authorities used the threat of religious excommunication to prevent a Jew from renting a house vacated by a Jew. A period of time ranging from one to three years was to lapse before a Jew could rent such a house unless the landlord agreed to a drastic reduction in rent. The underlying premise that Christians would refuse to rent a domicile just vacated by a Jew is contradictory to virtually every other petition on the matter of Jewish housing. Petitions from Christians almost always tried to maintain a status quo on the number of houses owned by Jews and actually insisted that Jews sell to Christians when buying a new place.[33]

Buying a house was a complicated undertaking for a Jew, and much work must still be done to explain the different kinds of regulations and the changes that occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the small town of Emmendingen in Baden, Christians had a full year to match a price offered for a house by a Jew.[34] In Harburg, Jews were free to buy houses, but here too Christians were given preference. During the early stages of the Jewish community there Jews purchased houses from Christians, but later Jews were more likely to buy from other Jews. Still, at the middle of the eighteenth century, 19 out of 41 households lived with Christian landlords.[35] In Worms, Jews usually owned their own dwellings. In Steinbiedersdorf, Jews owned 11 houses, 10.5 percent of the total, while representing some 18 percent of the population.[36] In Jemgum, where most Jews were not well off, they usually rented apartments or rooms.[37] In most Prussian towns, Jewish ownership in the eighteenth century was very common, despite regulations that seemed to be in constant reversal between permission and prohibition.

Having greater wealth did not always mean a greater likelihood of owning one's domicile. Comparing ownership figures of different economic classes in Harburg, Jakob showed that in 1750, Jews of the lower class owning their houses were proportionately higher than those of the middle and upper

classes. The situation changed over time, as figures from 1792/94 show that the percentages of the upper class owning houses rose proportionately, while the lower class lagged behind its percentage of the population.[38] Perhaps upper-class Jews were inclined to rent rather than purchase in order to enjoy a greater choice of appropriate domicile.[39]

Influential Jews sought to break the patterns of Jewish housing, providing graphic testimony to the move "out of the ghetto." As indicated, Jews were not always allowed to acquire housing in locations considered too central or too prestigious. In both Berlin, where there was no ghetto, and Frankfurt, where there was one, petitions abound in the archives to move into areas not previously designated for Jewish residence.

Focal Points and Being Away

Jews spent their everyday lives in a great variety of places. Both men and women might be found at home or bustling through the streets and marketplaces; men might also be found at the tavern conducting business and socializing, in the synagogue, or on the road. On the Sabbath, women would also be in the synagogue; it was more unusual to find them in the bourse, in a tavern, or traveling, but some women entered all of these realms.

Regardless of how close together Jews lived, much of the day was spent outside of the defined quarters. Glikl bas Leib, more commonly known as Glikl or Glückel of Hameln,[40] described the dangers lurking beyond the gates of Altona, as the men went off to Hamburg for the entire working day:

> In the mornings, as soon as the men came from the synagogue, they went to town [Hamburg], returning to Altona towards evening when the gates were closed. When they passed through the gates, their lives were in continual peril from attacks by sailors, soldiers and all sorts of hooligans. Each woman thanked God when her husband returned safely home.[41]

Money-changers and small merchants conducted much of their business by rushing from place to place. Referring to a Jew who had disappeared and was later discovered murdered, Glikl wrote:

> He was a money-changer. Every money-changer rushes around all day for his living, and towards evening, at the time of afternoon prayers goes home and thence to synagogue. Each one belongs to a chevra [group to study rabbinic texts] and, with the other members, studies, and after studying returns home.[42]

Despite the scurrying about, there were central focal points that stand out on the maps of Jewish daily life. Synagogues provided such a meeting place at different times of the day. In the early morning, during the afternoon, and in the early evening, males came to the synagogue for prayer, study, and socializing. Conversations often led to business talk as well. Taverns were also a central meeting point. While in eastern Europe Jews often owned or ran taverns, that

was much less the case in German lands. But taverns were useful for transactions, combined with a bit of socializing between Jews and Christians alike:

> the Mariners' Tavern, the best known inn in the whole of Hamburg[,] . . . is quite near the Borse[,] and Jewish as well as gentile merchants who had business, or a reckoning with one another, went there and they used to drink there out of silver dishes. . . . It was also remembered that the changers used to meet in that inn and do their business there, counting out money[,] for the place was well known for its security.[43]

In Emmendingen, Jews and Christians sat in a local tavern to conduct business and exchange information, and in Swaben several court records indicate that Jews and Christians conducted business in taverns.[44]

Examination of the memoir literature reveals that Jews spent a great deal of their time away from their homes. Indeed, any attempt to relate to Jewish daily life of the early modern period has to emphasize the multiple effects that frequent and extended travel had upon the life of the individual away and on the family back home. Most of the memoirs are written from the male's perspective, and it was usually, though not always, the male who traveled.

Being away from home might be a matter of a few days, as, for example, when a wine producer from Worms traveled to neighboring agricultural areas in order to purchase grapes, a peddler completed his local circuit to sell his wares, or a petty merchant traveled to a not too distant fair to find semiluxury goods for his clientele. But absences of weeks and even months in duration were quite common as well.

Travel might be by foot, on horseback, or, for those who could afford it, in a coach or wagon. Travel also brought into sharp focus the fact that Jews and Christians hardly lived separate lives. All three modes of travel appear in Glikl's picturesque description of her travel as she sought to return home from Hameln, where the family had fled after a plague broke out in Hamburg in July 1664. Having returned to Hamburg earlier to tend to business, her husband later arranged for a traveling companion named Jacob to accompany Glikl and three small children on the trip back home.[45] Jacob hired a stagecoach to take them from Hannover. As they passed through the town gate, Glikl and her children sat in the wagon, together with a maid and servant. Jacob and the assistant post manager walked alongside but then made their way to a nearby village with the excuse that they had to tend to some matters. Jacob told Glikl, "We will walk as quickly as you ride, and will soon be with you again." In fact, the pair had gone off drinking. Glikl actually did indicate that there were people who made their way on the road by foot and passed them by, so that Jacob was not wrong in claiming that walking would match the speed of the wagon. The extremely bad weather contributed to the slow pace of the wagon.

As they came to a toll station, the driver insisted on waiting for the pair to catch up with them, despite the harsh rain soaking Glikl and her children. After several hours, the driver agreed to continue to the nearest inn. Glikl left instructions that Jacob and his companion should hire two horses and join them. Glikl continued her description:

> We arrived at the inn in good time, and there found a fine, warm room where we were nicely received. Though the place was packed with drivers and travelers so that the room was crowded, everyone showed kindness and sympathy for the children, who had not a dry thread on them. I hung up their little frocks to dry and soon they were themselves again. We had good food with us and in the inn there was good beer. So, after our dreary, laborious journey we were revived with good fare and drink; and sat up till late at night expecting the two drinking partners to arrive. But no one came, so I had straw spread on the floor, and I and my little ones lay down to rest.[46]

Glikl's travel arrangements reflect her wealth, as only the better off would have been able to rent a coach and secure the extra assistance at the inn. The inn itself was crowded with those who had mostly made their way by other means. Notably, Glikl expressed no misgivings about remaining in the inn surrounded by non-Jews who were drinking.

A yeshivah student returning home after years of absence provides us with the perspective of a pedestrian, although not at all a poor one. In 1629, Samuel, son of the well-known rabbi Yom Tov Heller, traveled with some companions on foot from Metz, where he was studying, to his family in Prague. As the lad reached the outskirts of Vienna, he lay down in a nearby woods and there had an adventure in which he saved the wife and son of a French hunter from a wild ox that had attacked them. When the hunter returned to the site, they spoke in French, which Samuel had learned during his four years in Metz. In another account, in 1609, a boy traveling from his home in Moravia to Cracow for studies was kidnapped along the way and held for ransom. Fortunately, the Cracow Jewish community rescued him.[47] The travels of these young students of Torah were full of adventures and dangers.

Extended absences meant hardships for the family back home. Read through contemporary eyes, travelers at times appear oblivious to the burdens they were causing. Jacob Emden, on the way back from an extended stay, seemed to think little about stopping off very close to home and concluding his trip only after the Passover holiday. Surprisingly, his presence at the Seder was not a priority for him. When Aaron Isaak went to Sweden in 1774, he left behind his wife and five children in Germany. Thirty years later, in 1801–2, Isaak wrote his memoirs. A recent study of Isaak and his autobiography revealed the dire circumstances in which he left them behind, contrary to his own description. One can detect something of Isaak's attitude in a passage written many years later. Having determined that it was time for his family to join him in Sweden, he says, he wrote to his wife "she should sell my house and garden, and should come here with my children." Jacob Emden also thought little of informing his wife that they were moving to the town of Emden and ordered her to pack up all their possessions, including his library, and bring family and household with her from Altona.[48]

Frequent male travel may have had implications for the economic role of women, as women often worked in business alongside their husbands, even in

families that were financially comfortable. Women would literally have "to mind the store" while the men were away, and this required that they be well acquainted with the family's business affairs. But husbands' travel is only a partial explanation, since Christian women and wives whose husbands did not travel also helped to support their families.

Travel was dangerous. It was dangerous for everyone, and probably more so for Jews. People were robbed, kidnapped, and murdered on the road. Glikl reported several such incidents. Inclement weather threatened more than discomfort. Aaron Isaak's eldest son died after extended exposure in an open wagon. A wagon that Solomon Maimon had traveled in turned over just after his fellow passengers forced him to jump out. People could be hurt or fall ill on the road without having relatives or friends to care for them. The accumulation of these dangers resulted in substantial anxiety back home.

Glikl provided several testimonies of such concern:

> It was about the time of the Frankfurt fair, to which my husband traveled in company with Jochanan, Mendel, and Leib Goslar. From there they had to go direct to Leipzig. When they reached Fulda, Jochanan fell ill and after four or five days died. The other three wished to remain with him, but the gallant Jochanan would not allow this. So they went on to Leipzig, while his Aaron, who had accompanied him, remained with his father. Before they reached Leipzig the tragic news of his death reached them. The fear that fell upon them may easily be imagined. In Leipzig, immediately after, Mendel . . . fell ill and within eight days he too died.

Difficulties arose in obtaining Mendel's body for burial in a Jewish cemetery. Even after that had been accomplished, the tribulations of this journey were far from finished.

> Meanwhile my husband and Leib Goslar fell seriously ill, and in the middle of the fair were taken to Halberstadt. Moses Schnauthan and Issachar Cohen were with my husband, who upon his arrival in Halberstadt became so ill that all hope was given up. . . . Issachar pressed my husband till he was forced to put his signature to the letter. But this signature should have been seen! It was impossible to recognize a single letter. My children's feelings and mine can easily be imagined. I received this letter on the first day of Pentecost. On the eve of the festival all the merchants arrived home, save only my husband, and each, before he went to his own home, came and comforted me that everything was for the best.[49]

This incident left Glikl with considerable anxiety about her husband's safety, and soon thereafter they sought a partner to assume the responsibilities of travel.

Frequent travel was not a uniquely Jewish activity. Merchants and mercenaries, musicians and actors, and peddlers in general spent a good part of the year away from home. But Jews as a group seem to have traveled more than other religious or ethnic groups, partly because of their greater role in commerce and also because even immediate family were dispersed over wide dis-

tances. Jews were also less attached to their immediate surroundings. Fairs and commerce in general were often the reason for these trips. Emden traveled a great deal, even going to London to ask for financial assistance—a trip that was not a good investment. But at times, Jews traveled for less concrete reasons. Asher Levy took off with ease to have a good time with friends, even in the middle of the Passover holidays. None of the obstacles or dangers of travel, the problems with Jewish observance that arose, or the resulting hardships at home seemed to deter Jews from frequent and prolonged travel. With all of its implications, this was an important part of their daily lives—and one that repeatedly had fundamental consequences for daily life. Most often, the traveling Jew was a male figure in the family: father, son, or both. The "Jew on the road" stands in contradistinction to the Jews in their homes. Both topics provide crucial perspectives for an understanding of Jewish daily life.

Conclusion

Jews lived in a variety of settings. In most locations, Jews lived among the Christian population. In some cities, notably in the Frankfurt and Prague ghettos, they lived in crowded conditions, with several families sharing a single unit. But in the majority of settlements, especially in the smaller towns and villages where most Jews lived, housing conditions could be more spacious. In such smaller communities Jews would allocate space to fill religious needs as well, ranging from synagogues and room to study to ritual baths and ovens.

In larger urban areas, the majority of families lived in proximity to each other. The location of this concentration varied, including both the central business district and the outskirts of town. Wealthier Jews sought to improve their residences by living outside the accepted domains of Jewish residence, a move often opposed by the local authorities as a slight to Christian citizens and officials living in these more prestigious neighborhoods. For other Jews, residential restrictions often required that they move elsewhere to establish a family and a household. This was altogether different from the Christian German, for whom "living in one place became a life's destiny." In a very literal sense, mobility for such a German was limited.[50] Jews may often have dreamed of such stability, but circumstances required that they move on; sometimes this also meant that they would succeed in moving up.

2

Family Life

Traditional Jewish family life is often presented as a virtual utopia. Both popular presentations and even many scholarly descriptions offer an idyllic view that is overly based on rabbinic prescriptions rather than on a closer analysis of reality. One summary of the sentimental view put it as follows.

> The traditional Jewish family consisted of a large nuclear core with strong ties to the extended family. . . . Following marriage—usually at a very young age—came the bearing of many children, who were named after deceased relatives. The strong, caring wife generally stayed in the home, often supplementing her husband's modest income through handiwork or by running a shop. The husband simultaneously attended to both the support of his family and his religious commitments to synagogue and house of study.[1]

Marital fidelity and loving care of children were also significant components of this idealized portrait. Glikl bas Leib's autobiography, for example, presented a romantic portrait of devoted spouses, incessant anxieties on behalf of her children, and textbook piety toward religious values and commandments. Glikl's confirmation of the idyllic picture of family life may actually be one of the primary reasons for the tremendous current popularity of her autobiography.

Other memoirs provide a much more varied portrait of Jewish family life. Testimonies from primary sources indicate that Jewish family life in Germany in early modern times also included instances of severe family strife, infidelity, physical abuse, and even rare cases of infanticide.

A cautionary note is in order, however. Historians, imbued with curiosity and a fascination with the dark side, can easily be drawn toward the negative, the hostile, the antinomian side of human behavior. In addition, deviant

behavior has much to teach about a society under study. There is also the endless fallacy of being drawn by sources deep into the abyss of misrepresentation. Records in the public archives relate strife and despair more often than happiness and love. Rabbinic *responsa* pertaining to family life also tend to deal with discord. Abuses in Jewish family life can be abundantly documented, and they should be. These sources have been ignored too often, partly because they were not known, partly because they were assumed to be singular instances when they were not, and partly because they were at times consciously overlooked. Research based on prescriptive sources has depicted a portrait that is quite distant from the harsher reality that emerges from primary, descriptive sources. With the abundance of sources available, it is relatively easy to document domestic strife in early modern Jewish family life. It is much harder to document peace and devotion. This chapter will attempt to do both.

Getting Married

Future spouses were found in a number of different ways. Parents seeking to arrange a match for their children found prospective partners through matchmakers, business contacts, and relatives. Such arrangements were common, especially among the middle and upper classes. Lower-class Jews, like lower-class Christians, tended to have more liberty in determining whom they would marry.

In describing dozens of marriage contracts, Glikl attributed considerable importance to the size of dowries, even while morally emphasizing that small dowries could still achieve matches with wealthy families. Her uncle Jacob Ree and his wife gave their daughters dowries of 400–500 taler and "made fine matches for them with young men of good families." She also reported that Rabbi Nathan Spanier and his wife Esther gave their children dowries of 300–400 taler but were still able to marry their daughters off to prosperous families. Glikl commented, "I write this to show that big dowries are not always the cause of great riches, for even people who have given small ones have had wealthy children." Still, what Glikl called small dowries far exceeded the means of the vast majority of Jews. The best-paid teachers, for example, earned between 40 and 60 taler a year.[2] Sources describing less wealthy Jews provide a variety of perspectives on how matches for marriage came about.

Glikl's father went beyond his means to secure the most desirable matches for his children. When Glikl's sister Hendele was engaged to the son of a famous rabbi and businessman, her dowry was 1,800 taler, "a very large sum in those days and one that no one had until then given in Hamburg." Her father "always aimed at marrying his children into respected families and therefore did more than he was really in a position to do."[3] Similarly, Glikl's husband, Haim, took responsibility for matches for their children. Their daughter Zipporah was betrothed to the son of the very wealthy Elia Cleve, with a dowry of 2,200 taler. Haim concluded these arrangements in Amsterdam during one of

his business trips. Zipporah, nearly 12 at the time, wed about a year and a half later.[4]

They considered two different matches simultaneously for their son Nathan. One involved no less than the daughter of the renowned court Jew in Vienna, Samuel Oppenheimer, but, following a delay in payment of the agreed-on dowry with the Oppenheimers, Haim quickly accepted a second offer. His brother in Frankfurt, who was involved in the arrangements, became furious, but Haim was apprehensive that both offers might be lost and accepted a dowry of 4,000 taler from Elia Ballin. It is somewhat striking that in this narrative Haim did not seem to care about losing a match with the famous and powerful Oppenheimers.[5]

Not knowing the prospective spouse could cause difficulties. The match for Glikl's daughter Esther with a groom from Metz developed into an involved and prolonged process. Haim had concluded her match without meeting the prospective groom while on another business trip to Amsterdam. Subsequently both Glikl and Haim received letters from acquaintances warning them that the groom had many faults. Glikl wrote to the boy's mother expressing some concern and requesting that she send her son to the engagement feast so that they might meet him. Glikl's letter offended the boy's mother, and she responded that they should instead travel to Metz to meet him. The engagement dragged on for about two years, until Glikl—who was widowed in the meantime—finally met the prospective groom in Amsterdam and, after conversing with him for several hours, felt extremely pleased with the match. Indeed, Glikl would end up living with this couple in Metz after the death of her second husband.[6]

Despite the enormous attention Glikl devoted to financial arrangements, character was as important to her as wealth and business connections, as her conduct in delaying Esther's engagement illustrates. In describing the advantages of the match for her daughter Hendele, Glikl also mentioned attributes in addition to wealth and possessions: "the young man was respectable and knew Talmud well."[7]

In contrast with the many cases where the families had not even met beforehand, some matches were made with close relations. Dowries don't seem to have played a decisive role in the match of Haim and Glikl's daughter Hannah with their nephew Samuel, the son of Haim's brother Abraham: "Whether we were pleased or not with this match is unimportant, for it was fated from God, and my blessed mother-in-law insisted on it."[8] Later after Haim's death, another brother who also lived in Hamburg suggested a match for Leib, but Glikl feared that her son would not receive the proper attention in Hamburg that he needed because business there was on such a large scale. Significantly, she added, "My son had no inclination for this match, and desired a match in Berlin." She gave no indication why Leib favored the match in Berlin, but his opinion here marks the first time that a child's participation in the discussion is mentioned.[9] If economic strategies played a role in these two matches, it would seem to have been on the part of the brothers hoping to marry their children into Haim and Glikl's family and business. But as can be seen from the second example, proximity and

relationship did not necessarily support such matches. In fact, Glikl obviously remained unenthusiastic about the first match as well.

Proximity, in fact, could make the suggested match impossible to complete. When the wife of an extremely respected person in the Hamburg community lay on her deathbed, she made her husband vow that after her death he would wed the orphan girl they had raised together. The girl, the husband's cousin, was only 11 or 12 years old. Placed in that difficult situation, the husband vowed to his dying wife that he would marry the girl, but he repeatedly delayed fulfilling his promise. He petitioned rabbinic authorities to release him from his vow, explaining that it was impossible for him to marry his orphaned cousin, whom he had raised as his own child. Later, as guardian, he arranged her engagement to the son of the wealthy Jost Liebmann.[10]

Wealthy Jews tended to commit their children at an early age. Haim and Glikl's son Zanvil was engaged to the daughter of Moses Bamberg, brother-in-law of the Viennese court Jew Samson Wertheimer, who participated in arranging the match. Zanvil was sent to Vienna for two years to await the wedding. "Zanvil was still very young and did many childish things," which included wasting a great deal of money. He also grew impatient in Vienna and requested that the wedding take place as soon as possible so that he could leave. Glikl explained, however, that "the bride was still very young and small and his betrothal lasted three years."[11] Zanvil's betrothal demonstrates how matches for the very wealthy were an exceedingly competitive matter and were often arranged at very young ages to seal in the best possible match, though most Jews did not arrange engagements for their children at an age younger than practiced by society at large. At times the bride's youth caused a delay in the wedding itself. The tremendous competition for such matches probably explains why Haim, regarding Nathan's match, had been unwilling to wait to receive news about the Oppenheimer dowry, fearing that both excellent opportunities might be lost.

Once wed, young couples lived with or near one set of parents, in order to receive not only financial support but also guidance, certainly in business matters. The German setting rarely provided the traditional *kest*, or support from parents for purposes of study, that was more popular in eastern Europe. But those parents who could did help newlyweds establish themselves in business.

Scholarship did not seem to be of much importance for German Jews, as can be seen from the case of Pinchas Katzenelenbogen, a rabbi's son who was a yeshivah student in Prague. Katzenelenbogen related in his autobiography difficulties his father encountered in seeking a match for him among German families. Wealthy German Jews wanted a son-in-law who could support a family, not a yeshivah student who lacked independent means. While Polish-Jewish families were more interested in the learning of a prospective groom, his father refused to allow Pinchas to travel to Poland for a match with the daughter of a Polish scholar, fearing the dangers Jews faced there.[12]

The later autobiography of Aaron Isaak (b. 1730) demonstrates changing nuances regarding matches, as Isaak alluded to some role for mothers and daughters in the decision-making process concerning matches. During his travels in Germany, twenty-year-old Isaak saw an attractive woman and de-

cided to ask for her as his wife. Isaak first approached the woman's brother with the proposal, which he presented in a rather clumsy manner. The brother responded that Isaak would have to turn to his parents, taunting: "You wish to take a woman as your wife, but lack the courage to ask for her hand. That strikes me as rather peculiar." When the girl's father in turn asked Isaak if he had already spoken with his daughter, Isaak answered that they had, but not on the subject of matrimony. The father declared that he must first speak with his wife and daughter before committing to the match.[13]

The wealthier Isaak handled matters differently when he brought a candidate home to meet his own fourteen-year-old daughter. Then, despite her tears and her claims that she was too young to wed, he concluded, lacking an explicit rejection, that she did not actually oppose the match. Subsequently, Isaak concurred that the couple was too young and decided to delay the wedding for two years.[14] Later, after both Isaak's son and daughter had died, the two surviving spouses remained in his house. After some interval, the son-in-law approached Isaak about marrying the daughter-in-law. The woman considered this to be a strange initiative, but her father, who was Isaak's brother, later convinced her to agree to the marriage. Her first marriage had been to her cousin, and her second was to her former brother-in-law.[15] In another example, Isaak suggested a possible match for a different niece. At first she was not interested. In fact, when the suitor came to visit, she locked herself in her room for several days, but once they met, she changed her mind and agreed.[16] Isaak's account, written a century later than Glikl's, gave examples of consultation with women concerning their matches. But more important than the chronological variation was the socioeconomic one. The young and rather poor Aaron Isaak handled his own matchmaking and had to take women's opinions into consideration, but the more successful Isaak arranged matches for his children.

Jacob Emden provides an example of how children fared when their own choice of a partner conflicted with that of their parents. Emden's memoir is a surprisingly frank, sometimes astounding, mine of information on daily life. The following incident took place in the city of Emden, where Jacob would return later in life, adopting the city's name as his own. Jacob was 15 when he encountered the true love of his life:

> The learned communal leader R. Leib Emden wanted to give his daughter to me as a wife. She was a virgin, learned and intelligent; verily without equal in all the land of Germany. He wished to present to me a large sum of money as a dowry because he was an extremely rich and learned man. His daughter too yearned to become attached to [a family of] Torah and distinguished lineage. However, for a reason known in the family, my revered father refrained from consenting to the match. For me too this was a great test for I was already mature and capable of weighing matters on the scale of intelligent discernment. It did not escape me that this was a very appropriate match. In all respects no parallel could be found in the land—whether in terms of person, wealth or family—so that it was apparent to all that this was the most logical path for me. I could thus have

> easily achieved the ultimate of perfection. I knew well that my revered father was unable to give me anything, especially that it was difficult enough for him to provide for himself and his family while he kept wandering without an awareness of any destination. The aforementioned communal leader and his family were very fond of me and were literally begging me to fulfill their wish and to achieve their desire of me. In spite of all this, I did not wish, Heaven forbid, to pain Father although my thought leaned toward it by not rejecting this appropriate proposition. Even the family blemish was not significant enough to reject them because it was not an intrinsic defect, God forbid. Furthermore, all the prominent communal leaders of Germany were already related to this family, which had reached high levels of kindness and prominence. Surely such a match does not occur every day. Even so, I did not reveal that which was in my heart, and I humbled myself to accept with love the decision of my revered father.[17]

To this passage, the Emden scholar J. J. Schacter added, "One can only imagine how strongly the young fifteen-year-old must have felt about the appropriateness of this match if, in his middle fifties, he could still write with such feeling about it." Later in life, the woman again extended much kindness to Emden and his own family when he returned to serve as the city's rabbi.[18] Strikingly, throughout his narrative, Emden had only praise for this woman but had very little positive to say about the three women he did marry.[19]

While these accounts from the later eighteenth century do not reveal a straight course of change, and while individual factors must be considered, these later testimonies differ from earlier ones, in which a more limited role was played by prospective spouses. Emden, for example, asserted that somehow he had the prerogative to agree to the match he so badly longed for, but abstained out of reverence for his father. Isaak's future father-in-law refused to commit to the match until his wife and daughter also agreed.

But the primary factor influencing youth's role in determining their future spouses seems to be economic rank. Rabbinic *responsa* provide further examples of members of the lower classes who sought matches or were pursued by others directly. A number of these cases involved premarital sexual relations. In one case, two servants traveled together claiming to be brother and sister. When she became pregnant, they were compelled to admit to their relationship and sought permission to wed.[20]

In another case, a maidservant seemed to enjoy the freedom to choose her future mate. "A strange, bad, and bitter incident" happened in a certain community when a respected gentleman from Hamburg was hosted in a resident's home. He recognized one of the maidservants as the same woman who had accompanied a guest in his own house some six months earlier, except that then her head had been covered as befitted a married woman and that she and her traveling companion had slept in the same room with two beds. When confronted, she admitted that her companion had given her money to travel with him and had made advances toward her, but she insisted that she had resisted

him throughout. Once this story was out, a legal matter arose, for "she was an extremely attractive woman and had many suitors." The rabbinic inquiry asked whether or not she required a divorce from the ardent pursuer in order to marry another suitor.[21] Significantly, once past the rabbinic court, she would enjoy more freedom to choose a husband than the women with greater means whom we have encountered in the memoir literature.

Certain circumstances allowed women to play a greater role in pursuit of a potential partner. A Frankfurt Jew bequeathed a sum in his will to assist poor Jewish girls to wed. The trustees of the fund established a lottery to select the girl who would receive the money available. In 1790, they asked the Beit Din or rabbinical court several questions requesting guidance, including how old the young girls should be to qualify, to which the Beit Din responded that they should be between the ages of 18 and 40.[22] Could a woman who had had sexual relations be included in the lottery? The court responded that if the woman was related to the benefactor's family, she enjoyed a preference over other candidates, and the court would have to rule in such a case with consideration to the specific circumstances of her behavior. If she was not a relative, she was not deemed fit to participate in the lottery at all.

The winner had a year from the date of the lottery to find a match and six more months for the wedding to take place. If she failed to find a match during the allotted time, another lottery would take place and the next winner would have priority for the funds. If in the meantime the first woman succeeded, she could receive the funds the following year without having to enter the contest again. But if more time passed, she would lose her rights to the money and have to enter the lottery once again. The prize money only enhanced the possibility of matrimony, and it provided no guarantees. The lottery gave the poorer girls of Frankfurt some hope and potential assistance. It also increased their freedom of choice even further by granting them independent means, but the circumstances must also have caused considerable tension, first with the lottery itself and then to find a match if they were lucky enough to win.

In sum, economic class was the primary variable determining the role of the couple itself. In wealthier families, matches were more likely to be arranged by the parents. Among the lower classes, young people had to find employment and often delayed marriage. Lacking the guaranteed support given to new couples in wealthier families, they started life on their own, met people, and then possibly found a future spouse of their own liking. Accounts reported in these sources indicate that males usually initiated the move toward marriage, although that is less clear in the case of the Frankfurt lottery.

Age at marriage followed general patterns of eighteenth-century German society and was linked to economic class. Large percentages of women and men remained single until their early or middle twenties. Within wealthy, non-Jewish circles, children would also marry relatively younger, perhaps at puberty, but "the children of day-labourers, masons, peddlers, and other humble citizens were compelled to wait several years longer."[23] Jews echoed these variations between different economic classes.

In eighteenth-century Berlin, marriages among Jews were usually arranged, but this does not mean that participants were young: "The average age at marriage for Jewish women in eighteenth century Berlin was twenty-four (and thirty-one for men). It was only in very rich families or families with the most favorable legal status that early marriages were frequent."[24] Age at marriage increased slightly over the course of the century. Between 1759 and 1770, the median age for all marriages was 27 for males and 22 for females. During the next decade, the median age for males increased to 29, while remaining 22 for females. These figures reflect all marriages and not just first marriages,[25] but other evidence supports the conclusion that first marriages often occurred during one's twenties.

In her monumental collection of documents on Jews from Prussian archives, Selma Stern presented a number of tables containing family information for small communities in Prussia that include the ages of unmarried offspring still living at home. In Biesenthal in 1720, of six daughters age 20 or older, two were not married. In Straussberg, also in 1720, the picture is a little different: the oldest unmarried daughter was 20. Two other females who were sisters, aged 18 and 20, were married and had both moved to Berlin. Later tables show that the age at marriage increased as the century progressed. Thus in Wesel in 1753 there were five unmarried daughters above the age of 20 in nine families. In Magdeburg in 1750, there were a number of unmarried sons from 26 to 29 and unmarried daughters at age 27 and 28. This information derives from small communities of a dozen families at most, and in these communities, as in Berlin, a number of daughters were still single in their late twenties.[26] A similar picture emerged in Steinbiedersdorf, a small village on the contested French-German border. There too, early betrothals took place only in wealthier families. Also in Metz, between the years 1740 and 1789, the age of the grooms varied between 23 and 29 and that of brides between 17 and 24.[27]

As in the case of the role of the unmarried in determining their own spouses, the same factors influenced variations in the age at marriage. While age at marriage seems to have changed somewhat over time, more distinct patterns differentiated the average age between wealthier families and those of the lower classes. Well-to-do families could better afford to support young couples, and there was at times keen competition for the best matches, driving the age down. But most families could not provide such support and often required that offspring remain longer in the home-based economy. In other cases, young adults first found employment as servants or apprentices in order to accumulate savings that would eventually make marriage an economic possibility.

Households

Who lived in a Jewish household? Was it usually the nuclear family of parents and unmarried children, or did siblings, newly wedded offspring, or grandparents frequently join the household as well? Despite references to widows living

in the homes of married children,[28] extended families did not usually live together. As the German historian Arthur Imhof wrote about an eighteenth-century Hessian village, "large extended families did not even exist in Leimbach, or anywhere else for that matter." In Imhof's word, such families were merely "presumed" and were not real.[29] This was usually the case for Jewish families as well.

A census of Jewish families in small settlements in the area of Berlin in 1692 shows that of 40 households, 36 included husband and wife, with 69 children and 22 servants. The 40 households encompassed a total of 167 individuals, or 4.2 individuals per household.[30] A more detailed listing for Halberstadt in 1699 indicated 118 households, with 117 men, 111 women, 321 children, and 90 servants. There were only two households with single women, one living alone, one with a child. Altogether there were 639 individuals, or 5.4 individuals and 2.7 children per household. Out of all 118 households, there was a single reference to a mother living in her son's house, and one reference to a son and family living in his father's house. Virtually all households were core families and servants only.[31]

More explicit evidence that the vast majority of households included only core families and servants comes from Ostfriesland in 1780. Of 169 households from a number of small communities (including Aurich, Esens, Wittmund, Norden, and Leer) there were a total of 805 occupants, or 4.8 occupants per household. This figure included a total of 22 servants. There were 8 cases of a single person, generally an elderly person, living alone, and 17 cases of a single parent with children of different ages. Excluding servants, of the 169 households, only 24, or 15 percent, deviated from the immediate family of one or two parents plus children. In 18 households, or just above 10 percent, one or two grandparents joined the family. In almost all cases, this was one of the grandmothers; in a few cases, there was a set of grandparents or both grandmothers. The remaining expanded households included a brother, in one case, two sisters, or a more distant relative. In several of the 24 expanded households, there was more than one relative present; for example, a parent plus a brother or more distant relative.[32] Still, 85 percent of the households consisted only of the basic or nonextended family framework. Generally speaking, parents did not live with their married children.

A snapshot of the Jews of Biesenthal in 1720 indicates that the majority of married sons had left the town, probably unable to obtain permission to establish their own households. While unmarried sons had remained, several unmarried daughters had moved to Berlin. In another town in the same region, a 28-year-old unmarried daughter also worked as a maid in Berlin. In Steinbiedersdorf as well, unmarried Jewish sons tended to remain in their parents' homes more than daughters. This pattern held among Christians in smaller settlements as well, as unmarried daughters left their homes earlier than sons. The fact that men married at a later age and remained at home prior to marriage resulted in a greater presence of unmarried males in the home.[33]

> What shall I write, my dear children, of our great loss? To lose such a husband! I who had been held so precious by him, . . . I silence my weeping and lamentation, I shall have to mourn my friend all the days of my life. . . .
>
> I was thrown from heaven to earth. I had had my husband thirty years and had enjoyed through him all the good any woman could wish for. He was always thoughtful for me, even after his death, so that I could remain in a comfortable position and of good repute. But what help is that? . . . I shall not forget him all the days of my life. He is engraved in my heart.[34]

At age 12, Glikl married a boy she had not known previously, and their relationship lasted three decades. The writing of her life story began with the grief that engulfed her after Haim's death.

Her feelings toward her second husband were altogether different. As she grew older, she developed greater anxieties about the independence she had cherished since becoming a widow. Her accounts of the match to the wealthy merchant Hirsch Levy, her travels to Metz, and the early period of their marriage were all shaped by her second husband's subsequent bankruptcy and death. She described them in the memoir with an ambivalence that sought to foretell the gloomy future, although her sadness also reflected a sense of betrayal that she was marrying another man altogether:

> Though everything was good and fine, showing every appearance of wealth, and though my husband's letters were full of respect and delight, still, God knows, I was depressed. Was it that my troubled heart foretold the unhappy end? Or was it that I was sad at taking another husband? But the reflection had come much too late; I had to hide my dejection and control my sorrowful heart.[35]

Glikl provided no positive description of Levy, only the weight of the future turn of events:

> Everybody envied me, and all said with a full mouth that I must have done many good deeds that I was now so fortunate and had received such a fine, good husband, and so much wealth. My sad heart was not at rest, and the end proved me right. To what shall I ascribe this, if not to my sins?[36]

Although Pinchas Katzenelenbogen praised his two wives, both of whom had passed away, no male memoir from this period expressed love toward a spouse as Glikl's did toward Haim.[37] In contrast, Jacob Emden's reflections on his three wives amount to an attempt to determine which of these partners had brought him the most unhappiness. Jacob Schacter summarized Emden's attitudes toward his wives:

> Although he described his first wife as a wise and kind woman who was fairly successful as a moneylender, homemaker and mother, he also

claimed that she was a nasty, cantankerous woman who picked fights with her children's tutors and the domestic help. His relationship with his second wife was adversely affected by a dispute he had with members of her family over the size of her dowry and he was also upset by her lack of business sense. While describing his third wife and niece as intelligent, God-fearing and modest, he was very upset by the fact that she was constantly bickering with his older daughters from his first wives.[38]

Even though his third wife was alive at the time of writing, he was not deterred from writing that although he had been convinced that she would be devoted to him, be gracious to his daughters, and guard his honor, she had turned out to be to the worst wife of all. There was no peace in the house with her presence, even though she was a righteous and modest woman. Emden concluded the passage with the hope that in his old age he would finally find peace.[39] Presumably, he expected to survive his third wife as well.

Married life had its stresses, but most families had their arguments—large or small—and went on with their lives. Family conflicts that became the subject of a rabbinic or court source had gone beyond the routine. Sexual difficulties, infidelity, and abuse were often the basis of such conflicts.

One couple could not have sexual relations because of the male's impotence, as admitted by both partners, but in addition the husband complained that his wife had spread rumors that he "whored with men in the way that men sleep together." Ezekiel Landau, a well-known rabbi of Prague in the latter half of the eighteenth century, ruled that the man should try medical treatment and that the couple should separate for a period of time in order to decrease the quarrels between them. Landau also ruled that the couple's young son should remain with his father, who was responsible for his education.[40] In another case, a wife, complaining that her husband slept with prostitutes, sued for divorce. Another wife had an affair but subsequently regretted her actions and sought repentance. After the couple reconciled, she discovered that she was pregnant and sought a drug to induce an abortion.[41]

Rabbinic *responsa* report several cases of physical abuse,[42] but these reports can scarcely convey the helplessness felt by the beaten women. A rare archival document provides the voice of a battered woman who suffered both verbal and physical abuse from her husband, at times in front of their children. The woman, named Tzerlin, wrote this letter of desperation in 1742 to her uncle, Moshe Segal of Halberstadt. Because such documentation from the eighteenth century is so unusual, the letter is quoted in full.

I set the Lord before me at all times, May the Lord speedily be merciful unto us

Sunday, 23rd day of Kislev, 1742

To my beloved, uncle and master, champion and leader, God fearing one, whose honorable name is his praise, Rabbi Moshe Segal, may God protect and redeem him.

My faithful uncle, dear to my heart, may he be granted life, I can no longer hold back from crying out at the great sorrow, because of our many sins, weighing upon my heart; for here I have no one else close to me to whom I can speak from my heart, nor am I allowed to do so. And for that reason, I have no closer friend than first, The Holy One, Blessed Be He and then, my uncle, very dear to my heart, may he be granted life, who will surely protect me like a father and not an uncle, as is also his responsibility, for I am, because of our many sins, an unfortunate, pitiful orphan and have no one except the Holy One Blessed Be He and Blessed be His Name solely, and then my faithful, dear uncle, may he live long, whom I will adopt as father. Therefore, I must discuss with my faithful, dear uncle, may he be granted life, what is on my heart in this letter as if I were conversing with him orally.

For, because of our many sins, I have an extremely bad life with my husband, may he be granted life, who doesn't value me as a woman, as if my righteous parents had, God forbid, shamed him and he received me like a penniless whore. It is impossible to be more downtrodden and rejected, not only by him but by the members of his family, who would gladly poison me with a spoonful of water if they could. His mother whispers day and night in his ear and magnifies the conflict even more. All week long he doesn't eat at home even twice; whenever she cooks anything she does not let him go home unless he eats with her first, while I and my poor children have nothing to eat all week except bread and butter because he does not buy us any meat except a bit only for the Sabbath, and I don't even have flour with which to prepare soup, and no beans or peas.

But none of this would be important—there are many other poor people in this world whose lives are no better—if, together with this, I had peace at home and if my husband lived with me harmoniously, as befits an honest man, I do not say like to a wife, but at least like to a human being. The words that he says to me, his curses, of which there can be no worse admonition! If one answers back with even two words, he comes and hits me. At first, this only happened rarely, but now he acts worse from day to day. I ask, therefore, if this treatment is permissible, if to this end my righteous parents raised me. I can hardly bear this any more. He has already hit my head until I fainted. My soul finds no advice how I, pitiful as I am, can continue this life of torture with this man, and each day I die of sorrow. I have already rebelled, because of our many sins, so much with eyes overflowing with tears, that I can hardly see at all.

A Sabbath doesn't pass that he does not begin to argue again and say things that almost break my heart and he spills my blood until I leave the table and sit alone in the house and break down in tears and sorrow; then he relaxes happily at the table, eats and drinks and leaves me sitting alone, and then he calls for his mother and his brothers and sisters and tells them

the opposite [of what really happened]. Then each comes separately to me and reproaches me with bad things, and I am trapped from all sides, for in a place where there are many dogs, the rabbit dies, and I, because of our many sins, have no one to whom I can pour out my heart. If I say anything to anyone and it becomes known to his family, I only make my situation worse. There is no way in the world that I can tell my dearest uncle, may he be granted life, how he acted towards me this week, for our Shmuel was here, and I told him about my abject condition, because of our many sins. Everything I told him was completely true, and I forgot to forbid him to say that he heard these words from me—he should not have said where they came from—and not to tell strangers, who would not hesitate to reveal them. Later, when Libchi was in Halberstadt and visited at Rabbi Bunim Eiger's, the rabbi spoke to her sternly and forcefully and convinced her. Then Libchi returned home with the story blown up a hundred times. My "dear husband" came home from his mother's home that evening with the story. I was certain that he was going to kill me, God Forbid, and he beat me, unfortunate human being that I am, on the head, so that I practically lost all my senses and blood gushed from my nose . . . Thus he began saying, "You want to shame me and report what happens to the public? Now you will know what it is to [be] hit and what a bad life is; until today it was nothing yet, and now you have made it much worse, now I have nothing to lose, because people already know, and I have already been slandered." From then on I have had no respite. With total seriousness he tramples me, pushes me and curses me. He has decided not to converse with me any more and that my words shall have no relevance. When he wants something, he sends the maid and when he goes out and wants to leave me a few coins in the house, he gives them to the maid, and she has to give them to me. So they came immediately and gave me no rest and I had to write to Rabbi Bunim Eiger's wife that none of what was said is true and I had to pretend that things are really good for me.

So I ask my dear uncle, may he be granted life, how to find a way out of this; for when he sees that there is no one to protect me, he thinks that he can he simply do anything, as he also says, "I would like to see anyone in the world who would do anything to me because of you, even if I act even worse towards you. I will hurt you so badly that you will run away, or I shall run away myself and leave you sitting here, an *aguna* [a woman whose husband cannot be located and is considered ineligible for marriage]." He impoverishes me, because of our many sins, and the little I had is gone. In short, I can't write down everything on paper to my uncle, so dear to my heart, and write him everything about my abject situation, because of all our sins, without my wishing that had I never come into this sinful world, I would have been better off.

Therefore, faithful, dear uncle please give me good advice, for he is a wise man and righteous, and deals kindly with everyone, let alone his own

flesh and blood, and especially with orphans, for whom whatever help is given them is rewarded by The Holy One Blessed Be He. My very dear uncle, may he be granted life, dear father, thus I write him as if to a father and I adopt him as my father. God forbid that he should show this letter to any stranger so that it does not get back to them. He [my husband] can, God forbid, make my life still worse, like I saw because of Shmuel—and should not let it be felt that I have written to him, but let him say that he has heard from certain people who have told him how he acts toward me, as if I know nothing about this, and not to mention anything to strangers, God Forbid, so that if one of them were to come, he would not reveal anything.

With this I end, I, his faithful niece,

Tzerlin, daughter of our teacher, Rabbi Aaron Segal, of blessed memory.

Warm regards to his sweet wife from me.

Once again I beg not let anyone feel that I have written to him, and not to say anything to a stranger, God forbid. He is very wise and will decide himself how to act.[43]

The letter describes several elements characteristic of the situation of battered wives. At first her circumstances worsened gradually, but once knowledge of the abuse had spread beyond the confines of the household, conditions deteriorated rapidly. Her husband explicitly said that he no longer had any cause to restrain himself, and she greatly feared that he would learn of the letter to her uncle. By the time Tzerlin wrote this letter, she had also reached a state of deep despair in which she perceived that only God and her uncle could possibly come to her rescue. Members of her husband's family had not just failed to provide protection but had increased her difficulties. Her previous attempt to seek rabbinical intervention had also ended disastrously. For good reasons, she could see no way out of the continued brutality at home. Divorce could result in her losing her children and endangering her financial future. Because she was an orphan, the possibility of flight was limited. This cry for help gave no clear indication of what solution she prayed for, other than beseeching intervention by her uncle, but she probably hoped for the opportunity to flee to her uncle's house and protection. We have no further information.

In a different case reported in the rabbinic *responsa*, a battered wife made several resourceful attempts to alleviate her situation. Her husband frequently beat her severely, purportedly provoked by rumors that she had been sleeping with other men. Although she repeatedly insisted on her innocence, she began to fear for her life. A neighbor suggested that she say the rumors were true in order to secure a divorce and save herself. The wife followed this advice and the neighbor came forward to confirm that her confession was true. Her husband went to the teacher in the community to petition for divorce. But once the

teacher called in the men who had spread the rumors, their story disintegrated. They admitted that they had fabricated the tale of adultery out of spite for the woman but offered no reason for their hostility. On the basis of their changed testimony, the teacher refused to arrange the divorce. Following still more beatings, the wife, determined to finally free herself from her husband, went to the teacher herself and admitted committing adultery. This time, on the basis of her confession, the teacher arranged the divorce, and the woman returned to her father's house. Some time later, the husband learned that the entire confession had come at the suggestion of the neighbor and that his wife had been innocent all along. He now longed for the return of "the wife of his youth." He also wished for her to return to care for their children, and she too wanted to return to them.[44] Subplots make this story all the more fascinating and suggestive: the conspiracy of the men against the wife for reasons not revealed; the bonding of the wife with her neighbor in the face of admitted brutality by the husband; and the family dynamics that drew the couple back together again, regardless of renewed danger for the wife.

Men too felt pressure to preserve the family. A husband whose wife was accused of infidelity said explicitly that he opposed the dissolution of his marriage in order to protect the family unit. While the husband was away on a business trip, a servant saw a man enter the house and heard sounds of sexual intercourse coming from the *beit hahoref*, the heated room with the stove. The servant called in some people to listen at the door and witness that a man was inside with the wife of the house. The wife later admitted that she had been there with the man but denied sexual contact and claimed that their daughter had been present in the room as well. The husband defended his wife and urged the rabbinic court not to impose a divorce upon them in order to maintain the family unity and honor.[45]

Widows

Alison Rowlands's declaration that "death was the greatest disrupter of sixteenth-century peasant households" in Europe would seem to ring true for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century households as well, and not just those of peasants. Rowlands added that "parents could expect to lose half or more of their children and spouses to lose their partners after only relatively short lives together."[46] Remarriage was frequent, although more common for men than for women. Glikl bas Leib waited many years before remarrying; Jacob Emden's mother did not consider the possibility. They reached these decisions even though both had many children at home who required care and marriage arrangements. As already noted, Glikl undertook to arrange matches for her children herself; after the death of Emden's mother, the older siblings and a brother-in-law took on that responsibility.

Widows had to cope with certain problems in the immediate aftermath of their husbands' deaths: financial security that often included settling debts; inheritance issues, including housing, which sometimes entailed conflicts with

offspring; and possibly raising young children. Remarriage offered a potential solution to at least some of these difficulties.

Widows sometimes continued their late husbands' occupations, becoming, for example, more active in commercial transactions. Some widows took over trades in the service sector. As in the case of Glikl, this often represented merely an expansion of previous involvements. Women, mostly widows, frequently attended the Leipzig fair, although Esther Liebmann's visits to the fair while her husband was still alive were exceptional. Liebmann was probably the best known example of a widow succeeding her husband as court Jew, first replacing Israel Aaron as agent to the Prussian king, then passing the position on to her second husband, Jost Liebmann, and reassuming the position after his death. The widows of Elias Gomperz (d. 1689) and Issachar Homburg (d. 1759) also received appointments previously held by their husbands.[47] Women succeeded their late husbands in other trades as well, one of the more unusual examples being butcher and meat slaughterer.[48]

The death of the husband meant that the widow had to take care of outstanding debts and credits. Glikl described her financial planning after Haim's death:

> My husband would not appoint trustees. After the thirty days of mourning I went over the books. I found that we owed 20,000 reichstaler. I knew this already: it gave me no anxiety, for I knew that the debts could be easily met, and I would have as much again for my children's wants. Still, it was no easy matter for an afflicted widow to owe so much and not have 100 reichstaler in cash in the house. I collected everything, made my balance, and decided to have a sale. . . .
>
> As soon as the money came in, I paid out what was owing, and within a year all the debts were paid off. Further, the rest of the money I loaned out at interest.[49]

Widowhood also meant resolving inheritance issues, sometimes in the courts. Court records and rabbinic *responsa* are full of suits by and against widows, involving them in the transactions of their late husbands. Inheritance disputes between widows and children were also very common, frequently over the disposition of the family house.[50] Financial arrangements between widow and children also complicated relationships. In one case, after a widow had lived with her son for 15 years, it was discovered that she had a trunk in her room containing money. The son asked whether he was not entitled to receive compensation for housing and food. The rabbinical question hinged on whether the original arrangement had been based on the commandment to honor one's parents or on charity.[51]

Conclusion

The dynamics of Jewish family life in early modern Germany did not differ markedly from those of their neighbors. Except for the wealthy, women generally married between their late teens and late twenties, and men usually wed in

their twenties. Family size was not unusually large, nor was it likely to be when the age at marriage was not substantially different from that of non-Jews. Husbands and wives divided their responsibilities in ways that also paralleled the society around them. Residential and economic restrictions caused one fundamental and significant difference between Jewish and Christian family life. Both Jewish males and females were more likely than Christians to move away from their native homes to establish their own families and households, and males, working more in commerce than agriculture, were more likely to be away from the family in order to provide support.

3

Childhood and Education

Traditionally, raising and educating children was one of the most important components of Jewish family life. How did children and education fare in these times caught between the winds of traditional, preindustrial society and the onset of early capitalism. Jewish tradition places tremendous emphasis on the value of education. According to curricula, boys first learned to read Hebrew and then continued to study Torah, rabbinical commentaries, Mishnah, and *halachah*, or Jewish law. The most advanced students would proceed to Talmud with commentaries. Education for girls was less well defined, but in some German communities girls also studied in schools, focusing on biblical and rabbinic texts that had been recast into Yiddish. Traditional literature prescribes how children should be encouraged to study with love and how adults, especially males, should devote part of their daily routine to study as well. According to these directives, parents should lovingly escort young boys to the open arms of the devoted tutor; both the days and years of study were long; and parents of newly married couples gladly supported the grooms so that they could continue their studies without economic concerns.[1]

But the reality was quite different. Children often did not like to attend classes, many teachers did not like to teach, and some were not particularly knowledgeable. Parents often sought to remove adolescent boys from school and send them into the workplace, while communities insisted on boys remaining in school, fearing the extra economic competition. At times, smaller communities whose members lacked the necessary funds even refused to hire a teacher or at least hotly debated the issue.

Expanding the educational framework in German lands to accompany the growing Jewish settlement did not come easily. Neither demographics nor economics lent themselves to the cause. In most areas, establishment of educa-

tional facilities had to begin anew. Still, by the late eighteenth century, some form of schooling existed in most areas, as urban settings enjoyed relatively elaborate structures, while rural Jewry settled for much less.[2]

Childhood

The following passage comes from an autobiography by an unknown writer describing the first 17 years of his life, from 1668 to 1685. It is probably the most painful childhood recollection in any of the published memoirs, bringing home with clarity what might be called the counterhistory of Jewish family life:

> My father started my education with Gemara Sota once or twice, though I had never before studied Talmud or even Mishna. Thus a long time passed by without my learning anything, until I became a thorn in my own eyes and even more so in the eyes of my father, because I was a boor brought up in dirt without any cleanliness, for the lack of a mother; and I remember that at the age of eleven I ran around barefooted and without trousers, and no one cared. My father then had many little children, for his [second] wife bore him a son or a daughter almost every year. I am sure that if anybody had announced my death to him at that time he would have thought this good news, for he considered me ignorant and good for nothing, so that my existence was a burden to him.[3]

Some memoirists had very little to say about their childhood, or even that of their children, but in varying degrees most were still quite aware of a childhood stage in their lives. The unknown author could remember his childhood years later only with considerable pain. Glikl bas Leib recalled a few basic elements in her childhood experience: her father who sacrificed beyond his means for his children's future happiness; the pleasures of having her maternal grandmother in the house with them and hearing about her own mother's difficult childhood, having lost her father at a young age; the cold winters in Hamburg-Altona that accompanied several dislocations due to wars and temporary exiles of the Jews; and the perceptive comprehension of some unrest in the house because of her father's role as communal leader. And yet, despite the negative overtones of some of these memories, she summed up that part of her life quite succinctly and contentedly: "My God! When I begin to reflect on those days and compare them with the present, they were happy times, though people did not have half of what they have now."[4]

Jacob Emden not only vividly recalled certain themes of his childhood but also explicitly connected them with his adulthood. These formative factors included his precocious studies, his tendencies toward depression and illness, and the afflictions he suffered from those around him. He explained his own tendencies toward depression as deriving from his father's melancholia at the time of his birth:

> I was born in great sorrow unto my mother and father (as he himself told me) for at that time my father, of blessed memory, was stricken with melancholy, and was so grievously ill that the physicians had almost despaired of his recovery, had it not been for the mercy of God who restored him to his former health and strength. Nevertheless, I think that that illness left some mark upon my birth, for from my very youth I was given to anxiety and distress. My heart was easily stirred, my strength forsook me, and I was readily given to melancholy. Bitterness grew in me; I was not able to free myself from it. . . . Not once or twice but a hundred times have I been on the verge of death; to this day I have not found rest in the world, nor joy, nor happiness. In fact, I hated life; I despised it.[5]

Emden noted that he was the first son after three daughters and was spoiled by both his parents. He then expanded on three selected episodes from his childhood experience.

> My parents were worriers and fretted over me a great deal. I was reared on their knees as a pampered child, with happiness, great softness and yearning. With it all, my father hastened to bring me to school when I was three years old so that by the age of five I had already completed studying the tractate Bezah. I was so diligent in my studies that my friends [and] peers trailed behind me and by that time had not [even] reached the ability to read the prayers. Afterwards, however, [my father] did not bring my brothers to the melamed's house at such a tender age because, he said, that by doing so, he had weakened me.
>
> [If I wrote] everything that occurred to me in my childhood years, the story would be exceedingly long, aside from what is hidden and forgotten from me.[6]

Emden shared a sense of bitterness toward life both with the unknown memoirist cited earlier and to a lesser extent with Asher Levy. Given Emden's historical importance in eighteenth-century Jewish life, his personal testimonies have taken on a special significance that has fascinated scholars and have provoked controversies of their own.[7]

Pinchas Katzenelenbogen (1691–c. 1765), who served as a rabbi in various communities in the first half of the eighteenth century, recalled his decision to study with his own father. When he was 10, his father asked him some questions about the texts he had been studying. When the boy proved unable to answer, his father shamed him with the message that his ignorance disgraced a long lineage of rabbinic scholars. Later that year, after the boy had recovered from a severe bout of smallpox, he asked his father to instruct him personally. The father was hesitant, explaining that Katzenelenbogen, considered sickly from birth, was even weaker because of the recent illness. The father also hesitated because he was a strict and demanding teacher who beat his pupils when dissatisfied with their studies. Only with the boy's insistence did the father reluctantly agree to teach his own son. The studies went well, and when, in fact,

his father did beat Katzenelenbogen, he explained—at least in the narrative written many years later—that he had accepted his lot out of joy for the opportunity to do God's will.[8]

Learning about childhood from memoirs can be particularly problematic. Glikl wrote many times in her memoir about her sufferings for the sake of her children, but one might well ask how Glikl's children would themselves have described their early years and their relations with their mother. Would they begrudge the long hours she spent in the shop, at the market, or away from home? Did their parents show sufficient interest in their studies? Would the children complain that they were compelled to marry too early? In fact, one son did complain that he had to wait too long. Descriptions of childhood convey moods, and the tones of those moods can be highly subjective. Consider the following virtually simultaneous descriptions from the late eighteenth century of the care provided when a plague broke out in two local communities. First, we hear the voice of our anonymous memoirist:

> In the course of Tammuz [a summer month] I fell sick, and the symptoms of the plague became apparent. For three days and nights I had high fever, and was near death. Then a swelling, which burned like fire, broke out behind my ear on the neck, and all the members of the family became frightened.[9]

The local count had ordered that any family afflicted by the plague had to relocate to a designated location in the forest. But the father feared that this would mean certain death for the Jewish family and decided to conceal his son's illness.

> He therefore decided to hide me in the garret, asking his father Jacob Ha-Levi to take care of me, which he did, although he was an old man himself. He tended me so carefully that no other member of the household needed to come to the room in which I stayed, hoping that this perhaps might prevent the plague from attacking others.

But the grandfather was suddenly forced to leave town, and the son bemoaned how his family now saw to his needs.

> The plaster was handed to me from a distance and I put it on, although I was only a boy of twelve and sick, for I had been compelled to devise ways of how to take proper care of myself. Similarly they brought my meals to the top of the staircase, and put them down near the door of the staircase, which they closed at once. I had to get up from my bed to take them. I lay there alone day and night, and at that time I saw apparitions and dreamed dreams. That I remained alive was against the laws of nature.

When neighbors noticed the boy's absence and suspected that he might be ill with the plague, his father "cleverly" ordered him to get dressed, cover his neck with a cloth, and go out to play. The boy did as he was told, even climbing up into the trees when his father showed even more cleverness and ordered

him to play and seem happy: "I obeyed and laughed while my heart felt bitter."

This account leaves little doubt about the memoirist's perception of desertion by his family during this illness and even implies a deliberate decision designating the grandfather to face the dangers involved in caring for the child. But compare that passage with a remarkably similar description of care as rendered by Glikl:

> It was about this time that people fled from Vilna to Hamburg [because of pogroms in Poland] and an epidemic broke out and there was no hekdesh [hospice] or any other place for sick people. There were in our attic ten sick people for whom my father cared. Several of these died. My sister Elka was also ill at the time. My revered grandmother tended all the sick and saw to their wants, they lacked nothing. Though my parents were not pleased at the risks she ran, they could not restrain her. Three or four times a day she would climb to the garret to tend the sick, till at last she, too, caught the sickness and after ten days in bed, in good repute, at the age of seventy-four, she died.[10]

Glikl's account is full of praise, as well it should be: these sick people were strangers, refugees from Poland. Glikl's parents urged her elderly grandmother not to come close to the sick and be exposed, but it was the grandmother herself who insisted that she would care for them. The description of the basic facts in these two accounts is very similar, but the tone of description is altogether different. Experiences of childhood vary greatly—considerably more than ideal portraits imply.

Educational Responsibility

The concept of compulsory education just began to take shape in the German states of the later eighteenth century, but it had already long existed as a normative characteristic of Jewish communal life. Still, it was the family that determined the actual educational course that was taken. Sabbatai Horowitz, in praising his mother's efforts on behalf of education, wrote that she used her own inheritance to support the study of Torah:

> It is proper that I praise my mother, my teacher, my first instructor. . . . Truly she ate the bitter with the sweet, for her hand always aided my father, my master[,] in that she distributed liberally the money that she acquired from her father, so that the material needs of the students of the Torah would be supplied.[11]

Jacob Emden wrote of his father, the well-known rabbi Haham Zvi: "When I was a child [I was] carried in the arms of my father, my master of blessed memory. . . . With fullness of speech, he would say, 'May you merit, my son, to become learned in the Torah'."[12]

Glikl's memoir blatantly ignored particulars concerning the education of

her children, even of her son Moses, who later became a rabbi in Baiersdorf. Although she described details of childhood illnesses, marriage, and business, she provided remarkably little information about her children's education. The one episode related at some length actually concerned fraudulent financial behavior by a tutor located in Poland. Of course, Glikl's primary focus was on commercial matters, including marriage strategies to better secure her children's future. But this underscores the point: educational achievements were not indicated as important criteria for matches for her daughters. Furthermore, her book, written for her family, purports to transmit moral values to her descendants. It seems that the educational imperative barely made the list of values to be transmitted.

The anonymous seventeenth-century autobiographer reported in painful detail his father's disregard of his education. Here is a bitter narrative of a childhood of neglect. The early death of his mother led to his father's remarriage to a young bride who was herself still a child and incapable of providing motherly care. The child and his older brother were left to their own wits—a situation better handled by the older sibling than the four-year-old. Despite the fact that his father was a learned man who had earlier worked as a teacher, he placed little emphasis on the boy's education and upbringing. During a period of economic misfortunes, the family moved from village to village.

> I was seven years old at the time. My father found a temporary shelter in the town of Humpoletz, a town of wool-weavers, and he traded there for a year, while I was cut off from study and good deeds and left to myself. He then went to a village, Wassov, for the Count [who had been his benefactor] had in the meantime returned from the military expedition and bought this village, and my father followed him there. As for myself, I constantly regressed in my studies and in manners and conduct. After a while my father decided to send me to Prague, which was a day's journey. My older brother was also there; it was winter then, and I was nine years old. There, too, I did nothing, for my father did not know how to arrange matters properly, and in his endeavor to save money he placed me for a small sum in the charge of a teacher who took little care of me, while I needed great attention if I was to be taught with any success.

Eventually, the father, in order to save money, took the boy back home to teach him himself. The memoirist reported that his older brother was indeed able to learn from his father, but things went less well for the younger son.[13]

This father was not alone in his attempts to economize. Some communities debated the need to hire a teacher. This was especially a problem in rural areas with small communities. In one community of six households, only one father wanted to hire a teacher and demanded that the other five comply. In a small community near Worms, a Christian missionary asked about the teacher and was told: "There are only a few Jews here, and they don't have enough money to hire a teacher." In another community, a missionary learned that the fathers taught their sons themselves. Still, many communities did engage teachers, for example one community with only 13 households, and a village

with only three households hired a teacher who doubled as a *shohat*, or meat slaughterer—a common combination.[14] These small communities had other difficulties providing necessary religious facilities and services, but in most cases a consensus on providing a teacher prevailed.

Contemporary observers differed in explaining the difficulties in providing elementary education in rural areas. Isaac Wetzlar (b. between 1680 and 1690, d. 1751), who admired the natural piety of the villagers but was a staunch critic of educational patterns in central Europe in general, blamed the rabbis and wealthier communities for ignoring the educational needs of the smaller villages. According to Wetzlar, rabbis were more interested in certifying meat slaughterers than teachers, and wealthy members of the communities did not contribute to the needs of the poor.

But other authorities, like Rabbi Elhanan Kirchan, placed responsibility on the villagers themselves, describing them as more preoccupied with their economic needs and practical concerns than with advancing their children's education.[15] According to Kirchan, teachers in rural areas acted as if they knew all of the Torah and could decide legal issues freely. They failed to provide instruction in basic subjects, and both teachers and parents agreed that instruction should stop when the boy reached the age of Bar Mitzvah. In the end, these boys "have learned virtually nothing and are only good for riding horses."[16] While the critics disagreed on who bore responsibility for this sorry state, they fully agreed that education in the hinterlands was in disarray.

Schools and Teachers

Responsibility for education was a matter of give-and-take between family and community. Mordechai Breuer has summed up the connection in this way:

> The education of the children, training them in religious tradition and grooming them to start households of their own, was among the most important concerns of the community and the family. . . . [The] community itself only took care of the education of the impoverished and orphaned in schools for children between the ages of six and thirteen. The community's view was that children's education was primarily a parental concern and duty. Accordingly, instruction for children from somewhat better-off families often began from their fourth year, in small private schools, run by the teachers at the parents' expense.[17]

In Frankfurt in 1709, 6 teachers instructed in communal schools and 18 offered private tutoring.[18] In addition to providing lessons for those who could not afford them on their own, communities also tried to regulate the teaching being offered to all. But parents, teachers, and pupils alike often frustrated these attempts at communal control.

Much more is known about education for boys than for girls. Instruction for boys took place in a *heder*, often a room in the teacher's home. Private tutors often taught in the homes of the pupils. The *heder* system brought to-

gether pupils usually of different levels and abilities. Teachers moved from one group to another, but pupils often studied materials not at their appropriate level. In larger communities with a number of instructors available, parents could select the teacher, sometimes resulting in attempts by the teachers to please the parents by exaggerating the pupils' accomplishments. Criticism of the *heder* system both by rabbis and later *maskilim* frequently referred to the lack of progression in studies and the incompetence and obsequiousness of the tutors.[19]

The school year began right after the Sukkot holiday [Feast of Tabernacles] in the fall. In Worms in the latter half of the eighteenth century, boys rose during the winter months before sunrise and spent the day in class with occasional breaks for meals at home and to attend synagogue services. During the summer, with the earlier sunrise and resultant earlier worship in the synagogue, instruction began only after services. The Sephardi Talmud Torah school in Hamburg maintained a similar schedule, at least at mid–eighteenth century: three hours of instruction in the morning and afternoon except for the winter months, when there were two and a half hours for each session.[20]

Generally, boys began their studies at age 5 and remained in school until age 13 or 14, depending on the community. Talented youth received earlier instruction and continued in school to a later age. How long boys remained in school was a question of economic significance. Ordinances in several communities specified that boys had to avoid engaging in trade even after they had ceased their formal studies, at whatever age they finished. These rules may not have been observed consistently, but they do indicate the conflicting pressures at play: families wanted sons to earn income at an earlier stage, while communities sought to decrease the level of competition in the marketplace.[21]

The curriculum prescribed by a number of rabbinic authorities called for early instruction in reading Hebrew and study of the prayerbook and the Torah. The boy would advance to study of the Mishnah, a compilation of rabbinic teachings dating from the land of Israel around 200 C.E., and only at a later stage, sometimes recommended to be the age of 15, would he begin study of the *Gemara*, or Babylonian Talmud, an expansion of Mishnaic teachings dating from the next few centuries. Regardless of their points of view, critics seem to agree that there were many digressions from this curriculum that theoretically progressed rationally from stage to stage. In some cases, teachers advanced pupils too rapidly in order to please the parents and earn the larger remuneration given for more advanced instruction.

Teachers taught reading using Hebrew characters attached to slates. They began with the *siddur*, or prayerbook, since one of the primary objectives of early education was for the child to read prayers. At a later stage, pupils read Yiddish translations of the Torah.[22] In those settings where instruction proceeded to more advanced levels, pupils read the Torah together with Rashi's classic eleventh-century commentary.

Most information relating to education for girls comes from Glikl, who demonstrated a rather extensive knowledge of Jewish sources and some knowledge of secular materials as well. Her stepsister knew how to play the

piano, and in one anecdote she demonstrated her knowledge of French. Glikl knew Hebrew well enough to read prayers, but her knowledge of Jewish ethical literature came from reading in Yiddish. Glikl wrote of her father that "he had [both] his sons and daughters instructed in religious and secular matters." She studied in a *heder* as a young girl, and sources from Nikolsburg in 1691 and Runkel in 1733 also refer to girls attending *heder*.[23] For most girls, mothers provided the primary instruction at home.[24] Yiddish anthologies provided selections from rabbinic texts for girls who could read. Many women learned how to write. The role of women in business often required that they keep books and correspondence, and many women wrote letters.

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, teachers came primarily from Poland, but by the latter part of the eighteenth century, German-born teachers or long-time residents of Germany had grown in number. As early as 1732, a census of the schools in Hamburg indicated that only 5 of 40 teachers were Polish, although it seems likely that others had actually come from Poland at an earlier stage and had already received Hamburg citizenship. Some had originated within the German states, especially from Prussia.[25]

These teachers were largely transient figures, whether moving from town to town or village to village, and those from eastern Europe often intended to return home to their families. The transient teacher came with baggage that could easily hinder the efficacy of instruction. One harsh critic—a traveling cantor who settled for some time in Hamburg at the end of the seventeenth century—indicated his concern that the temporary tutor would hesitate to discipline his pupils so as not to irritate their parents. Tutors were often either bachelors hoping to establish their own families or already married with children but living far away from their families. In either case, they were easily distracted from their educational mission.[26]

In smaller communities especially, teachers often filled one or more functions, doubling as meat slaughterers or Torah readers. Lacking a higher authority, these communities would also often consult with teachers on matters of Jewish law. *Responsa* often ridiculed the teachers' lack of knowledge and sharply criticized both the teachers and the communities for not consulting proper authorities.[27] In larger communities, teachers might be hired by members of the community for additional tasks such as praying at the bedside of the ill or at the graveside.[28] These multiple tasks provide at least a partial explanation as to why teachers did not always remain with their classes.

How well prepared were these teachers? Criticism of their ignorance was abundant. Jacob Emden reported a case in which he disqualified a *shohat* from slaughtering meat because of his lack of knowledge of the law but allowed him to teach, despite his ignorance, so that the children would not be idle. Tutors repeatedly refused to instruct their children according to a determined curriculum. Rabbis would set a specific Talmudic tractrate for the region under their jurisdiction in order to facilitate printing and sales of the necessary volume, but instructors often insisted on teaching different tractrates. One obvious explanation for their noncompliance is that they taught what they knew.[29]

Teachers' salaries varied greatly, depending on location and primarily on

the level of instruction. The Hamburg Talmud Torah employed four teachers when it was established in 1652. Their salaries rose with their rank and assignments within the curriculum. The first teacher taught the Hebrew alphabet and reading. The next teacher taught the weekly Torah portion in Hebrew and Ladino, an adaptation of Spanish used by Sephardi Jews. The third teacher taught the weekly portion entirely in Ladino, early prophets from the Bible and Rashi's commentary on the Torah, presumably in Hebrew. The fourth and highest teacher taught Talmud. The salary of the most advanced teacher was more than double that of the lowest instructors.[30]

Salaries in Frankfurt in 1662 were 4 taler per year for elementary instructors for each daily hour of teaching and 5 taler for teaching Talmud and more advanced Tosafot commentaries. Instruction took place for eight to nine hours a day, depending on the season. Thus, advanced instructors received 40 to 45 taler per year. According to the statutes of the Worms community, updated in 1729, advanced instructors who taught Talmud and commentaries could teach up to eight hours per day and received 7½ taler per year for each hour, adding up to a potential 60 taler a year.[31]

Comparisons with Christian schoolmasters are helpful but involve comparison with various regions at different points of time. Still, salaries of Jewish teachers in the urban areas compared well with figures for Christian educators. In Pomerania, salaries were especially low, and "the financial distress of schoolmasters was especially acute." In 1777, 500 out of 1,200 schoolmasters earned less than 10 taler per year. In Brandenburg in 1774, about 37 percent of the schoolmasters received less than 20 taler, although some 17 percent received more than 60 taler. These figures improved slightly by the end of the century due to Frederick the Great's educational reform policies. Sixty taler was considered an attractive salary in the latter quarter of the century. Thus, when the Prussian government sought to encourage schoolmasters to settle in West Prussia, it offered them 60 taler a year. Salaries for Jewish instructors were in the 40- to 60-taler bracket at a much earlier date. If Jewish instructors could not live on their teaching incomes alone, most Christian schoolmasters endured similar privation, often doubling as choir leaders in the local parish. In Neumark, the number able to subsist on their salaries alone rose as a result of educational reforms from 17.9 percent in 1770 to 28.3 percent in 1805.[32]

Those responsible for education in the Jewish community did not have an easy task supervising tutors. An especially instructive collection of placards hung in public places by the school wardens of the Hamburg community indicated those aspects of the ordinances governing tutors that were most regularly ignored.[33] Their complaints were as follows.

1. Tutors allowed students to run around free at times designated for instruction, and the tutors themselves roamed the streets when they should have been with their pupils. Specifically, tutors did not return to their rooms for continued instruction after the afternoon prayers.
2. Tutors ignored an old statute that required them to teach the Talmudic tractrate selected by the head of the rabbinical court. This rule had been

enacted to guarantee sufficient demand for a specific volume to be printed.

3. Tutors gave lessons for adults in violation of an established rule against this. This privilege with its economic advantages was probably reserved for higher rabbinic authorities.
4. Tutors advanced their pupils to higher levels in order to collect higher fees, even if the pupils were not yet adequately prepared for the more advanced instruction. Thus pupils advanced to Talmudic studies without proper preparation in biblical studies.

Repeated declarations by the school authorities indicate that they simply did not have sufficient power to impose their will upon the tutors or upon the parents. The same complaints, repeated over the years, confirmed that communal ordinances cannot be relied upon to indicate educational realities.

Several dozen communities supported academies for advanced Talmudic studies, known in Hebrew as yeshivot. The most prestigious of these institutions were in Frankfurt am Main, Worms, Altona, Fürth, Metz, and Prague, with Prague recognized as the primary center of rabbinic study in German lands.[34] Many of the students actually came from eastern Europe. German Jewry continued to support these Talmudic academies even while they only sent their most motivated and qualified sons to study in these institutions, as Glikl wrote: "My son Zanvil, meanwhile grew older, and as he would not study, I took him sometimes with me to the Brunswick Fair. Moses, on the other hand, studied well and I sent him to Frankfurt to study in the Klaus. At the same time, I sent Zanvil there with goods."[35]

Accomplishments and Comparison

Emphasis on the difficulties and contradictions in the education process should not preclude appreciation of its accomplishments. While most of the leading rabbis and heads of yeshivot in Germany had come from eastern Europe, several outstanding scholars were born in German lands. These included Jair Hayyim Bacharach (1638–1702), Yehudah Mehler (1660–1751), Nathaniel Weil (1687–1769), Jacob Emden (1697–1776), and Nathan Adler (1741–1800). There is also evidence of more popular educational achievement, at least in the larger centers of population. Glickl was widely familiar with traditional sources and teachings, including books of ethics. Asher Levy wrote his memoir in Hebrew and composed a number of Hebrew poems to mark both happy and sad occasions, and the far more learned Pinchas Katzenelenbogen possessed an extensive private library of rabbinical scholarship. Despite these accomplishments, examining Jewish education in the context of its surroundings dampens the achievements.

Historians frequently compare favorably the high literacy of Jews and Jewish educational achievements in general with those of the surrounding society, but eighteenth-century Germany seems to be something of an aberration.

Caution is necessary in dealing with these questions because there are virtually no studies of literacy rates within the Jewish community during this time period. It was far more common to find people who could write in Yiddish than in Hebrew, and only a few could read German in German script. Traditionalists and *maskilim* alike severely criticized education within German Jewry during the eighteenth century, especially in rural areas. As some parents explained, the quality of education in rural areas was so poor that it was not worth the economic sacrifice required.

These critiques of decreasing literacy within Jewish society coincided with concerted efforts toward educational reform in German states. Prussia and Austria were at the forefront of educational efforts that derived initially from the Reformation and the subsequent Catholic response. Enlightenment thinking considerably reinforced these educational initiatives. In the 1770s and 1780s, both states passed legislation calling for compulsory attendance in elementary schools and for improvements in teacher training and working conditions. Some estimates of basic literacy levels in certain areas for the end of the century reach higher than 80 percent.[36] Given the criticisms of Jewish education, the Jewish literacy level could not have significantly surpassed that of their neighbors. In the cities, higher concentrations of Jewish population, reinforced by local institutions of advanced rabbinic learning, gave rise to greater literacy. This more positive picture about Jewish learning is demonstrated by yeshivot, adult study groups, private libraries, and personal testimonies.

Conclusion

When in 1689 the Frankfurt authorities ordered Jews to keep business records and correspondence in German and not in Hebrew script, communal leaders responded that less than 10 Jews in the city could read German and even fewer could write it.[37] But knowledge of the German language among Jews increased during the course of the eighteenth century. By the latter part of the century, governments increasingly mandated rudimentary education in the German language and basic math skills, but the greater focus on commerce had already paved the way for more attention to these subjects among Jews even prior to government intervention. Wealthier Jews could hire private instructors for themselves or for their children. Some Jews who could not afford a tutor taught themselves basic German skills. Jacob Emden wrote that he wanted to read German in order to read works of science, especially about astronomy and medicine: "I yearned to know and to recognize the script of the German language in its own form, which my revered father never taught me, nor did I learn their handwriting from a teacher. It was necessary for me to learn by myself." Emden was too embarrassed to have an acquaintance teach him how to read, he says, "but I knew a young servant who was learning to write and read the German language. I clandestinely took him aside and asked him to show me the shape of the printed letters in the foreign alphabet." The servant himself had only had a few lessons and barely "knew the shape of the separate let-

ters," but Emden learned quickly to read printed materials, although he still could not read cursive script.[38] Still, reading and writing for most people implied neither Hebrew nor German but the use of Yiddish with Hebrew characters.[39]

Dissatisfaction with Jewish education in Germany did not originate with the *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment. Enlightenment critics like Naphtali Herz Wessely assailed major pedagogic issues like the lack of professional training for teachers and the absence of a progressive curriculum, but more traditional circles also severely criticized Jewish education. Rabbi Judah ben Bezalel, known as the Maharal of Prague (1525–1609), dealt extensively with educational problems and in turn influenced subsequent writers as well.[40] Across the spectrum of Jewish life, by the late eighteenth century a strong sense had developed that an extensive reform of Jewish education was badly needed.

4

Economic Life

A seventeenth-century rabbinic *responsum* from Germany related the following incident.

> In some households in a certain town, more established Jews raised chickens, while the women of some of the poorer households would rise early in the morning and milk the cows of the gentiles before they were taken out to pasture. Then they would sell this milk in the street. It once happened that a woman set down her tub of milk on the doorstep of a store in front of her house. And while she was tending to some other errands, she forgot about the tub of milk. And a neighbor came out with her chicklets and the little chicks got into the tub of milk and they drowned. Each side suffered a financial loss, one from the milk; the other from the drowned chicks.[1]

This simple story underscores two important dimensions of Jewish economic life. First, everyday Jewish commerce was mostly far removed from the dealings of the court Jews and rich merchants emphasized in so many descriptions of economic life. Second, the family very often worked together as an economic unit, with women filling an integral role in the family's economic endeavors.

Excluded from professions and crafts monopolized by the guilds and with only sporadic rights to own land, Jews had in earlier ages concentrated on moneylending as their primary source of income. The major development in everyday Jewish economic life during early modern times was the diversification from a high concentration on moneylending and pawn brokerage to a rich variety of commercial activities. This emphasis on commerce began in the late sixteenth century and intensified during the Thirty Years' War.[2]

Economic Repercussions of the Thirty Years' War

Jewish economic activity and wealth declined during the war years in a number of communities, but some Jews took advantage of new opportunities. In Frankfurt, the number of Jews who possessed more than 15,000 gulden fell from 19 in 1624 to 5 in 1645. Similar declines occurred in other towns in central Germany.[3] In Emden, the percentage of Jews in the highest economic class shrank from 50–60 percent to under 20 percent of the community. Several families faced poverty, as a result of the economic decline in the city.[4]

Asher Levy's memoir also indicated signs of economic turmoil in Alsace during the war years, giving us a glimpse into some of its implications.[5] During the summer of 1627, imperial forces closed his town of Reichshofen. Levy went to the commanding officer and managed to obtain a right of passage to conduct trade. In fact, he concluded a number of transactions with that officer until one unfortunate deal in which Levy sold the officer an item of jewelry that turned out to be an imitation. The officer, for reasons not explained, refused to accept a refund of the price. Levy, in considerable distress, continually feared arrest. During the winter of 1629, the army appropriated houses in Reichshofen to quarter soldiers, and Levy failed to find refuge for himself and his family in other towns. He reported that, fortunately, they suffered no real harm during this period.

Rabbi Juda Mehler Reutlingen provided a grim account of the war years. In 1629, Mehler had settled with great contentment in the small town of Wenings in the area of Hanau, which he referred to as Wenig ("not much"). He reported that the region suffered extensive destruction, especially during the years 1632–34:

> Advancing successfully, the Kaiser's forces also reached the region of Hanau; where they robbed and pillaged and did to their hearts' content. In this way they devastated the entire land except for the city of Hanau itself, which they could not capture. From that point on the Jews that lived there, approximately 30 families, fled for their lives with everything they owned; everyone fled to where they could find refuge. Still, the wrath of the Lord did not turn away. The evil spirits of destruction were set free in Hanau (1635) against all of the inhabitants of Germany, in sword, famine and plague. Many men, women and children of Israel died, so that not more of our coreligionists survived than "a little boy can write down"; more than a hundred of them died, big and small. The "Jew Street" with its "Jew houses" became desolated without inhabitants, especially the big, holy house of the synagogue. The town itself, with the dwellings of the gentiles, was burnt down almost entirely.[6]

In 1638, Reutlingen fled with his family to Friedberg, where the trials of war caught up with him once again. He reported on hunger, plagues, and other agonies resulting in many deaths within the Jewish community. After a quieter interval in Hanau, he moved to Bingen, where he remained for the rest of his life. There again between 1644 and the end of the war, the French occupying

forces caused great distress. Yet, despite the considerable suffering and setbacks reported in these memoirs, Jewish life in Germany maintained itself during the war years. In fact, many new communities appeared, and others grew in size. On the whole German Jewry actually expanded into a larger number of communities during the long course of the war.[7]

Commerce Becomes Dominant

Although Jews increasingly engaged in commerce during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they also continued to deal heavily in moneylending. Several attempts have been made to determine whether Jews extended loans mostly to Christians or to other Jews. As commendable as such analyses are, the assumption that all loans were actually recorded for the public authorities is doubtful. In fact, calculations based on different kinds of records reached different qualitative results. For example, a study of a public loan registry for the city of Emden for the rather long period 1571–1750 indicates that about 60 percent of the 119 loans involving Jews were made by Jews to Christians, 25 percent by Christians to Jews, and only 15 percent were made between Jews.[8]

Examination of a communal ledger from Worms, written in Hebrew, for the years 1656–59 leads to totally different results. While some of the loans registered were made to Christians, the majority of loans transacted by members of the Jewish community during that short period of time were from Jews to other Jews. Commonly, these loans provided cash for merchants going to fairs and markets.[9] Chronological and regional differences provide two possible explanations for this striking difference, but the most obvious explanation lies in the different nature of the sources themselves. The official public documentation from Emden reported a greater number of loans between Jews and Christians, but it seems quite likely that many loans involving only Jews remained unreported.

Some evidence indicates that loans by Jews to Christians tended to be larger than those made to other Jews. In Emden, where 60 percent of the loans went from Jews to Christians, more than 80 percent of the loans were for over 100 gulden, while some 14 percent were for less than 50 gulden.[10] If, however, not all loans between Jews were recorded in these records, the argument cannot be conclusive.

Authorities fixed interest rates that could be charged by Harburg Jews in 1671 at 5 percent for loans over 100 florin. The rate charged for pawned articles in 1697 was 6 percent, and in 1779 it was 7 percent. There was more freedom in setting the rate for smaller loans. A local 1670 ruling in Kleve also allowed 5 percent interest per year.[11]

A 1695 Prussian ruling indicated differences in interest charges allowed for Jews and Christians. Christians lending money to other Christians could charge only 6 percent, although 8 percent was allowed under certain business circumstances. A Jew lending money to a Christian could take 12 percent per year for duration of a year or more; but the interest was higher for loans of

shorter term, ranging from 12 to 24 percent on an annual basis.[12] Credit extended to make purchases did not always involve interest rates. A record of debts from the year 1681 indicates that for most of 25 recorded cases in Harburg, Christians who purchased cattle or produce from Jews were paying in installments. In most of these cases no interest was charged.[13]

The greater emphasis on commerce changed many aspects of Jewish life in early modern times and not just in the economic sphere. Commerce brought Jews into more direct contact with the Christians around them, a process that helped transform Christians from primarily borrowers who came from an outside society to customers, suppliers, and neighbors. New opportunities in trade attracted youth away not only from moneylending but over time also drew some Jews away from other traditional attachments, such as the priority of rabbinic study. Salo Baron observed: "It was only with the rise of early capitalism and the incipient disintegration of the ghetto community in western and central Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that rabbinic learning lost its grip on the imagination of the entire people." As early as 1619, Hanoch Hammerschlag from Prague wrote to his son who was staying with his new bride's family in Vienna, complaining that his son did not write home enough. The father was deeply disturbed that his son engaged in commerce while he should have been devoted to his studies. The marital agreement had called for the bride's father to provide support for his studies for two years until he was worthy of the title *moreinu*, "our teacher." Hammerschlag urged his son to return to Prague: "It is still too early for you to be engaged in commerce, and this is not at all what I want."[14]

Not just the students but teachers too made the transition to commerce. In 1731, Zvi Hirsch Koidnover caustically censured those who came from Poland, leaving their wives behind, in order to become teachers but subsequently entered the world of commerce. They would rush around making small deals, skimping here and there to accumulate some capital, but in the end, as Koidnover noted with some satisfaction, on their way back home, they were robbed on the road of all they had earned.[15]

Commerce dominated the occupations of the Jews of Emden in 1765, and the percentage of Jews in commerce had increased again by 1800, rising from 58 percent to 65 percent. Of 321 Berlin Jewish households in 1749, almost 80 percent listed occupations related to commerce and trade. In all, 455 different livelihoods were registered. Some families indicated multiple occupations, demonstrating that many Jews engaged in diversified activities in order to better protect themselves from market fluctuations. In addition, different occupations and specialties made for useful combinations, like pawnbroker and clothing sales, or cattle trade and meat slaughtering. Almost 10 percent worked in the service sector, which included professions like doctors, dentists, and barbers, but the vast majority in service, some 30 out of 43, were employees of the Jewish community. In Emden too, after commerce, Jews engaged primarily in manual trades, religious functions, and communal services. Jews could also be found in some occupations excluded from guild restrictions against Jews, such

as seal engraving, cutting gems, and extracting metal. Berlin Jewry also included some brewers and tailors.[16]

The nature of Jewish commercial activity varied in different regions and changed somewhat over time, but certain sectors of emphasis stand out. Almost regardless of region, Jews specialized in secondhand goods on the one hand and luxury and semiluxury items and imports on the other. With this spectrum of trade, Jews helped the population recycle items they no longer wanted while simultaneously providing access to novel imports like coffee, tea, spices, and sugar. These new products arriving on the European continent were not subject to existing restrictions or monopolies, so Jews were allowed to deal in these goods. The entry of Jews into the coffee trade, for example, should provide a fascinating case study of the expansion of Jewish commerce during the Absolutist period. Wealthier clientele also turned to Jews for expensive jewelry. As already noted, Jews played a significant role in some rural regions selling animals and agricultural products in urban markets.[17]

There were of course regional variations in occupational distribution. In Jemgum in Ostfriesland, Jews concentrated in meat slaughtering and related occupations. In 1757, four out of eight families were listed in slaughtering, and in 1765, five out of six families were in slaughtering or cattle trade.[18] In 1680, all ten registered Jews in the Bavarian town of Harburg dealt in trade, seven of them in cattle trade. In 1761, about a third of its two to three hundred Jews peddled clothes and small wares. Jews traded primarily in clothing and haberdashery and in cattle, hides, iron, and in small goods.[19] In Braunschweig, textiles were the main element of trade, but Jews also dealt in jewels, leather, books, maps, and eyeglasses. There Jews could not sell new clothes—a province reserved for tailors—but it was common for Jews to deal in secondhand clothes.[20]

In seventeenth-century Worms, currency exchange was a popular occupation, but authorities limited Jewish involvement in moneylending. Jews in commerce specialized in wine, jewelry, agricultural goods, horses and cattle, and the byproducts of meat and leather hides. Jews sold new clothing in the cities and peddled used clothes in the countryside. Here too, a cycle of trade developed in which Jews obtained animal and agricultural goods in the rural areas, while offering clothing and other items usually available for sale only in the cities.[21]

Rural trade often involved an exchange of animals for provisions. Otherwise, when not bartering, both Jewish and Christian customers paid in cash for about half of the transactions and purchased on credit for the remainder. Jews sold a variety of food provisions, including grains, legumes, and animal products such as fat, eggs, and butter. In transactions recorded throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jews of Harburg often acted as intermediaries in deals involving houses and plots of land. After making the purchase, the Jews often sold the property very quickly, sometimes immediately.[22]

In a common arrangement in cattle trade, Jews bought a calf and then gave it to a peasant to raise. The peasant benefited from working the cow and gaining its milk. When it came time to sell the cow, the Jewish dealer would subtract the original purchase price from the sale price and then divide the remainder with the peasant.[23]

Wine production was an important regional specialty for the Jews of Worms. They bought grapes and raisins in the countryside and made the wine in their own cellars, allowing some of the product to age in barrels. Morning synagogue services were even shortened during the fall harvest so that merchants could make their rounds in the nearby villages to purchase grapes. They sold the kosher wine produced to Jews and non-Jews at markets and fairs held in the region in Worms, Frankfurt, and Heidelberg.[24]

Women's Economic Roles

The home was an integral part of the family's economic activity. Both males and females actively engaged in supporting their families. In Germany, it was rare for women to support their husbands so that they could be solely involved in traditional study. But women did work and contributed significantly to the family income. Indeed, women generally worked even in wealthy families. One reason for this involvement was that husbands were away so much.[25] Glikl's extensive involvement in business affairs was not exceptional among Jewish women, although she was more successful than most. She gave a detailed description of her own activities:

> At that time I was still quite energetic in business, so that every month I sold goods to the value of 500–600 reichstaler. Besides this, I went twice a year to the Brunswick Fair and at every fair sold goods for several thousands. . . . I did good business, received wares from Holland, bought much goods in Hamburg and sold them in my own shop. I did not spare myself but traveled summer and winter and all day rushed about the town. Besides this, I had a fine business in seed pearls. I bought from all the Jews, picked and sorted the pearls and sold them to the places where I knew they were wanted. I had large credits. When the bourse was open and I wanted 20,000 reichstaler cash, I could get it.

Elsewhere, she wrote:

> My business was large, for I had extensive credit with Jews and non-Jews. I afflicted myself: in the heat of summer and in the snow of winter I went to fairs and stood there in my shop all day; and though I possessed less than others thought, I wished to be always held in honor and not dependent on my children.[26]

Her memoirs provide further examples of women involved in commerce or moneylending. Esther Spanier conducted business at home and even went regularly to fairs, and Glikl's mother also lent small sums of money. Credit transactions, currency exchange, and pawnbroking were often transacted in the home, and women were part of these transactions. Sometimes they kept the books. Their role in these operations increased further when the husbands traveled. In order to fill these roles, women had to be well informed of family business affairs. Jacob Emden assumed that women who were raised and lived

in a home immersed in a commercial atmosphere would have developed considerable commercial skills themselves. In expressing his surprise at his second wife's unsuccessful transactions, Emden provided implicit testimony that women were often involved in the commercial enterprise.

> I relied on my wife that she would understand these things for she had been raised in a home of merchants, and I inferred that if my first wife who had known absolutely nothing about commerce, completed her transactions with good sense, it was all the more obvious that this woman whose father was a merchant, whose mother was a merchant, and whose husband was a merchant, should have knowledge in such matters.[27]

Women ran stores with their daughters often helping out. In one case in Frankfurt, when the daughter wed, she agreed to continue working in the business if her husband was made a partner. The daughter indicated that if the partnership were not accepted she would start her own business. Another son-in-law who also desired a share contested the agreement. The first couple

Jewish peddler around 1790. Courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

responded in rabbinic court that the wife was essential to the business because her mother was not fully competent in financial matters. But such an argument could have been raised as such concerning males as well, and the claim ran in favor of the daughter, who had proven herself capable in business matters.[28]

Women also worked in other areas. In villages, Jewish women, like Christian women, sold handicrafts in order to supplement the family income. Women sometimes milked cows belonging to gentiles before they were taken to pasture and then sold the milk in the village.[29] In Frankfurt, in addition to running stores, women rented out rooms, managed guesthouses, and served as matchmakers.[30]

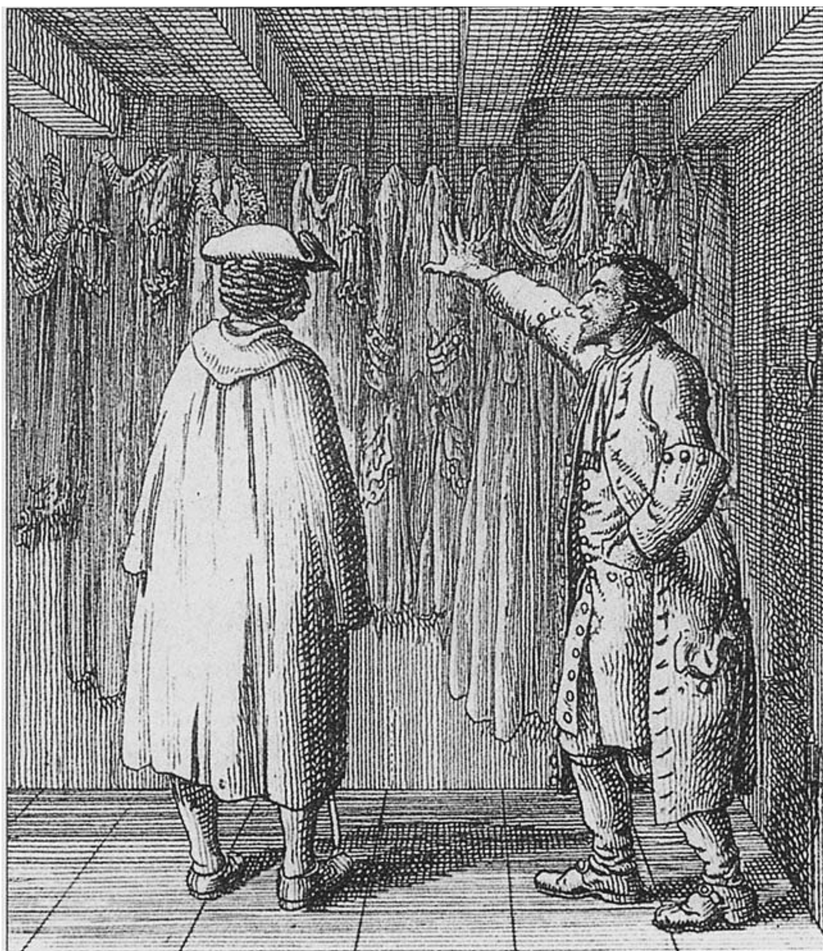
Working women faced possible sexual exploitation during the course of their work. An attractive daughter from a poor household went with her mother regularly to a tannery, whose owner provided not only income but also gifts for the family. During the course of business the customer habitually hugged and kissed the daughter, and at times even made further advances. For reasons not reported in the text, neither mother nor daughter immediately informed the father of the tanner's behavior, but when the father did hear about them, he stopped sending his daughter, resulting in considerable financial loss. The tanner broke off all business connections with the family.[31]

The entry of Jewish women into Christian homes on business matters raised considerable concern among the rabbis. The *responsa* acknowledged that any attempt to curtail this practice would be doomed to failure—"a decree that the community would prove unable to fulfill." If the community had become so dependent on the skills of the women to conduct business with the gentiles, then we surely have clear testimony to the regular involvement of women in the family's business affairs.[32]

Modes of Trade

Trade took place in markets and fairs, sometimes in stores where and when this was allowed to Jews, and on the road as peddlers went from house to house to pitch their wares. Some writers indicate precise distinctions between these categories, but such differentiations are too rigid. Glikl had a store and went to fairs. Others peddled in rural areas but also bought food provisions or raw materials in the countryside that they would in turn sell in stores back in the city or use in production for other products. In short, early modern commerce in general and certainly for Jews was too fluid to make rigid distinctions.[33]

Markets generally took place once or twice a week in cities, towns, and those villages large enough to be considered regional marketing centers.[34] Food, commodities, and wares were sold retail either by the farmers and craftsmen themselves or by intermediaries. Annual markets took place once or twice a year and also focused on sales between merchants and retail customers. Here the main products for sale included animals and small wares, such as shoes



Daniel Chodowiecki, clothing merchant, 1780. Courtesy of Alfred Rubens.

and clothing. In contrast with weekly markets, annual markets specialized in durable goods.

Fairs served a different purpose, as merchants themselves were the primary customers buying from each other or from manufacturers. Fairs generally took place twice a year, in the fall and the spring. Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig hosted the most significant fairs. During the course of the eighteenth century, Leipzig's fair became dominant, partly because of its strategic position on the crossroads between eastern and western Europe.

During the eighteenth century, markets that connected producers directly with their customers gradually declined and the importance of merchants increased. Both shops and house-to-house peddling, although they seem like

opposite enterprises, began to play a greater role in product distribution. Jews were often restricted from owning shops or lacked the necessary capital; but peddling required little capital and offered open territory for initiative.

In general, peddlers—and not just Jewish peddlers—were controversial figures in the eighteenth century.[35] Their very name carried the connotation of "trickster." A French 1753 article on the subject reported the changes in marketing that were taking place: "Historically, they were tricksters who wandered from town to town, buying and selling copper and pewter crockery and other similar merchandise which should normally only be sold in the open marketplace."[36] Many of the objections raised against peddlers derived from these economic evolutions. Peddlers brought their products to the home of the consumer, facilitating the purchasing process but competing with stalls owned by local residents. Sales by peddlers also stifled the choice that otherwise took place in the open market, while violating the privacy and sanctity of the home. Not only was the citizen disturbed at unexpected and even unwanted times, but the sales initiative changed fundamentally: in place of the consumer going to market to realize a need, the salesperson came to the home and sought to convince the individual that a need existed. In Frankfurt, the guilds complained in the 1670s and even more aggressively in 1705 that Jewish merchants could be found in every corner of the city to market their wares, accosting passersby. Merchants complained that Jews even stood in front of their stores in order to waylay potential customers.[37]

Over the years, public authorities issued a number of ordinances with the purpose of controlling trade between Jews and Christians. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Prussian authorities considered a series of petitions concerning the rural trade conducted by Jews in the province of Hinterpommern. A number of local officials protested the presence of Jewish merchants, claiming that "more problems were caused than the advantages were worth." These difficulties included high interest rates for credit, fraud with regard to customs duties, and improper devaluation of coinage. Local merchants also objected to the competition they faced from the Jews. But both nobility and peasants asserted that they benefited from Jewish merchants. The merchant purchased luxury items for the nobility at the Leipzig and Frankfurt fairs after comparing wares and prices and thus provided a larger selection of products of higher quality at cheaper prices. The peasant found that the Jewish merchants gave fair prices and saved the peasants the time and effort involved in trying to sell their products themselves.[38]

Authorities in Oettingen-Wallerstein attempted to compel the Jews of Harburg to register transactions whose value was considered above a prescribed minimum. In 1740, they set the minimum at 6 florin. The ruling to register cattle trade was annulled in 1762. Jewish cattle dealers protested against later attempts to reinstitute the regulation and won the support of the local Harburg authorities. Generally, Jews and non-Jews dealing in cattle signed a contract, which had to be witnessed by a third party. Property transactions also had to be registered. In all of these cases, both Jews and non-Jews objected to requirements for witnesses and registration of transactions, as both sides pre-

ferred to keep their transactions confidential. There was also an attempt in Harburg in 1760 to prohibit the use of goods instead of cash in transactions involving Jews and peasants. The Jews objected that peasants often did not have the necessary cash available for these transactions.[39]

After commerce, positions related to religious life provided a significant source of employment for males. These positions included rabbis, cantors, teachers, meat slaughterers, and *shamashim*, or sextons, who were responsible for the care of the synagogues. Religious positions were especially important for the large numbers of immigrants coming into Germany from eastern Europe.[40]

The Berlin occupational census of 1749 showed that around 6.5 percent of the families included males who worked within the communal structure.[41] Estimates from other communities would put the number of religious officials at closer to 5 percent of households. Thus, in Frankfurt in 1694, a Jewish population of 414 households included eight rabbis, two slaughterers, five readers who led services (cantors or Torah readers), and ten teachers. The Alsatian census of 1784 indicated 19,707 Jews and included 18 rabbis, 30 associate rabbis, 100 readers, 116 communal teachers, and 65 private teachers.[42] Many of these functionaries also worked in commerce, moneylending, or pawn brokerage.

Rabbinical salaries varied with the size and wealth of the community. Isaiah Horowitz was paid 400 taler a year in the eighteenth century as rabbi of Frankfurt. Horowitz did not accept judicial fees in addition to his salary—one of the few who refused to do so. Generally, fees for weddings, funerals, and judicial proceedings supplemented rabbinical salaries. Hirschel Lewin was to receive 300 taler as rabbi of Halberstadt in 1763 but then proceeded to Berlin for an income of over 600 taler.[43] Teachers in the larger communities like Hamburg, as already noted, could be paid 40 to 60 taler a year, depending on the level of their instruction and the number of pupils. Both rabbis and teachers in smaller communities received much smaller salaries. For example, in Karlsruhe in the second half of the eighteenth century, Nathanael Weil and his son and successor Thias Weil received a salary of about 100 taler, but they also earned various extra fees for services rendered.[44]

Distribution of Wealth

As the Jewish community in German lands expanded during the eighteenth century, enormous differences in wealth developed in both large and small communities, resulting in distinctively marked economic strata. In the village of Steinbiedersdorf in Lorraine, a 1776 property declaration testified that 19 out of 29 Jewish householders were in the lowest category; six families might be classified as middle class and four in the upper strata, which possessed some two-thirds of the total communal wealth.[45] In Braunschweig in 1770, there was an even greater divergence. Twenty-two out of 29 families possessed assets up to 3,000 taler, while the remaining seven families ranged from 6,000 to some 400,000 taler. A single person owned some 70 percent of the whole, and seven

families, mostly interrelated, had more than 90 percent of the total. On the other end of the scale, some five families had no reportable assets whatsoever.[46]

A 1752 assessment from Emden had a lower threshold for the higher category, and so the division came out differently. Jews were divided into three categories: 45 "capitalists" who had assets of at least 500 taler; 20 who lived from current income and had no reserve assets to speak of; and 33 who had insufficient income and were exempt from taxes. In other words, two-thirds of the families did pay some kind of taxes, but these numbers fail to distinguish between the wealthiest and those who were just comfortable.[47]

In Harburg, records reported assets for 1725, 1750, 1779, and 1792. There were three classes represented in Harburg, with considerable differences in their wealth. At all four dates, one can discern an approximate pyramid structure, but with an upper strata ranging from 15 to 23 percent of the population and a middle class that was not much larger, varying from 22 to 31 percent. Differences within the upper class could be enormous. In 1725 the upper strata ranged from 1,200 to 5,400 florin in assets, or about 500 to 2,400 taler. Thus the threshold for the upper strata was about the same as in Emden.[48]

It is useful to think of German Jewry as being divided into four economic sectors: well-to-do, including the wealthy; comfortable; just getting by from current income; and poor. According to the Emden document, assets of 500 taler would be sufficient to be considered comfortable. One estimate puts about 55 percent of German Jewry in the eighteenth century in the lower class or poor, some 25 percent in the middle class, and 20 percent in the well-to-do, including 3 percent as wealthy.[49] Although there is no consistency in the different tables as to the dividing lines between classes, in most communities a majority of the population did have at least a minimal income.

Training and Mobility

Young men could prepare for commerce either by learning from their parents, brothers, or another family member or by apprenticing outside of the family. Women too absorbed basic elements of the trade in their home settings during childhood and later often worked alongside their husbands in establishing and running their own businesses. Still, more is known about male preparation for a life in commerce.

Sons trained in various stages by helping their mothers while the fathers were away, or even to a greater extent if the father had died. Travel provided an important component to this training. Glikl's older son Nathan had been sent out of town to conduct business at the age of 15. Her son Mordechai accompanied his father to the Leipzig fair. After Haim's death, Zanvil accompanied Glikl to learn about commerce.[50]

Sons traveling to fairs also relieved their fathers. When Aaron Isaak's father became too ill to travel, his eldest son took his place going to the Leipzig fair. Although the son had no previous experience, he reportedly got along well. Later, Aaron sent his son Nathanael to Leipzig in his own place, but then

the son became terminally ill and Aaron had to resume business travels.[51] At other times, sons began to conduct business even though they lacked adequate experience. Glikl's son Leib got married having only studied Talmud. Worried about his lack of business experience, Glikl urged his father-in-law to keep an eye on Leib's affairs.[52]

As males grew older, they faced various possibilities. If the family business could support more than one family, they might stay in the parents' or in-laws' business. Well-to-do families might also help the newlyweds start their own enterprise. Further down on the scale, young men setting out on their own apprenticed first in other people's businesses. Poorer sons might engage in house-to-house peddling.

Glikl mentioned several single men who apprenticed with her and her husband, most prominently Judah Berlin, later known as Jost Liebmann, the famous court Jew of Berlin. Judah, a distant relative of Haim, first came to them while a young bachelor. Somewhat later, Haim and Glikl decided to send Judah to Danzig to conduct business on their behalf: "He pleased us in every way; he was well read, understood business very well, and was, besides, very intelligent." Glikl described the upward climb of Judah as well as Haim and Glikl:

> All that he had of his own was amber to the value of 20–30 reichstaler, which he left with my husband to sell or hold for him. See, my dear children, if God wishes to help anyone, He makes much out of little, for from this small capital, which really amounted to next to nothing, he brought Judah to great riches, and today he is a great man. Reb Judah was in Danzig some time and did good business, buying up seed pearls. He did not strive much after deals, for we did not enjoy such big credits in Hamburg as we do now, we were still young and had no great fortunes. Still, we supplied him with letters of credit and promissory notes so that he was not short of money. He was in Danzig about two years. On his return, my husband went over the accounts with him and gave him 800 reichstaler as his share of the profits. With this he moved to Hanover, intending to marry and settle there.[53]

Issachar Cohen was also an apprentice to Haim and Glikl and remained with them for about 10 years. Passing references indicate that he too achieved wealth later in life, not a little because of his association with them.[54]

For those males who lacked the means to get started in business, service was a constructive means to make one's beginnings away from the family. Abraham Kantor offers a paradigm of apprenticeship followed by upward mobility. First taken on by Glikl and Haim to look after the children, he assisted in the business as well. Eventually he set out to establish himself independently, although he could do so only with a loan: "We lent him money to go to Copenhagan to do business. In short, people say he is now worth more than 10,000 reichstaler." Later on she reported his worth at 15,000.[55]

As sons received their commercial training both from fathers and mothers, daughters also potentially learned from both parents. As noted earlier,

Jacob Emden assumed that his second wife had absorbed an understanding of financial matters by growing up in a house where both her father and mother were merchants. Similarly, daughters also helped out in stores run by their mothers.

Several factors drew young Jews, both male and female, toward some form of domestic service. Given the restrictions on settlement, Jews faced a fundamental problem of how to find a place to settle down. Many turned to domestic service as an answer. The task of the servant varied with the wealth of the household. Servants could be in charge of the kitchen and household duties, take care of the children, possibly provide instruction, tend to fires and repairs, run errands, or assist in a shop or in making deliveries. Servants also might accompany the master or mistress on trips. Married servants were relatively rare, though there were some. But usually people used their time in service to gather enough savings to allow them to move on to marriage and an independent livelihood. Glikl's memoirs provided some examples of successful mobility. Police archives provide examples of less successful turns of events.[56]

Jewish Criminals

According to one estimate, in seventeenth-century Frankfurt, a little more than 1 percent of the Jews were punished for crimes at one time or other; while the rate for Christians was less than 1 percent. These crimes included robbery, swindling, and debasing coins. Police may have accused Jews more readily than Christians, accounting for part of the difference. In addition, Jews suffered from occupational restrictions, and if these figures are accurate and indicative, the resulting poverty could have contributed to the slightly higher crime rate. This discussion focuses only on those Jews who made their living by theft.[57]

Sometimes thieves acted individually, sometimes as part of professional gangs. Jewish gangs offered advantages for thieves who still observed kosher dietary laws and wanted to spend the Sabbath together with their families. Jews also felt more comfortable and accepted in a gang dominated by Jews, although these groups might also have Christian members. In several ways, these gangs involved other Jews in the criminal network. Criminals took advantage of the communal concentration in commerce, and Jewish merchants were frequently accused of dealing in stolen goods. Hostels and kitchens, run by organized Jewish communities for strangers and the poor, offered traveling thieves the necessities for observing Jewish rituals. These settings also provided meeting grounds and hiding places, and communities were frequently implicated for concealing criminals. Sheltering of criminals, whether inadvertently or otherwise, frequently endangered the reputation and status of entire communities.[58]

Jewish gangs earned a reputation even among rival Christian groups for superior planning and a rationalized system of distribution of the booty. They also took advantage of scattered Jewish settlement to travel to widespread locations and to disperse quickly after their crime. Jewish gangs became known by the Yiddish term *chawrusse*, "comrades." The same term is better known as a

word for a rabbinical study partner. The Leipzig fair served as an important meeting ground for Jewish gangs to get together, as well as an ideal cover for Jews on the road. Leipzig, on the crossroads of north, south, east, and west, was geographically perfect for such meetings for the same reasons that it was well situated for the fair. Pretending to be merchants en route to the fair also made an easy cover for travel. At the Leipzig meetings, participants made operational plans, introduced new talents into the system, and took advantage of the opportunities of the fair itself.[59]

Churches offered an attractive target, both for their holy treasures and the private valuables deposited there. A convert to Christianity or a Christian working with a Jewish gang could be of particular value in these crimes. Church robberies attracted a great deal of attention because of religious sensitivity and provided the background for popular polemics that contained vivid, sometimes fictional, accounts of Jewish gangs that specialized in church robberies.[60]

Jewish robbers flourished in northern Germany with its larger cities and enhanced economic development. Hamburg and Lübeck stood at the center of these activities. One particular church robbery in Hamburg captured considerable attention. A Jewish gang that included a convert named Vinzenz Niclas and a well-known organizer Nickel List, who was traveling in southern Germany but came to Hamburg for the occasion, carefully planned the robbery. The head of the operation was known as the famous Leopold, "the greatest of thieves," and Nickel List was "his cleverest disciple." Planning of the Hamburg job indicated a powerful network of information and communication, bringing together men of different talents from across Germany. A contingent from Prague, a hotbed of crime, was responsible for scouting and was probably enlisted by Niclas, who reached Hamburg by way of Prague.

A Christian observer described this gang as displaying particularly strong Jewish solidarity:

> These thieves cannot stay away from other Jews, and let me also tell you why: Because they have to eat Jewish food, and are not allowed to keep company with Christians, otherwise other Jews will betray them, but because they live according to their faith, they are not being betrayed, even if someone gave so many thousand taler.[61]

On the road, thieves often attempted to disguise their Jewish appearance. For example, they would discard the traditional Jewish beard and clothing and often wore wigs. They would frequently travel disguised as barbers. They called themselves by Christian names and greeted each other in the name of Christ. But despite their aliases, criminal lists and proceedings against them consistently indicated Jewish identity. Jewish criminality brought together diverse strands of Jewish life at this time: restricted occupational choices, religious traditions that separated the Jewish criminal from gentile cohorts, and a Jewish communal support structure that offered support to Jewish travelers and at times unwittingly sheltered criminals.

Conclusion

Legal restrictions greatly influenced Jewish occupational structure, both directly and indirectly. Jews chose commerce frequently because so many other spheres of livelihood, for example, those associated with membership in a guild, were closed. Many sold as peddlers, some in market stalls or shops. Moneylending became a secondary occupation, appearing often in the context of providing credit as part of a sales transaction.

Residential restrictions also impacted occupational choices greatly, albeit indirectly. During early modern times, the problem of how Jews found a place to settle down, given the restrictions on settlement, has yet to be fully understood. There are several partial answers, one of which, as already noted, was that Jewish families did not have as many children as has been assumed. Domestic service resolved a number of problems for those who chose that path, including at least temporary right of residence.

Despite the restrictions Jews faced, opportunities, personal initiative, and circumstances resulted in a rich diversity of occupational choices. Jews either engaged primarily in commerce or in some form of service for other Jews or for the population at large. Half of German Jewry lacked any savings of capital, but many were still better off than their Christian neighbors. Most Christians in rural regions worked the land, barely scraping together a livelihood. The Jewish economy, although steeped in the world of commerce, was more diversified, and because Jews were not tied to the land, they were also more flexible. It was not just the court Jew but also the coffee merchant, the peddler, servants, even the criminal who often found ways to take advantage of available opportunities in making a living.

5

Religious and Communal Life

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of changes influenced the religious lives of Jews and Christians alike. The Reformation enhanced the sense of individuality, and the printing press made knowledge more accessible. Those historians who see Judaism either remaining static or moving uniformly toward the surrounding society fail to discern the complexities and inconsistencies that emerged within German Jewry. Although critics complained repeatedly that synagogue services revealed an atmosphere of religious indifference, enhanced notions of piety influenced both public and private dimensions of religious life. Some individuals—especially women—found new outlets to express their spirituality through personal prayer for themselves and their loved ones. By 1780, the meaning of being an observant Jew was not the same as it had been a century earlier.

Synagogue and Services

Religious services took place three times daily: mornings, afternoons, and evenings. In a number of communities, including Frankfurt, Fürth, and Prague, the Shammash, or sexton, called people to the synagogue by completing a round of Jewish houses. For the afternoon and evening services, he called out to people from the street, but in his morning round he used a stick to knock on the door to wake those still sleeping. On Sabbath mornings, he knocked by hand.[1]

Several of the larger communities, starting with Prague and followed by Fürth (1692), Frankfurt (1711), and Berlin (1714), constructed new synagogues during the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries. Engravings of

these buildings show imposing edifices. The change in accommodations for female worshippers was particularly significant. If earlier, mostly makeshift facilities accommodated women, seventeenth-century architecture greatly expanded and improved their conditions. Following the lead of Amsterdam's Portuguese synagogue built in the 1670s, the new structures provided permanent accommodations for women worshippers. The Frankfurt synagogue contained a three-storied annex for women, and that in Fürth included a two-tier section for women.[2]

Communal regulations required attendance at synagogue worship for males, often with financial penalties for noncompliance unless the person was away for business reasons. But the insistence on presence at the synagogue in a number of varied sources including communal statutes, ethical wills, and rabbinical exhortations implies that compliance was erratic.[3] Alternative services organized in private homes or by societies presented one obstacle to synagogue worship. These services may have proven more conveniently located for the participants, perhaps more socially compatible as well, but the number of males who attended such services in some communities apparently threatened the viability of services in the main synagogue.

Smaller communities that managed to build synagogues usually constructed a half-frame or brick building with an adjoining chamber or gallery over the entrance for women. Many communities held services in designated parts of private houses. One small community with 13 households managed to maintain daily services.[4] Some communities lacked a *minyan*, or prayer quorum of 10 males, for worship altogether and formed regional synagogues that required walking some distance on Sabbath mornings and made attendance at daily services impossible. In Höchst in Hessen, the Jews constructed three huts along the long way to the regional synagogue.[5] Isaac Wetzlar, taking his cue from a description written by a priest from Prague, complained about the mode of prayer of those who did not have a synagogue or for other reasons prayed at home:

> He [the priest] writes about how Jews recite their prayers in their homes. When somebody comes to them to do business, how they speak to him, what words they use, part in Hebrew, and how they tell their wives or servants what to do. Some stand in the window when they pray and pay attention to which passersby have business. They call to him or they tell their wives or servants in Hebrew to call them or what they should do. Some even go into the street in their phylacteries. Some, heaven forbid, go into the stable in the midst of their prayers and in their phylacteries. Indeed, this was not written by a Jew; yet it is true. On occasion, because of our many sins, I have seen and heard the same myself.[6]

In cities as well, large homes, like that of Jacob Emden in Altona, might include a synagogue within the house. And in the small town of Jemgum in Ostfriesland one of the private houses supplied a prayer room. House synagogues were used under a variety of circumstances: in communities where the authorities had not granted permission to construct a special synagogue struc-

ture; in communities that lacked the means for such a building; and to suit the private needs of individuals who preferred and were in a position to host worship within their own homes even where a communal synagogue existed.

Communal worship in private homes could easily lead to difficulties. When a quarrel broke out between a couple that owned a house used for public worship and a couple that had attended services there for many years, the first couple sought to prevent the others from entering their home even for prayer. Rabbi Jacob Reischer ruled that the male had to be given access to the synagogue because he was considered a part owner of the synagogue itself and because as a male he required a quorum for prayer. The house owners could, however, legitimately bar the wife from entering their home for two reasons: first, while she was obligated to pray, she did not require the quorum to do so; and because "women are quarrelsome by their nature," as long as the two couples were in strife, it would be better if the women stayed apart.[7] Tensions also emerged in a number of cases when a mikveh, or ritual bath, was located in a private home and no communal facility existed. In Jemgum, communal authorities had to intervene when one owner refused to allow access to the bath in his house, claiming that the milk kept in the cellar had to remain pure.[8]

People frequently carried on conversations and transacted business affairs, resulting in a lack of decorum, during services. Wetzlar's critical description of synagogue worship is particularly interesting, as he designated two different causes of concern, the bad impression on Christian visitors and the intrinsic desire of some for devotion in prayer:

> The great tumult and confusing loud prayer that everyone, from children to adults, engages in is . . . not only a desecration of God's name for the gentiles who come to our synagogues, but this commotion confuses anyone who wishes to pray with proper devotion [*kavannah*]. The cantor also becomes confused in his prayers, not only because of the ordinary shouting of those who want to compete with him, but there are those who come in the middle of the prayers and begin to pray from the beginning with loud screaming.[9]

Other major distractions during public worship included the distribution of snuff, a powder inhaled or placed within one's nostrils in order to trigger sneezing and a round of merriment as well. Communal authorities also considered the presence of young children to be a nuisance during services, but many families thought otherwise. Some communities tried to regulate both snuff and children in services but were generally successful at neither.[10]

Rabbis, *dayanim* (rabbinical judges), heads of yeshivot, cantors, and teachers formed the basic sectors of the religious hierarchy. Larger communities had rabbis and rabbinical courts. In smaller communities, cantors or teachers were more common. Teachers provided leadership in the rural areas. As a result of the shortage of qualified authorities, the lines between different levels sometimes blurred. Rabbis, especially if they were located in an outlying area, might

welcome the company of teachers, but they also often scoffed at the legal decisions that teachers provided. Yair Bacharach indicated that rabbis and teachers exchanged views on *halachic* matters. On one question, Bacharach commented, "I have already asked colleagues and teachers and knowledgeable people who have passed through here, and among them teachers and rabbis, and they ridiculed me [for my opinion]." In the very next *responsum*, Bacharach dealt with a typical problem of rural Jewry and ridiculed the teacher of young children who had previously responded to the same question. In this case, a community with 13 households sought to organize worship for the High Holidays, but the only appropriate person they could find to blow the *shofar* demanded a high fee. Six of the members agreed that because of the importance of hearing the *shofar* on those days, they had no choice but to meet his demands. The majority of seven, however, claimed that they were too poor to incur such an expense. The question related to whether the majority could deny the six the opportunity of fulfilling such an important commandment.[11]

Cantors also pitched in with legal and religious advice. In Karlsruhe, Joseph Hirschel thought he should have been selected to succeed the deceased rabbi, Nathanael Weil, claiming that as cantor he had long ministered to the religious and personal needs of the community, even during Weil's lifetime: "Most Jews who found themselves in disputes or other special situations even while the late rabbi was still alive, came to me for advice, before going to him."[12]

Rabbis rarely addressed their communities, often delivering public discourses only twice a year, on the Sabbaths before Yom Kippur and before Passover. They conducted weddings, funerals, and other events in the life cycle; supervised kosher food; and adjudicated legal disputes, which usually involved inheritance or business matters.[13]

When professional authorities were unavailable, educated Jews like Asher Levy filled religious functions. Levy, who dealt primarily in commerce, related several incidents that reflected the difficulties in observing ritual requirements in rural districts. In the fall of 1631, word spread throughout his area of Alsace that no *etrogim* (a lemon-like citrus fruit) would be available for the required blessing on the Sukkot holiday, the Feast of Tabernacles. At the last moment, Levy obtained a single fruit that, while not perfect, he thought would suffice to recite the appropriate blessings. Messengers circulated this single fruit on each day of the holiday throughout the villages in the region so that each Jew could recite the proper prayers. But at the end of the seventh and final day of the holiday, Levy cut the fruit open and discovered to his consternation that it wasn't an etrog at all, just a lemon. Levy also related that on several occasions he wrote the text of a divorce decree known as a *get*, although he had no previous experience in doing so.[14] Some doubts must be raised about the platitude that rural areas were more conducive to traditional observance, while urban centers were perceived as inherently assimilatory. As with education, rural areas often lacked the resources to provide appropriate opportunities for Jewish religious life.

Religious Study

According to Jewish tradition, education did not cease at a certain age or level of accomplishment. Jewish men, in particular, were to study holy texts either individually or in groups. Various testimonies indicate that many Jewish men devoted part of their weekly, even daily, routine to the study of Jewish texts. Sabbatai Horowitz reported that in Frankfurt at the middle of the seventeenth century, three groups with different levels or interests met daily at noontime. Monies were collected from participants on a regular basis to provide for a *siyyum*, a special party given at the conclusion of studying a text. Study groups were also social units, and in at least one case, reported by Yair Bacharach, there were also economic dimensions. This particular group routinely allowed their teacher to resolve economic conflicts that arose among them. At one point, the group decided to abandon the stipulation that prohibited one Jew from entering competition with another who was already engaged in the same form of livelihood. So many cases of this sort had arisen that the group decided it was impossible to maintain the restriction. Even in this group devoted to the study of traditional texts, religious and communal life interwove with economic issues.

Hevrot kaddisha, or burial societies, organized their own study groups. Most societies had a rabbinical leader who taught the societies on a weekly or sometimes even on a daily basis. Again, the material varied, and only societies in large communities could offer different levels of study. As part of their functions dealing with death, all burial societies engaged in the study of rabbinic teachings on behalf of the dead for a defined period of mourning.[15]

Few sources describe what was actually studied in these groups, but sources indicate what books some Jews had in their libraries. Several extensive collections can be evaluated for their breadth. Four different inventories of eighteenth-century libraries show that these learned Jews owned books that went far beyond standard editions of the Talmud and basic legal codes and included works of biblical commentaries, *responsa*, ethics, philosophy, and Kabbalah, or Jewish mysticism, as well. Not only the wealthy possessed extensive libraries. Pinchas Katzenelenbogen was proud of the vast collection of books and manuscripts he had gathered. His catalogue indicates not only authors and titles but also the estimated value of each book. His list is also of particular importance since it represents the library not of a wealthy collector but of a scholar and communal rabbi.[16]

Significantly, the eighteenth century witnessed an enormous increase in the printing of books in Hebrew, books in Yiddish, and bilingual books in both languages, as books became far more accessible, not only to learned men but to the population at large, including women and children. Both the number of books printed and the size of editions tripled and even quadrupled.[17]

Books printed included rabbinical commentaries on the Bible, commentaries on Rashi's Torah commentary, and numerous commentaries on Talmudic tractates. Readers also apparently demanded both scholarly and popular works on ethics and Kabbalah. Both subjects ranked very high on lists of

printed books and, for example, in Katzenelenbogen's library. Bilingual books enabled wives who could read in Yiddish to read the same book as those husbands who could read the Hebrew text. The most popular of these books dealt with ethical questions and contemporary religious developments; the second of the popular books offered instruction in how to care for the sick and the deceased, a theme that was becoming increasingly important.[18]

Communal Dimensions of Daily Life

Much of what it meant to be a Jew in early modern German society derived from being a part of the Jewish community. In some cases, the very permission to settle in a certain locality or the denial of that sanction had to come from communal authorities. Religious and educational needs in most cases had to be filled within a communal framework that in rural areas might well require regional cooperation. Only the wealthy could contemplate private solutions for synagogue, kosher food, and instruction for children.

Communal life also had very real economic implications. Taxes owed to the state were transmitted through communal agencies. Rabbinic rules and courts sought to prevent business competition among Jews, and rabbinic courts judged business disputes. In larger areas of Jewish settlement, the community also employed a number of Jews in diverse capacities. Less formally, communal contacts contributed to commercial endeavors. Whether in synagogue or in the marketplace, whether on the Sabbath or during the workweek, Jews talked to each other and exchanged information.

Special societies provided certain basic functions and services, such as caring for the sick or arranging proper burials. These organizations filled important social functions for their own members as well. Members came together for diverse purposes that included business meetings, social celebrations, study opportunities, and in some cases, prayer services. Sometimes these societies even had their own synagogues.

The relationship between communal authorities and the leadership of these societies could be complex. In some cases, societies provided leadership opportunities for younger men or for those of lower economic status than those who headed the community. In other cases, society leadership could be considered an exclusive honor that accompanied or competed with that of the community. Occasionally, tensions emerged between the two entities. In general, communities saw supervision of the work done by the societies as part of their natural mandate.[19]

Burial societies in Europe apparently originated in Spain and spread to Italy after 1492, from there to Prague in 1564, and on to other German communities. Jews formed societies in Frankfurt (1597), Worms (1609), Metz (1621), Emden (1661), Mainz (1662), Hildesheim (1668), and Hamburg (1670).[20] Burial societies came to fill needs occasioned by changing communal structures.[21] Immigration from eastern Europe had significantly increased the number of Jews, and newly emerging wealth and stature created new sources of commu-

nal leadership. These factors accelerated the need for voluntary organizations that would fill basic social functions for the broader community, while simultaneously providing social outlets for their members. The societies designated women to serve the needs of dying women and to prepare the bodies of dead women for burial. Later, separate women's societies were established in some communities, like Berlin and Frankfurt.[22]

Printing facilitated the publication of several guides to the laws and customs pertaining to sickness, death, burial, and mourning. The most widely read of these guides were the *Ma'aneh Lashon* (Expression of the Tongue, 1615), *Sefer ha-Haim* (Book of Life, 1703), and especially the *Ma'avar Yabbok* (1626). Their appearance reflected the growing interest in customs related to death and dying, possibly a result of the growing influence of Jewish mysticism. Some guides were intended primarily for use by society members, others for broader circulation.

Over time, the tasks of the burial societies expanded to include charity, repentance, and other good works. By the middle of the eighteenth century, society members visited the sick and assisted the gravely ill to prepare spiritually for their deaths, for example, by the recitation of the *vidui*, a confession to be recited prior to death.[23] Isaiah Horowitz, rabbi of Frankfurt in the early seventeenth century, explained: "If visiting the sick is very important for the needs of the body, . . . one must also attend to the needs of the soul and make certain that the sick man asks correctly for absolution."[24] Eventually, separate societies tended to the ill by providing visitation, food, care, and medications. Some communities formed separate sick-care societies for women as well.[25]

Thus the early modern period witnessed both new structures and new rituals that reflected changing external circumstances combined with new cultural and religious influences. These new religious forms not only included burial practices and prayers for the gravely ill but also influenced the private spiritual lives of the living, particularly women, as well.[26]

Women's Religious Life

Many women attended synagogue, especially on Sabbaths and holidays. A more knowledgeable woman, known as the Vorsagerin, led their prayers. Even those women who could read the prayers in Hebrew did not necessarily understand them. One Christian observer of Jewish life and customs in the early eighteenth century related how he asked several women in Frankfurt if they understood the prayers they recited in synagogue and concluded that many did not, just, he added, as nuns in the church did not understand prayers in Latin. "One woman responded to me: even if I don't understand them [the prayers in Hebrew], God does. A second woman answered: when a doctor gives me a prescription, it helps me even though I don't understand the note or what is written on it."[27]

The new accessibility of printed books affected the religious life of women

with particular intensity, as they now demonstrated new interests in learning. The *Tse'ena Ure'ena*, a commentary written in Yiddish on the weekly Torah portion became very popular among women and made traditional Torah literature accessible to women who could not read Hebrew. The *Brantshpigl*, published in Cracow in 1596, provided ethical teachings oriented especially for women, and the *Mayse Bukh*, compiled around the same time, provided stories and teachings, many of which came from the Talmud. When the title page of the *Mayse Bukh* declared its purpose, it also echoed the technological advancement that had made its publication possible:

> A beautiful storybook. Come here, dear men and women, and examine this lovely storybook which, since the world has existed, has never appeared in print. With three hundred and some stories, all of which are taken from the *Gemara*, and also tales out of . . . [other collections]. Therefore, dear women, before you had the Yiddish books; now you will also have the Yiddish *Gemara*. So you will have the entire Torah.[28]

Thus it was becoming easier for women and less knowledgeable men to acquire a better education in Jewish sources.

Printing also contributed to the development of pietistic practices. Again, women were particularly affected, as special personal prayers, known as *tkhines*, especially designated for women, became ever more popular. Often, women recited these prayers at times that reflected particularly feminine dimensions of the religious life cycle. Collections of these supplicatory prayers printed in Yiddish were easily accessible to women both because of the printed format and the use of the vernacular.[29] The first printed volume of these supplications appeared in Amsterdam in 1648 under the simple title *Tkhines*. Subsequent printings of that collection and others appeared in Amsterdam and other places, including Prague (1718) and Fürth (1762), in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Gradually, the center of activity moved toward eastern Europe, where these prayers became most popular and central to the lives of Jewish women, and where women began to compose some *tkhines* themselves.

While the religious life of Jewish males centered on worship and study, women's religiosity focused on life at home. Through the use of *tkhines*, women transformed everyday moments in their own lives and those of their families into highly personal events of enhanced spirituality. Personal prayers for themselves and their families endowed the traditional lighting of candles at the onset of Sabbaths and festivals with new meaning. Other occasions included the baking of *hallah*, or braided bread, for the Sabbath meals and visits to family gravesites just before celebration of Rosh Hashanah or the fast of Yom Kippur. Various stages in the menstrual cycle and in childbirth were especially important. *Tkhines* combined traditional texts and prayers with new motifs and adaptations based on traditional imagery. They also provided the opportunity for individual insertions of names and situations that concerned the woman in need. This prayer, from a collection that appeared in the seventeenth century written by a male, exemplifies some of the unique strands of this form of liturgy:

Lighting of the Sabbath lamp. Courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

> Strengthen my bones so that I can stand before you and serve your awesome Name with my whole heart, and with all my limbs that you have created within me, two hundred and fifty two. You have given and commanded your children Israel to perform two hundred and forty-eight commandments, the same number as limbs men have. And you have promised them that if they keep and do these commandments, you will give them the light that is hidden for the righteous men and women in the next world. And you have given us women four extra limbs, and you have also given us four commandments: kindling lights to honor the holy Sabbath, and to purify ourselves of our impurity, and to separate hallah from the dough of our baking, and that we are obligated to serve our husbands. You have also placed in my body three hundred and sixty-five organs—the same number as the negative commandments, that you have given to your children Israel.[30]

How were such prayers integrated into religious life? These prayer collections in the Yiddish vernacular opened new possibilities for female spirituality. Women could recite these prayers on their own and adapt them to their own life situations by adding in names. Many of these prayers also corresponded to worship in the synagogue and were recited as part of their regular prayers. In fact, the introductions to several printed collections indicated that they were intended not just for women but also for those men who also could not read or understand Hebrew texts or, as one text put it bluntly, "for men who were like women." Chava Weissler, the foremost scholar of *tkhines*, has summarized their significance for women as follows.

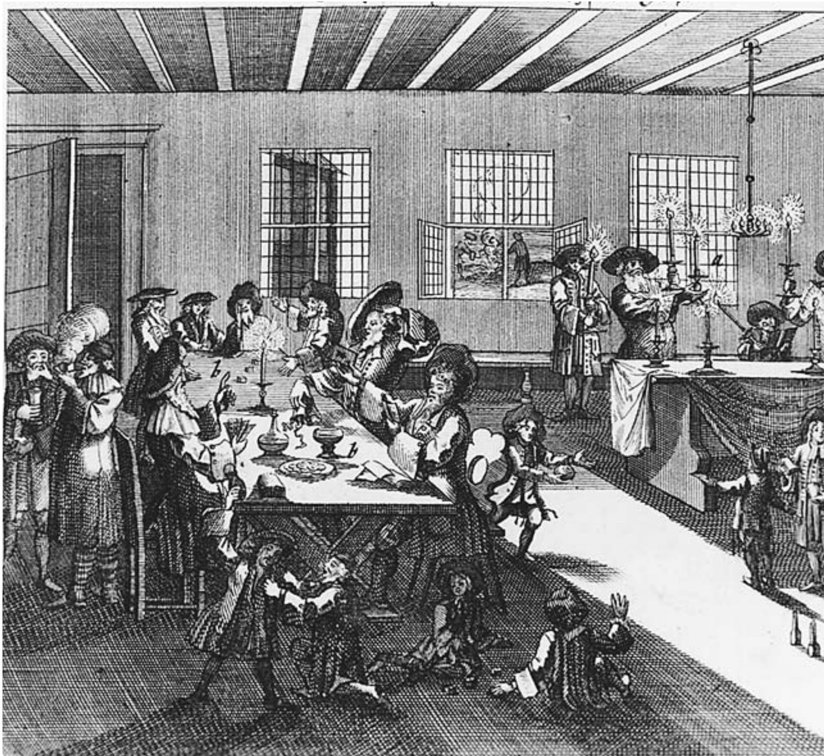
> A woman content with a religious life centered on the home and family and a peripheral relationship to the men's world of prayer and study could use tkhines to render that life holy. . . . As they recited tkhines, generations of unknown Jewish women sanctified their daily acts and roles and at the same time transcended them. In this way Ashkenazic Jewish women—nurtured within the ritual structure of Jewish life, familiar with a limited array of Jewish sources, and hampered perhaps by the constraints of their social roles and lack of education—managed nonetheless to create a rich array of visions of the religious life.[31]

Popular Folkways

Herman Pollack referred to Jewish folkways as popular practices that "mirror the social life of anonymous individuals."[32] He divided folkways into dietary observances, ritual practices, and practices designed to ward off evil demons. These customs generally derived from one of three sources: age-old Jewish practice handed down over the generations and possibly prescribed in rabbinic texts, practices adopted from the surrounding gentile environment, or practices that entered German space along with various migrations.

The rabbis did not always approve of folk practices, especially if they imitated Christian practices or seemed contrary to Jewish norms. But as Pollack demonstrated with numerous examples, popular religion often had a life of its own, and rabbinic authority was compelled to consent by channeling folkways into normative patterns. For example, some rabbis disapproved of men jumping over a bonfire and shooting off gunpowder on the festival of Simhat Torah. These customs may have derived from Christian influence, but rabbis also expressed their dismay that bonfires and gunpowder undermined the spirit of the holiday, intended to celebrate the conclusion of the annual cycle of reading the Torah and the beginning of a new cycle. Yet the folk custom withstood rabbinical opposition, and even the rabbis joined in the frolic:

> At times the rabbi joined them in the joyous dancing around the fire in honor of the Torah. . . . They drank wine by the fire; the *hattanim* [those specially honored during this holiday] gave them wine. The sexton added wood to the fire, and the *hattanim* would "let go of themselves."[33]



Inside the synagogue at Hanukka, the Festival of Lights, 1724. Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute.

Gambling on Purim also provoked disapproval by some rabbinic authorities, as did crossdressing as part of the practice of wearing masquerade costumes. Some rabbis raised no objection to men dressed as women or vice versa as long as this was limited to Purim, but other authorities expressed concern that men and women could not be distinguished by their clothing.[34]

Popular folk customs formed an integral part of the observance of Sabbaths and holidays. The Sabbath meals were a fulcrum of family activity. Women dedicated their primary culinary efforts to preparing these meals, which included a number of traditional dishes like fish, soup, chicken or meat, and *cholent* (a mixture of meat and starch, varying greatly by region, that baked slowly from well before the beginning of the Sabbath until the midday meal). Singing and study were also part of the prescribed Sabbath routine, but some preferred congregating and socializing in central meeting spaces like the marketplace. Time spent together both in the family and with other Jews was especially important for those men who were away from home for part or all of the work week.[35]

Folkways frequently offered cures for sickness, and rabbis had to determine their suitability almost on a case-by-case basis. Amulets and other objects, including animal parts, were commonly worn for good luck as a necklace or other trinket. Amulets that were intended to ward off troubles contained written words on paper, parchment, or metal disks. The common use of amulets was perfectly acceptable to most rabbinic authorities unless their content violated normative beliefs. Indeed, that was the difficulty with the amulet attributed to Jonathan Eybeschutz that formed the basis of his long-term controversy with Jacob Emden. The dispute did not question the use of amulets as such, but Emden accused Eybeschutz of including the name of the messianic pretender Sabbatai Zevi on amulets that Eybeschutz had prepared. Many rabbinical scholars dispensed amulets for such purposes as to heal the sick or to help couples become pregnant. Rabbis were even lenient about more questionable practices like using parts of a human corpse to cure ailments because these practices had already been accepted as effective.[36]

Sabbatian Messianism

Sabbatian messianism, the belief in Sabbatai Zevi as the messiah promised by God, formed the core of the most popular messianic movement in Judaism since the rise of Christianity, although the impact of this movement on Jewish religious life in Germany is still a matter of some debate. Sabbatai Zevi, from Smyrna in Turkey, first issued his messianic proclamations in the late 1640s, but the movement proclaiming his messianism, with Nathan of Gaza as his prophet, became strongest in the years 1665–66. Scholars continue to debate the factors behind the rise of Sabbatianism, as well as the actual success of the movement in attracting believers. Several sources indicate such strong belief that people actually began preparations to journey to the Holy Land once the messianic revelation had occurred. Having just given birth, Glikl freely used metaphors related to childbirth in one of the most vivid descriptions of such preparations:

> And also about this time, people began to talk of Sabbatai Zevi, but woe unto us, for we have sinned, for we did not live to see that which we had heard and hoped to see. When I remember the penance done by young and old, it is indescribable, though it is well enough known in the whole world. O Lord of the Universe, at that time we hoped that you, O merciful God, would have mercy on your people Israel, and redeem us from our exile. We were like a woman in travail, a woman on the labor stool who, after great labor and sore pains, expects to rejoice in the birth of a child, but finds it is nothing but wind. This, my great God and King, happened to us, all your servants and children did much penance, recited many prayers, gave away much in charity, throughout the world. . . . The joy, when letters arrived, is not to be described. Most of the letters were received by the Portuguese. They took them to their synagogue and read

> them aloud there. The Germans, young and old, went into the Portuguese synagogue to hear them. . . . Many people sold home, hearth and everything they possessed, awaiting redemption.
>
> My father-in-law, peace unto him, who lived in Hameln, moved from there, leaving things standing in the house, just as they were, and went to Hildesheim. He sent us here, to Hamburg, two big barrels of linenware, in them were all kinds of food—peas, smoked meat, all sorts of dried fruits—that could keep without going bad. The good man thought they would leave from Hamburg for the Holy Land. These barrels were in my house for more than a year. At last, fearing that the meat and other things would get spoilt, he wrote that we should open the barrels and take out all the food, so that the linen underneath should not spoil. They remained here for three more years, my father-in-law always expecting to need them at a moment's notice for his journeys.

Glikl's colorful description notwithstanding, scholars have not found confirmation of any serious number of Jews actually selling their homes or their businesses in anticipation of the messiah. Even her father-in-law had left his house in Hameln intact. Her descriptions actually emphasized accounts of Sephardi Jews as related in the letters read aloud in the Portuguese synagogue. It is also unclear whether she intended the father's behavior in sending them the barrels of supplies as a typical example of messianic expectation or, as seems more likely, as a curious anecdote of exceptional anticipation. Numerous other sources confirm, however, the calls for repentance and the excited expectation over the messianic coming.

Glikl's account is actually just as fascinating for what it did not say. She made no reference to the opposition that emerged against proclaiming Zevi as messiah under the leadership of Rabbi Jacob Sasportas in her own community of Hamburg. Even more interesting, she indicated no later regrets for her belief in a messianic pretender. Nor did she raise any accusations against either Zevi himself or against those who encouraged belief in his being the messiah. For Glikl, Zevi was a mere cog in the divine wheel. Whatever accusations rabbinical authorities later cast upon each other for what they perceived as a messianic debacle were far removed from Glikl's simple explanation of the movement's failure: "If it is delayed because of our sins, when the right time comes we shall surely have it."[37]

Conclusion

Jewish religious life in eighteenth-century Germany was laden with paradoxes, as a community still largely committed to traditional life encountered a spectrum of changes in their daily lives. The following anecdote captures some of these paradoxes. Jacob Emden, a leading rabbinical scholar and one of the main spokesmen against heresies that he saw encroaching into Judaism, recounted that he once entered a coffee house and drank what was still consid-

ered a novelty in Europe. Another Jew saw him and severely criticized him for having had milk in a Christian establishment. Emden subsequently expressed remorse for his neglect of ritual scruples, but one can only wonder at the powerful attraction provided by coffee that would entice the renowned rabbi to enter, sit, and drink in a public establishment together with Christians. After all, he had certainly been aware of the regulations that he had ostensibly violated and determined, nevertheless, that they did not apply to drinking in a coffee house. Was it thirst for coffee that brought him in or the search for companionship? Did he take the opportunity to converse with others or did he sit alone, an observant Jew in the midst of a microcosm of a changing world?[38] Emden's memoirs reveal an obsession with beverages—coffee, tea, and even cold water—and a thirst no less compelling for secular knowledge, as he learned to read German in order to read books of science. Simultaneously, Emden arose as one of tradition's leading champions against potential heresies.

Many critics of eighteenth-century Jewish religious life bemoaned the decline that they saw before them, and some historians have relied on such a scheme to help explain the emergence of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, known as the *Haskalah*, by the end of this period. To be sure, rebuilding Jewish religious life in Germany was an uphill struggle from the beginning. But for some Jews, this was an innovative time to be a religious Jew: the printing press provided greater access to knowledge, and new rituals helped some Jews feel closer to God and to the tradition. Judaism in Germany in early modern times was nothing like the rationalist mode that we identify with subsequent periods. The proliferation of personal prayers, amulets, folk customs, and final rites associated with death all indicate a belief in the immediacy of God's presence and the potential efficacy of religious rites in affecting the divine will.

6

Social Relations

While the constellation of residential and economic factors brought Jews in most locations into continual contact with Christians, Jews maintained most of their social relations with other Jews. Spare time activity and social relations may have been at a premium and are among the least researched spheres of Jewish daily life, but this should not imply that Jews did not enjoy leisure activities. Many males studied in their spare time. They also occasionally gambled, drank, and traveled together. Some males joined societies that provided companionship, and in a few communities, women formed such societies as well. Usually Jews and Christians encountered each other primarily in business, but some maintained sporadic casual relations as well.

Among Jews

Memoirs by men contain only a few references to leisure and friendship. Pinchas Katzenelenbogen (1691–c. 1765) mentioned episodes from his youth in which boys studying in yeshivah spent time together, and he felt that he was well liked by the other boys in the group. Sometimes, however, their playfulness turned unpleasant, and he regretted for the rest of his life one incident that proved offensive to one of his friends.[1] The anonymous seventeenth-century memoirist of his youth revealed more about the playfulness of boys as he described a group of lads who went out regularly for good times with women. He had moved to Prague at the age of 15, where he found employment as a tutor in the house of a wealthy family. He wrote about his 10-year-old charge that he "knew better how to behave than I did, the only son of rich parents, fondled and spoiled." He then described his own circumstances with mixed feelings:

never in my life did I feel as happy as in those two years. But unfortunately no one looked out for me, and I fell into bad company. They talked to me constantly about women, and led me in their ways. We were a bad set of young men, of different ages, wasting our time with useless things and fooling with girls, as was their habit. I finally came to think that this is the whole aim of life, since during the entire time we never spoke of anything but of following the inclinations of the heart. The greater part of my days I spent with my young friends who lived an immoral life. Among them were some who were over twenty-three years old, and had more Talmudic knowledge and better manners than I. Therefore, with the consent of my father, I joined them and followed in their footsteps, like the blind in the dark, thinking in my simplicity that the purpose of good manners was to find favor in the eyes of the girls, and that this is human happiness in one's youth. Even in the house where I lived, the young workingmen who were employed in building carriages for the noblemen were a bad sort . . . so that I was under evil influences from all sides. I was more passionate at that time than ever again in my life. How happy should I be now if my father had then given me a wife.[2]

This passage offers a very different perspective on youth, freedom, and free time from the common assumptions that Jews had no time for leisure and little space in which to express their individuality. The writer was living in the house of a well-to-do family, working as a tutor to their child, and yet spent his evenings freely with young women. Where did they go and who were these women with whom the writer was passionately involved? Unfortunately, the text provides no hints, not even whether they were Jewish or Christian.[3]

Yeshivah students traveled together between their schools and home areas, gaining an opportunity for male companionship. In 1625, the well-known rabbi Yom Tov Heller, then head of the rabbinical court in Vienna, sent his son Samuel to study in Metz. After a little more than four years, the father asked his son to come home to his family in Prague where he now served.

I made my way from Metz to Prague by foot, for that was the custom in these lands, that all the yeshiva boys, whether poor or rich, traveled by foot, with packs on their backs and staffs in hand. And still, such journeys were full of joy and a happy heart because every place where they arrived, the communities of Israel received them with great honor and because the better off students aided the poorer ones. And I was considered among the wealthier students, because my father sent me ten pieces of silver a month. And I made my way home with another five students, and I saw this journey as if it was a pleasure trip.[4]

Some men spent leisure time drinking or playing cards or dice. Playing chess was common and much more acceptable in rabbinic views than cards or dice. Many rabbinical and communal authorities prohibited games categorically except for special occasions such as Hanukkah and Purim, but various sources indicate that some individuals violated these restrictions.[5]

Asher Levy, whose memoir covered the years 1598 to 1634, bemoaned his repeated violation of religious rules by drinking nonkosher wine and playing prohibited games. He repeatedly vowed to drink only kosher wine, but the frequency of the vow gives some indication of his lack of success. He kept company with a group of working men, presumably gentiles because there were few Jews in his vicinity, who frequented his house for heavy drinking bouts. On a number of occasions he went off with friends for days at a time "in order to enjoy themselves," his brother-in-law being one of his closest companions. One year, he set out during the intermediate days of Passover with his brother-in-law and the latter's wife to a town where they spent eight days "to see and to be seen and to have a good time." Asher marveled at the wonderful things he saw during this journey. Yet he frequently expressed remorse at the time he wasted by drinking and playing cards and dice. He played these games as he described it, "sometimes alone and sometimes with others; sometimes with Jews and sometimes with gentiles; sometimes for money, and sometimes just for fun."[6]

In 1782, the local rabbinic court reprimanded a cantor in Frankfurt for his involvement with women and ordered him to restrict his activities in order to maintain his position. The restrictions included not being in the company of women even at wedding celebrations or parties for a newly circumcised baby. He was banned from dancing where unmarried women could be found, and going to game halls, even those attended only by men. These restrictions held within the ghetto and for a certain distance from its perimeter. The cantor was allowed to play chess, however.[7]

Knowledge about women's social and leisure activity is even more limited. Glikl bas Leib's account reveals very little about social interactions between mothers and daughters or between sisters. One outstanding incident brought mother and daughter together in the experience of simultaneous childbirth. Glikl had just moved back to Hamburg (approx. 1662) with her husband when they had their first baby.

> About the time we came to Hamburg I became pregnant, and my mother, long may she live, was in the same condition. Though I was still a child to whom such unaccustomed things came hard, I was happy when the All Highest presented me with a beautiful, healthy baby. My mother expected her child about the same time, but was pleased that I had had mine first and that she could attend me and the child the first few days. Eight days later she also gave birth to a daughter, so there was no envy or reproach between us. We lay in one room, beside each other, and had no peace from the people who came running to see the wonder of mother and daughter lying in childbed together.

Shortly after Glikl's mother gave birth, a maid mixed up the two babies, causing an uproar in the household, followed by amusement when the mystery was solved.[8]

References to sibling bonds are extremely rare and generally recount not social relations but more often business contacts and marital arrangements.

Rabbinical sources generally refer to inheritance questions arising between siblings. Siblings often relocated to different and even distant locations, and in most memoirs, a family reunion was a rare occurrence: Glikl's husband Haim occasionally saw a brother in Hamburg and one in Frankfurt when business brought him there, but at one point, Glikl had not seen Haim's parents for some 12 years. Asher Levy did not see his father often. Aaron Isaak maintained ties with his brothers despite the tensions within the family at the time of his departure as a youth. A son married the daughter of one of Isaak's brothers, and Isaak and his brothers visited each other from time to time.[9]

During the eighteenth century, communal societies played an expanded role in the social lives of those Jews who could afford the dues and associated expenses. These societies usually had a benevolent rationale for the community at large, such as caring for the sick, the dead, or the poor. They also filled important social functions for the members themselves, as they organized festive occasions, provided health services and study groups, and brought members together regularly for business and other matters. The popularity of these societies provides another indication that leisure activities and companionship were indeed real priorities for Jews.

Jews and Christians: Relations and Tensions

Frequent confrontations, some uprisings and local expulsions, and the proliferation of polemics that objected to the increased presence and more visible exposure of Jews in Germany marred the relations between Jews and Christians in early modern Germany.[10] But within the cosmos of the lives of individuals, Jews and Christians managed to construct overlapping spheres, a notion that better describes their interactions than a formulation based on the concept of physical and intellectual "ghetto segregation." Jews and Christians encountered each other regularly in the marketplace, on the road, and in the taverns. They lived in much greater proximity to each other than is usually imagined and had business dealings that often required a considerable degree of mutual trust.[11] Jews and Christians drank together, not just at inns during trips but even on a regular basis at local taverns. Even a woman like Glikl, it will be recalled, mixed with gentiles at inns. Indeed, rabbis complained about Jews frequenting Christian taverns on the Sabbath.[12] One example of contact provides a graphic illustration that Jews and Christians even breathed the same air, although the source does not clarify where this incident took place: a Jew who sorely missing smoking during the Shabbat regularly sat down next to a gentile acquaintance and inhaled the Christian's smoke to quench his needs.[13]

Neither Jewish neighborhoods nor Jewish homes, not even the Frankfurt ghetto, were taboo to Christian traffic. Goethe managed to overcome his initial repugnance of the ghetto and entered it on many occasions:

> The girls were pretty, and were quite pleased if a Christian lad showed himself friendly and attentive to them on the Sabbath. . . . I was ex-

> tremely curious to get to know about their ceremonies. I did not rest till I had often visited their synagogue, attended a circumcision and a wedding, and had formed a picture to myself of the feast of Tabernacles. Everywhere I was well received, excellently entertained.[14]

Christians were often seen in Jewish neighborhoods. Considering the residential patterns of buying and renting homes in competition with Christians, of living with Christian neighbors, and Christians entering Jewish neighborhoods and houses, it is clear that in most German lands, Jews were not isolated in their habitations and that Jews and Christians were not spatially separated from each other. Goethe may have had to overcome some hesitancy to enter the famous Frankfurt ghetto, but eventually he went in.

Jews and Christians frequently established business partnerships. In several cases, although the businesses were located in the living quarters of the Jew, separate entrances to the enterprise facilitated access without disturbing the family at home.[15] When one family sold the upper floor of their house in Worms to another Jewish family for business purposes, the parties agreed: "Leib, his wife, and his partner, may make noise in the house. Additionally, they may attract Jewish and gentile sellers and buyers."[16] Another Jew in Worms owned a bank together with a gentile. The bank was located in the house of the Jew, but with a separate entrance.

Jews and Christians maintained intensive relations with each other in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tensions arose as an integral part of this ongoing interaction, and avenues of coexistence could easily demonstrate either cooperation or strife, depending on the volatile turn of events.[17] Relations between Jews and Christian bakers and butchers, for example, often crossed over from one direction to the other, demonstrating cooperation one moment and explosive tension the next.

In some communities, a Jewish baker filled the needs of the community. But in other communities, Christian bakers agreed to special arrangements. In order to prepare kosher bread, Christian bakers would have to thoroughly heat their ovens and bake the bread for Jews separately. Jews especially required *hallah* breads for the Sabbath. Arrangements with bakers were not overly complicated, but problems arose anyway. In 1676, the Jews of the Swabian village of Binswangen stopped purchasing black bread from one Christian baker and started to use another oven belonging to another Christian to prepare their breads. Local authorities compelled the Jews to return their business to the original baker but also required that he improve the quality of the bread he provided the Jews. The next year, the baker squabbled with a woman when he refused to heat his oven for the purchase of 10 loaves of bread since his agreement called for a minimum purchase of 12. The disagreement turned violent, and the baker ultimately "boxed her ears." In 1681, his successor also became involved in a violent exchange with a Jewish customer.[18]

Arrangements with Christian butchers were much more complicated than those with bakers and often led to tensions. Dietary laws require that Jews slaughter according to a strictly prescribed procedure. In Binswangen in 1657

and again in 1663, Jews obtained the right to slaughter their own meat, provided they did not sell any parts to Christians within the village itself. Since Jews did not eat the hind part, the possible sale of that section was a perennial issue in almost every community. This particular resolution allowed Jews to sell meat outside the market of the local butcher. While the agreement lasted, at least on paper, for well over a century, a 1790 document reported that there had, nevertheless, been considerable strife at various times. The causes for these tensions derived either from the economic arrangements or from conflicts between the rabbi and the butcher over the method of slaughtering. In some communities, Jews sold Christians the hind sections they could not eat or all of the meat of animals that had been improperly slaughtered. This was wasted meat for Jews, and Christian butchers in many communities complained that Jews offered uncompetitive prices.[19]

Public desecration by Jews of the Christian Sabbath violated religious sensitivities and sometimes stirred feelings of economic rivalry as well. Christians objected that Jewish peddlers visited their homes on Sundays. They especially complained that the peddlers came while the masters of the house were attending church and only servants were at home.[20] Simple acts such as washing clothes, if done outside, or hanging the clothes to dry were perceived as dishonoring the Sabbath. Jewish use of public lands for grazing animals, a frequent source of tension, only aggravated Christians further when this took place on Sundays. While in 1600, the small population of Buttenwiesen could still tolerate free grazing rights even for Jews; the seeds of conflict were already present.

One intriguing accusation that echoed medieval claims that Jews spread disease among the Christian population asserted that Jews brought sick animals to shared lands and spread disease to the healthier animals of the Christians and even to humans. Concern over the well-being of animals belonging to Jews derived in part from the fact that while Christians owned a stable herd and brought the same animals for grazing throughout the entire summer season, Jews, as a result of their involvement in animal trade, continually brought different animals in constantly changing numbers.

Both the villages of Buttenwiesen and Kriegshaber adopted regulations in the middle of the seventeenth century requiring that animals be checked before being allowed to graze on open grounds. Repeated accusations against the Jews asserted that they failed to comply with these regulations. As populations grew and lands for grazing became scarcer, the objections that Jews were exploiting public property became more urgent. Calls to limit these rights for Jews increased by the end of the seventeenth century, and several of the villages in the region later passed ordinances restricting the number of animals Jews could bring for grazing.[21]

Both state rules and church pressures constrained public displays of Jewish observance that might be seen as flaunting a Jewish presence in Christian lands. Many regimes hesitated before allowing Jews to construct synagogue buildings and even then often restricted the size of these buildings. In some places, Jews were not allowed to walk the streets freely during Sunday worship.

In Gaukönigshofen around 1763, the local pastor forbade a public pageant celebrating the donation of a new Torah scroll. Several Jews petitioned to hold a procession through the streets of the village with music in which the new ceremonial object would be joyously brought to the synagogue. Despite the pastor's prohibition of this public pageant identified with Judaism, the Jews carried out their plans in any case. When Jews submitted a similar petition in 1793, authorities overruled the pastor's objections and allowed the parade to take place.[22]

Although the potential for conversion to Christianity added to the tense atmosphere in relations between the two groups, conversion was not an integral part of everyday Jewish life in the eighteenth century. The sparse statistical information available indicates that the number of converts at that time was far smaller than thought by earlier historians. Many, but not all, converts were males and came from the poorer sectors of Jewish society. They departed from the community disenchanted with Judaism and Jewish life and hopeful that a new life with greater opportunities stood before them. Christian participants in the conversion process saw each conversion as a victory, but only a small part of the larger picture. Once baptized, the convert was left largely to his or her own devices, and subsequent economic and spiritual success varied greatly from case to case.[23]

Daily Life Compared

During the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the daily life of Jews in German lands began a process of change that distinguished them from medieval Jews. In the Middle Ages, when Jews gave and took loans from Christians, relations remained distant and distrustful. But the commercial relations of early modern times required greater trust and communication. The new dynamics influenced rabbinic attitudes toward Christians as well. Some rabbis, like Jacob Emden, prescribed a more tolerant outlook toward Christians and their beliefs.[24] Most rabbis of the period, even if they did not engage in such broad conceptualization, issued rulings that allowed the Christian greater access to the inner dynamics of Jewish life.

Rabbis often consulted with physicians on matters where medicine intersected with Jewish law, especially concerning menstruation, and questions of violating the Sabbath to save a life. Some rabbis even preferred consulting with Christian physicians who had experience with a larger number of patients and, to their advantage, were presumed ignorant of the implications of their medical opinions for religious decisions. The Christian had become an integral part of the daily life of the Jew, not just out of fear but also as a neighbor who could be hostile or helpful—or both.

The social dimensions of the daily life of Jews differed in several ways from that of the Christians around them. The vast majority of Jews lived in small, rural communities. They mostly engaged in commerce, sometimes combined with related occupations or services. Most Christians in these areas

worked the land and earned only a minimal income. The Jewish economy was more diversified and more flexible. Although most of these Jews were poor, they were often better off than their Christian neighbors.

The minority status of Jews also contributed to a more distinctive daily lifestyle. Jews remained the "other" in a society that had inherited old traditions of the Jew as alien. Bakers also had altercations with their Christian customers; the village baker may even have occasionally slapped a Christian woman in the face. However, the discord between Jews and Christians did not take place merely on an individual level but also between the ruling majority and the tolerated minority. When grazing land became scarce, Christian peasants may also have argued with each other over access, but access for Jews was a low priority. The arguments used against Jews rekindled ancient fear of the dangers Jews might pose for the general health of the community. Moreover, Jewish claims to public grazing rights demonstrated in the eyes of the Christians a virtual denial by Jews of their minority status. How much land was a Jew entitled to in a Christian community?[25]

Ironically, Jews reacted to geographic limitations by constructing broader spatial horizons than most rural Christians. Christians were everywhere, but one's own family was usually close by. Not so with Jews. Settlement restrictions resulted in dispersion and Jewish families were often separated over large distances. Still, family connections, even at long range, were activated for the sake of business, to advance boys' education, and for marriage arrangements. This meant that there was a great difference between rural Jews and Christians in their perceptions of what comprised the world in which they lived. Jews did not have—nor could they have—the same attachment to a specific town or village as Christians. Jews moved around to a far greater extent; they had relatives in other locations, which facilitated both business and travel; often, they sent their sons elsewhere to study. This much broader exposure also meant that Jews frequently made matches for their children with spouses from other communities. Whereas in the general population of villages and small towns, "marriage circles did not customarily extend very far, generally less than a day's walk from the individual's home community,"[26] Jews in small towns had a larger circumference to their marriage circle.[27] If for the average German "life played itself out in a world in which . . . just a trip to the capital city made a peasant's son into a Ulysses,"[28] for Jews there seems to have been a stronger sense that life went beyond the village or small town in which they lived. Residential restrictions often required Jews to seek partners elsewhere and to move on in order to build their lives.

Conclusions

Relations between Jews and their Christian environment in Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are often understood with a backward projection from the endpoint: early modern times led one way or another by the middle of the eighteenth century to the beginnings of the

Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment movement. For scholars like Azriel Shohet, the development toward the *Haskalah* took place gradually, with early precedents dating back at least as far as 1700. Jacob Katz, on the other hand, maintained that the appearance of the *Haskalah* represented only the beginnings of a movement toward greater integration into the surrounding society, with little precedent for change from earlier decades.[29] But removing the *Haskalah* as the focal point of deliberation can significantly increase our understanding of early modern times for German Jewry.

Contacts between Jews and Christians increased long before the *Haskalah* movement emerged, indeed long before 1700, reflecting the influence of changes taking place in German society as a whole on the actual daily life of the Jews. Already during the course of the seventeenth century, a number of German regimes encouraged Jews to help reconstruct the commercial infrastructure of their lands. In some states, this meant the appointment of a court Jew with sweeping powers within the bureaucracy. In many areas, rulers encouraged the settlement of a few Jewish merchants in a small town surrounded by farms, where the Jews helped market the agricultural products, while simultaneously making available scarce goods imported from near or far.

In England, Jews were more successfully integrated socially and economically than anywhere else in Europe. Intriguingly, they did so as a result of ongoing social processes, and without a *Haskalah* movement.[30] The English example raises the question of whether the *Haskalah*—while integral to the intellectual changes of the time—was really as necessary a component of Jewish efforts devoted to social and economic change in German lands as is usually maintained. These pages on the changing daily life of German Jews in early modern times may not provide a definitive response to that question, but they do underscore the possibility that the *Haskalah*, whose primary sphere of activity was intellectual, was but a secondary factor at best for change in the daily life of Jews in German lands. Enhanced economic opportunities, increased immigration, dispersed communities, and the printing press all had a major impact on the course of development of Jewish daily life in early modern times, profoundly affecting its economic, social, and religious dimensions.

Part II
The Beginning of Integration: 1780–1870

Steven M. Lowenstein

The period from 1780 to 1870 was a period of thoroughgoing political, social, and economic change for Germany in general and for its Jewish population in particular. A largely agricultural land divided into over three hundred separate sovereign states of widely differing size in 1780, the "geographical expression" that was Germany went through a long process of political reorganization and consolidation that culminated in 1871 in the creation of a united German Empire. Beginning in the 1840s, the German states began to experience the Industrial Revolution, first in the textile industry, then in railroads, and eventually in such heavy industry as coal and steel. This economic transformation eventually made it possible for Germany to become the strongest economic and military power on the Continent. Germany's Jews were affected not only by these general political and economic changes but also by specifically Jewish ones. The discussion about ameliorating the oppressive civic conditions of Jews began in 1781 with the publication of Christian Wilhelm von Dohm's work *On the Civil Improvement of the Jews.* A long-drawn-out process of gradually increasing Jewish political and civil rights ("Emancipation") ensued. The first attempts at granting equality, during the period of French domination of Germany, ended after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. Some Jewish gains were rolled back after 1815, and Jews in most parts of Germany remained in an in-between status, not as restricted as in the eighteenth century but lacking many basic political and economic rights. Often Jews were expected to demonstrate that they were "worthy" of increased rights by changing their occupational structure and increasing their cultural Germanization. Only in 1871, in the German Empire, did they receive full legal equality. Meanwhile, the Industrial Revolution affected the Jewish population, concentrated as it was in commerce, to a much greater extent than the rest of the German population. Eventually it would lead to a greatly improved economic position for the bulk of Germany's Jews. These global changes in the economic and political situation of Germany and Germany's Jews affected the daily life of individuals in a great variety of ways, differing greatly among various regions, classes, and families. The political emancipation and rapid

economic development not only affected the legal rights and economic status of Jews in the various German states but also brought about profound changes in the residence patterns, occupational structure, educational systems, religious beliefs and practices, and socialization patterns of Jews of all classes and regions. The many different ways these changes took place on the individual and family levels explain the enormous diversity of German Jewry in this period.

7
Jewish Residential Patterns

Before the French Revolution, Jews were far from evenly distributed in the German lands. In the east and the extreme southwest, individual Jewish communities were relatively large, while in many other regions Jews were scattered in tiny pockets. Jews lived segregated in ghetto-like concentrations in some towns but more or less integrated among the general population in others. Like the majority of non-Jews, Jews in the German lands lived overwhelmingly in villages and towns of fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. Beginning at the time of the Napoleonic invasions, German Jewish residential segregation slowly decreased but did not disappear. Jews remained unevenly distributed in the various regions of Germany, as well as within the neighborhoods in specific towns as late as 1871.

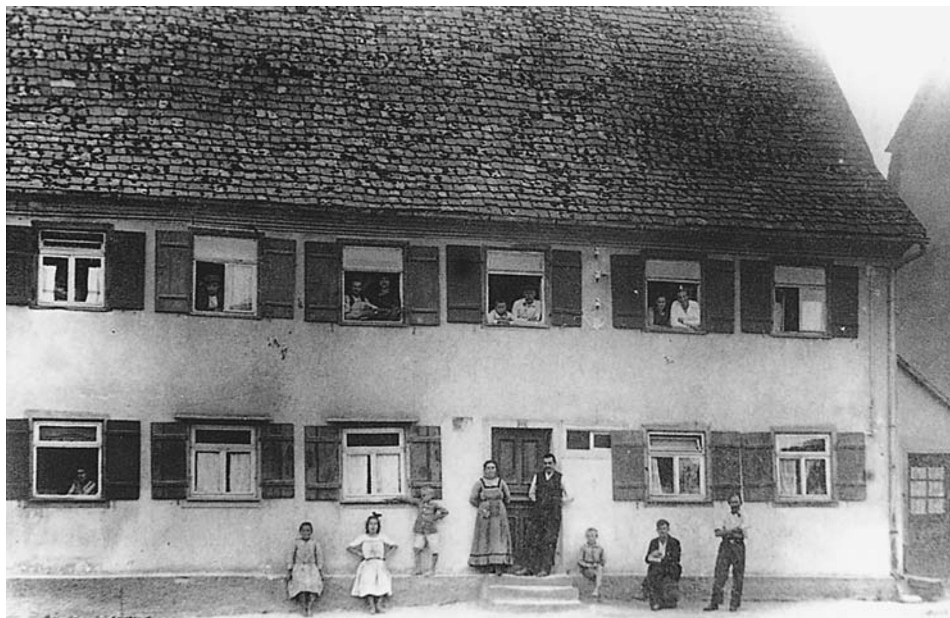
Patterns of Settlement

The uneven distribution of Jews followed general territorial divisions. Germany west of the Elbe was divided into hundreds of tiny duchies, church territories, and city-states, each with a different policy about Jewish residence. Larger states in eastern Germany, like Bavaria, Saxony, and Austria, produced more uniform patterns of Jewish settlement. The two areas of densest Jewish population around 1815 were the formerly Polish territories of Posen and West Prussia in the east and the area of the middle and upper Rhine and Main River valleys far to the southwest. In between, there were a few centers of moderate Jewish population in Silesia, southern Hannover, Ostfriesland, and the cities of Berlin and Hamburg.

Jews in the formerly Polish eastern provinces lived in concentrated settle-

The Judengasse, the former ghetto of Worms. Courtesy of the Stadtarchiv Worms.

ments, similar to eastern European shtetls. Twenty-eight towns in Posen and West Prussia in 1817 with total populations under four thousand had over five hundred Jewish inhabitants. Jews were frequently one-third to one-half of the total population of such market towns. Next largest were Jewish communities in the extreme southwest of German-speaking Europe, where groups of over 250 Jews often lived in widely separated towns of under 1,500 inhabitants and



Former joint living quarters for eight poor Jewish families in Jebenhausen, around 1870. Courtesy of the Stadtarchiv Göppingen.

sometimes made up over one-third the total village population. As one moved north, the typical size of village Jewish communities decreased, from an average of 300 individuals in Bavarian Swabia[1] to about 100 in Lower Franconia (northwestern Bavaria) and about 70 in Hesse. Jewish settlement was especially scattered in the Rhineland, where Jewish communities averaged 25 to 35 individuals in 1808 and only 11 of four hundred communities had over one hundred Jews. Such tiny communities often could not gather together a *minyan*. Except for a few large Jewish communities in Ostfriesland, small towns with over one hundred Jews were exceptional in northern Germany.

Only a small minority of German Jews lived in large cities, and many cities excluded Jews altogether. Around 1800, fewer than ten German cities of over 40,000 inhabitants had as many as five hundred Jewish residents,[2] though such smaller cities of 10,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, as Posen, Fürth, Altona, Mannheim, Mainz, and Glogau, had over 1,000 Jewish inhabitants. Some important Jewish communities were located in villages or smaller cities just outside large cities that excluded Jews.[3]

Except in the Frankfurt area and along the middle Rhine, Jews rarely lived in walled urban ghettos.[4] In south German villages, however, extreme territorial fragmentation could create extreme Jewish concentration, nevertheless. Jews in Gaukönigshofen (Bavaria) were virtually excluded from the bulk of the village on the territory of the bishop of Würzburg but were allowed to settle on a tiny

extraterritorial walled piece of land, the *Freihof*, owned by a minor noble family in the center of town. Around 1800, Jews lived in all of the 14 small houses on the *Freihof* and in only three houses in the rest of the village. Some small territorial lords in southwest Germany built Jewish settlements with special multiple housing at the edge of towns in their possession. In Fellheim, Jews lived in the Oberdorf south of the Christian homes, while in Jebenhausen they lived on three streets north of the Christian settlement.[5] In Talheim, Mühlen, Nagelsberg, and Dettensee in southwest Germany, Jews were crowded into sections of old castles.[6] Other large village communities showed little segregation; five of 17 families in Schenklengsfeld, Hesse-Kassel, lived on the marketplace, and fewer than half of the Jews had immediate Jewish neighbors.[7] In towns with sparse Jewish population, Jews usually lived scattered among Christian neighbors.

Many Posen "shtetls" had areas where Jews were not permitted to live. Some towns excluded Jews from living around the marketplace, while others permitted it.[8] A vague tradition in Hamburg restricted Jewish home-owning to specific streets, but exact rules were not codified, leading to disagreement between Jews and non-Jews about which streets were open to Jews. A map drawn up in 1773 to settle the matter marked 13 streets and one marketplace in the Neustadt and three streets in the Altstadt where Jews were permitted to live.[9] In Emden and Hannover, Jews were forbidden from living in the Altstadt but could live anywhere else. In Hannover, this rule was so strictly enforced that the police sometimes woke up visiting Jews in the middle of the night and made them move to the Neustadt.[10] As late as the 1830s, a Jew in Dresden moving to a suburb needed special police permission.[11] But even without legal restrictions, Jews tended to live near other Jews. In Braunschweig most Jews resided on or near the Kohlmarkt, near the center of town. In Berlin virtually all Jews lived in the Alt Berlin section north of the Spree, where they made up about one-seventh of the population.[12]

Where housing segregation was strictest, overcrowding of the Jewish population was common. The Frankfurt Judengasse, with three to four thousand Jews crowded into one street, was only the most famous case. In rural Fellheim in Bavarian Swabia in 1782, 34 Jewish families lived in just three large buildings. As late as 1812, 65 of the 76 Jewish families in Fellheim lived in ten multiple family dwellings, two of which held 14 families each.[13] Some families in multiple dwellings drew up elaborate rules about the access of each household to the common kitchen or storerooms, and the shared staircases and hallways.[14] In the early nineteenth century, the Lübeck government rented tiny apartments, consisting of two rooms, one of them heated, to Jews in the village ghetto of Moisling. Prosperous Jews had three rooms, two of them with heat.[15] On the other hand, in 1819 the 15 Jewish families of Schenklengsfeld owned 12 separate houses.[16] Some towns restricted the right of Jews to own homes, either requiring all Jews to be tenants of Christians or allowing a fixed number of Jews to own homes and requiring the rest to rent.[17] Often Jews wrote petitions or sued in order to gain greater residency rights.[18]

Housing conditions of Jews of different social classes in the same town were often extremely varied. Moyses Hirsch, ancestor of the later barons de

Hirsch, built an elaborate three-story house in 1790, the first in Gaukönigshofen to have a balcony, at a time when most other Jews in town lived in tiny one-story buildings in the *Freihof* "ghetto."[19] In Harburg, Bavaria, the three-story neoclassical house with a triangular gable and a mansard roof that Jakob Lippman Hechinger built in 1807 dominated its section of the marketplace, and several other Jews had large multistoried homes. On the other hand, a much larger proportion of Jews than non-Jews lived in rented quarters, several of which were referred to as "miserable huts."[20]

Following the Slavic pattern, most towns in eastern Germany had a large central market square. The marketplace of Rosenberg, Upper Silesia, was surrounded by open arcades, the size of a medium-sized living room, over which the second story of the houses were built. The typical Jewish home in the town was built with a wood framework and roof and had a ground floor and an attic room above. All spaces between the beams were filled with a mixture of straw and clay and whitewashed. A man of average size could reach the front edge of the low, slanting roof with his hand. The roof was covered with wooden shingles or was thatched with long bundles of straw.[21] In Gaukönigshofen, on the other hand, 169 of the houses and barns were covered with tile roofs and only 12 with straw.[22] Like their neighbors, Jews in the Posen district lived mainly in wooden buildings.[23] Fires that burned large parts of Posen towns to the ground, leaving much of the Jewish population homeless, often occurred several times in a generation.[24] They were much less frequent in other parts of Germany, where houses were mainly of stone or half timbers.[25]

Legal restrictions forced some Jews to live on the margins of the law, since residency permits were available only to those household heads who could pay a fee (*Schutzgeld*) and prove they possessed a certain amount of property. Some rulers limited the number of Jewish families in their towns or admitted only those in certain occupations. Jews without residency permits (*Schutzbriefe*) were not allowed to start their own families or engage in independent business. They often evaded these regulations with the collusion of local officials who took bribes or thought the restrictions bad for the economy. Many towns charged Jews passing through town the Leibzoll, a toll similar to that charged on cattle and wares, which besides being insulting increased the expense of travel. Ascher Lehmann described the practical results of the abolition of the Bohemian Leibzoll. In 1786, on leaving Franconia for Prague, he said, "in every city and town I had to pay 10, 12, up to 18 Kreutzer Leibzoll." On his return trip, "how surprised we were that the Leibzoll had been abolished in cities and towns. Where we had had to pay at least 5 Gulden on the journey from Eger to Prague we could now spend [it]."[26]

Changes from the Traditional Housing Pattern

The combination of tiny principalities into medium-sized states during the Napoleonic period, and the later removal of legal barriers, helped reduce Jewish residential confinement. The changes started around 1815 and picked up

The interior of a German-Jewish home, nineteenth century. Courtesy of the Yeshiva University Museum.

momentum around 1840 but were still incomplete in 1871. Although a greater percentage of Jews than Christians lived in large cities even before 1815, most German Jews still lived in small towns even in 1870. Residential restrictions delayed urbanization in many parts of Germany, especially in southern states, where Nuremberg, Freiburg, and Baden-Baden remained largely closed to Jews before the 1860s. But Jewish urbanization was gradual even where there were no restrictions.

In 1815 fewer than 20,000 Jews lived in Germany's major cities. Hamburg, the largest Jewish community, had only 6,300 Jews, and no other community exceeded 5,000. Berlin, with only about 3,400 Jews, ranked about fifth in size among German Jewish communities. Major cities like Cologne, Munich, Stuttgart, and Leipzig had fewer than five hundred Jewish inhabitants. By 1850, the number of Jews in major cities had doubled. Hamburg reached a Jewish population of 10,000, and Berlin, Frankfurt and Breslau each exceeded 5,000. The pace of change picked up thereafter. Between 1850 and 1870 the proportion of German Jews in cities of over 10,000 increased from approximately 10 to about 30 percent, though with wide regional variations. In 1871, while just under half of the Jews in Prussia lived in towns of under 5,000 inhabitants, over two-thirds of Jews in southern states like Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt lived in such small towns.[27] The more rapid urban

growth after 1850 was especially noticeable in Berlin. In the 24 years from 1816 to 1840 the Jewish population doubled from 3,373 to 6,456, but in the following 31 years it increased almost sixfold, reaching 36,015, and going from 2.0 percent to 4.36 percent of the total city population. The Berlin Jewish community finally became the largest in Germany in the 1850s; by 1871 it was almost three times larger than the second largest German-Jewish community.

Before emancipation, Jews were very unevenly distributed across Germany. The more than one hundred thousand Jews of Posen and Bavaria together numbered well over a third of all German Jews. Although Bavarian Jewry began to decline after 1837–40, the Jewish population of Posen was even higher in 1849 than it had been in 1815 (77,014 as against 52,566). But between 1850 and 1871, the Jewish population fell to 61,982 in the province of Posen and from 56,000 to 50,648 in Bavaria. By 1871 only 22 percent of German Jews lived in Posen or Bavaria.[28]

Overseas emigration was an important cause of Jewish population decline in Posen and Bavaria, where residential restrictions lasted longer than elsewhere. Emigrants were generally poor, in contrast to the more prosperous migrants to cities. Frequently young men with craft training left Germany, partly because they could easily cross the borders as journeymen.[29] One newspaper report indicates both the tendency of trained craftsmen to emigrate and the order in which family members left for America: "Generally the oldest son of a family emigrated to the New World with letters of recommendation to relatives and friends after he finished his apprenticeship. . . . Some time later his brothers and sisters followed and often his parents came last of all."[30] Sometimes even previously wealthy families that had had a business failure or bankruptcy found themselves forced to go to America.[31] An estimated one hundred thousand Jews left Germany for America before 1880. The proportion of emigrants from Germany who were Jewish was between two and four times their proportion in the German population.[32]

Old patterns of concentration also changed gradually within individual towns. Attempts by Jews to expand their areas of residence often met with resistance from the authorities or Christian neighbors.[33] But some Christians helped Jews evade the restrictions of the law. When Aron Hirsch Heymann's father bought his house in Strausberg near Berlin in 1804, he could only own it de facto and not de jure and had to list it as belonging to his Christian neighbor. Only in 1813 could the property be registered in his own name.[34]

Reduction in rural overcrowding was slow. Between 1812 and 1850, 12 Jewish families in Fellheim built their own private homes, but none bought homes from Christians. Even in the 1850s most Jews still lived in multiple family dwellings. The Jews in these houses were among the first to emigrate to America or move to the cities, while those with private homes were most likely to stay. By the end of the 1870s only 16 Jewish families (as opposed to 39 earlier) lived in the largest multiple dwellings which they now shared with 20 Christian families.[35] In Gaukönigshofen in 1817, Jews owned 15 dwellings, worth 7.5 percent of all property in town, only three of them outside the *Freihof* "ghetto." By 1834 the same number of Jewish families owned 23 houses (16 percent of all

property value). In 1864, after the purchase of a number of houses from Christians, Jews owned 13 substantial houses (*Hofriethe*) with barns and outbuildings, while only nine Jewish households, consisting mostly of widowers and widows, still lived in the *Freihof*.[36]

Jewish settlement patterns in major cities between 1850 and 1870 resembled those of the preemancipation period more than twentieth-century patterns. In Frankfurt, where the last restrictions fell in 1823, Jews did not move very far from the Judengasse ghetto. In 1858 the old Judengasse (still almost half Jewish) housed 875 Jews, 15 percent of the Jews of the city, and almost 60 percent of the Jews of Frankfurt still lived in "the neighborhood" (the Judengasse and its two bordering districts).[37] Patterns were similar in Berlin and Hamburg, where most Jews lived in or near the traditional Jewish neighborhoods of Alt Berlin and Hamburg's northern Neustadt. The move to the twentieth-century Jewish neighborhoods in West Berlin and Hamburg's Rotherbaum and Harvestehude had barely begun.[38]

Inside Jewish Homes

German Jewish living arrangements varied widely by region, era, and class. The gradual improvement in living standards after 1815 was by no means uniform. Some German Jews lived as miserably in 1870 as they had three generations earlier. In all epochs there were wealthy Jews who lived in opulence as well as poor Jews who experienced great privations. Many families describe very humble housing when they or their parents first married, followed by gradual or rapid improvement of living conditions, but in a few cases families' living conditions deteriorated after a serious economic reversal.[39]

The first residence of the newlywed Makowers in Santomischel, consisted of a single cramped room (*Stübchen*) in the home of the wife's parents, with only enough room for two beds, a dresser, table, chair, and a cradle. The only access to the room was a "dangerous staircase." When their second child was born in 1830, the Makowers had to move.[40] Several decades later, the Kirschner family in Beuthen lived in cramped quarters in their bakery. The couple, their ten children, a maid, and a journeyman baker had to share the salesroom of the bakery, a live-in kitchen, a windowless unheated room, and the room in which the bread was baked.[41]

Still very modest, though not as crowded, were the homes of the Seligsohns, the Hamburgers, and the Weigerts in Posen and Upper Silesia. In Samotschin before 1840, the Seligsohns lived in a half-timbered building with a shingled roof. After passing through a dark hall with a dirt floor, one reached the large living room whose two windows faced the courtyard. Its floor was plastered and its walls whitewashed. A small door led to the room where three unmarried children slept. The family rented out a few rooms.[42] Hermann Hamburger's residence in Schmiegel in 1830 consisted of a living room facing the courtyard, a well-lit alcove used as a bedroom, a very dark kitchen, and a small room opened only for guests on holidays. After the births of four chil-

dren, the family added a second story.[43] One entered the Weigerts' house in Rosenberg through a hall containing an oven and an open hearth; to the right lay the parents' bedroom, also used as a living and dining room. At first Mr. Weigert used the room on the left as a workshop, then it served as a tavern, and finally it was used as a bedroom for the children. A ladder-like staircase led to attic rooms, where the children slept when they were older.[44]

The rural homes of the Heymann, Rosenthal, and Spanier families in north central Germany, though by no means luxurious, were a good deal more comfortable. Aron Hirsch Heymann's father's house in Strausberg consisted of a front and a back room on the ground floor and the same above. A tutor lived in a separate one-room building that served as his "living room, dining room, school room and sitting room." Despite its small size, the house had a parlor, used only on special occasions. In 1820 Heymann's father bought the neighbor's house, tore down both it and his own house, and built a massive house on the site.[45] The Rosenthals in Ermsleben, in the Harz Mountains, lived in a rented house until 1830, then bought a large piece of land with a garden. The lower floor consisted of a store to the left, and a living room, bedrooms, kitchen, and pantry to the right. In the courtyard, a small building served as the residence and classroom of the resident tutor and also contained playrooms. Rooms used only for guests and special occasions, as well as a room for worship services, were located upstairs.[46]

A more uncommon arrangement served the Spanier family in Wunstorf, who shared a three-hundred-year-old building, described as "sturdy despite its bent walls," with their landlord, a peasant proprietor. A long wide hall separated the residences of the two families. Each side of the house had a two-windowed living room from which steep steps led up to unheated bedrooms (except for the parent's bedroom, which received heat from below through a hole in the floor). Like many other peasant houses, the house had outbuildings for cow pens, storage for agricultural tools, and a stable for the horse.[47]

In Bockenheim near Frankfurt, the Epsteins lived a solidly middle-class life in their own residence. In 1837 Hirsch Epstein and his wife occupied the ground floor, consisting of a three-windowed living room with a small room behind it and a kitchen next to it. The couple had a two-windowed bedroom on the left side, with an unheated room behind it. Mrs. Epstein's sister and brother-in-law lived on the second floor, and an aunt lived in the large attic on the third floor. By 1852 when the family received an inheritance, they had their relatives move out and occupied the whole house. Behind the house were a laundry, a workshop later used for the family cigar box factory, and the privies. Also located in the back was a garden, mostly devoted to vegetables. Since no separate room was set aside for the children, they were often sent outside when they got in the way.[48]

Wealthy rural Jews had more impressive living arrangements. Hänlein Salomon Kohn in Wassertrüdingen lived in a well-built house with a wide front. A massive door led to a stone paved hall. To the right was Kohn's office and to the left the living rooms. At the end of the hall was the *Stüble* (little heated room), a square room with a beamed ceiling, built-in closets, a huge brown tile

oven, and a huge table at which the servants ate; the resident family ate in a neighboring room. The guestrooms upstairs included a parlor, children's rooms, a house synagogue, and a guest bedroom. In the basement was a wine cellar.[49]

Wealthy families could live quite well indeed. In 1864 the Loevinsons moved from a middle-class Berlin apartment to a large house, "resembling an old country estate" with a wide garden in front, on the Bellevuestrasse near the Tiergarten. The widowed Christian landlady lived upstairs and the Loevinsons occupied the ground floor on the right, with bedrooms on the floor above over an archway. Later the Loevinsons moved into a large house in Charlottenburg formerly used by a Prussian king for his mistress. Among the many large rooms in this house were a three-windowed formal room with wall paintings, a two-windowed room used as a house synagogue, and a large sun parlor (*Gartensaal*) facing the garden in back.[50]

Two families descended from Jewish purveyors to noble courts (court Jews) in Hannover lived in aristocratic style. Around 1800 the Cohens rented the second to fourth floor and the attic of a house whose Christian landlord lived on the bottom floor. The large patrician house of Marie Maas's grandparents in the 1860s had an entranceway with a colonnade of 20 stone pillars leading from a large garden. A glass-covered staircase led to the second floor. The largest room in the house had high ceilings and five windows facing the street. The house of Maas's Uncle Simon looked like a castle, with marble steps leading from an entrance flanked by two round towers.[51]

Housing for Jewish employees, tutors, or students was extremely modest. Students and apprentices often lived in furnished rooms. Jacob Adam's employer in Glogau around 1808 gave him even worse accommodations—a small corner of the attic with only enough room for a bed and a chair.[52] Private tutors often had to use their single room for sleeping, teaching, and entertaining. Many communal teachers complained about their quarters in school buildings, which they sometimes had to share with the communal poorhouse.[53]

Some families possessed only very rudimentary household items. Since he had never seen a tablecloth not made of oilcloth, the religious teacher in Strausberg could not understand what a pupil meant when he spoke of washing a tablecloth in soapy water.[54] Several memoirs describe as many as four children sharing a bed. In one case those who could not fit into the bed had to sleep on straw on the floor. In the Weigert family, up to six persons slept in a small room. The more prosperous young Meier Spanier in his farmhouse in Wunstorf had a featherbed to cover him, but his mattress consisted of layers of straw under the sheet.[55] The furniture of the Seligsohn home in Samotschin was described as extremely "primitive." Besides an open fireplace with a tile oven and a long wooden bench attached to it, there were two four-poster beds covered with colorful calico, a pine table, some wooden chairs, and a closet. On the eastern wall was a picture in a frame, indicating the direction to face for prayers. "That was all."[56]

By the mid–nineteenth century, many Jews already were living a great deal better. Five inventories of Jewish families in Aldenhoven in the northern

Rhineland show mostly middle-class living styles. Unlike earlier periods when there were beds in most rooms,[57] the bedrooms were now separate, with at least as many beds as family members. The beds consisted of relatively inexpensive bed frames and much more costly featherbeds, mattresses, and pillows. Most houses had a large supply of tables, chairs, and freestanding closets, but armchairs and sofas were rare and pianos and German books absent. Most houses had at least one mirror, a clock, and pictures on the wall, and a few kept their china in a cabinet with glass doors. There were ample supplies of linens and kitchen utensils. The poorest of the five families had 50 towels, 30 sheets, and six tablecloths. Although pewter and copper dishes and utensils were the rule in the early nineteenth century, porcelain and earthenware dishes and—in some homes—silver knives, spoons, and forks, began to replace them. Because Jewish dietary laws required separate meat and dairy utensils and separate dinnerware for Passover, families had a great deal of dinnerware. One small-town family had 36 porcelain plates and eight earthenware ones, 18 porcelain coffee cups and at least 18 sets of knives and forks.[58] Because religious family purity laws prohibited spouses from cohabitation during part of the wife's menstrual cycle, most married couples also seem to have had separate beds.[59]

Some urban Jewish families slowly acquired the accoutrements of bourgeois respectability and culture. Jacob Epstein's family in Bockenheim started with primitive lithographs and thin muslin curtains but soon procured more elegant artwork. Epstein first took music lessons on an old dilapidated piano, which was replaced in 1857 by an Andreae pianino costing 280 Gulden. A carpenter who made fine furniture for the living room, bedroom, and guestroom in 1832 "threw in" two footstools and a spittoon for free.[60] The even richer Loevinsons had a "modest" round table to which leaves could be added so it could seat 23.[61]

Reflecting general German living styles of their day, many Jewish homes in the early nineteenth century, especially among the older generation, had curtained four-poster beds,[62] but this later became much less common. Many Jewish families, especially in south Germany, even those in rather modest circumstances, set aside a room (sometimes more than one) as a parlor, which was kept closed and unused most of the time and only opened on special occasions. Some memoirs mocked this widespread practice as a silly waste of space.[63]

Conclusion

Because the living conditions of both Jews and non-Jews differed so widely, it is difficult to reach an overall picture of whether Jews lived better or worse than non-Jewish Germans. Although many Jews before 1850 lived in difficult housing conditions, it is likely that some non-Jews lived even worse. What was probably specifically Jewish was the crowding into multiple dwellings caused by legal limitations on Jewish homeownership. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Jewish housing conditions improved markedly, but it is not certain

that on average they were better than those of non-Jews (as seems likely in later periods).

By 1871, it was evident that something substantial had changed in the residential conditions of German Jewry. The extreme overcrowding, cramped housing conditions, and confinement to certain towns, neighborhoods, and provinces were decreasing rapidly. The huge Jewish communities in Posen and in certain south German villages were beginning to fade but were by no means gone. Most German Jews still lived in the countryside or small towns. Although the last towns to exclude Jews were forced to admit them in the 1860s, there were still noticeable differences between Jewish concentration in old cities of Jewish settlement like Fürth, Breslau, and Frankfurt and newer settlements like Nuremberg, Dresden, or Cologne. These distinctions would disappear later.

8

Family Life

Between 1780 and 1870 German-Jewish families gradually changed from a "prebourgeois" pattern to one resembling that of non-Jews of the middle class. In the older pattern, many fathers traveled far from home on business for extended periods, and married women frequently carried on economic activity outside the home, though with less extensive travel. Children often left home at an early age to work, apprentice, or study. Members of the extended family frequently lived together in the same household or building. On the other hand, restrictions on marriage led some Jews to remain single. Prosperous families had Jewish servants, especially cooks and maids, and unmarried commercial employees of the family firm often lived with the family. The bourgeois family, on the other hand, was generally a nuclear-family household living in its own home with a father who worked outside the home and returned home every evening and a mother who managed the household and created a cultivated and respectable atmosphere.[1] These changes were much more rapid among prosperous and urban families than among rural Jews and the poor.

Preemancipation legal restrictions were an important cause of the premodern patterns. As it was impossible to limit the number of children a couple had, legal restrictions applied to families rather than individuals. Most governments restricted the number of Jewish families under their jurisdiction and required Jews to pay an annual fee in return for a residence permit (*Schutzbrief*) allowing them to reside and do business. Without procuring a residence permit, a young man could not marry or open an independent business. Those whose applications were rejected had to remain in the household of a "permit holder" and could not start their own family. Some Jewish men and women were able to marry after much delay, but many could not marry at all. Housing

restrictions often forced several nuclear families to share the same house and sometimes to live as a single household.

Household Composition: Deviations from the Nuclear Family

Early nineteenth-century Jewish households were often not structured in nuclear families. In Zeckendorf near Bamberg in Bavaria in 1824, 169 Jewish individuals belonging to 35 nuclear families lived in 21 houses. Only ten Jewish families had houses to themselves. Multiple dwelling was even more common in nearby Demmelsdorf, where 178 Jewish individuals in 33 nuclear families lived in just 11 houses and only two families did not share a house.[2] Very wealthy households expanded beyond the nuclear family by including nonrelated servants and household staff. In Braunschweig the court Jew, Herz Samson, had a household of 20, including Samson's children, two resident rabbis with their families, one unmarried rabbi, four maids, four male servants, a nursemaid, a governess, and a tutor.[3] Only two of the seven people in the wealthy household of Jacob and Lea Cohen in Hanover belonged to the nuclear family. The childless couple shared their home with Lea Cohen's nephew, her brother, the brother's tutor, a lady's maid, and a Jewish cook.[4]

Unlike later times, when Jews usually had Christian servants, their servants before 1850 were almost always Jewish. In a kosher household, a Jewish cook seemed a necessity. Also common in pre-1850s Jewish households but rare thereafter were tutors who lived in the household and ate at the family table. Elderly family members sometimes moved in with their children, or, more rarely, with more distant relatives.[5] Besides those who lived in the household, others shared the family table, including traveling scholars, wandering beggars, and students and teachers entitled to meals from a different householder each day.[6] In some families, apprentices and employees also ate with the family.[7]

Jewish households deviated from the nuclear pattern not only in the presence of nonnuclear family members but also in the absence of nuclear family members, especially Jewish fathers away on business journeys. In Flatow, West Prussia, prosperous men came home from business in East Prussia for the holidays (twice a year), the less well-to-do every two or three years, and the poor even less often. They sent their wives money for the upkeep of the household.[8] Men often missed important family events, both happy and tragic, and had little contact with their children. When Jacob Adam grew up and joined his father on his business journeys, his father did not recognize him. The traveling men cooked their own food, carried their dishes with them, and lived a nomadic life.[9]

Elsewhere Jews followed a less extreme ambulatory pattern. Jewish men near Trier were on the road from Sunday evening or Monday morning until Friday at noon, and returned home for the Sabbath. Those who traveled to one of the great trade fairs could be away for two weeks at a time. Joseph Raff's father in Bavarian Swabia returned home from business once every four

weeks.[10] Zacharias Hamburger of Schmiegel traveled to the markets once or twice a week but always came back for Sabbath and the holidays.[11] A police report in Munich in 1815, about a Jew from Fürth living in Munich separated from his family, said that this was not rare among Jews but was "one of the obstacles to civilizing them."[12] Some Polish Jews, who took teaching jobs in Germany, left their wives behind and did not see them for many years.[13]

Boys often left home, sometimes permanently, at an early age to study or work. In traditional communities talented boys left home at ages ranging from 8 to 16 to continue their Talmudic studies at a yeshivah.[14] Later, when secular education took the place of yeshivah study, families in small towns without institutions of secondary education often sent their sons to larger cities to attend a Gymnasium (a university preparatory high school), generally at ages nine to 12.[15] Often the boys boarded with relatives or other Jewish families or with a cantor or Jewish teacher.[16]

Some families also sent girls away at an early age, not for formal study but to learn housekeeping skills. Itzig Behrend sent his seven-year-old daughter to relatives in another town for several months and eight years later sent her to live with a different relative to learn dressmaking and cooking.[17] Hermann Seligsohn's sister was sent to Berlin between the ages of 12 and 14 to acquire more cultivation and social graces, just as her 15- or 16-year-old cousin was sent to Bromberg.[18]

In the nineteenth century, formal business or craft apprenticeships became common for Jewish boys. Most apprenticeships started at age 13 or 14 and lasted at least three years, followed in the crafts by three years as a journeyman. Journeymen, usually between 16 and 20 years of age, wandered through Germany working in their trade; this practice was especially common among German-Jewish young men between the 1820s and 1840s.[19] Even those boys who did not leave home at puberty often started their work life around the time of their Bar Mitzvah. After Hirsch Oppenheimer's Bar Mitzvah, his stepfather gave him a single Taler and told him to start a business with it. Isaak Thannhauser's relatives sent him to peddle at the same age. Aron Hirsch Heymann began to accompany his father on business trips and keep the company books at the age of 15—and Salomon Kaufmann entered his family's business as an apprentice at the age of 14.[20]

Delayed Marriage, Single Life, and Illegitimacy

Preemancipation population restrictions forced many Jews to delay marriage or not marry at all. The medieval Jewish pattern of marrying shortly after puberty, still attested to in wealthy families in the seventeenth century, disappeared completely in Germany by the late eighteenth century but lasted much longer in eastern Europe.[21] Except for a few very wealthy Jewish girls who married at 15 or 16,[22] marriage in the twenties or later became the rule. The stricter the local marriage restrictions, the longer Jewish marriages were delayed. In Berlin between 1759 and 1813, the median age of first marriages was 26 for men

and 22.5 for women. Those of higher status and greater wealth, facing fewer legal restrictions, married earlier than those of lower status.[23] In Nonnenweier, under somewhat restrictive Baden marriage laws, Jewish men in the early nineteenth century married on average at age 32.1 and women married at 26.6, compared to non-Jewish men at 27.9 and women at 24.3. Marriage was even later in Bavarian Franconia, where Jewish men were allowed to start a new family only if there was a "vacancy" on the list of Jewish families. Between 1813 and 1825, Jewish men there married at an average age of 34.9, and women married at 27.8; this rose as high as 41.6 for men and 31.6 for women between 1836 and 1845.[24] Marriage in eastern Germany was earlier than in the west and south but considerably later than in eastern Europe (grooms at a median 26 years old and brides at 22 to 24).[25] Restrictive legislation also elevated the percentage who never married. In 1812 over one quarter of Jews above 40 years old in Berlin and 23 percent of those over 50 were unmarried. Most unmarried older men had migrated to Berlin as adults and worked as commercial employees or tutors. Most unmarried Jewish women over 40 were maids in Jewish households.[26]

Despite late marriage and frequent spinsterhood, unmarried Jewish women had illegitimacy rates far below those of the general population.[27] Out-of-wedlock births increased greatly among German Christians in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, especially in Bavaria,[28] but remained extremely low among Jews. In a Jewish sample of 946 births in Bavarian Franconia, only 35 children were born out-of-wedlock (3.7 percent). In Nonnenweier only 14.3 percent of Jewish brides but 52.5 percent of Christian ones, marrying between 1800 and 1849, had their first child within nine months of the wedding.[29] Illegitimate children fathered by Jewish men with Christian women and extramarital relationships that did not produce a child are harder to trace. Since such cases are rarely mentioned in accusations against Jews,[30] one can assume they were not common.

Berlin Jews between 1780 and 1815 were the exception to this pattern of repressed premarital Jewish sexuality. Their illegitimacy rate of about 20 percent was similar to that of Christians. Until about 1805, most of these out-of-wedlock offspring were born to mixed-religion couples.[31] But the situation in Berlin was highly unusual because it was a boomtown with a large garrison and because, as the first community to break with tradition, Berlin Jews, lacking a model to replace it, experimented with many new behavior patterns.[32]

Arrangement and Inclination in Forming Matches

The relatively low rate of extramarital pregnancy points to successful efforts to keep unmarried young Jews closely supervised, though there is little evidence in Germany for the complete separation of the sexes said to have been common in eastern Europe.[33] Unmarried boys and girls could get together to flirt and have some fairly innocent, physical contact, but communal gossip circumscribed such relations. When Jacob Adam was 17, rumors that he was engaged

in a “romance” with a girl his age upset his mother and grandmother. His grandfather took a less serious view of the incident: “You probably pinched the cheek of Reb Tewle’s daughter, an old woman saw it and from that arose all this ridiculous talk.”[34] Heinrich Graetz’s diaries also discuss adolescent infatuations with local girls, none of which seem to have gone beyond the talking stage.[35] Even in a relatively sophisticated Frankfurt suburb in 1859, it was considered shocking when young men invited some young ladies to their clubroom for an hour or two in the evening. They were, however, allowed to get together under the eyes of the adults at dances and other social events.[36]

Descriptions of how couples met range from arranged matches in which the couple first met under the marriage canopy[37] to “love matches” behind the back of parents. Jews were much more likely than were Christians to marry spouses outside their hometowns. Jewish men in villages near Trier often entered into matches with Jewish girls from far-off villages who worked as maids in the area. In Moisling near Lübeck, on the other hand, Jewish girls only rarely married out of town.[38] The vast majority of marriages were arranged between families with dowries and other financial arrangements, but this did not exclude personal affection, since the future spouses had often met before the “arrangement” was made. The combination of “romance” and calculation, attested for the Kaiserreich period,[39] already appears in many early nineteenth-century stories of match formation.[40]

Aron Hirch Heymann’s father declared his children would not marry without his approval, but Aron refused all his father’s suggestions. Nevertheless Aron eventually married in a fairly conventional way. A stranger, overhearing that Heymann’s family was religious, sent a letter suggesting a match for Aron with the daughter of Mauroh Leipziger of Breslau. Aron Heymann ignored the letter, but after Leipziger himself wrote, Heymann agreed to come to Breslau for Passover 1828, accompanied by his brother, to meet the young woman. So far the story sounds very traditional. The author’s tone becomes much more romantic after describing his meeting with his future wife: “You can imagine what an impression such a picture of feminine beauty and virtue had on our so strictly brought up AH Heymann.” He could not sleep that night. Later he writes of her “rosy cheeks, heavenly blue eyes, small mouth with cherry red lips,” and courteous manners. Her father provisionally approved the match after hearing his daughter was “not unwilling.”[41] Heymann and his father paid a second visit. While the two fathers went for a walk and left the couple alone, Aron made his proposal, quoting from Goethe’s *Hermann und Dorothea*. Although as a “chaste young girl” she did not agree right away, she also did not refuse. She gently squeezed his hand and in a few minutes they were pouring out their hearts to each other “like two old friends.” Their feelings and ideas harmonized so much that they were clearly “completely made for each other.” When Hannchen introduced him to a friend as her fiancé, Heymann gave both her and the friend a kiss. The following day, the engagement was celebrated and a contract drawn up before a notary.[42]

In the case of Heymann’s sister, the order of events was reversed. The choice of a bride was purely spontaneous and the negotiations afterward con-

ventional. Around 1830, a 45-year-old man passed by the window of a house in Berlin where he saw a 19-year-old young woman sitting and was so "blinded by her beauty" that he "bid everything to come into possession of her." Her father accepted the proposal from the wealthy man, even though he was not religious, after he agreed to keep a kosher home.[43]

In more conventional courtships, prospective grooms sought out possible matches and visited families for a *Brautschau* (viewing of the bride). If they liked the woman, they might get engaged within a week. Aron Ehrlich of Bibra stopped in the village of Poppenlauer to see Karoline Romberg, whom he had heard praised, but she was out of town. While traveling and meeting several other prospective brides, he met Karoline by chance, and her "modesty and goodness" pleased him. He asked her parents through a third party if he could marry her, but they wanted to meet him first, so he traveled back to Poppenlauer. After making inquiries among some Christians about Karoline, he decided he would marry only her. Nine days after his second visit to Poppenlauer, they celebrated the engagement in the presence of Ehrlich's father and sister.[44] Hermann Makower's father made inquiries about his future bride's family and then came unannounced to speak to her father. While he was talking to her father, her mother made inquiries about the stranger and then quickly baked cakes for the engagement celebration, which took place immediately.[45]

Although relatives, friends, or business contacts usually made matches, some families used a professional matchmaker, who received a portion of the dowry. Some individuals arranged marriages as a religious duty and even helped to provide trousseaus for prospective brides. Some young people met at communal holiday celebrations like Purim and Simchat Torah balls rather than through formal matchmaking. Several traditional families, both in Posen and Bavaria, still looked for a Torah scholar as a son-in-law and offered to support the young couple with several years of free room and board (*kest*).[46]

Marriages of convenience predominated over marriages for love. On occasion a match was made despite the fact that one of the parties was in love with someone else.[47] Sometimes the bride or groom reluctantly accepted a match after considerable persuasion. When Hermann Bradt of Rogasen came to meet his prospective bride, Zerline Zippert, the two were left alone together in an upstairs room, while the engagement refreshments were prepared downstairs. A relative, sent upstairs to see how they were getting along, found them sitting apart without exchanging a word. The "bride" said, "I won't marry that man." When the cousin reported this to those assembled below, other relatives went upstairs to convince her. The couple soon came downstairs to the cries of "*mazal tov*" (congratulations) of the assembled guests, and all happily celebrated the engagement. "How tenderly the couple was in love that very evening" wrote her relative. The match, begun so inauspiciously, reportedly resulted in a happy marriage.[48]

Despite the frequency of arranged marriages, there are numerous descriptions of marriages that began as "love matches." Jacob Epstein claimed he fell in love with his future wife when he was twelve and she was six. Marie Maas wrote about her father's "burning love," which awakened her mother's "incli-

nation." Martin Loevinson, who fell in love with the daughter of the caretaker of the Jewish cemetery, found countless excuses to visit the cemetery to see her, despite her mother's misgivings about the relationship. When Isaac Kuhn's parents opposed his match with the woman he loved because her family was not as wealthy as his, Isaac placed a ring on her finger and recited the Hebrew declaration of marriage as they walked in the forest. Hermann Seligsohn describes the marriage of his sister Bertha to Moritz Jacobsohn as unusual because "it was no marriage of convenience as marriages were usually made among us, but rather a connection of two human beings in love with each other." In some cases one party to the marriage was "madly in love" with the other, while the other remained indifferent.[49]

Relationships During Engagement and Within Marriage

Engagements were often lengthy, since it was often difficult for the groom to get a residence permit or find a way to make a living. Engagement contracts in eighteenth-century Harburg, Bavaria, not only provided for trousseaus and dowries but also stipulated monetary compensation to the bride if the groom was unable to procure a residence permit. The wait for government permission forced Jacob Epstein's grandparents to wait seven years and a couple in Harburg to wait from 1837 until 1843 before they got married. The engagement of Heinrich Graetz and his fiancée lasted from 1845 until 1850, when he finally found a teaching position sufficient to support a family.[50]

Engaged Jewish couples living at a distance frequently pursued a regular correspondence during their long engagements and often saved these "bridal letters" for posterity. The correspondence of some couples reveals intense feelings and detailed descriptions of events in their lives, while other correspondence was dry and routine. There were conventions about how couples were to write each other and even manuals with sample letters, but some couples clearly went beyond such conventions.[51]

During their engagements, couples visited each other's families, especially for the Jewish holidays, and sometimes stayed for weeks.[52] During visits, parents continued to oversee physical contact between the pair, though in a somewhat relaxed form. Although he was allowed to be alone with his fiancée in her room, Aron Hirsch Heymann had to leave at 10 P.M.[53] Engaged couples were expected to refrain from sexual relations during their long engagements but often found it difficult to refrain from all physical intimacy. Heinrich Graetz's diaries are more explicit about this than most other sources. Graetz writes that his fiancée combined "the hot love of an Oriental with the naivete of a child and the chastity of a vestal virgin." He writes of her kisses, of holding hands, and of remaining in an embrace until 11:45 at night. Somewhat vaguely he speaks of "violating the prohibition which M's innocent purity and I myself placed upon myself" and more explicitly (though in French) of her "placing his hand on her pure and virginal breast."[54]

Memoirs describe a spectrum of relationships between spouses, ranging

from couples deeply in love who never quarreled through generally good marriages clouded by occasional disputes and arguments and all the way to dreadfully unhappy marriages that ended in divorce. Bernhard Hirschel wrote about his mother: "my good father fell deeply in love with her." Except for small arguments, they got along as "tender spouses." Hirschel described his embarrassment as a student eating at the home of a young couple "who kissed and embraced unembarrassed by my presence."[55]

Sometimes the strong emotional attachment manifested itself most clearly when a spouse died. Ascher Lehmann's mother could not bear a single Sabbath alone without her husband after 45 years of marriage. On the Friday after his death, she baked the Sabbath bread for the family, took ill, and died before the Sabbath began.[56] After Isaac Bernstein's first wife died of cholera in his arms, he wrote: "A thick darkness clouded my soul. My lucky star stopped shining. I changed from the happiest to the unhappiest."[57]

Despite the deferential tone wives generally exhibited toward husbands, many German-Jewish wives were outspoken in their opinions without this harming their marriages. Many memoirs describe a good relationship between spouses marked by frequent or occasional disagreements.[58] Markus Wiener and his wife in Lissa "were always in disagreement although they were the most tender husband and wife." Their controversies were "without vehemence" and were always settled in a "pleasant manner."[59] Causes of family quarrels varied from spending habits to different standards of neatness.[60] Sometimes quarreling became so extreme that the marriage could not survive. When the daughter of Jacob Adam's employer began to show signs of adulterous behavior, daily quarrels and even physical violence ensued. Eventually she left her husband and moved back to her parents' home.[61]

Numerous observers commented on German-Jewish wives' moral superiority to their husbands. They described husbands as crude, having violent tempers, or roughly mistreating their wives and their wives as far superior in cultivation, knowledge, and manners (and sometimes also in business sense).[62] Despite their prerogative of speaking up for themselves, women were supposed to defer to the wishes and needs of their husbands and children. Women were commended for such traditional female virtues as willingness to sacrifice their own comfort for the sake of their husbands and children. Aron Heymann praised his wife for reducing her own expectations and seeing her purpose in life as service to humanity.[63] When Samuel Ehrenberg asked his wife if she was willing to move to Wolfenbüttel, she said: "Wherever you want to go, even to a lonely village, I will feel happy in your company."[64]

Ideas regarding women's subservience were found in modern as well as traditional circles. When Dr. Marcus Mosse's wife left him in 1844, he would allow her return on condition that she give way to his wishes and follow his directives strictly. Mosse set rules on how to run the household. He stipulated the time for the servants and the children to rise in the morning, when to do the wash, when his wife was to go to the market, when the children were be bathed, and how often the kitchen had to be cleaned. The menu for the week was to "be planned every Thursday evening by me, acting in consultation with

my wife; however, my will shall prevail." His wife could not go visiting in his absence, had to attend the synagogue regularly, and had to take the children for a walk at least monthly. Ulrike Mosse accepted these very detailed rules and remained married to Marcus till his death in 1865. We have no reports on what she thought of her situation.[65]

Parent-Child Relations

All over Germany, statistics show lower infant mortality among Jews than among Christians,[66] but we have little information about what Jewish parents did differently. Certainly mortality rates for all children were appalling in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Parents with large families and much work to do often were unable to supervise their children adequately. Jewish memoirs report a number of cases of young children playing in dangerous situations in the street, on building sites, or near open cesspools who were killed or narrowly escaped death.[67] Jewish women before the mid–nineteenth century nursed their babies whenever physically possible and sometimes took their nursing children along on trips or continued nursing even when they were ill or advised not to nurse for other reasons.[68] Where nursing proved impossible or the mother died, children were generally assigned to a non-Jewish wet nurse, though often with great reluctance.[69] In at least one case a relative nursed her sister's child along with her own.[70]

A historical theory, popular in the 1970s, claimed that high mortality rates caused premodern parents to have little emotional attachment to their children. The evidence from German-Jewish families, like many recent studies of bourgeois Christian families, does not confirm such theories.[71] Memoirs, especially in the early nineteenth century, often mention freely flowing tears. Family members embraced and cried on parting and reunions. When Jacob Adam left for yeshivah in Berlin around 1803, his grandparents "couldn't say a word because of their crying."[72] When Bernhard Hirschel left Dresden for the University of Leipzig at the age of 19, his mother repeatedly pressed him to her breast and cried bitterly. The coachman asked with a smile "if he was traveling to America," an indication that such emotional displays seemed exaggerated to some non-Jewish Germans.[73]

The many reports of children's deaths in German-Jewish memoirs unanimously contradict theories of limited emotional attachment. Instead, parents displayed extreme emotions and were "almost inconsolable." Jacob Adam's grandfather died seven days after his youngest daughter's death, and Aron Hirsch Heymann's father took to his bed with tuberculosis within a month after the death of a daughter in childbirth.[74] Long after the death of his "dearly beloved three little sons," Hermann Ehrlich reported lying awake at midnight, sighing over their deaths and praying to God to keep his other seven children alive and well.[75] Similarly strong emotions were expressed upon the death of parents or stepparents. Young Bernhard Hirschel and his brother sobbed out loud when they heard of their father's death. Hirschel's pain at the funeral was

"without bounds," and he had to remain in bed for days.[76] On the other hand, Joseph Raff complained that his father did not believe in showing his love to his children, that his parents did not care sufficiently for his health,[77] and that they unfairly compared him to an older brother whose behavior had caused them pain.[78] Although couching his descriptions in humor, Aron Hirsch Heymann described a very tense relationship with his gruff father, exacerbated by the cultural gap between an old-fashioned father and his more modern son.[79]

Even warm and loving parents frequently used corporal punishment. One father is said to have believed that no matter how well his children behaved, they should be beaten to stay good.[80] Memoirs tell of slaps in the face, spankings, and canings by fathers, in some cases to reinforce previous punishments by teachers.[81] Joseph Raff, whose father traveled frequently, described his mother's unsuccessful attempts to inflict corporal punishment on him.[82] Some parents reportedly cursed at their children. Other memoirists expressed their resentment of the corporal punishment of their youth.[83] The middle-class Loevinson children in Berlin, though reporting no physical punishment, later debated whether their parents had been correct in raising them to obey blindly. The defense by one son of fathers' unlimited authority left another brother incredulous.[84]

When their husbands died, widows were often forced to move back to their parents' homes, send their children to live with relatives, and occasionally even send them to orphanages.[85] The death of a mother made child care an acute issue, customarily requiring a female relative, often the sister of the deceased, to come to care for them. Widowers often remarried within a year or so, sometimes to the interim caretaker. Memoirs generally describe such stepmothers in very positive terms.[86]

Many German-Jewish children describe close relationships with grandparents, who often lived in their town and helped care for them. Grandchildren visited them, especially on the Sabbath to receive their blessings, and generally treated them with affection and respect. When grandparents did not live in town, the family might pay an extended visit. Some grandparents moved into the family household in their old age.[87]

Relations between siblings, especially brothers, often continued after marriage. There are several descriptions of brothers who were business partners or bought houses together and lived in a virtual "family compound." Brothers shared the same or adjoining houses, not only in poor rural communities where they might not have found other space but even after gathering considerable wealth. Less frequently, a sister and brother-in-law also joined together in such business and residential relationships.[88]

Conclusion

German Jewish families underwent great change in the nineteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, there was still much overcrowding, many absent fathers, and many household members not part of the nuclear family to be

found. With increasing urbanization, improving economic conditions, and the slow diminution of itinerant occupations, German-Jewish families increasingly adopted the traits and values of bourgeois German families. Outside observers throughout the nineteenth century (even those otherwise unsympathetic to Jews) often praised Jews for a low rate of out-of-wedlock births and alcoholism. Nuclear family patterns became predominant, and more formal ideas of etiquette and propriety partially replaced earlier Jewish patterns of greater emotional display. Family size, household makeup, and patterns of absence on business also changed substantially in many nineteenth-century German-Jewish families.

9

Education

Between 1780 and 1850 a revolution took place in the educational profile of German Jewry. In place of traditional schools, increasing numbers of Jewish children attended government schools or entered a new kind of Jewish school that taught secular subjects in the German language. New institutions did not displace the old system overnight. During most of the early nineteenth century, private tutors, old-fashioned *hadarim* (one-room traditional schools), new-style Jewish schools, and general "Christian" schools competed for Jewish pupils.

In 1780 the vast majority of Jews in Germany could not read or write German script.[1] Until about age 13, most boys studied only Jewish texts, which they read in Hebrew and Aramaic and translated into the vernacular Western Yiddish. A small number continued to study during their teenage years at a more advanced yeshivah. Traditional education took place either in private schools, usually at the home of the teacher (*hadarim* in Hebrew, pejoratively referred to as *Winkelschulen* [petty schools] in government documents) or through private tutors. Girls, though not totally excluded from elementary education, were generally taught texts (never Talmud) in Yiddish adaptations rather than in the Hebrew original and often attended school for fewer years than boys.[2]

Despite its limitations, the level of education of most Jews at the beginning of the nineteenth century compared favorably with that of much of the German population, especially in rural areas. Literacy rates of men and women, urban and rural Jews differed sharply. Eighty-five percent of Jewish men, but only 14 percent of women, in the area around Trier in 1808 could sign in some manner. In the city of Trier 63 percent of the men signed in German and 29 percent in Hebrew letters, while in the villages only 29 percent of the men signed in German and 54 percent in Hebrew. Women signed mainly in

Hebrew script. Some urban areas of the French-occupied Rhineland had considerably higher rates of Jewish literacy, with 86 to 99 percent of men and 45 to 55 percent of women able to sign their names. Only an estimated 25 percent of the general western European population could sign their names.[3] Literacy rates of Jews in all parts of Germany during the nineteenth century increased greatly. By 1871 in the province of Posen, Jews who were 3.9 percent of the population were only 2.5 percent of the illiterates. Among illiterate Jews the percentage of women was much higher than among illiterate Christians.[4]

The Traditional Jewish Educational System

Many memoirs give negative descriptions of the traditional system of education. Most of the *heder* teachers in Strausberg where Aron Hirsch Heymann studied were "Polish *melamdim*" (Hebrew for "teacher"), who taught their pupils to translate the sacred texts into a "horrible Judeo-German." Since the *rebbe* (teacher) also served as the town ritual slaughterer, class was often interrupted when a congregant called him to slaughter an ox or remove the veins from a piece of meat. In 1858 the Jewish teacher of Kirchberg in the Hunsrück mountains defended combining teaching and slaughtering duties:

> Ritual slaughter is a religious function just like leading prayers . . . Butchers cannot set a specific time for their slaughtering. Besides, this happens only rarely during school hours, and if it really is necessary, then I never go right away, but rather wait until 9:30 at which time the children have a twenty minute break anyway.[5]

Memoirists and petitioners often described teachers as cruel or incompetent. In 1787 Jewish petitioners in Stralsund asked for the dismissal of Falck Peretz, accused of knocking one pupil unconscious and breaking the arm of another.[6]

Classes met in the teacher's home or in makeshift quarters. In Samotschin, 30 to 40 boys and girls sat around a table on long benches in a room with two tiny windows and a dirt floor.[7] In a school in Posen in 1846, only one-third of the 32 students could fit at the table in their tiny classroom, which also contained two beds. The others stood or sat on the floor. The room lacked a blackboard and maps, and only three children had notebooks. The children shared a few ragged copies of a German reader.[8]

Some folkloristic details in descriptions of nineteenth-century Germany *hadarim* resemble later descriptions of traditional east European schools. The *Behelfer* (teacher's aide) would pick the children up at home, dress them, prepare their food, say morning prayers with them, and then take them to school, in bad weather carrying them on his back. The *rebbe* in one *heder* would drop raisins and almonds on the book of a child who had learned his lessons well, and say: "The angel Pampe gave you this for your good knowledge."[9]

Yeshivas for advanced male students over the age of 13 taught Talmud almost exclusively. Such schools were found in cities like Fürth, Prague, and Frankfurt, in smaller southwest German Jewish communities like Hechingen

and Mühringen, and in communities in the province of Posen.[10] Some communities had special stipend funds for yeshivah students and also gave them tickets for free meals with different householders each day of the week. Many yeshivot closed in the early decades of the nineteenth century, both because of a gradual decline in numbers of students and because German governments often opposed their existence as an unenlightened form of education that stood in the way of Jewish integration. The most famous case was that of the great yeshivah of Fürth, which Bavarian authorities closed in 1830. In 1824, it had still had 88 teenage students.[11]

The Samson Freischule, founded in Wolfenbüttel in 1786, with its own dormitory, for boys age ten to fifteen, was a privately funded traditional school. Before its modernization in 1806, students studied mainly Talmud and its commentaries. Some boys arose at 4 A.M. and others at 6 to study Talmud. They recited psalms for half an hour before morning services and, after breakfast, studied for three or four hours, then had lunch, and studied again from 2 to 6 P.M. Every Thursday the older boys stayed up to study Talmud until midnight. Other Jewish subjects were studied only on Friday morning and on Saturday after services. The few secular subjects included four to five hours a week of German writing and arithmetic, a few hours of Hebrew writing, and, for a while, French.[12]

Tutors and Self-Education

Wealthy families and families far away from Jewish communities often hired private tutors. Many Jewish boys and girls before 1830 received only private instruction, but in later periods private lessons mainly supplemented regular schooling and sometimes helped prepare boys for entrance into secondary schools. The most common subjects taught by tutors were languages (especially French and English), music, dancing, and the arts.[13]

Before 1830 many Jews, from both poor and wealthy families, acquired German high culture entirely through private reading and study.[14] Jacob Epstein's father, born 1809, learned reading and writing from his self-taught older brother. Without formal study of arithmetic, he was able to master how to keep his ledgers and figure out bank interest. He and his siblings memorized long passages of Schiller and Goethe.[15] At an early age, the self-taught later head of the Oriental Division of the British Museum, Joseph Zedner, wrote a birthday poem in seven languages for his father.[16] Jewish young men who had completed their formal schooling continued on with private study. Itzig Hamburger's neighbor in Schmiegel, Posen, woke him up every morning by tugging on a string tied around his arm, so they could study together.[17] Aron Hirsch Heymann read library books in French and German, taught himself to read the Torah, and studied Hebrew grammar with the help of Gesenius's dictionary, often staying up until 2 A.M. His younger sister brought him hot tea and cream despite his father's anger at the waste of firewood.[18] We do not have similar reports of girls studying on their own.

Unlike Heymann's father, many Jewish parents actively aided their children's self-education. When Jacob Epstein was four years old, his father explained to him the meaning of the date 1842 inscribed on a house. Jacob's parents also gave him private piano lessons and French lessons, during which he admits that he and the other six to eight boys and girls engaged in many pranks and learned little French.[19] Bernhard Hirschel's mother gave him an Italian grammar book as a birthday present so that he, his brother, and some acquaintances could study Italian together on their own.[20]

Though most parents encouraged their sons to get more education,[21] some actively opposed their children's plans. Josef Raff's father said, "I will not let a son of mine study any more; he should learn a craft." Sussmann Frohmann's father who tried to thwart his son's attempt to get further education on several occasions told him every time he saw him at his teacher's house: "You cannot live from that . . . you must help in the business."[22]

Although girls were not admitted to most institutes of secondary or higher education before 1870, their educational opportunities improved considerably. In the preemancipation era most *hadarim* were for boys exclusively, though some girls studied together with them or learned to read and write Yiddish in a girls' *heder*. Tutors frequently taught girls as well as boys. The literacy rate of women was much lower than that of men around 1800, but many women were literate, generally in the Hebrew alphabet. Some wealthy Jewish girls in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century received education "suitable for girls," including art, some French, and piano.[23] More modest families often sent their daughters to relatives or other Jewish households to learn household skills.[24] Most of the new Jewish elementary schools were coeducational. Boys and girls studied together in some Jewish elementary or religious schools and in separate classes in others. Some memoirists specifically remarked that boys and girls studied together when they were young, not in separate classes, which were the rule after 1870.[25] Certain Jewish secondary schools, like the Frankfurt Philanthropin, also admitted girls.[26] By the middle of the nineteenth century, many Jewish women were not only literate in German but had considerable cultural interests. Quite a few memoirs credit mothers with more influence over their children's education than fathers. Some remark on the great pedagogic skill of their mothers or aunts.[27]

New Educational Institutions

Although Jewish Enlighteners created a new type of school even earlier, the main force that changed the nature of Jewish education in Germany was compulsory schooling. The date of introduction of the requirement for Jews ranged widely from 1816 to 1870.[28] Some states required Jews to send their children to Christian schools, but others allowed them to open their own Jewish secular schools. Attempts by old-style teachers or tradition-minded parents to resist the new schools met with very little success.[29]

Governments frequently closed traditional *hadarim* by force. In 1825 the

government required the 19 male Jewish schoolmasters and 6 female school directors in the city of Posen to take a state examination and ordered the closure of the 19 schools whose directors did not take the test. The following year the government allowed six *heder* teachers to keep their schools open while they pursued additional education. The police moved against the remaining *hadarim* and even considered sealing the doors of the forbidden private schools and fining landlords who rented rooms to them. In 1829–30, when five government-approved Jewish elementary schools were opened, teachers of the older form of school were given three months to close down.[30]

Some communities vacillated between a full elementary school teaching both secular and Jewish subjects and a religious supplemental school. Most of the 33 Jewish elementary schools in the province of Posen whose opening date is known opened between 1831 and 1837. By 1848 there were over nine thousand children in Jewish elementary schools in the province (over two-thirds of Jewish children of elementary school age).[31] In other parts of Germany some communities opened elementary schools as early as the 1820s, while others began with a supplemental school and only transformed it into a full day school in the 1850s.[32]

Some rural Jewish elementary schools were extremely small and declined even further due to the migration of Jews to German cities or to America. Only 12 students were enrolled in Nienburg in 1847 and about 15 in Wunstorf in the 1860s. In 1853 the 18 boys and 15 girls of the Jewish school of Schenklengsfeld met for 30 hours a week in a single schoolroom. Although divided into three grades, the school had only one teacher, who lived with his family in the school building. When enrollment at the Harburg Jewish school hovered around 40, it shared a building with the communal poorhouse. As attendance declined, the teacher was allowed to move into the building. By 1861 total enrollment fell to seven.[33] Urban schools were often more elaborate. The 31 students in the elementary school and 46 others in the religious school of Stolp were divided into three classes with three teachers in separate rooms. In Aurich an enrollment of 53 students in 1843 increased to 73 by 1865. School originally met in the synagogue but later the community procured two rooms in a neighboring building.[34]

Jewish elementary schools in the province of Posen were especially well developed. In Fordon three teachers taught up to three hundred students in a two-story school building, which held three classrooms as well as residences for the teachers. When enrollment dropped to 147 in the 1850s, the third class was abolished. The Jewish school in Krotoschin had an enrollment of 411 in 1827, which slowly sank to 157 in 1879. In Lissa there were six teachers and an enrollment of 450 in 1848. In the Jewish school of Ostrowo there were two classes, one consisting of 42 students and the other 94. In Schneidemühl the 312 students of the Jewish elementary school shared the same building as the Catholic and Protestant schools.[35]

The double task of inculcating general and Jewish knowledge within a limited time period curtailed traditional Jewish learning. Government regulations in the kingdom of Hanover set forth 33 hours of weekly instruction for

Jewish schools, of which 11 were for religious instruction. In 1854 the curriculum in Aurich crammed these 11 hours with Hebrew reading, Jewish writing (presumably German in Hebrew script), translation and explanation of Hebrew proverbs, prayers and the Bible, Hebrew grammar, and, "where possible," rabbinic literature and singing. In the other 22 hours students studied reading and writing German, arithmetic, geography, history, science, and exercises in thinking and speaking. Classes in the Jewish school in Braunschweig met from 8 A.M. to 1 P.M. and from 4 to 7 P.M.[36]

Besides communal Jewish schools, there were several large privately run Jewish primary and secondary schools with their own buildings, considerable staffs, well-developed curricula, and, sometimes, dormitory facilities. Such institutions as the Israelitische Freischule in Hamburg (founded 1815), the Samsonschule in Wolfenbüttel (modernized in 1806–7), the Jacobsonschule in Seesen (1801), and the Philanthropin in Frankfurt (1804) helped spread Liberal religious ideas among the Jews of Germany. Enrollment at the Hamburg Freischule reached seven hundred by the 1870s. By the 1850s some of the Liberal schools admitted Christian students.[37] The Hamburg Talmud Tora Schule and the Frankfurt Hirsch Realschule, two well-developed urban Orthodox schools, competed with the Liberal schools.

Many Jewish children in early nineteenth-century Germany attended elementary schools not under Jewish auspices. Like Jewish schools, general schools get mixed reviews from students who attended them. Aron Hirsch Heymann describes the public school in Strausberg around 1815 as "on an even lower level than Reb Akive's *heder*." The teacher, dressed in eighteenth-century dress complete with three-cornered hat, addressed the one hundred pupils in local dialect, and had no control over the class. He asked his charges to answer *Jaa* or *Neeh* to very simple questions like "Is Warsaw in Prussia?" or "Is the world round?" The best student answered, and all the others chimed in. During planting and harvesting seasons, school was closed because both pupils and teacher engaged in agricultural work. When the school was reorganized and the teacher retired, he remarked in thickest dialect: "This is nothing for me any more, I can't keep up with these people."[38]

A generation later Jacob Epstein considered the Bockenheim elementary school "paradise." The school, which was oriented to practical subjects such as science and technology, had three classrooms on each of two floors of a former Huguenot church, and later added several more on the third floor. There were six teachers (at least one Jewish) and a principal for the four hundred boys and girls, about 50 of whom were Jewish. Classes, of approximately 60 students each, met from 8 until 11 A.M. or noon and from 2 to 4 or 5 P.M., with Wednesday and Saturday afternoons free. The school arranged that Jewish children, excused from school on Saturday, would not miss anything important.[39]

Some general schools discriminated against Jewish teachers or pupils. In Trier most Christian parents took their children out of school when Jews began to attend around 1800. The teacher answered a Jewish citizen's complaint that he had excluded the Jewish children by saying that he depended on tuition and would rather teach 64 non-Jewish children than 16 Jews. As late as

the 1820s, Pastor Philippi, the official school inspector of Trier, opposed the common schooling of Jewish and Christian children.[40] The local church in Gaukönigshofen subsidized the tuition of Christian pupils who paid only 7 Kreutzer in tuition, while Jews paid 1 Gulden and 36 Kreutzer. Jewish boys in the *Progymnasium* of Inowrazlaw had to pay 2 Talers more tuition than Christian students.[41] Jewish teachers also found it difficult to get positions in schools under non-Jewish auspices.[42]

Some towns with a large Jewish population, especially in the province of Posen, organized the public school as a *Simultanschule* (nondenominational school) and gave consideration to the Jewish minority. One motivation for accommodating Posen Jews was the hope of attracting Jews to the German side in the national-cultural conflict with the Poles. In Fordon, the one-class *Simultanschule*, set up as early as 1814, later expanded to three classes. In Pleschen, where the six-class *Simultanschule* had 138 Jewish students in 1830, the Catholics (mostly Poles) withdrew in 1852 to create their own school. The *Simultanschule* then changed names several times, from Evangelisch-Jüdische Schule (Protestant-Jewish school) to Evangelische Schule (Protestant school) to Deutsche Schule (German school).[43] Unlike denominational Christian schools, *Simultanschulen* sometimes employed Jewish teachers. Nevertheless, some Jewish pedagogues regretted the creation of *Simultanschulen*, fearing they would lead to the abolition of Jewish schools and ensuing assimilation. The Jewish teacher in Kaiserslautern voted in favor of the *Simultanschule* with a heavy heart, calling the decision "good fortune for the Jews, but a misfortune for Judaism."[44]

Changes in the Teaching Profession

Before the 1830s Jewish teachers in northern Germany were almost all from Poland (a term that included the Posen district), but thereafter they were replaced by young German-born men.[45] Aron Hirsch Heymann wrote about the change in Strausberg near Berlin with hostility and glee: "the filthy Poles . . . disappeared . . . and the land was cleansed of them."[46] In south Germany, on the other hand, Polish Jewish teachers were the exception, and laws against "foreign teachers" were directed at teachers from neighboring southern states.[47]

Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century teachers were often treated like servants and were even hired at employment markets and fairs along with servants. Some teachers were ashamed to admit to their disdained profession.[48] Aron Hirsch Heymann described the lowly position of itinerant Polish teachers in his community who served as slaughterer, cantor, rabbi, synagogue caretaker, and gravedigger in return for the small salary of 8 Taler a semester, plus fees and tuition. Their wives usually remained behind in Poland, and one teacher saw his wife and children in Samter (Posen) only once in 12 years of service. His residence, which doubled as his classroom, consisted of a room with a single window, a bedstead covered with straw, a long table, a bench, and two wooden chairs.[49]

The abolition of the *hadarim* left many of the older teachers, unable to pass state examinations, without work. In Anklam, Pomerania, the Jewish teacher, who served from 1824 to 1826, passed the exam in Hebrew language, Jewish religion, and arithmetic but failed in history, science, natural history, and geography and received only a temporary license. Exceptions, which had allowed some teachers from the province of Posen to teach even though they had not passed their exams, were abolished in 1825.[50]

Aron Ehrlich (b. 1813) was a transitional type of teacher with both formal and informal secular training. After his Bar Mitzvah he apprenticed with a village Jewish elementary teacher, whose pedagogy, knowledge, and humanity he praised highly. After the teacher died, Ehrlich received a certificate of good progress from the local inspector of schools (a pastor). In 1832, he entered the ducal teachers' seminary in Hildburghausen, where he studied Christian religious subjects, including Bible and catechism, and such secular subjects as history, declamation, astronomy, penmanship, mathematics, botany and other sciences, art, music, including organ playing, horticulture, gymnastics, and pedagogy. After graduation and a week-long exam in 1836, he was appointed the teacher of the Jewish community of Bibra.[51]

Secularly trained teachers were treated only marginally better than the itinerant Polish teachers they replaced, often continuing to combine teaching duties with service as cantors and slaughterers of animals. They were paid a small annual salary, which could range as low as 30 to 50 Taler, supplemented by tuition fees and free residence, fuel and meals, forcing some to engage in other livelihoods on the side. Some communities hired only unmarried teachers.[52] Aron Ehrlich filled his memoir with bitter complaints against the Jewish community of Bibra. He petitioned the government and sued the community over his "miserable residence," the heating of the school building, and the requirement that he take his meals at the homes of various community members. After five years of struggle he was able to get a cash payment in lieu of the itinerant meals. He later acquired his own residence and brought his sister to town to keep house for him. But disputes continued. The community accused him of all sorts of failings, and even tried to abolish his school when the (Protestant) consistory granted him a raise. They accused Ehrlich of hitting a congregant during a fight in the synagogue and protested in 1843 when he asked permission to marry. In 1845 he transferred to another community where he received the relatively good salary of 175 Gulden plus additional fees. Finally, in 1853 he moved into a teacher's residence whose roominess, location, and comfort satisfied him.[53]

Advanced Education

As religious objections faded out and the economic rewards of a secular education became ever clearer, the initial resistance to compulsory secular schooling was overcome. The result was a rapid increase in the enrollment of Jewish children (mainly boys) pursuing an education beyond the elementary level. The

proportion of Jews in secondary schools and universities soon exceeded their percentage of the overall population, though one must remember that only a tiny part of the nineteenth-century German population pursued an education beyond the age of 14. Even when Jews rose to 6 percent of the total enrollment in high schools and universities, this still represented only a minority of the Jewish population. An estimated one out of every four Jewish elementary students in Prussia in the 1860s went on to secondary schooling, as compared to one in 20 Protestants and one in 38 Catholics.[54] The majority of mid–nineteenth-century German Jews never went beyond seven years of grade school, but such Jews rarely wrote memoirs.

Jewish enrollment in individual schools could be quite significant, especially where the Jewish population was large. There were 172 male Jewish students at the Posen *Realschule* in 1852–53, alongside 174 Protestants and 148 Catholics. The figures were even higher in schools for girls. In the Luisenschule in Posen, Jewish enrollment jumped from 27 (11 percent) in 1846 to 107 (49 percent) in 1850. The following year when 111 Jewish girls enrolled in the school, the government reintroduced an old 15 percent Jewish quota in the school that was not dropped until 1872.[55]

Jews participated actively in civic actions to expand secondary education. Though Jews were only a small part of the population of Nienburg, 4 of the 46 signers of a petition to upgrade the local *Progymnasium* to a full Gymnasium were Jews. Eight Jews, including leaders of the Jewish community, were among the 124 who petitioned for the founding of a secondary school for girls in 1864.[56]

The transition to higher levels of education was not always easy. Before Bernhard Hirschel could attend the Dresden *Kreuzschule* (Gymnasium) he needed tutoring in Latin and Greek. Once admitted, in 1825, as the first local Jew in the school, he felt acutely uncomfortable. He wrote: "The feel of the foreign Christian element, into which I was to enter, lay on me like a 100 pound weight." Whenever the word Jew was mentioned, all stared at him, and he was especially humiliated when students were asked to recite literary passages imitating Jewish dialect. He suffered from missing Saturday classes for seven years but also endured criticism from other Jews. The wealthy resented that Hirschel's father gave his son a higher education despite his limited means, and the Orthodox complained about his godlessness. As other Jewish students joined the student body, Hirschel gained confidence, integrated well socially and academically, and came to enjoy the school. However, when he attended the University of Leipzig in 1834, he was denied a scholarship, despite an attestation of poverty, because he was a Jew.[57] By the mid–nineteenth century, attendance at Gymnasium was no longer a rarity, and memoirists describing their experience there rarely mentioned that their Jewishness was an issue. Frequently they saw Gymnasium education as opening up wider horizons and providing liberating new social contacts and points of view.[58]

Universities were open to Jewish students before secondary schools, admitting Jewish men at least to the medical faculty even in the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, several hundred Jews attended various univer-

sities, sometimes without previous formal secondary schooling.[59] But the number of Jews at each individual university remained low. At the University of Munich, where the first Jewish student enrolled in 1826, there were 23 Jewish men in 1839. Very few of the Jewish students came from Munich itself (only 17 in all years up to 1861).[60]

From Yiddish to German

Thoroughgoing linguistic change came in the wake of the "educational revolution." In 1780 the vast majority of Jews in Germany spoke some form of Yiddish. Jewish dialects spoken in Germany varied considerably, from the dialect of Posen, resembling eastern European Yiddish, to the dialects of Hesse and Franconia, which were more similar to the speech of non-Jews than elsewhere, though certainly not identical. Because the vast majority of Jews in Germany were literate only in the Hebrew alphabet, Moses Mendelssohn had to publish his High German Bible translation (1778–83) in Hebrew letters, and even then many German Jews found its sophisticated High German difficult to understand.[61] While learned German Jews read rabbinic works in Hebrew, ordinary men and virtually all literate women read works in the Yiddish vernacular. These included books of moral exhortation (*musar*), legends and fables, Yiddish versions of popular German literature (like *Eulenspiegel* and *Schildburger Narren*), and, most popular of all, the women's Bible, *Tze'ena Ure'ena*. Yiddish works continued to be published in Germany for at least four decades after Mendelssohn's Bible translation.[62] After that, until about 1870, works (mostly of religious content) were published in High German in Hebrew script (often referred to as *jüdisch-deutsch*) and virtually nothing in actual Yiddish dialect. Family and business correspondence (including the correspondence of the Rothschild bank until the 1840s) and records of Jewish communities were often written in *jüdisch-deutsch*.[63] In 1825 some parents at the Hamburg Freischule asked that writing German in Hebrew letters be taught in the upper classes since its lack was "felt keenly by those who went to work in offices." The administration rejected the request. Unlike the Freischule, some Jewish schools continued to teach German in Hebrew letters until 1870 and beyond.[64]

Changing speaking habits was much more complicated than the shift in written language, requiring adjustments in pronunciation, grammar, sentence structure, intonation, and vocabulary. The process often took several generations to complete and varied in speed from region to region. Aron Hirsch Heymann depicted the Jews of Strausberg speaking almost exclusively in Jewish dialect in the first two decades of the nineteenth century and also found remnants of Yiddish in Orthodox circles in Berlin around 1830. Rabbi Jacob Joseph Oettinger delivered old-fashioned sermons in Yiddish in the main synagogue of Berlin to which "sophisticated" Jews came to laugh. Of the three rabbis in Berlin after 1845, Rabbi Michael Sachs (1808–60) spoke High German, Rabbi Oettinger spoke Yiddish, and Rabbi Chone Rosenstein aspired to High German but kept falling back into Yiddish. One wit remarked, "Dr. Michael Sachs

sagt [”says” in High German]; Reb Jeinkef Jossef sohgt [”says” in Yiddish]; bei Reb Chone is nischt gesagt und nischt gesohgt [Reb Chone says nothing in German or in Yiddish].”[65] Heymann Steinthal’s memoirs describe his generation, born in Anhalt (central Germany) in the 1820s, as a transitional group:

> We Jewish children had our own dialect. We did not speak like the Christian inhabitants of the town . . . in a Mitteldeutsch dialect. We spoke in a Jewish way, but not as much as our parents. . . . We didn’t say “du host” [you have] but rather “du hast,” not “geih” [go] but “geh.” We also spoke better than the Christian children; we said “ja” [yes], they said “jo,” our parents said “jau.”[66]

Jewish leaders often went to great lengths to eliminate Jewish linguistic habits. The preamble of an 1834 declaration by the Supreme Council (*Oberrat*) of Jews in Baden against “the so-called Jewish-German dialect” said: “One cannot fail to recognize that the gradual elimination of such peculiarities of the lower classes of the Israelite believers, especially in the countryside, as have no relationship to religious differences . . . is an urgent demand of the times.” It called upon

> all rabbis, district synagogues and synagogue councils to work against it in their areas of jurisdiction at every occasion. Schoolteachers are reminded most especially to work with all their powers during instruction that the use of these corrupted expressions remain foreign to the new generation both inside and outside school.[67]

Christian inspectors of Jewish school frequently remarked about the state of Jews’ speech. In Harburg the local pastor wrote about the teacher Benjamin Berliner (hired 1821): “It is unfortunate that he doesn’t speak German as purely and well as he reads and writes. He still has, although not in as obvious a way as most Jews, something of the usual Jewish dialect and tone in his speech.” In Sobernheim in 1840 a class inspector of the Jewish school reported: “They read passably in German, not indeed without the peculiar Jewish dialect and tone.” In 1850 the inspector of Schweich reported the Jewish children of the first two classes “read German pretty fluently. Only their pronunciation, and this applies to all the classes, could be purer.”[68] Comments on Jewish peculiarities of speech in the schools seem less common after 1850.

Beside dialect literature in Hebrew letters, a German-letter Jewish dialect literature came into existence in the nineteenth century. Some of this literature, such as Sessa’s infamous play *Unser Verkehr* and the works written under the pseudonym “Itzig Veitel Stern,” was written by antisemites. But Jews, too, used Jewish dialect or at least expressions of Hebrew origin in their literary works describing old-fashioned Jewish life.[69] Such nostalgic literature became popular among German-speaking Jews who were leaving the old milieu behind.

Parallel to the transformation in the linguistic habits of most German Jews came an ever-increasing interest in the products of German high culture. These cultural interests first appear at an early date and penetrated into many

Jewish families of all social levels both in the city and the countryside. As early as the 1770s, travelers to Berlin remarked that Jews occupied the best theater seats.[70] Many Jewish memoirs speak about reading belles-lettres aloud in the home, with each family member assigned a part.[71] Jacob Epstein's mother in Bockenheim sang Lieder and arias from Mozart operas, from Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* and Rossini's *Barber of Seville.* When Philipp Feist was in a good mood he would sing the aria "Keusche Göttin" (Casta Diva) from Bellini's *Norma* to his fiancée.[72] Middle-class families gave their children piano and dance lessons, and even rural families often adopted middle-class reading habits. In the various villages near Bamberg where she lived in the 1850s, Eduard Silbermann's mother read the German classics, Shakespeare, Walter Scott, and Balzac, as well as the *Frankfurter Zeitung.*[73] Not every German Jew was enamored of German culture. An old bachelor in Moisling bragged on his deathbed in 1873: "I can die in peace, since in all my life I never had a Latin letter[74] book in my hand."[75] Yet by 1870 only a very old-fashioned man could make such a statement.

Conclusion

Virtually every German Jew born in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century had received an elementary German education and could read and write German even if he or she sometimes still spoke it in a recognizably Jewish manner. Advanced Talmudic education now took place only at rabbinical seminaries and a few Posen study houses. Jews were already overrepresented among students in secondary schools and in the universities, even if the majority of Jews still did not have such an advanced education. The days in which the German Jews could be seen as a mainly illiterate backward group unable to communicate in German were over. A new stereotype—of the overeducated Jewish intellectual—would replace the old stereotype of the uneducated Jew in Imperial Germany.

10

Economic Life

Within the relatively underdeveloped preindustrial economy of Germany in the eighteenth century, the Jewish population pursued a very limited range of often marginal occupations. Subject to many legal restrictions, they rarely had a fixed place of business and often lived on the edge of subsistence. Although there were always some wealthy Jews, the vast majority were in difficult economic straits. Political emancipation and the Industrial Revolution, which followed, helped large numbers of Jews find new economic opportunities and improve their positions substantially. Although not all Jews benefited from the rapid changes, many were able to enter the German middle class.

Government Restrictions on Jewish Business

Before the mid–nineteenth century, most German Jews suffered from severe governmental interference in their economic life, part of a generally interventionist approach to business. Bureaucrats and theorists saw the state as the protector of existing economic interests against the dangers of competition, supporting the guilds against outsiders, "encouraging" manufacturing through subsidies and monopolies, and discouraging imports by restrictions and tariffs. They believed in the state's duty to intervene in the economy and protect the public from the greed of individual businesspeople. Some governments required permits before new enterprises could be opened, fearing that the economy could not sustain too many businesses.

Government attitudes toward Jewish business were even more restrictive, since most governments wished to protect the "native" (Christian) population from "outside" (Jewish) competition. Governments limited the occupations in

which Jews could engage, the products they could sell, and the types of business they could pursue. Convinced that Jews were inherently dishonest, officials kept close tabs on them and were quick to punish them for violating the numerous regulations.[1] Bureaucrats often rejected requests by Jews for permission to "establish themselves" in business.[2]

The economic interests of Jews and guilds (which historically excluded Jews from membership) often clashed. Christian shopkeepers wished to prevent Jews from opening stores or peddling, and craftsmen wanted to eliminate the competition of Jewish craftsmen and Jewish merchants selling products similar to what guild members produced. Governments generally sided with the guilds. In Braunschweig, at the behest of the tailors' guild, the government forbade Jewish old-clothes dealers from having new clothes made for their customers, restrictions that Jewish dealers sometimes found ways of evading.[3] Laws also restricted the right of Jewish merchants to have fixed places of business in a shop or warehouse, or to sell items by weight or length.[4] Some governments banned peddling outright, even though many non-Jewish customers supported Jewish peddling despite guild objections, because it lowered prices and brought products to areas not served by shopkeepers.[5]

Some early nineteenth-century governments began to realize that tight regulations hurt the economy and even helped some Jews evade guild regulations. When guilds tried to stop Faibel Siegel's substantial business putting out weaving work to home workers in the Rhön Mountains in the 1830s, Siegel registered pro forma as a weaver's apprentice. The master took care of making the journeyman's masterpiece, which Siegel was supposed to weave, and later Siegel was fictitiously listed as a journeyman but exempted from journeying by a sympathetic government official.[6]

Regional and Local Differences in the Occupational Spectrum

The most noticeable regional differences in Jewish occupations were between the formerly Polish provinces of West Prussia and Posen and the rest of Germany. In Posen and West Prussia, up to one-third of the Jewish population engaged in handicrafts, something virtually unheard of elsewhere. In 1797 in Südpreussen (an area of partitioned Poland mostly covering the later province of Posen) 923 of the 1,599 tailors were Jewish. So were 251 of the 731 furriers, 638 of the 1,245 bakers, 238 of the 289 butchers, and 51 of the 75 cap makers. In some towns, Jewish craftsmen outnumbered Jewish merchants.[7] The largest Jewish crafts, especially tailors, organized their own guilds.[8] Many Jews in the eastern provinces leased feudal milling and liquor monopolies or served as managers on large noble estates.

In western Germany noble monopolies did not exist, and craftsmen (with the exception of butchers) played a very small role among Jewish occupations. Jews in south German villages most commonly dealt in textiles and agricultural products, especially cattle and grain.[9] Cattle dealers might also be butchers, or sell animal hides, leather or horses, though not pigs. Jews who sold

cattle or cloth on credit sometimes took land as collateral, which led them into the real estate business, generally as brokers and lenders rather than as buyers and sellers.[10] In the cattle-raising region of Ostfriesland in northwest Germany, butchers, who often dealt in live cattle, were the largest Jewish occupational group and sometimes virtually monopolized the meat trade.[11] Elsewhere in northwest Germany the Jewish role in the meat or cattle business was small.

Jewish occupations in urban areas varied more widely. Cities like Munich, where only the Jewish elite could procure residency rights, had many bankers and court purveyors, while in Hamburg many Jews were street peddlers. In other towns, Jews concentrated in textiles, selling either old clothes or cloth by the yard. Though local differences began to decrease, there was still a noticeable difference in 1835 between elite Munich, with four Jewish petty traders, and nonelite Fürth, with 204.[12]

The Traveling Jewish Trader and the Ascent into Shopkeeping

Most Jews in preemancipation Germany engaged in itinerant petty trade, peddling, or selling at market stands, usually on credit. Non-Jews often pejoratively referred to such "typically Jewish" ambulatory trade as *Nothhandel* (distress trade) and *Schacherhandel* (huckstering), terms Jews often avoided. Although many Jews specialized in a particular product, others dealt with a whole range of products or even bought and sold anything available. In Braunschweig, 84 Jewish heads of household registered for 154 different business licenses.[13] Some Jewish petty traders were ashamed of the trading methods they had to follow. Jacob Adam and a companion came to the market in Bischofsburg with boxes of silk ribbons, which they rolled out on the ground. Adam stood silently by his wares, too embarrassed to say anything, while the other traders called out "Sixpence a yard." When he saw that sellers who yelled attracted customers, Adam too began to shout.[14]

Since only substantial traders could afford a wagon, most peddlers had to go long distances on foot carrying heavy burdens. In some areas Jewish peddlers had shortcuts through fields or forests that the gentiles called *Judenwege* or *Judenpfade* (Jews' paths).[15] Hermann Ehrlich's father carried a heavy pack of dry goods on his shoulders, walking as far as six to eight hours from home. Later, as his fortunes improved, he rented a storehouse, and even later a shop in a town two hours from home.[16] Most rural Jewish peddlers, and traders of cattle and grain, had their own exclusive territories (*medinas* or *Gäue*) outside their hometown, which they divided up so as not to compete against each other.[17] Traders from Harburg, Bavaria, sold mainly in areas within 15 to 20 kilometers of the town, but some traveled as far as 80 kilometers. Jewish traders from nearby towns had different "territories" from the Jews of Harburg.[18]

Peddling was also common in cities. Lawmakers in Hamburg complained that Jewish peddlers blocked traffic, made too much noise calling out their

wares, and forced purchasers to accept inferior merchandise. A written appeal by the Hamburg Jewish community in 1827 denounced Jewish

> boys who are hardly past school age . . . (and] stand in front of merchants' doors and bother the public with inappropriate shouting. . . . Boys and adults . . . in front of the doors of textile and clothing dealers . . . bother passersby by calling, or pushiness . . . and use inappropriate language against nonpurchasers.[19]

Jewish wholesale businesses were also often ambulatory. The Hamburger textile firm in Schmiegel, Posen, traded at markets up to 70–80 kilometers away. On Saturday evenings they began to pack their goods and load them onto a large freight wagon covered with rough cotton cloth on hoops to protect from the elements. They piled open goods like calico, unbleached calico, and fustian in the back of the wagon so that the travelers could sleep on them and tied bales and chests to the middle and front with ropes and chains. Often they had to pull the wagons out of the mud when they got stuck. Since markets provided only the wooden booth walls, merchants brought along shelves, ladders, and display cases and put them together themselves. Most of their morning customers were Jewish retailers, who resold the goods to the peasant men and women at the market. Since peasant women often expected to be cheated, there was generally extensive bargaining, accompanied by curses. In the evening the merchants cashed in their receipts, at times threatened by the Polish peasants in the marketplace who had been drinking. Sometimes wagons were robbed at night.[20]

The move from ambulatory trade to shopkeeping, made possible by emancipatory legislation, was a tremendous social ascent. Jewish storekeepers often continued the old Jewish practice of combining many different types of business in one—a state of affairs that was neither understood nor appreciated by the non-Jewish population. The Jewish memoirist Hermann Hamburger writes of typical shops in Schmiegel in 1830:

> At that time there were no specialized businesses which carried only a few articles, but in the greatest possible quantity and most tasteful selection, as is the case today. . . . One dealt basically with all kinds of articles that were at all saleable, and so you found in the same store, coffee, sugar and spirits, shoes, books, toys, trinkets, woven goods and all sorts of stuff. But each item was only there in very small quantity and very inferior quality.[21]

The broad spectrum of business carried out by Moses Mainzer of Gaukönigshofen aroused suspicion. Seven years after Mainzer opened a grocery and dry goods store, he applied for permission to engage in the iron trade. The city council rejected the application, claiming that Mainzer, his mother, his uncle, and his brother, all living in the same house, engaged in many different businesses using Mainzer's store as a front. His mother and uncle had licenses to trade, his brother was registered as a farmer, and the family traded in colts and cattle, and peddled.[22]

Commercial Employees and the Poor

For many Jewish men, employment in commercial firms served as a stage at the beginning of their careers where they could earn some money while learning business skills. Many worked for their fathers or brothers.[23] In Braunschweig commercial employees stayed with firms almost 14 years on average (17 if working for a relative).[24] Some employers helped former employees set themselves up in business or took them as partners, but some employees never achieved independence.[25]

Commercial employees engaged in bookkeeping, correspondence, serving customers, packing, delivery, and traveling to fairs and markets on behalf of the firm. Some even went peddling and split the profits with their employers.[26] Employees often lived with their employer's family. Eighteen-year old Jacob Adam, who lived in a tiny corner of the attic of his employer's house in Glogau, was expected to pay attention to the ledgers and the invoices. His boss's wife told him to show various types of material to customers, roll them up, and put them away, all skills he did not yet possess. He had to pack goods to take to fairs, travel there with his employer, and set up the market booth, and he was not given enough food on the journey until he flattered the cook into preparing food packages for him.[27] In addition to his meager room and board, Adam earned a salary of 25 Taler in his first year.[28] When Adam left his employer, he was unable to secure another job in Glogau, because of a merchant agreement not to hire each other's former employees.[29]

Jews were employed as domestic servants more frequently in the early nineteenth century than later on, since most Jews at the time hired Jewish servants, in contrast to the period after 1850, when most servants of Jews were Christians. Most Jewish men listed as servants (*Knechte*) were actually commercial employees. Most female servants worked in the household, although some also helped in the family business. In Aurich in 1835, 16 Jewish maids worked for Jewish trading firms or butchers, a remarkable fact since after 1849 all maids in Jewish homes in Aurich were Christians.[30] Most middle-class Jewish families had only a single Jewish maid, but some elite families had several maids, as well as liveried male servants.[31] In the early nineteenth century middle-class families commonly employed Jewish cooks to assure that the household remained kosher,[32] but later even kosher households hired non-Jewish servants to run their kitchen.[33]

Lower on the social scale were those without an official profession: part-time assistants of Jewish merchants, go-betweens in cattle trades, and those living on charity or family support. Twenty-one percent of Jewish heads of household in villages near Trier were without occupation.[34] Among the poor were widows who lived from petty part-time trade in yarn, needles, buttons, and ribbons and elderly people who could no longer work. In preemancipation days elderly impoverished heads of family frequently petitioned for a reduction or suspension of residence fees or taxes, sometimes successfully.[35] Jacob Epstein's grandfather was so poor that he had to pawn his shrouds (customarily worn in the synagogue during the High Holidays) the day after

Yom Kippur every year and redeem them right before the following New Year.[36]

Even more destitute than the resident poor were Jews without residence permits who traveled from town to town receiving free meals, a place to sleep, and alms.[37] Jewish communities aided the itinerant poor despite governmental prohibitions against beggars, though some modernized Jewish leaders tried to abolish such indiscriminate charity.[38] Isaak Markus Jost described a group of Jewish beggars near Wolfenbüttel around 1800.[39]

> Twenty poor Jewish families, wandering like gypsies, with dirty featherbeds, old clothes, boxes and containers, lay about before the gates of the town. The men, women and children wore torn clothes and some of them were sick and emaciated. They waited out in the open for nine o'clock when the cantor would bring them alms . . . so they could reach a place of rest before the beginning of the Sabbath.

The interrogation of "the Jewess Hanne" by the Prussian police in Neustadt-Eberswalde in 1799 shows how Jewish beggars managed to survive the hostility of government officials:

> I have been in Prenzlau three times last winter, but I cannot tell you exactly the time I was there. The first time . . . I lodged with a [presumably non-Jewish] potter who lived near the Jewish synagogue where the traveling Jews stop, and . . . spent two days and a night in this shelter. After I received my travel money from the local Jewish community, I went all alone from village to village to Strasberg, where I slept the night at the home of a widow . . . and received my travel money from an old Jewish lady, whose name I don't know. This Jewish lady sent her Sabbath woman[40] with me who brought me to Neu Brandenburg in Mecklenburg without anyone having warned me not to come back across the border. From Neu-Brandenburg . . . I went to . . . Templin, where I was put up over the Sabbath in the Ordonnanz Haus, and ate with a Jewish lady, whose name I don't know, who lives in the Jewish synagogue. . . . I received some travel money from the local Jewish community.[41]

Both Jews and non-Jews sheltered Jewish beggars, and the Jewish community gave them money and food. They seem to have completely ignored official borders.[42]

The Changing and Speculative Nature of Jewish Business

Fortunes could be quickly made and lost in the speculative Jewish businesses that were traditional. Jewish petty traders frequently switched their activities as one field became unprofitable and another more promising. Jacob Adam began by selling ribbon and, with his profits, bought a market stall in East Prussia. When the army came through he made a profit selling them liquor and tobacco, and when business slackened after the troops passed he decided

to follow them.[43] Ascher Lehman first made money slaughtering calves. He then bought oats, hay, and straw from English warehouses but had great difficulty selling his wares, so he got a job keeping an eye on the laborers weighing the grain. He then switched to selling neckerchiefs, handkerchiefs, and stockings to soldiers. He later sold watches, then old clothes and bedclothes, then leather, and finally went back to the watch business.[44]

During the Napoleonic Wars many Jewish petty traders supplied armies or dealt in war booty. Some became very wealthy through such dealings, but others lost as much as they gained or were ruined by the war. Supplying armies could also be physically dangerous. French troops stole the drinks Jacob Adam's father was selling to the Russian army, along with the bag of gold he had hidden in his pocket.[45] Yet, despite the many risks, some village traders looked back at the period with fondness, because the trade was so lucrative, even though Jews had few legal rights. They said: "Those were golden days for us Jews, back when they would say to us 'Jew, where is your Jewish travel tax?' "[46]

Jews were frequently stereotyped as usurers, though in fact pawnbrokers, moneychangers, and bankers, the only occupations which engaged in full-time moneylending, were a small minority of Jewish businessmen.[47] But many Jews who were not in these occupations sold their wares on credit and collected interest on unpaid balances. Real estate and cattle dealing would have been impossible without credit to purchasers. Still, Jews were debtors as well as creditors. Individual businesspeople often needed credit from their suppliers and sometimes had difficulty repaying, and Jewish communities frequently owed money to gentile creditors, especially church institutions. Because Jewish traders were more likely than Christian merchants to extend credit, they were more likely to have to pursue court suits, attachment of property, and foreclosure of mortgages against insolvent debtors, which often increased gentile hostility.[48]

Women's Economic Role

Jewish women engaged in business activity more frequently than did Christian women. Jacob Adam was surprised to see "Madame" playing a prominent role in the business in Glogau where he worked, something he claims not to have seen in Berlin. She served customers in the family textile store, while her husband traveled to fairs and markets. Adam greatly disliked being supervised by the old woman, who rushed him to unpack his wares and often opened bales of merchandise in ways that made them difficult to repack properly.[49] Married Jewish women frequently worked in the family textile store, while their husbands were away on selling trips, and unmarried daughters also worked in family-owned stores. When Aron Ehrlich went to visit his bride in Bavaria in 1843 he surprised her in the store.[50] Married women also frequently carried out the clerical side of the family business. Before her son took over, Aron

Hirsch Heymann's mother carried on the family's business correspondence in both Yiddish and German.[51] Some of the tasks that middle-class women did for the family business clashed with their middle-class status. Hermann Hamburger's mother went down to the basement in her best dress to cut leather for shoemakers.[52]

Jewish women were often successful retail sellers. Auguste Löwenthal knew what each customer needed and what fit his or her taste. Especially courteous to women of the nobility, she also showed patience with peasants and their wives, who wanted to see all the types of cloth available and then offered only half the asking price. She turned the family store into one of the leading dress shops of the town.[53] Jewish women in eastern Germany managed family taverns while their husbands ran itinerant businesses elsewhere.[54] More rarely, Jewish women accompanied their husbands to the markets when they made sales.[55] The pattern of wives supporting families while their husbands studied Torah full-time, famous from east European Jewish folklore, was relatively rare and was found mainly in rabbinical families, especially in the Posen area.[56]

Unlike most married women who worked in family businesses, widows were frequently independent heads of firms. Twenty of the 32 Jewish women running businesses in Braunschweig between 1815 and 1852 were widows, and all the others were unmarried. Although some widows became impoverished after their husbands' deaths, others ran their own business very successfully. Two of Nienburg's five most prosperous Jews were widows. Susanna, the widow of Marcus Abraham, had the largest Jewish business in town, trading with firms as far away as Hamburg. To help her manage both a business and a household, she hired a niece for work at home and a nephew for assistance in the business. In the same town the widow Herzfeld's son and a hired helper assisted her in her business. Other widows had difficulty continuing the family business, and some could improve their financial situation only by remarrying.[57]

Nineteenth-century German governments were often reluctant to grant business licenses to women other than widows. In Braunschweig they granted such licenses only to those unmarried women who were very poor, considering this better than supporting them on the dole. Unmarried Jewish women in Braunschweig sold millinery wares, ribbon, yarn, buttons, and ribbons, a much narrower range of businesses than those that widows carried on.[58] Occasionally a married woman whose husband could not support the family had to earn money independently, like Samuel Ehrenberg's mother, who sewed linens, lace, and ticking because his father could not earn enough selling lottery tickets.[59] Sometimes the work that women did on the side stood them in good stead after their husbands' deaths. Wilhelm Kober's mother, however, did not "understand the inner nature" of her husband's business and needed help after his death, which still did not prevent her late husband's unscrupulous debtors from cheating her.[60]

The Jewish eatery set up by five unmarried sisters at the resort of Norderney was in "a woman's specialty," but officials were still reluctant to license it. Their father had started the business, which they expanded by setting up a

kosher lunch table and a stand selling homemade cakes. When their father turned 70 in 1850 he applied for a license in their name. The government refused to give such a license to women but let them know that a confectioner's shop did not need government permission.[61]

Poor unmarried women were sometimes forced to become servants of other Jews as the result of a sudden economic decline. Some former maids were later able to rise in status. Betti Zacharias of Halberstadt, who had once been wealthy, was forced to become a maid, but the job made her ill. After her recovery she found a more respectable domestic position as lady's maid for a court Jew's wife and reportedly was treated like a friend by her employer. Henriette Mass found a job as a governess for the children of a court Jew when she was only 16. Later she managed another woman's millinery shop and eventually married the principal of a Jewish school.[62]

Into Crafts and Agriculture

As the free market gained supporters and guilds lost influence, governments eased restrictions on the market. By the 1850s and 1860s, laissez-faire became the ruling government policy in most of Germany. Proponents of Jewish emancipation saw the laws restricting the occupations of Jews as harmful to the free market and proposed eliminating the restrictions. Many proemancipation theorists believed that Jews would have to become "more productive members of society." Some advocated opening up new fields to the Jews while discouraging them from old "nonproductive" fields like petty trade and moneylending. Between 1815 and 1861, German governments, promulgated laws to wean Jews away from *Schacher- und Nothhandel* (huckstering and distress trade). Many extended the new freedoms of movement and citizenship only to Jews who left petty trade and turned to crafts, agriculture, manufacturing, or the professions.

Numerous Jews eagerly entered the new "productive" occupations in crafts and farming, but some tried to evade the new government policies. Many young south German Jewish men in the middle third of the nineteenth century acquired training as craftsmen, especially as shoemakers and tailors,[63] but some switched paths and entered the commercial world. In Gaukönigshofen, 14 of the 26 married Jewish men born between 1800 and 1849 registered in noncommercial fields, but only one remained in the field in which he registered, while the others eventually became cattle dealers or went into other forms of commerce.[64] Non-Jewish residents often mistrusted Jews who claimed to be craftsmen, claiming that they were using craft training only as a front for going into business.[65] On the other hand, Christian craftsmen did not really want Jews to go into crafts and compete with them. Governments vacillated between their desire to change the Jews and their wish to protect Christian craftsmen from Jewish competition.

German-Jewish leaders actively encouraged Jewish men to train for the

crafts and avoid commerce. They saw retraining as a way both to prove the Jews' right to equality and to solve the problem of Jewish poverty.[66] The inner contradiction was that the wealthy leadership, whose own success had been in business, wanted the sons of poor Jewish families to enter fields that the elite did not consider suitable for their own children. Some of the poor Jews who apprenticed their children as craftsmen were aware of this contradictory elite attitude.[67]

Young men wishing to become craftsmen in the early nineteenth century had to be apprenticed to a master, then spend several years as a journeyman, wandering from place to place assisting master craftsmen, followed by the production of a "masterpiece" and admission to a craft guild. Every stage of this process involved problems for Jews: finding a craftsman willing to take a Jewish apprentice, providing kosher food and Sabbath rest for apprentices and journeymen, and getting guilds to accept Jewish members. Jewish boys who became journeymen often traveled large distances, sometimes even outside Germany.[68]

The experiment of converting Jews into craftsmen seemed to succeed—temporarily. By 1852, 1,300 Jews worked as craftsmen in Württemberg, and 33 percent of employed Jews in Bavaria in 1847–48 were either craftsmen or farmers. Nineteen percent of employed Jewish men in Prussia in 1852 were craftsmen, but by 1861 this had declined to 16 percent.[69] As industry developed in the mid–nineteenth century, many of the crafts for which Jews had trained, notably hand weaving, lost ground to mechanized factories. Those who had entered crafts would become impoverished unless they opened factories or returned to commercial fields (sometimes trading in the goods they were trained to produce). Even before massive industrialization, many Jewish craftsmen despaired of success and left for America. In some districts, unmarried, recently trained craftsmen were the majority of emigrants whose occupation is known.[70] The traditional tailors, shoemakers, and weavers of the Posen district also declined in number—from over four thousand in 1843 to under three thousand in 1861.[71]

Attempts to convince Jews to enter agriculture were even less successful. Few Jews wished to become landless agricultural laborers. Those with enough money to buy land could make a good living in commerce and had little incentive to become farmers. Nevertheless, quite a few Jews in south Germany purchased small amounts of land. In Gaukönigshofen seven Jews registered as farmers, and by 1839 Jews owned 51 acres of land in the village (3 percent of the total). But none of the small landowners, registered as farmers, worked full-time in agriculture. Most spent the bulk of their time in the cattle trade. In the 1860s only three owned animals for pulling plows. Nevertheless, many Jews had gardens where they grew food for their families, and sometimes they rented communal land for this purpose as well.[72] Often Christian villagers opposed Jewish purchase of agricultural land, just as they opposed Jewish entrance into crafts, seeing Jewish land purchases as an invasion of their domain.[73]

Changes in Business Methods

Even Jews who remained in "traditional Jewish fields" began to employ more modern methods. In 1846, in Württemberg, it was reported that

> peddling by Israelites in the countryside has lately acquired a different nature from what it was previously. A group of the better off of them . . . in Buchau, Buttenhausen and other places, do not go around . . . from house to house with a sack on their back, selling the most heterogeneous assortment of items, and accepting old clothes or tools as payment, as was formerly almost always the case of *Schacherjuden*. . . . Rather, peddlers own regular, sometimes even important, warehouses, mostly of cheap materials . . . and visit the fairs and markets here and abroad where they sell from fixed boutiques . . . Another more minor type of "peddler" or huckster who is equally numerous, does not indeed have a warehouse . . . but [these] have their specific towns . . . where they regularly and exclusively do their business . . . often in a specific inn or private home where the less wealthy purchasers seek them out.[74]

Jewish shopkeepers introduced many innovations, including advertising in local newspapers and fixed prices. When Falk Valentin Grünfeld set fixed prices in his first textile store, opened in Landeshut, Silesia, in 1862, this was unheard of. Everyone considered bargaining a necessary part of every purchase. Storekeepers did not mark prices but rather wrote a coded set of letters, known only to the seller, on a ticket. The shopkeeper might suggest a price of 30 Taler and receive a counteroffer of 6. After much haggling they would agree on a price of perhaps 11–14 Taler. Grünfeld also began carrying only quality merchandise, a practice that sometimes excluded poorer customers. In the larger store he opened in 1869, Grünfeld installed large display windows and covered one of the walls with mirrors, a sensation at the time. The store also served punch and other drinks to its customers from a large porcelain bowl.[75]

Most eighteenth-century Jewish businesspeople used very rudimentary record-keeping methods. They kept most ledgers in the Hebrew alphabet, carried on correspondence in Yiddish or ungrammatical German, and wrote down financial transactions in no particular order or left them as purely oral agreements. This changed during the nineteenth century. Several memoirists considered the introduction of "Italian" double-entry bookkeeping important enough to mention in their autobiographies.[76] Jewish businesses began to carry out their correspondence in better German-language style, and clerks in the most modern businesses copied their letters for the records.[77]

Several successful textile firms began either in hand weaving or with the putting out system, in which a merchant would supply thread to hand weavers in the countryside (often peasants working in their spare time) and then collect and sell the finished cloth. Some Jewish entrepreneurs reacted to increasing competition from mechanized cloth manufacturing plants by shifting from hand work to machinery themselves. Although quite a few Jewish firms benefited from this transformation in the long run, they often faced

short-term setbacks and business losses. A number of Jewish entrepreneurs went over to mechanical weaving after a visit to English textile factories or to the London exhibitions of 1851 and 1860.[78] Although some Jews used water- or steam-powered machines as early as the 1840s, many were still involved in hand weaving in the 1860s, and later.[79] Other Jews in the putting out business switched to wholesale and retail trade and left manufacturing altogether.[80]

Social Mobility: Levels of Prosperity

The middle and late nineteenth century were a period of remarkable social mobility for German Jews. But not all Jews before the emancipation were poor, and not all became wealthy afterward. In the rapidly changing economic climate, many businesses succeeded for a while but later went bankrupt. The less successful were less likely to write their life stories than those who succeeded. Even the successful ones often reported that prosperity came only after numerous failures and occupational changes.

All Jewish communities of substantial size in the early nineteenth century had considerable internal variation in affluence, which never disappeared, though the average wealth of Jewish householders improved noticeably over time. Three Jewish families in Schenklengsfeld in 1834–36 paid more combined taxes than the next 10 families ("the middle class"). Five of the remaining families paid low taxes, and two paid none at all. By 1880–81, Jews, though only 13 percent of the total town population, paid 34 percent of the wealth tax.[81] In Braunschweig, where court Jews played an important role, the wealthiest Jewish family had 400,000 Taler in property in 1770, but 10 of the 27 Jewish families had 1,000 Taler or less. In 1805, 33 of the 63 Jewish families were categorized as "middling" or "good," and 8 as "very good" or "very well-off," while 22 were in the categories ranging from "extremely needy" to "bad." In the Braunschweig tax lists of 1809–10, only 10 percent of the general population, but 50 percent of the Jews, had enough wealth to be taxed.[82]

Hamburg Jews were much poorer than the Jews of Braunschweig, though the tax records show steady improvement. Taxpaying Jews increased from 535 in 1816 (38 percent of all economically active) to 1,902 in 1860 (95 percent), while families too poor to pay taxes decreased from 868 to 98. The bulk of the change took place between about 1825 and 1846, but as late as the early 1840s there were some three hundred permanently poor families supported by Jewish poor relief, and about 30 other families who were temporarily poor. Fifty-four percent of the 368 individuals receiving Jewish poor relief in 1848 were over 60 years old, including 123 widows.[83]

Pockets of Jewish poverty remained even after most German Jews had entered the middle class. Aron Hirsch Heymann of Berlin was shocked by the poverty he witnessed in the Jewish community of Lessen, West Prussia, in 1847. During the summer, the kosher slaughterer did not slaughter a single four-legged animal (meaning that no Jews ate beef, veal, lamb, or mutton, even on the Sabbath). The children ran barefoot and generally wore only a shirt and

pants. No one used soap. The synagogue had a dirt floor, and its ceiling consisted of unplaned boards.[84] A report on Jewish businesspeople in the district of Inowrazlaw in 1870 described their sad position and said that they were becoming poorer and poorer. Sometimes several families lived in single rooms, which were "scenes of the greatest human depravity." In the same year the community of Pleschen distributed 788 pounds of matza to those too poor to pay for it.[85]

The economic fate of individual families varied greatly. In 1761 Moyses Hirsch was an ordinary Jew in Gaukönigshofen. He rose to wealth in the cattle business in the late eighteenth century, and his son Salomon Hirsch built the most luxurious house in the village in 1790. The family bought much property during the secularization of church properties around 1800 and in 1803 became the first legal Jewish residents of Würzburg. Moyses's son, Jacob, moved on to Munich in 1821 and received the title of court banker three years later. The family made a fortune in railroad investments and was eventually ennobled.[86] The other Jews of the village did not do nearly as well as the Hirsches but also show a remarkable ascent during the century. Whereas the total amount of property they owned in 1810 was assessed at only 12,895 Gulden, by 1861 an estimate placed it at 100,000 Gulden.[87]

Many very rich German Jewish families started out quite modestly. Lewin Baerwald, a Talmud student who decided to become a grain and wool dealer in 1826–27, later leased a tavern. By 1840 he had amassed 6,000 Taler in capital. Lewin's children gave up the sale of groceries and iron from a store in their house in the 1850s to devote themselves full-time to the wholesale grain business. By 1869 the firm had grown so much that they could take a one-third interest in the purchase of the 8,400-acre Schubin forest for 1,750,000 Marks and pay off the entire amount by 1872.[88] The Seligsohns, one of the other partners in the Schubin deal, also began small. All but the youngest of Hermann Seligsohn's uncles began as peddlers. Uncle Selig Salomon carried a pack of needles, silk ribbons, yarn, and other household goods, with a total value of a mere 20 to 25 Marks. With the small dowry of 150 Taler he received upon marriage, he managed to open a textile store. The Seligsohns went into the putting out system but left it for the grain, spirits, and wool business. By the late 1840s they already had an annual turnover of 500,000 Taler.[89]

Hermann Elias Weigert of Upper Silesia was the son of a hand weaver who eventually gave up that craft and tried various businesses without great success. Despite his limited means, Hermann's father sent his sons to study at Gymnasia in larger cities. After finishing school, Hermann Weigert worked in his brother's business for a while, and in 1842 he left to work in businesses in France and England, where he visited many English spinning factories and wrote a pamphlet about their importance. When the Prussian government asked Weigert's brother to open a mechanized shawl factory in Silesia in 1845, Hermann's business helped sell his brother's shawls. On marriage in 1853 Hermann received a dowry of 8,000 Taler. By the time he dissolved his partnership in 1856, his share had risen to 15,000 Taler, and when he retired because of his wife's ill health in 1869 he had 200,000 Marks in capital, which he used to buy

land in fashionable western Berlin.[90] Numerous memoirs tell similar success stories.[91]

In some families, business fluctuations ended less fortunately, with rapid rise followed by equally rapid financial ruin. Isaac Bernstein of Schildberg, Posen, who began as a tutor, made a “good marriage” which enabled him to begin a material, tobacco, and grain business and own a little two-room house. In 1847 he made a fortune speculating in grain but soon lost it through unlucky speculation in grain and wool. To escape his disgrace he went to America in 1852, leaving his wife behind. He established a business in Massachusetts and returned to Germany in 1858.[92]

The histories of the interrelated Kaz and Berlitzheimer families in Württemberg include several rapid rises and sudden collapses. Moises Kaz (1750–1829), a minor village taxpayer in 1766, slowly expanded his business to the larger town of Rottweil, where his purchase of 3,417 Gulden of silver from nobles and the church in 1799 enabled the city to pay off a ransom to Napoleon’s troops. By 1806 Kaz owned two houses in the city and had a net worth of 25,000 Gulden, but in his old age he became impoverished and in 1821 declared bankruptcy. Kaz’s son-in-law, David Joseph Berlitzheimer (1761–1855), the highest taxpayer in Mühringen in 1823, remained wealthy after Kaz’s bankruptcy. His family ran a cloth store and a small weaving factory with up to 30 weavers, but their prosperity was ruined by domestic problems. The man who married into the family in 1845 was a bankrupt and a scoundrel, who soon fled to America. Faced with court costs and the loss of his daughter’s dowry, Joseph Berlitzheimer began borrowing large sums of money. When Joseph’s son, David Berlitzheimer, died in 1849, his weaving factory seemed to be doing well, but it soon suffered in the general crisis of hand weaving. By 1854, David’s widow Mina declared bankruptcy, and three years later she and five of her children emigrated to America.[93]

Conclusion

Until about 1840, most Jews of Germany had to struggle to make a bare living, usually as ambulatory petty traders in the countryside. Some attempted to improve their lot by switching into crafts. A growing minority opened retail businesses selling a variety of goods. In the period from 1840 to 1870, as the Industrial Revolution took hold in Germany, the economic position of Jews changed more rapidly. Despite the continued existence of pockets of poverty, most German Jews moved into the middle class. A growing number took advantage of increased urban business opportunities and migrated to the cities. Others established successful businesses using modern methods in retailing, wholesaling, and light industry. Many of those who suffered economically emigrated, eliminating some of the economic pressure on Jews who remained in Germany. Although the countryside lagged behind somewhat, the general economic situation of Jews there also improved. After 1871, German Jews would be thought of as an overwhelmingly bourgeois group.

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Religious Practice and Mentality

For the bulk of premodern Jews, Judaism was a way of life that one followed without much questioning. For this reason scholars distinguish between a relatively unreflective "traditional Judaism" before modern times and "Orthodoxy" as a conscious decision to adhere to traditional practices and beliefs for ideological reasons. The bulk of Jews in Germany before the nineteenth century practiced traditional, not Orthodox, Judaism despite the fact that memoirists often referred to their ancestors rather loosely as "Orthodox." Unlike the greater strictness of later Orthodoxy, Jewish traditional life often deviated in some details from the official Judaism proclaimed by rabbis and Holy Books. The practice of ordinary Jews in Germany contained both more and less than official doctrine prescribed. In certain areas there was widespread neglect of *halachic* (religious legal) practice, while in others practice was stricter than the law required. Life cycle and holiday customs added many practices not codified in law, while folk beliefs often went beyond those prescribed, or even allowed, by official Jewish philosophy. The Jewish "masses" were just as dedicated to the preservation of folk customs and beliefs as to the observance of actual Jewish law.

Communal Powers and Traditional Communal Institutions

Premodern Jewish communities aspired to control individual practice. Granted a measure of autonomy by the gentile authorities, they were quasi-governmental bodies that regulated both the religious and political-economic life of their members. They had their own courts, taxed their membership, and could punish violations of their regulations by fines or excommunication. Besides

dealing with such purely religious matters as order in the synagogue service and punishing violations of Jewish religious law, they intervened to prevent "unfair" competition among Jews, settle disputes between employees and employers, and reinforce government regulations.[1] Sometimes they called on government aid to back up their religious authority. The Mainz Jewish community sent a petition to the government in 1791 asking it to imprison or otherwise punish a number of Jewish youths who had violated Jewish fast days by eating, drinking, and playing billiards.[2]

Abolition of the enforcement powers of the Jewish community was one of the first steps in the process of political emancipation of the Jews almost everywhere in Germany. Jews were to obey general governmental laws and could no longer be forced to obey Jewish law. The state took jurisdiction over inheritance, marital status, and the settlement of business disputes and forbade rabbis and communities to engage in judicial functions. In most places rabbinic courts were abolished between 1806 and 1815.[3] Abolition of Jewish communal power made it easier for individuals to deviate from traditional practice, and governments also prohibited certain traditional practices that deviated from the general law (for instance the marriage of an uncle and a niece). At first some Jews illegally continued to use rabbinical tribunals as courts of arbitration, but slowly enforcement of their abolition became universal.

Even without judicial powers, Jewish communal institutions continued to play an important role. Besides community boards elected by male householders, many communities had a host of independent organizations. A burial society (*hevrah kaddisha*) existed almost everywhere, attending to the sick and dying, and undertaking the purification of the corpse and the burial and mourning ceremonies. Larger communities frequently also established *hevrot*, or confraternities, for Torah study, sick care, or charitable work. The modernization process of the nineteenth century led to the creation of a much more varied network of Jewish societies, clubs, and welfare organizations. Although a few women's *hevrot* existed in eighteenth-century German-speaking Europe, Jewish women's organizations increased many-fold and played a much more important role in the nineteenth century.[4]

Many communities had to share cemeteries with each other. In parts of south Germany huge regional cemeteries such as those in Allersheim, Kleinbardorf, or Pappenheim were the final resting-place for Jews from a wide area.[5] Distance made it impossible for Jews to carry the deceased to the grave on their shoulders as tradition preferred but forced them to use a wagon or hearse. Sometimes the funeral procession had to cross political frontiers and pay special tolls. Frequently Jewish cemeteries lay on hills outside town, land not suitable for agriculture, but Jewish cemeteries were not entirely safe from local authorities' attempts to claim them for agricultural use. Some communities had to go to court to preserve their burial rights.[6]

Unlike a cemetery, a mikveh (ritual bath) for women's ritual purification after menstruation, was found in virtually every community. The mikveh required a natural water source, generally rainwater or a spring.[7] Mikvaot of the early nineteenth century were often physically quite primitive and were de-

scribed as damp, dark basements 6 to 10 feet deep, often with filthy water because of lack of drainage, and too large to be warmed even in winter. Although Jewish women seemed willing to use them, government health inspectors often objected and sometimes proposed that the government seal the Jewish baths.[8] The community of Gaukönigshofen rebuilt its mikveh in 1819 at a cost of 900 Gulden, probably contributed by the family of the baron de Hirsch. This mikveh, considered unusually modern for its day, had a reservoir that could be pumped empty and cleaned once a year and water that could be warmed by a large iron kettle.[9]

Many traditional communities in Germany also built an *eruv* (Sabbath boundary). Traditional religious law forbade carrying objects on the Sabbath except in an area surrounded by a wall. In towns without a complete city wall, Jewish communities often built a symbolic wall of poles and wire, or wooden barriers, to enable them to carry items, such as handkerchiefs or prayer books, outside their homes. Building such an *eruv* required the permission of the local authorities, which often charged an annual fee for its use. In some cases the *eruv* aroused hostile statements in the press and occasionally even vandalism.[10]

Most small-town communities had an *eruv* and a mikveh but not their own rabbi, except in the formerly Polish eastern provinces. Instead a single functionary, combining the jobs of a teacher, cantor, and ritual slaughterer, led most religious activities. Although sometimes colloquially called "*rebbe*," these teachers possessed only limited knowledge compared to ordained rabbis. Often, a number of rural communities shared a district rabbi. Only eight rabbis served the department of the Saar, during the French occupation, alongside 42 teachers and three additional cantors.[11]

The numerous large Jewish communities of the province of Posen were structured more like those of eastern Europe than those in the rest of Germany. Almost every Posen community had a Talmudically trained rabbi with considerable influence over communal religious life, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century. Often they had more than one synagogue, like eastern European shtetls but unlike most of small-town Germany. Also peculiar to the province were craftsmen's *hevrot*, resembling guilds, with their own synagogues. Tailors' synagogues or guilds are attested in at least 13 Posen communities.[12] Unlike areas further west, most large Posen communities also had a house of study (*Beth Hamidrash*), often with its own elaborate building where householders and scholars studied Talmud daily and held public prayers. Some Posen houses of study existed until the end of the nineteenth century.[13]

Jewishness in Public and in the Synagogue

Eighteenth-century German Jews were not shy about exhibiting Jewish practices in ways that made them visible to outsiders. Later generations of Jews often felt embarrassment about these public displays of "outlandish" customs. On the other hand, communities rarely built the imposing and visible syna-

The Harburg Synagogue built in 1754. Courtesy of Dr. Reinhard Jakob.

gogues and communal buildings that became common as the nineteenth century progressed.

Calling householders to prayer by loudly knocking on their doors or shutters (*Schulklopfen*) was traditional all over Germany, an expression of the expectation that every man attend daily services as a matter of duty. In Moisling near Lübeck in the nineteenth century the blind assistant beadle would knock three times on every door with his hammer every weekday morning. On Sabbaths and holidays, instead of knocking, he would call out "in Schul," and on the days of penitential prayers before the High Holidays he would knock on the bedroom shutters at 3:30 A.M.[14] This custom embarrassed modernizing Jews by the middle of the nineteenth century and was high on the list of practices that early reformers wanted to abolish.[15]

Jewish weddings were traditionally held out of doors rather than in synagogues. In Strausberg near Berlin the wedding canopy was set up in front of the mayor's house. The wedding jester arrived in town riding backward on a

horse surrounded by the town's street urchins. Jacob Adam's wedding at an East Prussia marketplace in 1813, with a procession accompanied by music, attracted a large, curious crowd.[16] Outdoor weddings, too, embarrassed acculturated Jews, who insisted that weddings take place indoors, preferably in the synagogue.[17]

In many parts of Germany, Jews had the right of "free worship" but not "public worship."[18] Governments required Jews to build their houses of worship behind other buildings or away from the street.[19] Even when allowed to do so, Jewish communities often refrained from building publicly recognizable synagogues, because of high costs or to avoid unwanted attention. Jews often worshipped in prayer rooms within private homes or in houses converted into synagogues.[20] In southern German villages most synagogue buildings of the early nineteenth century differed little from ordinary homes. Although some were beautifully decorated on the inside with painted walls, carved arks and reader's platforms, and elegant chandeliers, they were usually extremely plain on the outside. Men sat along three walls of the synagogue with movable stands in front of their seats. The Holy Ark containing the Torah scrolls was at the eastern wall, and a raised reader's desk stood in the center of the synagogue. The women's balcony was above the "men's synagogue." Some communities that could not fit all women in the balcony built a second balcony above the first, but usually more seats were provided for men than for women, since Jewish religious law only required men's attendance at religious services.

Though uncommon, imposing synagogue buildings visible from the street did exist in some communities. Besides noteworthy synagogues in cities like Prague and Worms, baroque synagogues were built in some large southwestern German rural communities before 1815.[21] Most urban communities had only a main synagogue supplemented by a number of prayer gatherings (*minyanim*) in private homes,[22] but the Posen district was distinctive. In 1857 the city of Posen had six communal synagogues, six private prayer houses, and a Reform temple.[23] Communal synagogues in the Posen district far outstripped the village synagogues of southern Germany in size and number of seats. The synagogue in Fordon, built in 1832, had seats for 500 men and 250 women; the one in Inowrazlaw had 450 seats. By contrast, the synagogue in Zeckendorf, Bavaria, had only 50 men's seats and 45 women's seats, and that of nearby Demmelsdorf only 31 men's seats and 28 women's seats.[24]

Traditional synagogue services throughout Germany were informal. Although larger communities hired cantors, sometimes accompanied by a bass and a boy soprano, ordinary householders led the services in most communities, especially on weekdays. Worshippers prayed at their own pace, with little communal singing, and decorum was loose. Observers said that worshippers frequently left their seats, conversed with their neighbors, or even took snuff during the services. The movable stands in front of the men's seats made noise when moved and sometimes led to conflicts over space. Disputes about synagogue honors such as calls to the Torah and the right to lead services were frequent and, in extreme cases, could lead to violence.[25]

Many medieval German synagogues, some still used in the nineteenth

century, seated women in a separate annex (*Weiberschul*) connected to the main synagogue only by small, screened windows.[26] By the eighteenth century most traditional synagogues housed female worshippers in a balcony in the main building but behind a latticework screen. Often there were not enough seats for women, and in many communities unmarried girls were expected to remain at home. Because women could often barely hear the main service downstairs, they paid little attention to it and instead were described as gossiping throughout the service or as praying from special women's prayerbooks in Yiddish or German. Sometimes the architecture itself encouraged women to ignore the proceedings in the men's synagogue. The first row of women's seats in the old synagogue of Inowrazlaw faced the second row rather than the men's section. The decision to turn the first row around in 1835 aroused some controversy.[27]

Folk Practice and Folk Beliefs

The vibrant folk Judaism widely practiced in Germany before the emancipation was not always in full conformity with religious law. In Strausberg in the early nineteenth century, a preacher from Bavaria called the congregants' attention to their three "violations of *halacha*": drinking the "nonkosher milk of gentiles," shaving with a razor (at any time), and carrying on the Sabbath without benefit of an *eruv*.[28] Aron Hirsch Heymann described the failed attempts of the community members to meet these previously unknown stringencies. They attempted to use permissible ways of removing their beards with clippers and depilatory salves. Unfortunately, the salve was too strong and burned the men's faces, whereupon they returned to shaving with a razor. Many traditional Jews in premodern Germany also ignored prohibitions against drinking gentile wine, holding hands or dancing with members of the opposite sex, and shaving one's beard on the intermediate days of holidays.[29] These instances of leniency have little to do with later modernizing tendencies in Judaism.[30]

Other folk practices were additions to official religious requirements. As a modern Orthodox Jew, Aron Hirsch Heymann mocked the Jews of his hometown for considering it a deadly sin to omit such customs as eating an apple and honey on Rosh Hashanah or slaughtering a hen or rooster in atonement of sins before Yom Kippur. Community members insisted on eating cabbage stuffed with rice on the seventh day of Sukkot and white bean soup the night before Passover and cutting carrots into round slices (instead of lengthwise as usual) during the nine days of mourning for the Temple before the fast of Tisha B'av. When a child was born, family members placed a large cavalry dagger behind the mother's bed and amulets on the four walls of the birth room to protect against the evil spirit Lilith. Before Yom Kippur, all the men gave each other 40 symbolic lashes with a suspender in atonement for their sins.[31] The latter custom is attested to in many parts of Germany, as are ascetic practices like standing all day on Yom Kippur or voluntary fasting beyond the days established by law.[32] Other customs were regionally restricted, like the baby

naming ceremony *Holekrasch* practiced throughout south Germany but unknown elsewhere.[33]

Lively descriptions of Jewish marriages in early nineteenth-century Strausberg and Moisling in north central Germany include numerous details that later disappeared even from Orthodox weddings in Germany and that resembled Jewish wedding customs in eastern Europe. Other customs were similar to rough premodern European peasant customs. Wedding celebrations lasted several days, with an outdoor marriage ceremony in one place, a procession through town before the ceremony, and a dinner in a third location. The veiling ceremony (*Bedecken*) took place before the wedding ceremony. Heymann describes the wedding guests constantly changing their clothes and running from one event to the other.[34] Invited guests brought their own utensils to the wedding dinner, which was followed by a dance that lasted until the wee hours of the morning. A special wedding jester (*Possenmacher*) sang songs to make the women cry, reminded the bride and groom of their marriage duties, sang humorous verses, announced the wedding gifts (in Yiddish), and often put on theatrical performances. His role eclipsed that of the rabbi or teacher performing the actual religious ceremony, who merely recited the wedding blessings but never gave a sermon.[35]

Heymann describes a mixture of traditional eastern European Jewish, upper-class German, and peasant dances at the wedding. The women danced a minuet after the veiling ceremony, but the dancing after the wedding was characterized as "jumping around." At weddings in Berlin and Breslau, the rabbi danced a lively *Mitzvah Tanz* (good deed dance) holding one end of a handkerchief while the bride held the other end. Several memoirists describe the ceremony of accompanying the bride to her bedchamber after the evening dance (*leigen führen*). The ceremony was particularly earthy in Strausberg, where the women brought the bride to bed, undressed her "like a small child" and returned to the dance, where the men performed *Odom Rischaun's* (Adam's) dance with the groom. Despite its biblical name, the dance was a hilarious one. The men made funny faces and sang in German: "Adam had seven sons; seven sons had Adam. They didn't eat; they didn't drink; they were all dissolute." Teasingly pretending to dance the groom out the door to his bride, they kept coming back to the dance hall until he promised to buy the men drinks the next day.[36]

The belief system of ordinary Jews was infused with folk traditions. Some specifics of Aron Hirsch Heymann's description of Jewish folk beliefs in Strausberg resemble portrayals of Jewish life in eastern European shtetls or twentieth-century ethnographic descriptions of southern German village Jewry. Pregnant women would bite off the end (*pitum*) of the etrog (citron used on Sukkot) to assure an easy birth. Children in the *heder* would predict the sex of a baby about to be born by throwing a ball of leftover meat at the ceiling of the classroom. If the ball stuck to the ceiling, the baby would be a boy; if it fell, it would be a girl. Men waiting for services at the end of the Sabbath would tell tales about the one-eyed people behind the mountains of darkness, the Prophet Elijah's Cossack, or members of the Ten Lost Tribes who lived

across the Sambatyon River. One woman declared a butterfly that appeared in the synagogue on three Sabbaths in a row to be the reincarnation of the soul of a righteous man. When it disappeared she said that his soul had been taken into the seventh heaven.[37]

There were also stories about miracle workers and human intercessors. Jacob Adam's grandmother told him to seek out the grave of her husband's grandfather in Berlin and ask his ancestor's intercession to ensure that he remain a pious Jew. Legends in Fordon and Posen told of rabbis who stopped fires by miraculous actions, and in Rodenberg in 1810 a visiting Jew was said to have stopped a fire by writing the Hebrew initials for "Your power is forever Oh Lord." One memoir describes a "wise woman" curing an eye infection by reciting verses from the Bible and blowing into a boy's eye.[38] Kabbalistic (Jewish mystical) practices survived in many parts of Germany. In Hesse, a Kabbalistic circle existed in Schenklengsfeld until 1880. Kabbalistic beliefs and practices also figured prominently in the careers of two influential "miracle-working" rabbis: Seckel Loeb Wormser, the *Baal Shem* of Michelstadt (d. 1846) and Elijah Guttmacher, the *tzaddik* of Greiditz (Grätz) (d. 1874).

The Beginning of Religious Change

Transformation of traditional Jewish religious practice occurred peacefully and slowly in some places and rapidly with much conflict in others. Berlin Jewry was a model of early modernization, exerting tremendous influence on what happened elsewhere, but was also used, by the enemies of change, as a symbol of the dangers of modernization. Intellectuals of the late eighteenth-century Jewish Enlightenment, concentrated in Berlin, experimented with modern educational institutions, nontraditional publications, and proposed religious changes later imitated elsewhere. Berlin Jews were the first to break with traditional patterns of living. Travelers in the 1770s and 1780s already reported that the bulk of wealthy Jews in Berlin no longer wore beards, observed the Sabbath, or kept kosher. By 1814 about half of the members of the community no longer purchased kosher meat. A loosening of sexual mores, an increase in socializing with non-Jews, and an unprecedented wave of conversions to Christianity accompanied these changes.[39] Innovations began to spread beyond Berlin with the founding of modern Jewish schools, the opening of Reform temples, and the development of new patterns of culture and religious observance.[40] This was first noticeable in cities of north Germany, later spread to cities in south Germany, and finally reached villages and small towns in the Posen district and the south. In Berlin itself the first stages of transformation were the most radical. Although Berlin never returned to being a traditional community, the immigration of huge numbers of Jews from the conservative eastern provinces of Prussia after 1825 slowed the pace of further modernization in Berlin.

Outside Berlin, modernization often began with small shifts such as individuals socializing with Christians, reading German literature, or discussing

general politics. In some towns the first conflicts involved modifications in modes of dress. Traditionalists objected when men began to wear powdered wigs and both men and women modified their traditional head coverings. In a few places, there was a loosening of conventional sexual morality. In other localities, ideological opposition to the traditional leadership preceded milder lifestyle changes.[41] An ideologically active group of Enlighteners in Posen, led by David Caro (1782–1839), founded a reading society in 1812 whose members read the German classics and even Voltaire and Rousseau. They unsuccessfully tried to set up a modern Jewish school and led the opposition to the rabbi of the community, the leading Talmudic scholar Akiva Eger.[42]

Some urban rabbis tried to use their coercive powers against the first mild innovations, punishing men for shaving on the intermediate days of holidays, wearing wigs or daggers to the synagogue, or making derogatory statements about traditional leaders.[43] Traditionalists often called those breaking with traditional Jewish lifestyle or religious attitudes *neumodisch* (new-fashioned). Some rabbinic objections dealt with more weighty matters, such as proposals to abandon traditional quick burials and instead wait three days after death for fear of burying those who might really be still alive.[44] As early as 1797 a cantor in Kempen in Posen province was dismissed for smoking on the Sabbath and playing cards. In 1840 the community of Bibra accused its teacher of eating forbidden foods, but he was found not guilty. In 1851 the Jewish community of Bockenheim fired its religion teacher for participating in a nonkosher lunch with Christian colleagues.[45]

Many Jews in the early nineteenth century adopted Christian terminology, some of which they later dropped, to replace distinctively Jewish terms. They called the synagogue *Kirche* (church), Passover *Ostern* (Easter), and matza *Osterbrot* (Easter bread).[46] Communities felt no discomfort hiring a preacher (*Prediger*) instead of a rabbi, and the government of Württemberg created an Israelitische Oberkirchenbehörde (Israelite supreme church authority) to govern Jewish religious affairs.

New Synagogues and the Introduction of Decorum

A wave of synagogue building and renovation followed emancipation all over Germany. The tiny eight-family community of Strausberg built and dedicated a new half-timbered synagogue decorated with interior paintings.[47] A host of new synagogues were constructed in Pomerania between 1821 and 1866.[48] Eighteen synagogues, many of them large and beautiful, were built between 1838 and 1858 in the district of the chief rabbi of Hanover, but the rabbi called for an end to the building wave because of its excessive expense. In Schenklengsfeld a synagogue measuring 45 by 30 feet replaced the 13- by 21-foot synagogue in 1844 and was itself replaced by a newer building in 1876.[49]

New village synagogues were larger, more visible, and better decorated than older ones. New ideas of decorum inspired such interior changes as the replacement of individual movable stands by fixed pews. Communities that

moved the reader's desk from the center of the synagogue to the front to form a kind of "altar" space near the ark usually supported the Reform movement.[50] Few Reform temples in Germany abolished separate seating for the sexes, but most removed the latticework in front of the women's balconies.[51]

Urban communities often built modern, architecturally distinctive synagogues. As late as 1856, a leading Jewish writer in Hamburg feared that building a synagogue facing the street could make it the target of anti-Jewish attackers. But a growing number were built to face the street directly, and some, built after midcentury, were monumental freestanding edifices. Between 1824 and 1826 the Munich community erected a new 230-seat synagogue in neoclassical style that was inaugurated in the presence of the king and queen of Bavaria.[52] The Frankfurt Jewish community dedicated its first major synagogue building, a long-planned imposing Reform temple on the Boernestrasse in the former ghetto in 1860, several years after the separatist Orthodox association of the city built a large synagogue. In Berlin, the separatist Reform temple, built in 1854 on Johanisstrasse, predated the massive new temple of the main community of 1866 on Oranienburgerstrasse. The main hall of the latter temple, one of the sights of the city, could hold three thousand worshippers.[53]

Many communities employed professional architects, some of them experienced in building churches, to design their new buildings. Throughout the nineteenth century they searched for the proper architectural style. Some imitated churches, with domes and towers and even Gothic architecture and cruciform shapes, but others looked for something more distinctive. Moorish style appealed to many as appropriate to the "eastern" nature of Judaism, though some opposed this and preferred the "more German" Romanesque.[54] Most unusual of the rural synagogues was the one built in 1833–35 in Buchau, Württemberg, with a bell tower like a church.[55]

Jewish leaders worked to introduce decorum and abolish some folk practices of "unruly" synagogue worshippers in order to conform to middle-class standards of propriety and to prevent embarrassment if Christians compared the disorderly world of the synagogue with the solemnity of the church. Jewish communities (and even governmental authorities) all over Germany promulgated hundreds of detailed regulations of the service (*Synagogenordnungen*). They forbade leaving one's seats to kiss the Torah and making noise during the reading of the Book of Esther on Purim, decided who was to be allowed to lead the religious service, and regulated the distribution of calls to the Torah. Congregants were to remain in their seats, follow along with the service in a hushed manner, and sing in unison rather than with individualistic cacophony.[56] In addition, communities introduced a weekly sermon in German, clerical robes for rabbis and cantors, and trained choirs to accompany the service. They abolished or curtailed embarrassing practices such as *Schulklopfen*, outdoor weddings, or the auction of synagogue honors in the sanctuary. Even many Orthodox congregations accepted these innovations, but only congregations that favored Reform Judaism introduced the confirmation ceremony for boys and girls, or the organ.

Even seemingly minor changes aroused opposition. When the Jewish

community of Munich tried to introduce a choir and build a choir loft, the court banker Jacob von Hirsch and 12 others protested to the government that the choir turned the synagogue into a concert hall.[57] In Nienburg, traditionalists unsuccessfully protested a decision in 1853 to replace calling individuals to the Torah aloud by name with the silent distribution of a marker.[58]

Changes in Individual Religious Practice

A number of factors caused individuals to turn away from traditional religious practice. Travel away from home, especially by craftsmen, was one factor. Unlike merchants, who had a support system for traditional practice, traveling together, sharing eating arrangements, or simply doing without most foods on their travels, those in the crafts had a more difficult time. Apprenticeship with Christian masters provided enough challenges, though apprentices could sometimes arrange to have the Sabbath off or eat at a Jewish home. But on the journeys that followed apprenticeship, many craftsmen were forced to hide their religion, work on the Sabbath, and eat their master's nonkosher food.[59]

Advanced education and rising social status also could lead to abandonment of traditional practice. Some Jews dropped practices that reminded them of their lower-class origins. Urbanization, too, influenced change. The Silbermanns experienced relatively subtle changes when they moved from rural Bischberg to Bamberg. In Bischberg they had already allowed their children to go bareheaded in public and had not built or eaten in a *sukkah* on the Feast of Tabernacles. When they moved to the city, the family closed their store on the Sabbath at first but later opened it up when customers seemed to really need something. Clara Geissmar, nee Regensburger, changed more radically. After lovingly describing Sabbath, holidays, and other traditional observances during her small-town childhood, she underwent a complete change of heart when she married and moved to Konstanz in 1862. Since the Geissmars were the only Jews in the city, she could see no purpose in continuing to observe the Sabbath and holidays and even considered bringing up her sons as Protestants.[60]

The role of women in religious change was complex. Most German Jewish women abandoned traditional head coverings between the 1790s and the 1870s, sometimes with intermediate stages. At first there were strong objections to the introduction of wigs instead of the traditional bonnet. When Lea Cohen of Hanover decided to wear a wig in the 1790s with her husband's permission, her traditionalist father-in-law at first objected, but she told him: "My husband has nothing against it and so no one can object to it." Since she maintained other traditions, her father-in-law eventually accepted the innovation.[61] In early nineteenth-century Samotschin in the province of Posen, young men mocked women's new custom of wearing wigs instead of bonnets by tying a wig to a dog's tail and chasing it down the street "to the amusement of the men and the deep sorrow of the women." Despite this mockery, "marriage wigs in all colors" caught on in the town "until the reforms of the year 1848 led to them giving

way to natural hair."[62] Heinrich Graetz's diary noted on June 22, 1837, that in the Oldenburg countryside he had just seen a Jewish married woman with uncovered hair for the first time in his life. Several south and west German memoirists describe mothers or grandmothers who wore a marriage wig (*Sheitel*) in the early nineteenth century but note that they or their daughters dropped the custom later.[63]

The nineteenth-century German-Jewish Reform movement did not change, and only rarely challenged, many traditional restrictions on women (separate seating in the balcony, not counting for the prayer quorum, not being called to the Torah). Although some Reform leaders tried to change the legal status of women in marriage and divorce, this was rarely central to their concerns. But Reform leaders frequently cited appealing to women's religious sensibilities as a motivation for the use of the German language in prayer and sermons, the introduction of decorum, and the use of musical instruments.[64] Confirmation ceremonies and mixed choirs in Liberal communities gave women a little more participation, and leaders all along the religious spectrum paid more attention to the religious sensibilities and education of women than before.

Modification of the traditional woman's prayerbook (*Techina*) was one way to appeal to more modernized forms of women's religiosity. Many male and female authors wrote devotional German prayerbooks in updated style to replace the old Yiddish prayers and create a Jewish version of the devotional works available to Christians. Though most were directed to women, some appealed to both sexes. The most popular devotional work, *Stunden der Andacht*, written by Fanny Neuda in 1854 after the death of her husband, went through many editions. Besides prayers to be said during the synagogue service, this deeply emotional book contained prayers for such occasions in a woman's life as marriage, the illness of children or husband, and widowhood, and even included a lengthy prayer for a woman in an unhappy marriage.[65]

Memoirists described sharply differing levels of Sabbath observance among Jews of both sexes. Most reported warmly about the pious atmosphere of Friday evenings and Saturdays in their youth, but a considerable number told of a later slackening or abandonment of strict Sabbath observance.[66] In many places laws required Jewish children to attend school on the Sabbath but exempted them from writing. Some children wrote on the Sabbath despite the exemption, and even those who did not technically violate the Sabbath by writing often missed Sabbath religious services and otherwise circumscribed their Sabbath observance.[67]

The Sabbath also conflicted with business opportunities. Some Jewish businessmen persuaded traditional rabbis to allow them to keep their businesses open on the Sabbath,[68] but more frequently they opened them without asking permission.[69] Those who worked on the Sabbath in small towns and villages often did so in secret. In Bockenheim around 1850, Jacob Epstein's aunts did embroidery work from early Sunday morning until Friday evening. Their employers delivered and picked up the work Saturday afternoon secretly so as not to offend the neighbors.[70] On the other hand, Falk V. Grünfeld fre-

quently took buying trips to Breslau on the railroad on Saturdays without compunction.[71] Opening the family business on the Sabbath did not necessarily mean dropping all family Sabbath observance. On the other hand, many Jews violated Sabbath restrictions with no economic motivation, by smoking, cooking, or using forbidden modes of transportation.

Most memoirs describe families that still kept a kosher home, observing the dietary laws though sometimes with some modifications. The Spaniers in Wunstorf, who considered themselves "religious but not Orthodox," at first performed the traditional cleansing operations if meat and milk cutlery got mixed together but later found easier ways to clean their dishes. The Silbermanns in Bischberg near Bamberg at first refrained from eating doughnuts given them by their Christian neighbors but later ate pastries made by non-Jewish neighbors in their nonkosher kitchens if their cleanliness met the Silbermanns' standards.[72] Although many Jewish traders throughout the nineteenth century observed *kashrut* (the dietary laws) strictly on their travels, sometimes living on dried meat, bread, potatoes, and hard-boiled eggs, others were less strict or abandoned the dietary laws altogether outside the home. Often there were great differences within families. Some husbands who no longer believed in the traditional practices went along with their outward observance at home to prevent offending anyone. Eduard Silbermann's uncle invited him to dine at a nonkosher restaurant: "Eduard, you can eat with me at Lang's but usually you don't have to eat non-kosher." Eduard's mother's reaction when told the story was to call her brother a *goy* (gentile) for serving nonkosher food to her son.[73] These wide differences led traditional Jews not to trust the *kashrut* observance of their fellow Jews.[74]

Quite a few Jews who had no interest in converting occasionally visited churches or attended church services out of curiosity. Some Jewish students attended Christian religion lessons, despite government regulations exempting Jews from them. Jacob Epstein's father approved his son's studying the New Testament, which he thought as culturally useful as studying Greek and Teutonic mythology. The later Rabbi Moritz Güdemann sang the Catholic litany, a Mozart motet, and other church melodies in singing class, though not in church.[75] Such willingness to participate in Christian religious activities did not imply any sympathy toward conversion. Although a few memoirists report flirting with conversion early in their lives, most report strong opposition to it. Silbermann reported that *meshumad* (apostate) was one of the worst things a Jew in Bischberg could call someone.[76]

Some memoirs remarked that children did not follow their parents' pious path. This led to conflict in some families, but quite a few members of the older generation were personally strict in observance but tolerant of their children's laxity. Sometimes husband and wife reacted differently. Hänlein Salomon Kohn (1803–80) expected his visiting adult sons to attend morning synagogue services, which led to arguments. During the nine days of mourning when one was supposed to avoid eating meat, his sons ate meat in the laundry with their mother's knowledge, after their father had gone to sleep.[77]

Most "modernized" families of the mid–nineteenth century were not totally secularized but practiced an inconsistent mixture of tradition and deviation from it. Martin Loevinson's father in Berlin in the 1860s wore the traditional fringed *arba kanfot* under his shirt and prayed daily, though without *tefilin* (phylacteries). The family kept a strictly kosher home but opened their business on the Sabbath. Although she was strict in her own house, Martin's grandmother explained that the family cooked on the Sabbath "for the sake of the children." While Martin's maternal grandmother attended the traditional Heidereutergasse synagogue regularly, his paternal grandfather, a freethinker, attended only on the High Holidays, if at all, and the other men attended on the main holidays. When the Loevinsons moved to Charlottenburg, Martin's father installed a traditional synagogue in their new home, since his wife would not ride to the Berlin synagogue on the Sabbath and holidays.[78]

Jacob Epstein's mother thought the Reform movement would destroy Judaism, but her husband was basically a freethinker who performed rituals like fasting on Yom Kippur, giving the Seder, and observing the Sabbath and holidays in the family out of respect for his wife. But in 1848 he took Jacob to Hanau by train on a Saturday and gave him spending money for his wanderings around town, all the while keeping much of this a secret because Jacob's mother or others might object.[79] Young Eduard Silbermann in Bamberg dropped such traditional practices as fasting on Tisha B'av or putting on *tefilin* daily, but did not write on the Sabbath in school.[80] After the chief rabbi of Meiningen declared writing on the Sabbath in school permissible, Moritz Siegel's pious grandmother visited a school supervisor in 1855 and obtained the right of exemption from Sabbath writing, a right her own grandchild did not use. During her visit she ate pastry and drank wine with the official, indicating less than strict Orthodoxy. In Moritz's hometown, many Jews served non-kosher food at social gatherings, smoked on the Sabbath, and paid more attention to secular than religious education.[81]

The religious views of some—rather atypical—German Jews in the 1840s and 1850s, especially urban Jews in the free professions, went beyond the transitional ones just described. Several memoirists set forth a highly unorthodox religious philosophy in the later pages of their autobiography, some of them written well after 1870. It is not completely clear whether they already held such radical beliefs earlier. Joseph Raff (1819–97) declared his disbelief in the afterlife, did not want his sons to recite *kaddish* (the traditional prayer for the dead) after his death, and wished to be cremated (in violation of Jewish traditions). Hermann Elias Weigert (1819–1908), proud that none of his close relatives converted to Christianity, added: "I myself am a complete freethinker in religious matters. Any religion based on ethical and humane principles is acceptable to me." Professor Moritz Abraham Stern declared he had long been as distant from Judaism as from Christianity and did not even share its belief in pure monotheism.[82] Such radical sentiments were still rare before 1870, when many families carried out only a partial and inconsistent modification of tradition.

Conclusion

Around 1780 German Jewry was almost uniformly religiously traditional, but by 1870 Jewish religious practice and attitudes had changed almost everywhere. By then German Jewish religious practice ran the gamut from preservation of the essence of the tradition at one end to the almost total abandonment of Jewish religious traditions on the other. Although most German Jews had already traveled a road away from tradition by 1870, almost all of them had grandparents who had been traditional Jews. It is difficult to guess what percentage of German Jews in 1870 still observed the rules of *kashrut* and the Sabbath.

12

German Jews and Their Social Relationships

Compared to the detailed documentation available about socializing among German middle-class Christians,[1] we have few details about what German Jews did when they got together informally. Memoirs report on reading and amusements within the home, visits by relatives and friends, card playing, dances, and visits to taverns. Because of the wide variations from individual to individual, it is difficult to make a comment on which of these informal activities was most common. Besides informal socializing and amusements, German Jews in the nineteenth century also joined clubs, welfare societies, and other formal organizations either together with non-Jews or, perhaps more frequently, in an exclusively Jewish or predominantly Jewish circle. Over the course of the nineteenth century the isolation of Jews from an often hostile majority population became less noticeable and social hostility declined, but some measure of separation in social relations remained throughout the period.

Socialization in the Jewish Community

The most intimate social circle for most people was the nuclear and extended family. Some families gathered in their living rooms to read or to engage in conversation or cultural activities, including singing or playing the piano. Many Jewish families, who worked long hours and were tired after work, spent their leisure hours at home resting or engaged in useful pursuits. Visits to relatives who lived in town were common, especially on the Sabbath. Visits from or to relatives out of town, which were naturally less frequent, were a high point of the year for many families. Families entertained visiting relatives in

the otherwise locked parlor and served them the best foods. The guests often brought gifts, especially for the children. A visit by a relative from America occasioned special excitement. Sometimes children were taken along on family visits, having a chance to enjoy train travel and occasionally staying over on their own. At times parents brought back presents for their children from business trips or allowed them to help unpack their purchases.[2]

The Sabbath was especially devoted to socializing. In Bamberg, Jews went on walks to various parks and sights in the city on Saturday. They gathered at taverns around 4 P.M. and unpacked light suppers of leftovers from lunch. Jewish women, but not men, made Sabbath courtesy calls.[3]

Young people often got together without their families. Children played in the streets or played at home with their toys. Schoolmates walked to school together, sometimes for long distances. They went to each other's houses to play and do homework. In all these activities, Jews interacted with both Jews and Christians, although they usually had more intensive contact with other Jews. Older boys and girls got together informally to talk and flirt. In urban communities they also attended dance lessons and met at formal dances. Young Jewish men sometimes gathered at taverns, clubrooms, or private houses. In Samotschin they met in the rooms of a Jewish teacher during the "long boring winter nights" several times a week to tell stories and off-color jokes. Sometimes one of the young men sang cantorial melodies he had heard from itinerant Polish cantors.[4]

In larger Jewish communities, families with greater wealth or secular education often looked down on the "Jewish masses" and refrained from mixing with them. Eduard Silbermann criticized Jewish social stratification in Bamberg and claimed that "distinguished" and "elite" were just synonyms for "rich." When his family moved there in 1862 they received visits from many women, including some from the elite, but relations with the elite soon cooled off since they assumed that the Silbermanns, who dressed more simply than most Jews ("like the Christians"), were merely of modest means. "We were considered peasant Jews."[5] From the other side of the social divide, Marie Maas describes how her family considered many Jews not sufficiently "distinguished" for her to socialize with. When Tina Harrys fell in love with the architect Edwin Oppler, the elite Jewish families of Hanover did not approve, since he was an "artist and therefore not sufficiently trustworthy to start a family."[6]

Many memoirists record how they acquired the proper social forms, an important part of the entrance of Jews into the German middle classes. When young Jacob Adam came to Berlin from the province of Posen, his relative Abel gave him pointers on how to behave, telling Adam to brush his coat and trousers, shine his shoes, and appear clean-shaven. In line with common stereotypes about Jewish posture, he taught Adam how to walk in the street "not slinking but with a firm and lively stride."[7] Heinemann Rosenthal's somewhat clumsy demeanor when he came to Bernburg from a village earned him the nickname of "peasant" in the urban Jewish circles. Eduard Silbermann's family found that in Bamberg they were expected to dress up on Sunday, even though in their village they had worn their weekday clothes then. On the other

hand, by the 1860s Falk Grünfeld, in small-town Landeshut, already had many of the social talents that enabled him to succeed in society and in business. He was a graceful dancer, played the violin, and participated in amateur theater performances.[8]

Few German Jews undertook pleasure trips in the eighteenth century, but vacation travel became more common for prosperous families by the mid-nineteenth century. Wealthy individuals went on sightseeing trips, sometimes inside Germany but at least as frequently outside the country, especially to Italy, Belgium, France, and England. Some Jewish travelers combined business and pleasure when they traveled to the world exhibitions in London and Paris.[9] In exceptional cases even poor men, like the teacher Aron Ehrlich, went on lengthy summer vacations as early as the 1840s.[10]

Aron Hirsch Heymann's frequent visits to spas with his wife and older children were a sign of his growing prosperity. The Heymanns went to Warmbrunn in 1845 and Marienbad at least six times between 1856 and 1871. Other Jews vacationed at spas in Ems, Schwalbach, Kissingen, Pyrmont, and Homburg.[11] Besides taking the waters, they attended dances, concerts, and theater productions, and mixed with other upper-class Jews and Christians. Sometimes friendships struck up at spas continued in correspondence, including a rather surprising association between the historian of the Jews, Heinrich Graetz, and Karl Marx, who met at Karlsbad in 1876.[12] Resorts at the seashore, popular after 1870, were not yet common destinations earlier. The exception was the North Sea island of Norderney, which began to attract a Jewish clientele relatively early. In 1840 David Bendix Goldstein and his daughters opened the first kosher eatery there. By 1869, the list of visitors to Norderney included 99 Jews (2.4 percent of the total number of tourists), a number that rose to 343 (5.8 percent) by 1874.[13]

Leisure Activities

The spare-time activities of German Jews both resembled and differed from those of German Christians. Even in the eighteenth century when religious constraints were nearly universal, rabbis and communal leaders frequently complained that Jews (especially in the countryside) engaged in amusements not sanctioned by Jewish religious law. They bemoaned Jewish participation in dancing and card playing and the frequenting of non-Jewish taverns.[14]

Both Jews and Christians believed that Jewish men were less prone to heavy drinking than their neighbors. Several Jewish memoirs, mainly from the eastern provinces, describe the heavy drinking of the peasants with disdain and contrast it with the Jews' moderation. The few memoirists who describe individual Jewish drunkards treat them as amusing and rare exceptions.[15] But although they were rarely heavy drinkers, Jewish men were not teetotalers and did enjoy visits to taverns, sometimes together with their whole family. In some communities Jews took their light Saturday afternoon meal to the tavern or beer garden, drank a beer, and paid for it after the Sabbath.[16] Jewish men

also went to taverns to read the newspaper, smoke, or look for customers. There they also engaged in their most popular pastime, card playing, a pursuit that numerous memoirs mention. Jews sometimes played cards just for amusement, but at times they gambled for high stakes. Some couples were estranged when the husband stayed out late at night at the tavern playing cards.[17] Billiards and bowling were also popular among Jewish men.[18]

Many Jews also enjoyed social dancing. Except at some weddings, where men and women danced separately, nineteenth-century German-Jewish men and women always danced together. Orthodox objections to social dancing virtually disappeared.[19] As early as 1802, the Jews of Rodenberg celebrated the elevation of the count of Hesse-Kassel to the rank of elector with a ball. Some communities sponsored dances for Jewish holidays like Simhat Torah. Dancing lessons became a mark of the refined middle classes by the mid–nineteenth century, and young people danced together at balls supervised by their parents. Finding an appropriate ball dress was a major theme in the memoirs of the upper-class Marie Maas.[20]

Cultural activities, including attending the theater and reading both quietly and aloud, played an increasing role in German Jewish leisure. Late eighteenth-century travelers to Berlin described how Jews filled the orchestra seats at theaters. By the mid–nineteenth century, attending the theater became common even in provincial communities. Young people often had seats in the balcony, while wealthier Jewish men and women had box or orchestra seats for theatre and concerts.[21] But Jews also participated in more folksy entertainment. Silbermann describes his delight in the itinerant puppet shows (*Hanskasperle*) that visited his hometown, and even the socially elite Marie Maas enjoyed buying toys and gingerbread and watching the "monkey theater" and high-wire acts at quarterly fairs in Hanover. Jews in many villages participated in church carnivals (*Kirchweihe*) and other local amusements.[22]

Jewish Organizations

Until the late eighteenth century, all Jewish organizations seem to have been religious in nature, and most were exclusively male in membership. These *hevrot* combined performance of good deeds with common study and annual banquets. Besides the ubiquitous burial society, larger communities had other societies to care for the sick, clothe the poor, educate poor children, and provide the poor with firewood. Parallel to the vast increase in general organizational life in nineteenth-century Germany, Jewish organizations expanded and diversified. Jews formed new Jewish charity associations with formal bylaws in a host of communities.

In the late eighteenth century, Jewish organizations began to drop the requirement of regular Torah study and to develop more modern forms of mutual aid.[23] In addition to the traditional vigil for the dying and preparation of burials, the *Milde-Stiftungs-Bruderschaft* in Vallendar in 1825 paid doctor bills for sick members and provided food and family support for impoverished

members during illness. Later some societies began to function like mutual insurance schemes, with different dues for different age groups and restriction of benefits to member families only.[24] With the spread of Enlightenment ideas, welfare associations sometimes emphasized their humanitarian rather than traditional Jewish motivations and took names like *Humanitätsverein* (humanitarian society). Others engaged in such nontraditional activities as postponing funerals for three days after death, funding modern schools, and aiding university students.[25] Urban sick-care societies began to open Jewish hospitals and orphanages.[26] As modern capitalist ideas of rationalized charity for the "worthy" poor began to replace traditional ideas of helping all in need, some communities created societies to combat begging.

Many large Jewish communities, especially in the Posen district in the 1820s and 1830s, set up young men's societies for social and charitable functions.[27] More significantly, hundreds of German-Jewish communities founded women's societies. The few Jewish women's societies in eighteenth-century German-speaking Europe had been very much of an exception. In the late eighteenth century and more commonly in the early nineteenth century, women in urban communities began to found sick-care insurance funds. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, Hamburg had three Jewish women's organizations. Instead of sewing shrouds and preparing women's bodies for burial as auxiliaries or paid employees of men's burial societies, women began to form independent women's societies in the nineteenth century. These were usually generic benevolent societies that performed burial rites and such charitable acts as decorating the synagogue, helping sick women, and providing clothing for poor girls and students and sometimes mutual aid and health insurance schemes as well. The bulk of Jewish women's societies, at least in the provinces, seem to date from the period after 1840. Women ran many organizations independently, but men helped to found and administer women's organizations in some communities. According to Baader, independent Jewish women's organizations predate their non-Jewish counterparts.[28]

Purely social Jewish clubs on the model of middle-class German clubs were created in large Jewish communities, in part because Jews were excluded from the Christian organizations but also because many Jews preferred to socialize with their coreligionists. The most famous early Jewish club, the *Gesellschaft der Freunde*, founded in Berlin in 1792, originally accepted only unmarried Jewish men but later permitted married or converted members to continue as members. The *Gesellschaft* began as an outspokenly nontraditional club, coming into conflict with traditionalists on a number of fronts. The club admitted Christians (mainly baptized Jews) but not women and sometimes tried to hide its Jewish origins. Besides philanthropic activities it held balls, concerts, and other amusements. By its fiftieth anniversary the club had attracted enough traditionalist members to serve kosher food to 70 members while 300 members ate a nonkosher dinner at the same banquet.[29]

Another Jewish men's club in Berlin, *Magine Reim*, remained exclusively Jewish. Founded in 1804, it rejected a proposal to admit Christian members in

1845. In Breslau a *Gesellschaft der Brüder* was founded in 1815 with aims similar to the Berlin *Gesellschaft der Freunde*. The *Concordia* club, founded in 1838, admitted any legal resident of Munich to membership, but in 1841 all 91 of its members were Jewish. The club provided "decent, merry and informal entertainment," including reading, singing, dancing, billiards, cards, and board games, but specifically forbade games of chance. By 1840 there were no fewer than 60 Jewish associations in Hamburg.[30] The 15 young Frankfurt merchants who met in an upstairs room at a "better class wine and apple wine tavern" in 1850 formed a more informal social circle that in 1857 formalized its existence and took the name *Einigkeit* (unity). Several new men were admitted, including two "token Christians."[31] In some villages in the mid–nineteenth century (especially in southwest Germany), Jews formed separate clubs parallel to those of Christians, including reading societies, singing societies, and theater groups.

The *Garküche* (canteen) and the Jewish tavern provided two important meeting places for Jewish sociability, especially in traditional communities in south Germany. Jewish merchants and other travelers met at the *Garküchen*, which served kosher food to Jews away from home. In large communities in the southwest, Jewish taverns served kosher food as well as alcoholic beverages, although they did not cater to an exclusively Jewish clientele. Josef Raff parents' tavern began to suffer when most Jewish young people in his hometown of Altenstadt emigrated to America and eventually only had business on Sunday when Christian customers came.[32]

Jewish-Gentile Relationships: Hostility and Friendships

For a long time Jews and Christians only mixed for economic reasons and had few friendly ties. They formed two separate communities living in the same town and often distrusted and disliked each other. Christian hostility took two forms—daily acts of disdain and insult against Jews and rarer acts of violence. The degree of hostility declined during the first seven decades of the nineteenth century, but even physical violence never died out completely. Jews were frequently the targets of taunts, insults, and occasionally rock throwing. A particularly humiliating taunt, which disappeared around 1830, was "Jud mach mores" (Jew show your manners!). A Jew who did not take off his hat and bow quickly enough might have rocks thrown at him.[33] In the early nineteenth century a sign over the entrance to the spa at Nenndorf, which a Jew later removed, read: "No admission to Jews and pigs."[34]

Many Jews who reported anti-Jewish insults after the 1830s treated them as annoyances rather than as seriously menacing. They often returned the insults in kind or beat up their attackers. Many writers reported such aggressive reactions with evident pride, and some claimed that determined responses made Christians respect them more.[35] In the 1848 revolution, 22-year-old David Strauss, in Tauberbischofsheim, aimed his rifle at a drunken crowd singing antisemitic songs and threatened to shoot if they did not disperse. On the other

hand, when someone threw a rock through her window, a Jewish woman in Eppingen withdrew from social interaction with her Christian neighbors. She eventually went back to visiting her Christian friend after the friend's husband criticized her for overreacting.[36] Many memoirists, born in the 1820s and thereafter, explicitly stated that they never encountered any anti-Jewish remarks, teasing, or unpleasantness. Often they contrast their peaceful childhood with the antisemitic atmosphere of the post-1870s period.[37]

Anti-Jewish incidents were not restricted to individual acts. Anti-Jewish riots in Ostfriesland and Posen were motivated by traditional anti-Jewish accusations of ritual murder or Jewish mockery of the Christian religion. At Neustadt-Gödens, Ostfriesland, in 1782, soldiers who had been brought in to protect the Jews killed several rioters.[38] Although Emancipation ended mass expulsions, still carried out at times in the eighteenth century,[39] the granting of rights to German Jews and their subsequent improved position in society may actually have exacerbated violent confrontations. In 1809 a crowd attacked the synagogue in French-occupied Trier after the Jews illuminated it in honor of Napoleon's birthday. Violence against Jews also took place on a larger geographic scale in 1819, 1830, 1834–35, 1848, and 1866. In January 1834 an investigation of window-breaking incidents in Schenklengsfeld showed that youths had committed the acts in reaction to a recent Hesse-Kassel law improving the status of the Jews. The serious riots against Jews in Hamburg in 1835 began with the expulsion of young Jews from fashionable coffeehouses on the Jungfernstieg, a boulevard in an area of town from which Jews had previously been absent.[40] In village communities, disputes over communal rights like pasturage and free wood from the town forest brought about some of the bitterest conflicts, as evidenced in violent outbreaks against Jews in 1819, 1830, 1848, and 1866.[41] In several cases Jews were forced to renounce their new communal rights in return for an end to the violence.[42]

A different kind of anti-Jewish violence took place in the province of Posen during the Polish uprising of 1848. Poles attacked Jews mainly because they considered them allies of the Germans. In terms of violence, these riots may have been worse than elsewhere. Several Jews were killed, some with great brutality. Rioters burned down synagogues and tore Torah scrolls to shreds. Yet despite anti-Jewish religious motives in the attacks, Jews were not the only targets. Though German-Jewish writers often give a very anti-Polish slant to their discussion of the uprising, other German Jews supported the Poles or at least described them as not particularly brutal. Of course the violence against Jews as pro-German often became a self-fulfilling prophecy, pushing the Posen Jews into the arms of the Germans.[43]

Criminal activities with Jews as both victims and perpetrators were another kind of hostile encounter between Jews and non-Jews. Politicians and police officials often discussed Jewish criminality during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but rising prosperity among German Jews caused its virtual disappearance from public discussion.[44] Before 1850 Jews were accused mainly of crimes against property. Gangs of Jewish robbers (or mixed Jewish-Christian gangs) roamed many parts of Germany. A large gang of rob-

bers, operating out of Groningen in the Netherlands, committed crimes in an area from Mainz all the way to northern Germany between 1790 and 1805. According to one memoir, Peine near Hanover served as another center of crime around 1800.[45] The center of Jewish criminal activities moved from southern and western Germany to the northeast, where Jewish criminality continued to be discernible through the 1820s and 1830s. Towns like Betsche in Posen, where one quarter of the inhabitants supposedly lived from theft or receiving stolen goods, had reputations as centers of Jewish criminality. In 1832 the police surrounded the town, whose city council included the worst criminals, and arrested the thieves. Other towns in the province of Posen listed as headquarters for thieves by the authorities included Brätz, Bentschen, Blesen, Tirschtiegel, Schwerin an der Warthe, Unruhstadt, and Wollstein.[46] Jewish criminals often had their own language,[47] habits, and methods of operation. They covered a larger territory than did non-Jewish criminals, were considered adept at opening locks, and were usually less violent than others. Some criminals observed the dietary laws and other Jewish rituals, and in one case a crime had to be postponed because a Jewish robber refused to commit a burglary on Friday night.[48]

Crime statistics around 1800 do not corroborate the reputation of Jews as criminals. Between 1802 and 1809 in the French-occupied Department of the Saar, only 19 Jews (of whom 6 were found innocent) were accused of crimes, mainly theft and *Gaunerei* (swindling) and, in two cases, merely "bad conduct."[49] Jews more frequently suffered as victims of crimes. Sometimes, as in the Schinderhannes banditry of 1798–1802 west of the Rhine, Jews were singled out as victims. In general Jews were susceptible to robbery because they traveled on the roads with merchandise and often carried cash. Hermann Hamburger tells how thieves commonly cut open the coverings of the wagons of Jewish textile merchants at night and stole bales of material. Jews were also the victims of shoplifting in their stores or break-ins in their homes.[50]

Anti-Jewish incidents became less common, although they never disappeared. Jewish-Christian relations seem to have been at their best from the 1840s to the 1870s, and most memoirists, especially those born in the middle of the century, describe good or excellent relationships.[51] Friendships between Jews and Christians often required the overcoming of former misgivings. When he first attended a Christian Gymnasium in Dresden in the 1820s, the Christian atmosphere made Bernhard Hirschel feel acutely conspicuous as a Jew. Later his social relationships improved remarkably, and he made close friends at school. Jacob Adam never mentions any personal relationships with Christians in the part of his memoirs dealing with his earlier life. But when describing his family's departure from a little East Prussia town in 1825 he writes that "all our good friends, both Jews and Christians, stood by our wagon with tears in their eyes."[52] Meyer Spanier paints an idyllic picture of his parents sitting on a bench with their Christian neighbor on warm summer evenings as the children played nearby.[53]

Some cases of intimacy between Jews and Christians were more ambiguous or were met with opposition. In Samotschin, for instance, the fact that a

Jew used the familiar "du" when addressing Christians was interpreted as a sign of friendly relations. In Wunstorf, on the other hand, when Christians referred to Jews by their first names, at least one Jewish woman took this as an indication of lack of respect.[54] Presumably where the use of familiar language was mutual it was a sign of friendliness, but where it was unequal it was demeaning. Although most memoirists report good relations with schoolmates in confessionally mixed schools,[55] they also report that not all Jews or Christians approved of these mixed relationships. When Eduard Silbermann told his Jewish playmate "Adolfele" that he had been called a *Judenstinker*, the other boy replied it served him right "for running around with a *goy*." Meyer Spanier's teacher once criticized a Christian student who did not know his lessons by saying "you must have been running around with your Jewish friend again" (another version reported he had said "with the Jew boy [*Judenjunge*]"). Both boys' fathers wrote angry letters to the teacher, who made a halfhearted apology.[56]

Neighborly relationships were common in small towns. Clara Geissmar's mother's neighbor, knowing she did not like the warmed-up coffee that was all that pious Jews could prepare on Saturday, would invite her for hot coffee every Saturday afternoon. Meyer Spanier's mother nursed her Christian neighbor's son when the neighbor got sick. The son of a Christian neighbor joined the Heymann children's lessons with their tutor. Martin Loevinson and his siblings even called their Christian neighbors "uncle" and "aunt."[57] In Schmiegel, in the province of Posen, large numbers of Jewish and Christian citizens gathered at an inn on Saturday and Sunday mornings for a morning drink. Despite vehement arguments about politics, they rarely argued about religion. Jewish and Christian women in the town met for coffee and in social circles (*Kränzchen*), and there was also a common citizen's club.[58] In Bockenheim, Jacob Epstein's family frequently invited a local Christian teacher to dinner, and he stayed to play cards.[59]

Often Jewish religious practices did not stand in the way of social relations because Christians and Jews took religious differences into account. In some towns, Christians visited the synagogue on Yom Kippur eve or had refreshments in the *sukkah* during the feast of Tabernacles. They served Jews who visited them food that "their religion permitted them to eat." In many communities Jews gave their Christian neighbors matzot for Passover and received a gift of fruit or eggs in return. Some Jews decorated their homes on Christian holidays. But there were limits to interreligious closeness. In Eduard Silbermann's town, Jews and Christians never went to each other's funerals, a sharp contrast with widespread twentieth-century patterns of mutual participation in funerals in south German villages.[60]

Close ties between the nobility and wealthy Jewish bankers and court purveyors were not uncommon. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the son of Nathan Samuel Strauss, court purveyor to the prince of Salm, played billiards with a member of the high nobility, went on hunting expeditions with the court entourage, and ate fish and vegetables at the prince's table. Strauss's grandson describes these relations as "almost friendly." Such social contacts

also existed in later generations. On her eleventh birthday, in 1866, Marie Maas, descended from court Jews, even visited the queen of Hanover, and was shown around the palace and served breakfast. At balls and social evenings hosted by prominent Jewish or Christian families, Marie conversed and danced with young officers and high-ranking noblemen. One generation earlier her mother had received poems and gifts from an aristocratic officer she met at a dance.[61] Young Jewish men who attended universities joined fraternities (*Burschenschaften*) and other elite student societies much more freely than later.[62] Jews in contact with nobles sometimes joined in aristocratic activities not usually associated with Jews, such as hunting, riding, fencing, and dueling.[63]

Between 1780 and 1806 in Berlin, several wealthy Jewish women led salons attended by leading Christian writers, noblemen, and government officials. At these open houses tea or other refreshments were served, and the guests discussed literature and politics or listened to music. Several well-publicized love affairs between Jewish women and Christian men of the elite began at the salons, and many Jewish participants eventually converted to Christianity.[64] Although the salons had some imitators outside of Berlin,[65] their influence declined rapidly after 1806. Such free relationships between nobles and commoners, men and women, Jews and gentiles were less common in the following generations, and there were few important Jewish salons between 1806 and 1870.

Intermarriage between Jews and Christians was uncommon before 1871, in part because marriages of unconverted Jews and Christians were illegal in most German states until 1848 or 1871. When mixed marriage was illegal, one member of the couple (usually the Jewish spouse) had to convert before the wedding, but such conversions were not very common before 1870. Even after the legalization of intermarriage in some German states, the number of cases of mixed marriages was far smaller than after 1870.[66]

Though intermarriage was rare, love relationships between Jews and Christians did occur. In most cases, one of the parties prevented these relationships from leading to a permanent tie. Marie Maas's mother, "the daughter of the most Orthodox man in Hanover . . . took away all hope" from an aristocratic officer who sent her gifts and poems, though she continued to wear his friendship ring for many years. On his travels as a journeyman bookbinder, David Probst met several Christian women who showed an interest in him, but he avoided getting into a permanent relationship with them.[67] Undoubtedly there were other, deeper, relations of love between Christians and Jews that did not lead to marriage, but they have left little trace.

Jews in General Organizational and Political Life

Jews began joining urban non-Jewish social clubs around 1800 (earlier in Berlin). Some of the early Jewish members admitted to non-Jewish clubs were highly assimilated and withdrew from Jewish associations, but many Jews participated actively in both Jewish and general organizations.[68] The first Jew ad-

mitted to a general club in Braunschweig was the court Jew Israel Jacobson in 1801. In Trier in 1799 and Munich in 1804, Jews were cofounders of mixed cultural and social organizations. The four Jewish charter members of the *Museum*, the oldest social club in Munich, increased to 17 Jewish members by 1834. In 1830 the leading clubs in Braunschweig included Jewish members. By 1850 six Jews belonged to the city's most exclusive club, the *Grosser Club*, and Jews also belonged to art societies, the garden club, and the patriotic club.[69] In Wolfenbüttel a circle of well-educated Christian lawyers and officials as well as the Jewish educator Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg met in the evenings at the Golden Lion inn for "witty conversation." The group eventually developed into a social club of about 30 members, still thriving in 1850. The Freemasons in the small city of Nienburg admitted their first Jewish member in 1844, and by 1870 Jews served as lodge officeholders. Nienburg Jews also belonged to the shooting club and the singing society, though some relatively unimportant organizations still excluded Jews in 1870.[70]

Mixed Christian-Jewish organizations generally appeared somewhat later in villages than in the cities, but Walldorf, near Meiningen, where "better class" Jewish families founded the *Casino* together with the pastor, the teacher, and some farmers in the 1840s, was an exception. In 1858, 14 of the 102 members of the singing society cofounded by the Jewish teacher Emanuel Berolzheimer in the Bavarian village of Harburg were Jewish. In Demmin, Pomerania, Jews began to join theater, gymnastic, and shooting societies after 1850, and in 1868 a Jew helped found the volunteer fire department. Falk Grünfeld cofounded the men's gymnastic society of Landeshut in 1863.[71]

Another sign of growing Jewish integration was participation in local political life. Most early nineteenth-century town governments considered themselves representatives of the Christian population only. Christians considered Jews a community separate from the "real villagers" and in some places called the head of the Jewish community "the Jews' mayor." Among the different classes of residents—*Bürger* (full citizens), *Beisassen* (those with partial rights), and *Hintersassen* (those with very few rights)—Jews in most villages were either classed as *Hintersassen* or excluded altogether.[72]

Jews entered town councils earlier in northern and eastern Germany than in parts of Bavaria and Hesse, where their entry usually occurred after 1870.[73] Strausberg, near Berlin, with only eight Jewish families, had two Jewish council members by the early nineteenth century. Berlin had Jewish city assembly and city council members by 1809. In Braunschweig, the first Jewish elector (for the city's indirect elections) was chosen in 1835, and the first Jewish city council members were chosen in 1845.[74] A law of 1834 in the province of Posen, where the German minority sought the support of the large Jewish population against the Polish majority, permitted Jews to be elected to local government bodies. However, an 1838 order limited Jews to no more than one-third of the membership of any town council. Jews joined town councils in some Posen towns as early as the 1830s, though not until the 1840s or 1850s in others.[75]

During the revolution of 1848, Jews were victims of revolutionary attacks in some regions but also served as leaders of local liberal or radical groups,

The Jewish and Christian population of Ichenhausen honoring Ferdinand Heinrich vom Stain on January 5, 1784, after the unification of the town. Courtesy of Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte.

even in small towns and villages.[76] Some Jewish revolutionaries in Harburg and Ichenhausen, Bavaria, had to flee or were imprisoned after the failure of the revolution. Elsewhere, rioters sometimes asked Jewish men to lead the storming of government buildings, and at times these Jews were able to calm the rioters and facilitate political negotiations. Some Jews turned against the revolution when it entered a radical phase.[77]

Jews gradually developed both intense local patriotism and German nationalism. Some memoir writers recorded their Hanoverian patriotism and strong opposition to Prussia in the 1866 war. Others discussed their patriotic enthusiasm for Prussia and German unification in the Franco-Prussian war. The great majority of German-Jewish memoir writers shared this patriotism, which one memoirist calls a family tradition of "Prussian-German patriotism—not chauvinism." Jewish women actively helped the war effort and joined patriotic women's organizations. Caesar Seligmann records a discordant note, however. During the Franco-Prussian war, when he and those around him were aflame with German patriotism, his father Moses would regularly say "*Pfui Ashkenaz*" (Shame on Germany). Moses told his son: "You will always just be the Jew [der Jud] in their eyes. I don't want to wish it on you but I am afraid you will live to see it one day. *Rishus* [antisemitism] in *Ashkenaz* [Germany] is ineradicable."[78]

Conclusion

Jewish social life in the nineteenth century slowly became more sophisticated and less exclusive. Numerous German Jews acquired manners appropriate to polite gentile society and began attending cultural events such as concerts and the theater. Though most Jews continued to socialize mainly with coreligionists, mixed Christian-Jewish formal and informal circles became more common. Jews of the higher classes were admitted to general bourgeois associations, and Jews participated in slowly growing numbers in local government and national politics. Violence against Jews became less common. In the liberal era of the 1850s and 1860s, barriers to Jewish mixing with non-Jews were probably lower than ever before in German history, though separate social circles were still quite noticeable.

Part III
As Germans and as Jews in Imperial Germany

Marion Kaplan

The unification of Germany in 1871 granted legal equality to Germany's Jews.[1] They could live, marry, and worship as full citizens and take advantage of unparalleled opportunities in business and the professions. Jews had been in public life for about two decades before legal emancipation and had already begun to enter the middle classes. In Imperial Germany, they solidified their middle-class status, growing wealthier, giving their children advanced educations in numbers far beyond their proportion of the overall population, moving to the cities, enjoying bourgeois culture, and integrating with other Jews and Germans in lively and burgeoning associations.

As Jews became more acculturated, their religious attitudes increasingly diversified, stretching from Orthodox to secular. Some even converted and intermarried. Still, very few left the Jewish community, and many felt satisfied with a Judaism that encompassed family, bourgeois culture, and community.

Antisemitism limited Jewish attainments, intensifying and later subsiding in Imperial Germany only to rise up again during World War I. Some of the most important institutions of the German Empire—the army, the universities, the civil service, and the Imperial Court—shunned Jews, as did high society. And even when the antisemitic political parties faced resounding parliamentary defeat in prewar Germany, antisemitism infiltrated many political and semipolitical organizations as well as society more generally.[2] Antisemitism thus restricted Jewish success but also created the boundaries against which Jews relentlessly pushed, often successfully.

13

Surroundings

Between 1871 and 1910, the population of the Jewish community in Germany grew from 512,000 to 615,000 but held steady at around 1 percent of the total population. This growth was actually slower than the growth of the non-Jewish population, but it was still approximately a 20 percent increase. The Jewish population was in enormous flux. Social historians and demographers have traced the large migrations of Jews in the Imperial era from rural areas to towns and then to cities, noting that they were "concerned not only with geographic mobility but also with social mobility."[1] Moreover, Germany attracted Eastern European Jewish immigrants and remained a point of transmigration for over 2 million Jews en route from Eastern Europe to points further west.[2] Thus German Jews not only took part in their own internal migration—both geographic and social—but also witnessed much larger shifts in the Jewish population.

On the Move

The peripatetic nature of Jewish life before 1871 was the result not only of trading, especially peddling, but also of Jews' lack of legal domicile. As noted in previous chapters, states could expel Jews without cause or notice, deny them settlement, or (as in Bavaria's Registration Law, or *Matrikelgesetz*) permit only the eldest son to live in the same residence as his family of origin. The founding of the German Empire in 1871 heralded a new era in which all citizens were permitted to relocate and settle freely. In that year, about 70 percent of Jews lived in the countryside. Forty years later, about 70 percent of Jews resided in cities.[3] Millions of non-Jewish Germans were also on

the move. With large numbers flocking to Berlin and to the Ruhr valley from the eastern provinces, 21 percent of non-Jews lived in urban areas by 1910.

Jews remaining in the countryside could be found primarily in Hesse, Baden, Württemberg, Franconia, Rhineland and Westphalia. Over the course of the nineteenth century, rural Jews, following a typical German pattern, resettled in larger towns or cities near their childhood residences.[4] In Baden, for example, Jews from the small villages around Mannheim tended to migrate there; those around Heidelberg migrated there. In this way they could maintain both familial and business ties with relatives who stayed behind. When Hugo Marx's father married and moved to Heidelberg in 1890, he remained head of the business his parents had created in the village of Sandhausen and commuted there daily.[5]

How did Jewish migration look from the perspective of these small towns and villages? In Gaukönigshofen (Lower Franconia), to take one example, the general population increased between 1865 and 1910 from 550 to 739 (34 percent) but the number of Jews declined from 89 to 80 (–10 percent) in the same period. Thus the Jewish share of the population decreased as Jews moved to the bigger Bavarian cities.[6]

Julius Berger (b. 1863) contrasted the lure of the city to his small-town existence. In Zempelburg (West Prussia) people got up, went to work, and went to bed. Only market days, on Tuesdays and Fridays, provided some relief from the daily monotony. Berlin was different:

> I had the opportunity to conclude that Berliners . . . went to their factories or businesses in the morning, worked hard during the day, but used their evening hours to enjoy . . . the pleasant things in life. Quite apart from going to theaters and concerts, I could tell that Berliners were also interested in associational life.[7]

Similarly, Julie Kaden (b. 1894) recounted the excitement of city life in Dresden: "Electric lights, the electric street car and telephone—the first automobiles . . . the phonograph, the cinema."[8]

Among cities, Berlin stood out. Isidor Hirschfeld was born in 1868 into a family of 12 children in a West Prussian village. The son of a peddler and a mother who ran a small pub, he apprenticed nearby in a firm with which his father did business. At 17, his uncle invited him to come to Berlin. His memoirs, written years later, evince the thrill he felt at the prospect: "The dream of every clerk from the province! . . . I jumped at the opportunity."[9] Berlin's Jewish population grew in leaps and bounds. In 1871, greater Berlin was home to about 36,000 Jews. By 1910 their numbers had increased threefold. Berlin attracted multitudes of Jews from all over Germany, but the growth of its Jewish population was also due to an influx of Eastern European Jewish refugees from pogroms of the 1880s and then from the Russian pogroms and Revolution of 1905. These immigrants lived in a variety of urban centers, but the largest contingent chose Berlin. About 21,000

eastern Jews congregated in the lively, narrow, and crowded alleys of Berlin's Scheunenviertel, with its bustling food stands, peddlers, workers, and prostitutes. They shopped in stores that advertised in both German and Yiddish, and many still wore traditional clothing.[10] And they lived at some distance from the wealthier neighborhoods inhabited by German Jews.

It is well known that the lower-class status and cultural distinctiveness of Eastern Jews elicited scorn and anguish from more acculturated German Jews; this has also been exaggerated, however. German Jews received their Eastern coreligionists with complicated feelings of affiliation and antagonism. They provided the immigrants, who numbered about 90,000 directly before World War I, with enormous financial, social, and political aid even as they also attempted to disenfranchise them within the Jewish communities.[11] Thus Eastern Jews tended not to mingle with their German-Jewish counterparts as groups, although interactions between individuals certainly existed.

Migrations also caused urban–rural separations, between "country bumpkins" and their citified relatives. In Swabia, the daughter of an urban woman and rural man distinguished easily between their families: her mother's brothers were "gentlemen" (*Herren*) whereas her father's were still "men" (*Männer*). Her mother's family included prosperous merchants and lawyers, whereas her father's family remained in the petty trades. His relatives "no longer fit into our now already citified, modernly decorated house." Housing, however, does not present the whole issue. Urban living required urban manners and a degree of wealth: "[His relatives] didn't eat as nicely as one had taught us children to eat. . . . And when they left, father gave them a significant amount of money."[12] Still, these were differences in degree and should not be exaggerated. Rural Jews were often considered an "urban" element in their villages, having adopted some bourgeois tastes, whether in food, furnishings, or music. Nor did all urban Jews acquire the taste and polish to which they may have aspired.[13]

Jews continued to converge in particular areas of cities, although they were still a minority in most of these areas.[14] In Königsberg, poor Jews, the lower middle class, and poor immigrants or transmigrants lived in the old streets around the synagogue and Jewish welfare institutions. In these areas, described as "stifling, without light or ventilation," Jews made up about 10 percent of the population around 1905. The wealthiest Jews lived in fine bourgeois apartments in the center of the city or in villas in the suburbs.[15]

Besides wealth, levels of piety could dictate where one lived. In Frankfurt, until about 1870, Jews resided in the old ghetto area. The very observant, both Orthodox and immigrant, stayed near their old neighborhoods so they could walk to their customary synagogues.[16] Other Jews were more mobile. By the turn of the century, the religiously traditional Jewish middle class had moved into the Ostend (near the ghetto), while Liberal Jews had moved to the North or Northwest.[17] Jewish residential concentrations in all of these areas helped keep family and friendship networks alive and allowed families to drop in on each other.[18]

Housing

The houses that Jews lived in depended on geography, class, and occupation. In the small villages of Baden, Jews lived next door to their animals or businesses. The Marx family of Sandhausen, for example, lived in a two-story house near the center of town. One entered the house through the restaurant on the first floor. The family's living room stood next to the restaurant and attached to the kitchen. The kitchen door opened to a courtyard bordered by stalls of chickens, geese, cows, goats, and a draft horse. The cigar factory, another two-story building owned by the family, also faced the courtyard. The first floor of the factory contained the office and the tobacco fermenting room and the second story housed the workshop that employed about 30 laborers. The dust and dirt of the factory turned the owner's son into a lifetime nonsmoker, as did the example of his father, a chain smoker, whose "repulsive cigar odor permeated all the rooms [of their home]." Behind the factory, the children could play in a large garden replete with strawberries, blackberries, apricots, apples, and pears. For some Jewish villagers, then, the world remained rather enclosed: the house, business, garden, and family space were all closely connected. School and occasional social visits provided the only opportunities to venture out.[19]

Although some Jews built large villas even in small towns, grand "palaces" could be found only in cities like Berlin. The palace of Bethel Henry Strousberg, a convert to Christianity, built in 1868, was a "handsome building with Greek columns [and] . . . numerous reception rooms." With gas lighting and central heating, it also included a conservatory, picture gallery, library, ballroom, and a grand staircase.[20] In stark contrast, only a few miles apart, Regina Jonas grew up in an overcrowded, dark back-alley apartment where the population density was five times the Berlin average. The apartments often lacked running water, and the families had to share toilets in the courtyards or in the hallways.[21]

Similarly, furnishings varied. Those with means wanted their homes to represent them in the best light. The "good room" (*gute Stube*), often holding "pretty mahogany furniture . . . drapes and covers made of dark green velvet . . . a glass case filled with rare . . . silver and porcelain figurines . . . [and] mirrors in gold frames (1870s)" was rarely used. In a culture of thrift and diligence, such an unused room stood for the sort of leisure and extra space that could only accompany wealth.[22]

The wealthy owned paintings, including portraits of themselves, heavy oak furniture with carvings (popular in the 1880s), and the "terrible red plush of bourgeois respectability." The obligatory piano with a sketch or painting of Goethe, Schiller, Mozart, or Beethoven hanging above it graced many a bourgeois living room.[23] Yet some furnishings remained luxuries even for the middle classes. Bathtubs, for instance, came slowly. In 1884, a middle-class Berlin family installed a bathtub in a room they added on to their apartment. Referring to her children's excitement, the housewife wrote: "This will probably provide tremendous pleasure for them and for us!"[24] The Ehrlichs, on the other hand, who considered themselves to be from "well situated circles" of Breslau,

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander, Berlin, 1908. Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute.

did not have a bathtub until the 1890s, nor did the children have their own bedroom; instead they slept in part of the dining room.[25]

Rural Jews lived more simply, yet their homes and habits were more similar to those of the rural bourgeoisie than to those of the surrounding peasantry. Even when livestock stalls and family living areas shared the same roof, as in the home of Julius Frank (b. 1889) in Bavaria, furnishings might include wallpaper, a sofa, easy chairs, sometimes even a "good room."[26] Alice Ottenheimer, born in 1893, lived in a southern village with only two streets, Front Street and Back Street. Her home lacked most urban amenities, consisting of three rooms situated above the fire department and city hall and next to the (one cell) jail. Every room had an iron stove, requiring firewood and coal to be carried from the cellar daily. Neither the kitchen nor toilet had running water. The family planted its own vegetables, since no store in town sold them. For entertainment, her father, a horse dealer, sang songs with her, "folk songs, silly songs and even patriotic songs." Her mother, a "well educated woman" taught her French. This family, with its mixture of rural habits and urban desires, moved to the nearby city of Ludwigsburg in 1905.[27]

Mentalities of Place

Despite the sense that 1870–71 had marked the "hour of birth of a new epoch"[28] in Germany, entrenched regional differences spawned a variety of attitudes toward the new nation. Pockets of tradition, especially villages, seemed

far from the modernity and wealth symbolized by Berlin. In Rülzheim (Palatinate), during the first decade of the twentieth century, "a policeman with a bell . . . walked from street corner to street corner announcing what had happened in the village. He told us who had died, who had a special item for sale. He was our speaking newspaper." The child who liked to follow the policeman around "did not know that . . . [nearby] Mannheim had running water, electricity [and] daily newspapers." Only when visitors left urban newspapers at the inn did local inhabitants learn of national news. Electricity came to Rülzheim in 1930.[29]

Johanna Meyer-Loevinson, born in 1874 in the burgeoning capitol, encountered very different surroundings. She grew up with urban amenities and a sense of closeness to "Germany" and the royal family. As a schoolgirl she had seen the corpses of both the emperor and his wife (1888 and 1890, respectively) and had been chosen by her school to lay a wreath at the tomb of the latter.[30] Similarly, in Breslau, Toni Ehrlich recalled the emperor's regular visits. When she was a child, she said, "we waited patiently for hours to see the emperor go by. . . . He made a big impression on us with his sparkling helmet. . . . All of us knew his family. We knew each of the six sons and the only daughter by their names and looks."[31]

Intense local loyalties remained, however, especially in southern Germany, where German unification continued to rankle. There, many Jews were both local chauvinists and national patriots. Rahel Straus (b. 1880) announced that she and her friends were "naturally enthusiastic Germans with great love for the fatherland, but we were more enthusiastic towards Baden."[32] Hugo Marx (b. 1892), also from Baden, recalled that the Hohenzollern emperors were not beloved since they were Prussians but Bismarck was esteemed as the unifier of Germany. Marx noted the great enthusiasm with which the bourgeoisie and workers alike greeted the monarch of Baden, Grossherzog Friedrich I, whenever he visited his palace in Heidelberg. Marx believed that Jews, in particular, were devoted to Baden's House of Zähringer because Baden had emancipated Jews earlier than other German lands.[33] Jewish, German, and local identities mingled and fluctuated, even on the same day. During "Bavarian-patriotic" festivals, Alex Bein (b. 1903) combined being a Jew—"a daily lived experience"—with being a Bavarian patriot.[34]

German nationalism led some Jews in the eastern provinces to feel superior toward their Polish neighbors: "They saw themselves as part of the German folk community [*Volksgemeinschaft*]."[35] In West Prussia, Mally Dienemann (b. 1883) and her friends were "completely convinced that German culture stood way above Polish [culture]," although her father opposed the suppression of the Polish language and people. The children refused to learn Polish, even though it would have been useful since they shopped in Polish-speaking areas.[36] If clothing is any indication, then the many photos of Jewish children dressed in Bavarian or Thuringian peasants' costumes or Imperial German sailor suits demonstrate a complex sense of "German" identity in the new empire.[37]

By 1900, Germany had become Europe's preeminent power. Its recently secured economic and military strength appeared to Jews to be in harmony

with its tradition of "poets and thinkers." Jews embraced both, *Bildung* and bombast. Even a two-year-old could pick up the excitement: tiny Lilli Eyck enjoyed Sedan Day (Germany's victory over France in the Franco-Prussian War) from her Berlin balcony. When she saw the fireworks, she shouted: "Hurrah the Prussians are here!"[38] These feelings of Germanness flowed from the newly protected, middle-class lives most Jews led; such a life, one memoirist wrote, was "a good life, [with] a feeling of security. . . . As can be easily understood, most Jews felt like Germans. . . . The majority thought: We are doing well here, we are Germans."[39]

Conclusion

In sum, the Jewish move to the cities paralleled Jewish social mobility. With urban life came the luxuries and anxieties of the modern age: better business opportunities, better schooling, better housing, and greater consumer possibilities, accompanied by a much faster pace, smaller family size, greater emphasis on proper deportment, and criticism that Jews were too urban[40] and too concentrated in specific professions. Moreover, Jewish loyalties stretched from local to national and from narrower Jewish communal interests to chauvinistic expressions of German superiority.

14
Family

The family became an object of fascination and idealization in the "bourgeois century."[1] Like other nineteenth-century members of the bourgeoisie, Jews made family a central value and symbol. Far more than an ideology or a vehicle for acculturation, the family provided social sustenance as well as financial support, business resources, and connections.[2] Like other Germans at the turn of the century, Jews worried that modernity, especially urbanization and an emphasis on the individual, would undermine the family.[3] Anxieties about its demise notwithstanding, the Jewish middle-class family remained an essential vehicle for fulfilling bourgeois aspirations, especially in the realm of culture.

Family in and of itself did not lead to bourgeois respectability, however. Only a family that exhibited the traits of what Germans called *Bildung*—education and cultivation—would do. *Bildung* appealed to Jews because one did not have to be born into it. It could be acquired at the university, in cultured circles, and in a family of good breeding.[4] Moreover, *Bildung* could be joined to Jewish ethnic and religious identities.

Culture and Class

In Imperial Germany, *Bildung* made up an integral element of Jewish bourgeois self-perception. The growing business, educational, and professional attainments of Jewish men and the familial involvement of Jewish women furnished the material and cultural bases, respectively, of the Jewish middle classes. Women played a crucial role in the social and cultural embourgeoisement of German Jewry by crafting and maintaining a respectable

and cultured family life. Mothers helped children absorb bourgeois norms, training them to keep their voices down, their clothing neat, their manners perfect. A cultivated family served not only to enhance self-esteem and represent one's "Germanness" but to enrich collective Jewish memories and self-perceptions.

Jews entered the modern age with strong myths about the Jewish family.[5] Moritz Oppenheim's collection of portraits of Jewish family religious observance, reprinted time and again as postcards, "may have been one of the most popular Jewish books ever published in Germany."[6] Similarly, the most widely read national Jewish paper, the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* (founded in 1898), made the Jewish family central (as its title suggests). The family also played a key role in Jewish apologetics.[7] Jewish writers, scholars, and artists proudly used the traditional Jewish family as a strategy against antisemitic calumnies. Even their enemies conceded the virtue of Jewish family life.[8]

A cultured family meant an acculturated family. As Jews strove to integrate, they conformed—sometimes eagerly, sometimes reluctantly—to the customs of non-Jewish society. However, they did not simply replace Jewish culture with *Bildung*. Most chose, instead, to invent *Bildung* for themselves, combining German Enlightenment traditions with elements of traditional beliefs and practices. In concrete terms, this meant that they dressed, spoke, and acted like other cultivated bourgeois Germans while maintaining Jewish affinities and affiliations in their families and (increasingly voluntary) communities. Parents educated their children in both German and Jewish cultures.[9]

Culture meant urban culture. As has been shown, Jews migrated rapidly to urban centers, with migration becoming one of the most important changes in the lives of most Jewish families.[10] How wealthy did urban Jews have to be in order to partake of urban culture and "count" as bourgeois? Professionals, successful merchants, and university professors could aspire to wages of about 6,000 Marks a year—almost 10 times what a worker might earn.[11] In 1880, a well-known teacher at a Frankfurt Gymnasium received 4,800 Marks. That same year a Berlin judge earned 4,200 Marks, a salary that grew to 7,500 by 1906. Supplemental incomes, from investments of dowries or inheritances, might enhance middle-class salaries.[12] In general, by 1870, most Jews had achieved some form of middle-class status.[13]

More local research may show that some of the original estimates of Jewish wealth, bolstered by memoirs written mostly by middle-class Jews, may have exaggerated solid middle-class status. The historian Till van Rahden argues that in Breslau, for example, more than half of all Jewish male and 87 percent of Jewish female taxpayers earned less than the 3,000 Marks, he suggests, necessary for a moderate middle-class lifestyle.[14] In Berlin, tax records indicate a high proportion of Jews in the upper ranges, but they also reveal a significant proportion in the lowest categories.[15]

Income is a significant factor in determining bourgeois status, but such status also rested on a mixture of desires, self-perceptions, and behaviors. "Styles of thinking and feeling . . . greatly mattered to the self-definition of the middle class," Peter Gay reminds us.[16] Moreover, the cultivation, manners,

and decorum so central to bourgeois behavior could be attained even by those who could not afford all of the material requirements. "Shabby gentility was a harsh taskmaster," Gay notes, yet "[n]o one was more bourgeois than a miserably paid post office clerk."[17]

Families often surmounted formidable income limitations to attain emblems of bourgeois status. Strategies included the use of lending libraries, the careful mending of worn clothing, the purchase of standing-room-only tickets in theaters, and housewives' hidden housework in lieu of servants or alongside their one maid-of-all-work. This young woman toiled ceaselessly but also served an important status function: the middle classes "needed at least one servant in order to take their place in bourgeois society."[18] Thus it took thrift and imagination to maintain a bourgeois standard, requiring even "comfortable" bourgeois families to cut corners. The Eycks rented a home in Berlin near the fashionable Tiergarten and hired household help, including a nanny. They gave their six children the basics of *Bildung*, manners, secondary educations, and music lessons for all and university educations for the boys. When the family vacationed, they stayed within Germany. Some years they could not afford a family vacation and sent only a few of the children away.[19] Despite their seemingly affluent lifestyle, the wife worried about her husband's income as well as how hard he worked.[20] She balanced the daily budget and regularly weighed the "required" bourgeois amenities against her husband's income. In 1897, she confided her cares to her diary :

> The desire to live comfortably, to perfect [the children's] education . . . all of that leads to a bottom line that does not tally. . . . My talent should help us live more simply. . . . And we do and I am conscious [of the need] . . . to cut back! Also with the children's clothing . . . but I have to add that this is extraordinarily difficult . . . and I would like to create a comfortable home for us and for the children . . . and not confront them too much with life's worries! On the other hand, I do not want . . . to increase my husband's worries.[21]

Many families walked this tightrope between means and desire, a balancing act requiring skill and restraint.[22]

Other forms of restraint also contributed toward a bourgeois lifestyle. Jewish families, including the Orthodox,[23] limited their birth rate well before others of their class or region.[24] This dramatic drop in family size can be seen in statistics, but even more starkly within just two generations of the same family. In Frankfurt, the Kochs had five children at the beginning of the Imperial era and the Epsteins four. Their children had between one or two offspring each. Similarly, the Eycks' six children, born between 1877 and 1893, produced only nine children of their own.[25] In her sixties, Henriette Klemperer, who bore her first child in the early 1860s and her ninth and last in 1881, expressed her envy of younger women: "The girls don't know how lucky they are: so few children and at [such] intervals."[26]

Childhood

The lives of Jewish children were determined not only by the individual personalities of their parents, families, and peers but also by the locations in which they lived, by the gendered expectations of their parents and educators, and by the wealth of their parents. Rural Jewish children worked harder and shouldered greater responsibility than their urban counterparts. As most Jews did not engage in field work, Jewish children avoided the hard physical labor performed by peasant children. They also lived more comfortably, since rural Jews obtained some urban amenities earlier than their neighbors.[27] Still, rural parents expected help. Born in 1887, one man recalled the chores and duties assigned to him at the age of five: "I was burdened with hard work too early in my life, before I was ready for it."[28] He had little play time; even then "I could never completely free myself from my duties." Nevertheless, "I learned to budget my time"—an important middle-class skill.[29]

Even after the turn of the century, chores, either for the household or business, filled most children's after-school hours. They took advantage of the little leisure time that remained by playing outdoors.[30] Their physical and social landscape was broader than that of their urban peers: they had free run of the villages, knew the storekeepers and neighbors, and romped in outlying areas. But they lacked the consumer plenty of urban life. The children of a relatively well-to-do family that owned a small hotel and butcher shop recalled few toys or games, although the son took violin lessons. Even their gifts tended to be necessities, such as a new suit made out of the father's old one.[31]

Urban middle-class children enjoyed more free time, more toys and books,[32] and more entertainment than their rural or poorer urban peers. Yet one would hardly call them pampered. Even as society discovered "childhood" and "adolescence," "the century of the child" had not truly begun.[33] Some parents did pay lip service to a new, enlightened view of child rearing, but they remained very strict and filled their children's lives with after-school lessons, music, and art. Values such as initiative, hard work, and self-discipline played a formative role in these childhoods. Rules about the right ordering of domestic life, whether proper behavior at mealtime or proper respect paid to elders, reflected and reinforced bourgeois ideology about the right ordering of society.[34] If one adds the anxieties of an upwardly mobile and a newly emancipated minority to the mix, then German-Jewish childhoods laid the groundwork for the adult concerns that lay ahead.

Some urban Jewish children grew up with more basic worries. Regina Jonas, for example, lived in Berlin's Scheunenviertel, a neighborhood far removed both physically and mentally from Berlin's middle-class Jews. When she was 12, her father, an Orthodox Jew, died of tuberculosis and was buried in a pauper's grave. Despite the poverty besetting daily life, these children could acquire an intense education by observing or participating in the area's fervent politics, often stemming from Eastern European and socialist roots; its religiosity in the form of countless tiny synagogues; and its mixture of languages,

especially Yiddish. Jonas absorbed enough religion at home and in an Orthodox girls' school to convince her to study for a highly unorthodox profession, the rabbinate.[35]

Raising Orderly, Thrifty, and Obedient Children

German-Jewish parents subscribed to the child-rearing practices of the day. Children's books and poetry, as well as child-rearing manuals, promoted the virtues of duty, obedience, order, thrift, industriousness, and respect. Religious lessons reinforced their parental injunctions that children treat their elders "with the utmost respect" and that they obey them "happily, to the letter, and at any time."[36]

Play had to be meaningful. Helene Eyck enjoyed watching her children build with blocks because "they keep them quietly busy and afterwards they have to repack the blocks, which trains them to be orderly."[37] In her child-rearing diary recorded between 1876 and 1898, Eyck praised her four-year-old son (1881)—"Hans has a pronounced sense of order that I certainly hope to cultivate."[38] She also worried about her 10-year-old son's handwriting and bearing, noting that "we have to watch him carefully and frequently force him to be orderly" (1888).[39] She expressed delight when her 17-month-old (1895) used the word "orderly" appropriately.[40] Order extended to comportment as well. Children had to exhibit good posture, could not loll on the front stoops, did not whistle, did not chomp on their food, and spoke in polite tones.

Middle-class parents, including Jews, placed great value on thrift.[41] Alice Salomon recalled a "puritanical childhood" with a mother who spent only the minimum. She attended dance lessons but in very plain clothing.[42] Similarly, the Eycks gave their children music and dance lessons, but the girls received restored dolls as gifts.[43] Helene Eyck carefully observed her children's attitudes toward money and thrift, recording with satisfaction that her oldest son, aged seven, preferred to "save" his money rather than spend it.[44] When he later left Berlin to study in Freiburg, his mother happily noted that he appeared "competent . . . ambitious . . . and thrifty."[45]

Although some researchers have found an increasingly gentle attitude toward children in the early nineteenth century,[46] strictness and formality still appeared to be the rule toward the end of the century. Child-rearing guides warned parents against spoiling their children. Motherhood manuals urged women not to respond every time their infants cried because this would lead to "willfulness."[47] Moreover, parents' expectations differed according to the room: children could behave more casually in the nursery but had to be more formal in the dining room.[48] Most memoirs describe exacting and rigorous child-rearing practices.

These were particularly stringent among the haute bourgeoisie. Julie Kaden, born 1894, feared the ornate "special rooms" that children rarely entered in her Dresden home. Even more intimidating was the presence of her parents, especially at meals. Well-behaved children quietly ate the foods served

to them. Moreover, some circles considered large portions to be "vulgar."[49] Kaden suffered severe anxiety during meals. The children had to eat silently, sit up straight, and not make noise with their utensils. A faux pas brought a reproving glance from their nanny or, worse, their mother. Years later, Kaden wondered how she would have developed had she grown up "more freely and less disciplined."[50] She felt so tyrannized at home that even school came as a relief.[51] Less wealthy families also expected "impeccable behavior" from children.[52] Victor Klemperer dreaded his biweekly visits to his older brother's home for dinner, where he felt "monitored at every movement of the fork [or] knife."[53]

Many German parents expected complete obedience and seemed to have believed that sparing the rod would spoil the child.[54] Jewish memoirists recall that "corporal punishment . . . in the family was completely condoned in principle, in fact seen as essential."[55] Yet a "compassionate countertradition" had taken hold: physical chastisement was decreasing among the Victorian bourgeoisie[56] and, perhaps especially, among the Jewish middle classes. Memoirs rarely mention such severe punishment as a switch or belt.[57] Moreover, when memoirists refer to corporal punishment, they often do so as a comparison between "then" (their parents' or older siblings' childhoods) and "now" (their own).[58] Physical punishments appear "in the past," are minimized, or are viewed as exceptional. Writers may have repressed such moments or elected to depict an untroubled childhood for their descendants, or they may really have experienced less brutality than their peers.

Adolf Riesenfeld's mother had spanked his older brother but not him. Later, contemplating his mother's and brother's close relationship, he reminded her of how she used to hit the older son. She smiled and said that "at any rate the slaps had not hurt him."[59] Alex Bein recalled that his father had a bad temper and had hit his older siblings. The younger ones, born after 1900, escaped this treatment because his mother intervened. He did admit that once, when he cried in response to a reprimand, his father hit him "'so that you know why you are crying'—these were the . . . pedagogical words with which he spiced [his] punishment."[60] In a few cases, parents expected too much from their children and resorted to—generally useless—corporal punishment. Such physical force was sufficiently terrible to be recounted by one sister decades later. She described the beatings given her brother when he brought home a bad report card. These once led to his running away from home—for a day. After this incident, his parents yielded to the entreaties of relatives and friends to cease disciplining him and to do what other families did in such a case, send him to an easier school in the provinces.[61] The child had prevailed, no doubt at great cost.[62]

Modern liberal child-rearing philosophies did influence some parents. Helene Eyck hesitated even to threaten corporal punishment. Preferring example and persuasion, she wrote that "all children misbehave"; they were "children, not angels."[63] Still, she expected prompt obedience and resorted to shame to instill her values. Nonplussed at her daughter's reluctance to complete some of her school projects, Eyck commented: "she is not ambitious

enough to be ashamed of an incomplete project."[64] She saw her role as convincing rather than forcing her children.[65] Reflecting on her six children, the oldest being 18, Eyck believed that "they all still need support, encouragement, the strictest guidance."[66]

Mothers and Fathers

Although German law gave fathers legal dominance, in Jewish families mothers had direct, not delegated, authority. A variety of factors contributed to this situation: a more egalitarian relationship between Jewish husbands and wives than in other middle-class German families; husbands' long absences from home; and their disinterest in what they considered family details.[67] By the 1890s, most Jewish mothers no longer worked outside the home, seeing child rearing—extolled by society at large—as women's highest duty.[68] But mothers directed the day-to-day lives of their children whether they worked or not. Gershom Scholem's mother, occupied in the family business, returned only for the noon meal prepared by the cook according to her instructions. The children saw "very little of her during the day; still, her presence loomed large."[69] Early memories center on mothers, Hugo Marx's being typical: "Mother determined . . . the family's way of life. . . . [T]he figure of father appeared much later . . . in [our] consciousness."[70]

Many mothers breastfed, but by the 1880s some mothers tried infant formulas or a special kind of milk.[71] Jewish infant mortality was lower than that of other Germans, possibly a result of class and breastfeeding but also, according to Jewish demographers, of hygiene.[72] In the wealthier middle class, some parents hired wet nurses[73] who breastfed the child for about one year, sometimes remaining as the child's nanny (*Kindermädchen*) or as part of the household staff.[74] Nannies supervised the children, came along on holiday outings,[75] or stayed with the children when their parents went on vacations. Margarete Sallis's parents sent her to the seaside with her governess, who had been her wet nurse.[76] Sallis identified her governess as her "best friend,"[77] and Richard Koch recalled his nanny as his "actual guardian."[78] This reliance on nannies did not go unnoticed by critics. The popular *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* castigated "our wealthy families" in 1914, blaming mothers for leaving their children's upbringing to "strangers."[79]

These criticisms ignored the control mothers retained and also disregarded the chores of representation that wealthier women performed in their alleged "free time,"[80] such as social calls. Critics also apparently avoided chiding absent fathers. Julie Kaden's often-absent mother choreographed every minute of the day for her children and their nanny. She dictated the time that the children should wake up, what they should eat and wear, and where they should take a walk. But she did not read them bedtime stories, something Kaden resented many years later.[81] Toni Ehrlich's mother, too, kept close tabs on her daughters' daily schedules, played piano for the children, and taught them children's songs. Still, the girls spent a large part of the day in kinder-

garten and with the servants or, later, at school and with an "afternoon companion."[82]

Middle-class mothers—even those with household help—took charge of their children's intellectual development. Helene Eyck regularly noted how quickly her children retained information, the clever things they said, and how swiftly they understood concepts.[83] She monitored her daughter's handwriting and tutored her son when he fell behind in math.[84] Other mothers checked homework, sometimes forcing children to rewrite untidy pages.[85] Adults believed that homework instilled good work habits for the future: "living means working," one mother repeated as she worried that her lazy son would fail in the work world and bring shame on her.[86]

Mothers also felt responsible for children's moral development.[87] In her child-rearing diary, Helene Eyck sampled contemporary psychological attitudes, combining her older "moral" expectations with an interest in the inner life of her children.[88] She reflected on their essence: "He is, thank god, a *very* happy, cheerful, merry child."[89] After rendering a description of her youngest child, she wrote: "I am portraying him . . . outwardly, but I am far from describing his actual little 'I.' "[90]

Jenny Wieruszowski illustrates a more modern version of motherhood. Married to a judge in Cologne, she gave birth to four daughters about 20 years later than Eyck. In her diary written between 1894 and 1911, she thought about her child-rearing practices and her children's linguistic and emotional development. Although Wieruszowski had hired help, including a nanny, she spent enough time with her children to carefully consider their progress. Subscribing to liberal child-rearing practices, she worried that she should be stricter. In 1896 she mused about her child's impertinent behavior but concluded: "Everything comes out so hilariously that the most serious educational principles are no match for the temptation to laugh."[91]

Liberal parenting did not extend to the dining room, where the Wieruszowskis required perfect deportment. However, in order not to scold their children for their ineptness, the parents had the children eat with the household help until they had refined their skills. In 1897, for example, the youngest still finger-painted with her food. She was remanded to train with the servants while the older daughter ate with the parents.[92] Unlike Kaden's parents (of the same generation), they spared their child the torment of stern lessons during meals.[93] Still, they preferred to separate the siblings rather than tolerate poor behavior. In 1902, their then two-year-old joined the others at meals and "is so well-mannered and adept, that we have only joy from her presence."[94]

When the girls grew into their teens, Jenny Wieruszowski hoped she had brought them up in a modern way, worrying whether she had allowed them to develop to their own potential: "Especially with Marie. . . . Did I interpret her nature [*Wesen*] correctly?" She noted that the older girls were maturing and "no longer standing as children vis à vis their mother, but as person to person."[95]

Did children rebel against their attentive, strict, and overbearing parents? Trained to submissiveness, children's accounts report some traces of ambiva-

lence[96] but little evidence of overt rebellion. Some young women insisted on an education, some young men refused the careers planned for them, and a growing handful married "unsuitable" partners. Moreover, some joined Zionist groups, to their parents' dismay.[97] But most complied with parents' wishes and left little evidence of *Sturm und Drang*. Memoirs may gloss over these tensions. Diaries, on the other hand, provide a rare glimpse into children's conflicted feelings. Arthur Prinz's diary overflows with adolescent growing pains. He craved his mother's attention yet ranted against her stifling love and domineering manner. His attempts at separation met with her resistance and his "scenes." The 17-year-old believed that his (at least partially) repressed rage caused headaches and stomach pains.[98] He fumed that "Mama . . . wants to dominate her children and . . . forces them to always do what she considers right . . . whether they are nine or nineteen."[99] Adolf Riesenfeld's adult diary shows delayed anger at his father for not insisting that Adolf, who had hated school, remain there to achieve the "one-year certificate." He wrote bitterly that his father had perpetrated "a huge injustice against me." He described his father as having "unusual intelligence paired with a stunning lack of understanding of the lives of his own children, an inexhaustibly good heart joined with ruthless egotism."[100]

Riesenfeld's diary is unusual in that his father (whose wife had died when Adolf was a child) took center stage. In general, fathers did not play a pivotal role in memoirs, since work, not family, absorbed the majority of their time.[101] Before the Imperial era, Jewish fathers spent more time away from home than their non-Jewish counterparts, since many Jews had to travel to make a living. Emancipation and a growing economy provided a more stationary existence. However, greater prosperity also meant increased opportunities for men to become intensely involved in new or expanding businesses or professions. Helene Eyck happily and generously notes in her diary that the children love their father very much, but she writes this in his absence during a family vacation: "It makes me genuinely happy every day to see how much the children love their father, how much they notice his absence and how fervently they long for his presence."[102]

Similarly, memoir writers are often at pains to include recollections of often missing fathers. They appreciate the long hours that fathers worked "for the family" and acknowledge their sacrifice. Julius Frank's father, a cattle dealer, rose at 3 A.M. to feed and milk the cows. He walked long distances earning only a modest income. Still, he sent his grateful son to Gymnasium.[103] Another cattle dealer, the father of ten, "arrived home exhausted from too much hard work [and] still took the time to come see us before we went to sleep. He did this not only when we were little, but also when we were grown."[104]

Urban Jewish fathers also spent long hours in pursuit of their careers or businesses. Norbert Elias's father "was completely absorbed in his work."[105] Hugo Marx's father worked up to 14 hours a day and took frequent week-long business trips. So "naturally, child rearing lay almost completely in the hands of mother." Marx described his father as the more accepting, special one who spun fairy tales for his children when he returned, tired, to sit at their bedsides

late at night.[106] These brief moments allowed fathers to show their softer sides and to recover from the day's travails; they remained inscribed in children's memories years later.[107]

In fact, these memoirs sometimes insist that fathers exerted the greatest influence on young lives—and they may have exerted greater influence on big decisions like education—but they are more often a reflection of a child's longings more than of actual intimacy.[108] Trying to convince her father to take her on a day trip, one five-year-old argued: "Listen, you don't see me much here, only at the table . . . and only you grown ups speak at the table and I would really like to talk with you a lot."[109] For many Jewish as well as other German bourgeois children, "father was only a 'Sunday father.' "[110] Although children seemed to have feared their father's anger, they did not necessarily condemn it, sometimes viewing it as necessary,[111] other times believing it to have been coupled "with unbelievable love and caring."[112] Klemperer acknowledged that his father never hit his children yet became so irate that they feared confronting him.[113] As they grew up, however, they asserted themselves against their father—to his irritation, frustration, and ultimate acquiescence.

Fathers may have been only part-time participants in the household, but they impressed their children with their habits and especially their hard work. Brigitte Fischer, the daughter of the famous Berlin publisher, observed her very busy father from afar, getting little attention from him. Still, she believed she modeled her later life on his diligence.[114] Otto Baer-Oppenheimer was influenced by his father's methodical behavior, particularly a strict schedule that included meticulous adherence to work hours, mealtimes, and beer time. Friends quipped that (the elder) Oppenheimer did not head home when the church bells struck but that the bells chimed when he went home. His father's frugality also made a deep impact. The father allowed himself only one luxury—asparagus! Otto believed that industriousness and thrift explained his father's business success: he had started his fabric business with only 40 gulden, and after 20 years it had grown to a "solid" and "respected" enterprise.[115]

Growing Up

Gender and birth order mattered as children grew up. Sisters had to forego educations for brothers where resources were limited—although by the turn of the century many resented this—and parents placed high expectations on their sons. First-born sons sometimes sacrificed their own higher education in order to send younger (male) siblings to the university. Conversely, parents expected girls to marry in birth order, which sometimes meant that the younger daughters had to relinquish their opportunities until a suitable spouse came along for an older sister.

Parents exerted different pressures on sons and daughters, expecting the former to excel at school and the latter to be tender and caring.[116] They also let "boys be boys," making some allowance for rough-and-tumble behavior. In 1881, Helene Eyck wrote of her three-and-a-half-year-old son: "even though I

try to be strict with him, I laugh in my heart that he is a real boy."[117] Later, she made sure that her daughter did "not jump around quite so wildly!"[118] Parents also experienced different pleasures from their sons and daughters. Eyck, for example, delighted in her daughters' gracefulness and her sons' abilities to memorize poems. Moreover, she brightened when one daughter showed herself to be "a genuinely feminine nature, that will prove through patience and endurance [Dulden und Tragen] to be, in truth, the 'stronger sex'!"[119]

Parents' attitudes could barely be distinguished from the sermons in traditional women's prayerbooks that taught that the goal of a mother's life was preparing her daughter well for her marriage.[120] Jenny Wieruszowski's diary included approving comments regarding her young daughter's feminine and housewifely behavior. The little one tried "to please everyone, to show herself capable, willing and well behaved"[121] and enjoyed pretending to wash and iron clothing. Wieruszowski appreciated that her three-year-old "likes to dust, clean and sweep." At four, the little girl received a child-sized kitchen set. While most girls played with dolls and miniature dishware, boys enjoyed toy soldiers. Both appreciated games such as lotto or dominoes or played with paper dolls of the emperor and his family, dressing him in his military regalia.[122] Whereas Wieruszowski steered her daughters gently, Victor Klemperer described his father's insistence on women's lesser value as "oriental": "The daughters were to be servants in their parents' home until they would take on the same position in their husbands' homes."[123]

As upper-middle-class girls matured, class pretensions kept them from learning the basic skills needed to run their later households.[124] Instead they took music, singing, and art lessons. Older children had the opportunity to read a veritable flood of German children's literature—almanacs, magazines, novels, and stories—published in this period. Proclaiming the virtues of patriotism, diligence, obedience, and "Christian" behavior,[125] they also stressed gendered conduct: certitude and chivalry for boys, love and devotion for girls. Jewish literature focused on biblical tales and ghetto stories as well as themes that included antisemitism, religiosity, martyrdom, and conversion. Although some of these books went through several editions, memoirs stress the German popular or classical writers, perhaps as symbols of acculturation but also as sources of great enjoyment.[126] For example, as a teenager, Toni Ehrlich read books by Gustav Freytag and Theodor Storm.[127] Older girls met in sewing circles, where they did embroidery while reading German classical plays aloud.[128]

Middle-class boys trained, just like their sisters, to be cultured members of the bourgeoisie. Julius Bab frequently invited 12 to 15 boys to his Berlin home, where they gorged themselves on jugs of hot chocolate and mounds of cake, ultimately winding up in playful melees. After the revelry, they tidied up, picking up the furniture that lay strewn all over. Then they sat down in neat rows of chairs to recite poetry with Julius's father, a widower.[129] Similarly, Alex Bein of Nuremberg spent one afternoon a week with classmates in the fifth and sixth grades reading the German classics aloud and lecturing each other about new books.[130]

Jewish parents subscribed to the widespread notion that intellectual endeavors were not enough. Toughening their children's bodies and "hardening" them to the elements would do them good.[131] Many parents assumed a surfeit of fresh air would do wonders for their children's health.[132] One man recalled that his parents "forced" him and his four siblings outdoors daily "whether it stormed, rained or snowed." Nor did his parents let the children wear their warm fur coats but forced them to endure the winter cold instead, even "in the most severe winters and the coldest . . . winds."[133] Still other parents obliged their children to join them on weekend hikes, like the mandatory Taunus excursion outside of Frankfurt/Main that Margarete Sallis suffered in summer and winter. The children preferred rainy days when they could stay at home and play or read quietly.[134] The emphasis on endurance was not limited to hiking. Hugo Marx had to attend school when he was sick, due to his mother's insistence that "a cough or cold was no excuse to stay away from school." Once his teacher had to send him home, deeming him too sick to be there.[135] But years later, in keeping with the spirit of his upbringing, Marx believed that his mother was right: "Our mother's persistence was surely a good medicine to foster hardening and self-discipline."[136]

Cleanliness was not valued to the same degree. Urban homes had begun to acquire running water and baths, but rural villages lagged behind. In Geroda (Lower Franconia), a village without running water or electricity in 1906, one Jewish family "belonged to the privileged few . . . who owned a bathtub." Stored in the shed, the tub was carried into the house to be filled with water heated on the stove: "needless to say, bathing . . . was not indulged in too frequently." When the son attended a school in Würzburg, the students took baths at the public bathhouse every two weeks. At the beginning of World War I, the students went home for some time. When they asked to take a bath, their village teacher responded: "You have waited thirteen weeks to take a bath, you might just as well wait another week."[137]

Strong bodies assured individual fitness, but they also became prerequisites for certain social activities. In the early decades of the Imperial era, few Jewish organizations existed for boys or girls. Other German teenagers lived in equal isolation: despite the growth of adult associational life, only about 20 percent of German teens belonged to any organization at all.[138] In the mid-1890s, however, young men began to organize into what would become the *Wandervögel* (literally "migrating birds"), a youth movement whose influence grew after the turn of the century. Members disdained their stultifying classrooms and their parents' bourgeois living rooms. Enthusiastic hikers, they praised the physical and emotional elements of human development. Partly nostalgic and partly utopian, they yearned for male community and German folk culture, generally excluding girls and often fostering antisemitism.

Jewish teens either joined the German youth movement or formed their own clubs when excluded by antisemites. A union of Orthodox youth groups banded together in 1907, and the largest Jewish youth organization, the Association of Jewish Youth Clubs (Verband der jüdischen Jugendvereine Deutschlands), was established in 1909 with 25 local units. It grew to 20,000 members

by 1916, attracting teenagers, a separate group of 18- to 25-year-olds, and young men, generally white-collar employees, up to the age of 35.[139] The B'nai B'rith and the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith), German Jewry's main defense organization, supported the youth groups, hoping to instill a strong Jewish identity in young Jewish males "so that each of our children will develop a defense organization in himself and protect himself on his own." They also aspired to combat Zionism in Germany,[140] which had attracted almost 10,000 members by 1914,[141] particularly among the young who rejected their parents' belief in "assimilation." The same young Jews admired the German youth movement's penchant for nature and community and accepted Zionists' assertions that nature could heal the Jewish soul and that strong Jewish bodies would make Jews proud of themselves again.

Emphasis on physical prowess was far from a Zionist monopoly. Most German Jews endorsed physical education. Sharing the general German enthusiasm for sports, parents encouraged physical activity, especially in sons. Boys engaged in gymnastics and swimming and took long walks, wandering further from home than girls. In 1894, at age 10, Adolf Riesenfeld could roam around Breslau on his own.[142] His father gave him a bicycle in 1902 (still a relative luxury in his more modest circles), allowing him to take extended rides with his friends in outlying areas. Some parents also encouraged physical competence in daughters, encouraging "fresh air" excursions and sports. In Breslau, Toni Ehrlich (b. 1880) would swim in the Oder River.[143] By age 10 (in 1904) Margarete Sallis regularly went swimming and ice skating. In some cases girls also learned tennis and riding.[144] Preferring individual sports, few Jewish women or men report on participating in organized sports associations, like those for swimming (1886), biking (1884), tennis (1902), or skiing (1905), that began to gain popularity in Germany.[145]

Gymnastics, however, held a different position. Jews and other middle-class Germans saw it as an affirmation of Germanness. At the turn of the century, 10,000 to 15,000 Jewish males belonged to the 500,000 members of the bourgeois Deutsche Turnerschaft (DT),[146] over three times their proportion of the overall population.[147] Jews helped found and lead local and regional gymnastic groups. Two prize-winning Jewish gymnasts from the DT competed in the Olympics of 1898. Jewish sports enthusiasts proudly hailed their participation as proof that antisemites wrongly portrayed Jews as effeminate weaklings.[148] Moreover, for many Jews, gymnastics offered a feeling of belonging: "In the gymnastics club everyone felt, moved and acted as only a part of the whole."[149] And where antisemitic local DT groups excluded them, Jews formed their own gymnastic clubs. Zionists, too, formed their own gym groups. They hoped to strengthen Jewish youth through sports. Max Nordau, a proponent of "muscular Jewry," urged his followers to stand tall in order to negate clichés of Jews as weak and nervous.[150] Zionists also established women's groups. Shortly before World War I, they counted two thousand gymnasts in 18 local groups.[151]

Marriage

Parents regarded their children's marriages as legitimate and serious arenas for intervention. Despite lip service to the increasing importance of "love," most middle-class Jews entered arranged marriages in which a woman's dowry complemented a man's present and future economic and social status.[152] Propertied Jews took into account financial, familial, and ethnic/religious considerations in making matches, since marriages cemented business, social, and Jewish communal alliances.[153] As Jews did not want to "melt" into the non-Jewish world, the private arena of marriage choices held a special position in the maintenance of religious and ethnic identities. Orthodox families arranged marriages according to religiosity as well as wealth; nonobservant Jews were less concerned with piety but also preferred Jewish matches.[154]

Both urban and village parents arranged their children's marriages. In Breslau, the father of a 30-year-old widower contacted a marriage broker to find an appropriate wife for his son. The broker organized a "coincidental" meeting in a café. Throughout their marriage, these partners believed, or pretended to believe, that they had met through friends.[155] In the village of Nonnenweier (Baden), at the turn of the century, about half of the families arranged marriages.[156] Conversely, that meant that a significant number of marriages were "love" relationships.

"Love" and romantic ideals had entered German consciousness with Romanticism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but had little practical effect until the Imperial era. Then strictly arranged marriages declined among Jews and other Germans, especially among the younger generations. In some families, an older sister might agree to an arranged marriage while her younger sister might insist on her own choice.[157] How did young women feel about these arrangements? Rahel Straus's observation that among Orthodox girls there was little objection to arrangements because "every girl . . . had so little individual personality that she could adjust to every man"[158] could be extended to many non-Orthodox women as well. Raised to be accepting and submissive, many women made their peace with their parents' choice, and their marriages lasted. Those who agreed to arrangements, however, may still have longed for romance. A letter of 1883 from Hedwig Pinkus, the daughter of a wealthy manufacturing family, to her fiancé by arrangement, the future Nobel prize–winner Paul Ehrlich, expressed just such a sentiment: "Imagine," she wrote of a friend's engagement, "a real love match!"[159]

Parents began to save for dowries early in their daughters' lives in order to ensure a good match. In Nonnenweier, one family put aside the money it earned from the sale of milk from a certain cow for the daughter's dowry.[160] Other families bought dowry insurance. The size of the dowry could influence a girl's entire future.

"Arranged" implied a variety of situations, the most extreme of which meant the union of complete strangers. Generally, however, parents, intermediaries, or even marriage brokers sought the consent of the intended part-

ners.[161] Other situations involved a carefully choreographed scenario, such as a relative's wedding, a family vacation, or house concert, at which the intended partners first encountered each other.[162] Jacob Epstein met with his potential son-in-law and the young man's father before arranging a meeting between his daughter and the young man. They attended a dinner party "where he supposedly coincidentally got Betty as his neighbor." They seemed to like each other, so Epstein invited the young man to visit Betty at home. When he asked his daughter what she thought of the young man, "very quietly [and] diplomatically . . . the imp laughed in my face and explained that she had . . . noticed . . . what was going on and that she completely agreed."[163]

No matter what the balance between arrangement and love, families maintained control in arranged marriages. When young people followed their own inclinations, trouble ensued. In 1898, a young couple fell in love and got engaged. But the young man had not consulted his family, who were furious: "How could a 23-year-old youngster, a hardly matured person, get engaged in a flash! That's all we need! . . . A scandal!" The family forced the couple to keep the engagement secret for three years and to proceed in what it considered an orderly and traditional fashion. No one actually objected to the bride-to-be, who was well known to the family as the sister of his sister-in-law![164]

Once the marriage had been arranged, the couple began to "court." If they lived in the same town, they would visit each other frequently and stroll arm-in-arm, displaying their new relationship in public. If they did not live in the same area, they typically got to know each other through letters. In January 1894 the family of Rosa Oberdorfer, from the tiny village of Pflaumloch (Bavaria), and Sigmund Hirsch, a small businessman from Mannheim, agreed to a marriage. Letters began to flow between the future partners almost daily. Although the couple had met through a marriage broker, the groom's first letter began: "My beloved Rosa." Sigmund thanked her for a birthday gift but added: "I have to request that you refrain from further offerings . . . because you are costing your dear parents enough money . . . until your wedding." Calling her "My dear Child," he commented on how sad she seemed when he left after his first visit: "I noticed your mood when I left. . . . Just as you, I felt the pain of the departure." He gave her a gold engagement ring, and his sister sent her a fancy shawl "for theater, concert and festivities." He asked her to write to his two sisters in New York and to visit his sister in Mannheim and attend a masked ball there. He took the opportunity to show his romantic interest in her. He reminisced about their first kiss—"was my first kiss really as sweet as you describe it? I always thought that only brides could give sweet kisses as I discovered from you." Five days later, he wrote her a poem, calling her the "passion of his heart."[165] A few months later, he thanked her family for agreeing to a revision of the marriage contract (which had to be notarized) and added that he and his sister had begun to furnish the bride's future home.[166] Sigmund Hirsch's last letter before his wedding expressed his elation and his impatience "until the intoxication of love begins."[167]

By the turn of the century, and sometimes earlier, some people began to choose partners on their own. Working women from poorer or lower-middle-class families tended to find their own spouses more often than those who remained sheltered at home and whose families had control over the dowry.[168] University women, a small and distinctive group, rejected the idea of arranged marriages and dowries (though many accepted dowries in practice). While asserting their right to determine their own future and resisting parental control, these mostly middle-class women nevertheless married men from similar socioeconomic and religious backgrounds.[169] In general, they assumed that they would marry for love and that their relationships would be companionate (even if not egalitarian). Some also had sexual relationships before marriage, and many never married at all, either because of their sexual preferences or because they were unwilling or unable to combine marriage and career.[170]

Margarete Sallis offers a glimpse into a "new woman's" love marriage. Sallis, who finished Gymnasium in 1914 at the age of 19, had already fallen in love with her tutor.[171] When this relationship ended, she went on to socialize with young men at the university.[172] Eventually Sallis caught the eye of her professor, Berthold Freudenthal, 22 years her senior. Her parents expressed concern about the age difference but left the decision up to her.[173] After their marriage in 1917, Sallis gave up her studies and became a wife and mother.[174] Her married life did not essentially differ from that of many women in arranged marriages.[175]

Modern marriages implied choice, but arranged marriages in no way precluded the ideal of marital happiness. Certainly, German custom and law still gave husbands control, and marriage manuals stressed that women should obey their husbands cheerfully and patiently.[176] Yet marriages actually survived on a division of labor or through a continuous process of negotiation. This may have been an uphill struggle for some middle-class women whose husbands were substantially older, having spent years establishing businesses or practices; such men often claimed more experience and therefore even more authority. Since men also maintained their families financially, they had a sense of power and prerogative. Nevertheless, women's dowries had usually contributed substantially toward businesses and practices, hence toward the family's livelihood. Cultured and educated, with close ties to (and sometimes continued support from) their families of origin, Jewish women had significant stature vis-à-vis their husbands.[177] There were certainly times when wives and husbands compromised or when wives had their way. Norbert Elias described his parents' "very good marriage" as one of "harmonious inequality": "he took all the decisions [regarding] financial affairs . . . [and] she was the one who took all social matters in hand. When there was a visit to be made, she pushed him out."[178] Similarly, although Margarete Sallis had given up her studies to become a wife, she held a strong position in her marriage. Her husband, a successful jurist and a professor, had led a lonely life, praying for a wife in his diary. He treated her with the respect and admiration she required.[179]

Women often challenged their husbands' dominance, both openly and

through subversion. Victor Klemperer's parents, for example, frequently disagreed about spending money. They would often shout loudly at each other behind closed doors, and his mother would rant at the children about their father's miserly behavior. Nevertheless, they made up promptly. He believed they could get over their anger as quickly as they did because his mother expected men to react vehemently—otherwise "he would not have been a real man in her eyes." And she always got what she wanted in the end, "through persistence, craftiness, small conspiracies with the children [and] servants . . . And through all of this she had a completely clear conscience."[180] These examples substantiate the historian Lynn Abrams's thesis that patriarchal and companionate marriages should not be seen as opposites: couples presumed and negotiated partnership, reciprocity, and respect even within the patriarchal marriage. Middle-class Jewish families offered a site in which those who "envisaged a softening of the hierarchy" created their own dynamic, challenging male dominance.[181]

Partners generally imagined everlasting marriages whether theirs had been arranged or not. Rahel Straus recounted her thoughts on marriage in 1905: "It was the foundation of life for us. Not that there weren't bad marriages. . . . but we entered marriage with the idea of permanence. 'Until death do us part'—that was truth to us."[182] How happy were partners in marriages intended to last forever? In 1891, during their first vacation without their children after about 15 years of marriage, Helene Eyck wrote of her happiness "to be at the side of my love!"[183] In her diary she consistently records great affection toward her husband. After her parents' deaths, Toni Ehrlich found the letters of her father and mother to each other. When he went on business trips, they wrote each other once or twice a day: He "suffered . . . emotionally as a result of the separation from home and family." Married close to 10 years in 1881, he wrote:

> I . . . want to use my evening hours to chat with my love. I see you . . . in my mind's eye . . . the wife of my heart, my loyal companion and life's comrade who is as important to me as air and light and without whom I could not exist at all.[184]

Even Victor Klemperer, who stood at a critical distance from his family, saw his parents as a loving couple, despite their strong and open disagreements: "Basically, my parents were sincerely, tenderly and plainly devoted to [each other]." Klemperer's father complimented his mother, and his mother, in her late sixties, could still remark, "Wilhelm was always a handsome man . . . and isn't he still impressive?"[185] Lily Pincus, whose parents had an arranged marriage in the 1890s, saw them as "utterly dissimilar" and even as a child believed that "each would have developed very differently with a different partner." She concluded, however, that "both would have insisted that they had been very happy with each other."[186] In some of these situations, the partners made a virtue of necessity, easier for some than for others. For most, marriage seems to have provided what it was supposed to: an affectionate alliance, an economic partnership, and a family.

Unhappy marriages did exist, and some women's prayerbooks even included prayers for women in such marriages.[187] Divorce was rare and reflected Jewish occupational profiles. In Berlin, for example, couples in which husbands worked in commerce made up the overwhelming number of divorce cases, but doctors, pharmacists, tailors, and shoemakers also divorced.[188] In fact, Jews divorced at rates somewhat higher than couples of other religions.[189] Since the primary reason for divorce within the Jewish population was adultery—mostly among men—it is possible that some marriages "of convenience" did not satisfy the partners and that men had greater opportunities to roam.[190]

Families of origin often intervened, either for the sake of their own reputations or because the dowry was at stake, admonishing the unhappy individuals to return to their marriage.[191] The primary actors have left little personal documentation, but two watchful brothers offer some insights. Victor Klemperer wrote about his sister Marta's unhappy arranged marriage. Early in the marriage, around 1900, "there was constant discord." Her family always urged reconciliation, but on several occasions Marta asked another brother, Berthold, a lawyer, to arrange the divorce: "Hardly had they begun to sleep in separate bedrooms . . . and the dossiers in Berthold's office were readied for the courts, when it was discovered that . . . a baby was on the way and the divorce was postponed." The marriage lasted—to the relief of the family but to the detriment of its three offspring, who "suffered more from the constant conflict in their home than the parents themselves."[192] Adolf Riesenfeld observed his sister Grete's divorce almost immediately after her marriage in 1901. Grete had met the brother of her aunt by marriage, a Berlin dentist, at a family gathering. Only 18 at the time, she agreed to marry the 35-year-old. When Grete came home to Breslau for a visit in January 1902, her husband insisted she remain there. Her brother believed that Grete had made life hellish for her husband; "she showed him . . . her physical revulsion . . . her aversion." However, Riesenfeld also thought that the man, as the older person, should have been able to "educate" her. Fearing for his family's honor, her father enlisted the aid of all the uncles to convince the husband to accept Grete. When he refused, Grete, then pregnant, remained with her family. The family lost the entire dowry of 30,000 Marks, which the groom required in exchange for signing a religious divorce. Several years later the family found a distant Austrian relative willing to accept Grete and her child for (another) 30,000 Marks: "it was a fact that Jewish circles in Austria-Hungary preferred girls from . . . Germany [for their] educations and the exchange value of the currency."[193]

Conclusion

The Jewish middle class continuously made and remade itself in the late nineteenth century, aspiring to and generally attaining the *Bildung* that proclaimed bourgeois status and refashioning it to fit with continuing loyalties to Judaism. Jewish parents trained their offspring in rigid discipline, exacting regimes, and

regard for thrift. With some exceptions, boys followed in their fathers' footsteps or surpassed their achievements, and girls prepared to emulate their mothers. Arranged marriages served to maintain bourgeois business and status while maintaining Jewish life. Jews succeeded in their part of the bourgeois project, but the German middle class still hesitated to admit them fully.

15

Education

The experiences of Jewish children, teens, and young adults in the German education system had a critical impact on how they formed their identities as Jews and as Germans. Jewish and other German children imbibed the German classics, German nationalism, and strong doses of discipline at school. In public, Jews accepted Christianity in the schools, either officially or unofficially, permitting and even encouraging the decline of Jewish schools. In private, the home and family, not the Jewish religion lessons they were required to take, influenced the depth of their religious and ethnic identities.

Secular School Days: Elementary and Secondary Schools

German school systems saw a variety of changes in the Imperial era. Curricula were altered to include sciences, modern languages, and physical education. More semiclassical Realgymnasia (high schools) opened, and girls increasingly attended secondary schools.[1] Instruction could be tedious, and teachers could still use corporal punishment,[2] hence the memoirs of Jewish and other German children[3] contain recollections of teachers as "enemies" and school as "torture." Memoirs from mistreated pupils make today's reader cringe.[4] Any countertendency toward a more liberal approach should not be exaggerated.[5]

Generally, Jews showed a great deal of interest in child rearing and pedagogy. Jewish men donated money to found kindergartens, and Jewish women, in significant numbers, supported the progressive, secular kindergarten movement established by Friedrich Fröbel. In Berlin, Lina Morgenstern initiated the Society for the Promotion of Fröbel Kindergartens (1859) and wrote a handbook explaining his ideas.[6] She also organized an institute to train caretakers

of young children and joined the Jewish Association for People's Kindergartens in the poorer section of Berlin.[7] When Adele Schreiber, a Jewish woman and feminist activist, edited the *Buch vom Kinde*, a collection of essays by experts on important issues concerning childhood, about three-quarters of its authors were Jewish or of Jewish parentage.[8]

Jewish children went on to attend upper schools in large numbers, despite antisemitic admissions policies in some schools. In 1901, for example, 56 percent of Prussian-Jewish children continued beyond a rudimentary *Volksschule* (elementary) education.[9] The contrast between Jewish and non-Jewish boys was quite stark: In Prussia in 1886, 22 percent of Jewish boys attended the upper schools, a proportion that grew to 25 percent in 1901. In both years, only 3 percent of non-Jewish boys in Prussia attended similar schools.[10] Antisemites decried "overly zealous" Jews, and the court chaplain Adolf Stoecker criticized the high percentage of Jewish males in Berlin Gymnasia (classical high schools) in a speech to the House of Deputies.[11]

Jewish interest in pedagogy also led them to move to cities where their children had easier access to secular schooling beyond the elementary years. About 60–70 percent of the students of these upper schools came from the middle classes and another 20–30 percent from wealthier elites;[12] most Jews belonged to these classes. In Breslau, however, Jewish boys were underrepresented among the entire *lower*-middle-class population of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in the Gymnasia.[13] These Jewish parents probably chose more practical business apprenticeships for their sons.

The Gymnasium curriculum demanded intense study. A boy would take nine years of Latin and Greek, whereas in a Realgymnasium he might take nine years of Latin, seven years of French, and six years of English.[14] Until 1908 girls followed a different curriculum in the *Höhere Mädchenschule* (for girls up to 16) and spent fewer hours in class and fewer years in school. They took French and English, had more German language and literature lessons than the boys, and studied less math and science.

In the 1880s, a variety of school reformers urged that the curriculum give a larger role to German language, literature, and history. When William II ascended the throne, he demanded that schools produce "German citizens fit for practical contributions to the new Empire."[15] Schools fostered patriotism and made the emperor's birthday the most important school festival. Families had already primed most children, Jewish and non-Jewish, for these messages. Lotte Hirschberg (b. 1898) explained: "Naturally we were educated to love Germany and the emperor's family, but that was the attitude of our parents too."[16]

German nationalism should be distinguished from the racist or *völkisch* thinking of contemporary writers like Paul Lagarde or Julius Langbehn, whose ideas had not yet "penetrated the mainstream of educational thought at that time."[17] After attending a Zionist lecture in 1912, Walter Eliassow noted: "my people, [in terms of] my feelings and sense of community, are Germans! I can not find my way to a Jewish peoplehood."[18] As inclusive as Eliassow may have felt German nationalism to be, however, it often came with a Christian tinge. The municipal and school authorities in Breslau, for example, insisted on the

Johannesgymnasium's religious pluralism. Still, Protestant church songs, National Liberal city councillors' understanding of *Bildung* as "Christian in nature," and, most important, the requirement of Christian but not Jewish religious lessons promoted "universalism in a Christian key" even in this secular institution.[19]

In 1885, about 9 percent of all pupils aiming for the Abitur (certifying completion of the Gymnasium) were Jewish, and in 1899 about 7 percent. Fewer actually achieved the Abitur, leaving school after six years, which allowed them to volunteer for one year in the army, rather than be conscripted for the full three-year term, and assured them reserve officers' commissions later on.[20] Not all parents of Gymnasium students expected their sons to complete the Abitur and attend a university, nor could they afford to send them. However, they wanted them to secure enough of an education to do well in business, and the "one-year" army level certificate also served as a "pseudo-Abitur." While some private sector jobs required it for more elevated positions, many individuals thought that the "one-year" was "the minimum [level] for every educated [*gebildete*] person." It raised its holder into the "educated" classes, an important imprimatur for a minority.[21]

Parents considered sons' educations a top family priority. Born in Worms in 1869, Philippine Landau, whose own mother worked full-time in the family textile business, remembered that

> in the seventies and eighties . . . schooling for girls was not . . . taken so seriously. Certainly, they should acquire a foundation of knowledge . . . for an intelligent woman was better than a stupid . . . one. . . . [M]arriage [was] the only . . . expected and desired culmination. School and its accomplishments . . . had nothing at all to do with a girl's later successes in life.[22]

Parental attitudes changed over time. Whereas earlier only poor girls received vocational training,[23] by the 1890s, some middle-class parents began to see the usefulness of furthering their daughters' skills and knowledge. Erna Eyck finished her schooling at 16 in 1896, leading her mother to worry "But, what now!" and to hope that she would continue her education. Entertaining the (unlikely) possibility that Erna might not marry, her mother wanted her "standing on her own feet so that, if necessary, she can help herself through life!"[24] In contrast, when Lotte Hirschberg and her middle-class friends graduated from school in Breslau in 1914, all assumed they would prepare for an occupation: "Most girls went to business school to learn bookkeeping in order to accept a commercial position or work in their fathers' businesses."[25] By that time school principals admonished parents to train daughters to be self-reliant.[26]

Although most Jewish girls did not enjoy the educational privileges of their brothers, they generally benefited from better educations than other German girls. At the turn of the century in Prussia, 21 percent of Jewish girls attended the *Höhere Mädchenschule*, as compared to about 2 percent of non-Jewish girls.[27] In general, many middle-class girls, both Jewish and non-

Jewish, obtained additional instruction in languages, literature, music, painting, and housewifery.[28] However, most young women's lives remained circumscribed, and their primary educational goal remained marriage.[29]

Schools were one of the most important sites of interaction with non-Jews and provided some of the earliest memories of acceptance or rejection. Social relations at school formed children's identities and worldviews, despite the references to Schiller and Goethe so persistent in Jewish memoirs. The attitudes and behaviors of teachers and the interactions of children took center stage.

By the Imperial era the vast majority of Jewish children attended non-Jewish public schools rather than Jewish (public or private) schools. Public schools provided an opportunity to meet a wide range of children. They were either Christian schools (Catholic or Protestant, depending on the area) or *Simultanschulen* (nondenominational schools open to children of all religions but available only in larger communities). Jews reported a vast variety of school experiences—whether regional, urban/rural, or Catholic/Protestant schools—overwhelming most attempts at generalization. However, most Jewish children observed that in Christian-dominated schools, being Jewish meant being different.

Urban Jews, less traditional than village families, preferred nondenominational schools. These schools were open six days a week, including Saturday, and the great majority of Jewish children and parents accepted this infringement of Sabbath rest.[30] In theory, at least, integrated schools mitigated differences among classes and religions. Jewish parents, like the mother of a woman born in Hamburg in 1889, believed "that race hatred would only disappear when blond-haired and dark-haired [children] sit next to each other in school."[31] Entire Jewish communities expressed similar views. In Königsberg (Prussia) in 1906, for example, the Liberal Jewish community favored integrated schools and refused to build a Jewish *Volksschule* or support a Jewish gymnastics club.[32]

Some Jewish children tried in vain to make non-Jewish friends. In Nuremberg, Alex Bein felt that Jews might have been secretly "admired and surely also envied" for their academic achievement,[33] but non-Jewish gymnasts were the popular ones. He practiced gymnastics at home and took ice-cold showers to "harden" and build up his body in order to make non-Jewish friends. Nevertheless, his only close friends were Jews.[34]

Friendships did occur among Jewish and non-Jewish children in school and en route to or after school.[35] Rahel Straus, born in 1880 in Karlsruhe, attended a secular public school and later recalled:

> Whether our upper girls' school was good, or we learned a lot . . . I can't say. . . . But . . . that there was a good relationship between teachers and pupils and that we took comradeship for granted, was certainly worth more for the formation of our character than if we learned more of this or that.[36]

In the village of Nonnenweier (Baden), where 6 out of 40 first-graders were Jewish (1900), Jewish and non-Jewish children played together after school.[37]

School provided the first opportunity for some Jewish children to meet regularly with non-Jews: “Until then all of my playmates came from Jewish families. School was and long remained the only excursion into the non-Jewish world.”[38]

Many Jewish children succeeded in having close relationships with non-Jews. Walter Eliassow, born in 1891, attended a school in “liberal Königsberg” where 10 percent of the students were Jewish. He recalled that he had more Christian than Jewish friends.[39] Similarly, Toni Ehrlich, from an acculturated Breslau family and the only Jew in her class, described unencumbered relationships with non-Jews. She made many Christian friends, and her sister met her lifelong Christian friend in elementary school.[40] Even in Laupheim, a small town in Württemberg, Herta Nathorff claimed never to have felt a trace of hostility. As the only Jew in her class, she insisted that greater animosity prevailed between Protestant and Catholic children and recalled being wooed by both sides.[41]

Children frequently maintained friendships in spite of prejudice. Around the turn of the century Eva Sommer took antisemitism “for granted” in her (private) school. Still, she had non-Jewish friends and two lifelong non-Jewish best friends, including the daughter of an aristocrat. But other girls from the nobility did not acknowledge her outside of school.[42] Thus, while some children had the capacity to befriend each other despite antisemitism, prejudice could still burden these friendships. Such difficulties notwithstanding, friendships with Christian children provided Jewish children with a feeling of safety in a Christian environment. This is especially apparent in retrospect, when memoir writers compare these relatively peaceful early school years with later more antisemitic ones after World War I.

Despite good experiences, Jewish children also suffered anxious moments. Antisemitic slights and even physical attacks could occur. Jewish children differed from their classmates not only in religion but also in their fathers’ professions. Alex Bein, for example, remembered his embarrassment during the monthly school dues collection when his teacher read aloud the name and religion of each child and then the father’s profession. The Christian fathers worked in all kinds of occupations, but all the Jewish fathers, with one exception, were “businessmen.”[43]

These moments of tension lingered long enough to be recorded many years later. Toni Ehrlich remembered her shock as a seven-year-old when another child, asked to provide an example of the accusative case, responded with “Jews crucified our Savior.”[44] Still, this remained the only significant episode to blemish a school life filled with friends of all religions. Sometimes individuals repressed such incidents. As he was writing his memoirs, Hugo Marx’s sister reminded him of the frequent attacks he suffered on his way to school by a group of antisemitic youngsters. He had forgotten.[45] It is noteworthy that most memoirs describe antisemitic events as *episodes* in a relatively peaceful environment. Most Jewish children experienced occasional moments of prejudice, while a small minority endured an inhospitable, if generally restrained, environment.

Jewish adults and organizations, however, worried about the antisemitic incidents and their effects on their children. In 1880 the writer Berthold Auerbach wrote his cousin: "Do we . . . have to watch silently . . . what children have to tolerate at school?"[46] Nevertheless, Jewish organizations warned against retreating in the face of antisemitism. They urged parents to resist placing their children in a ghetto.[47] Some parents may have agreed with this notion, but most simply considered the public schools the best education available.

As they grew older, Jewish children tended to draw closer to other Jews. In part this may have been in self-defense, but it was also in imitation of their parents. The more Jews in a school, the more likely that they could preserve some Jewish group solidarity. Rahel Straus remained closest to two other Orthodox girls, despite her Christian friends. One day a Protestant girl asked her "Why do you always go with the two inferior pupils . . . we fit together much better, my father is a pastor and yours was a rabbi, that's the same." Straus responded that although she liked the Protestant girl, her Jewish friends would be her "best friends."[48] Born in 1876 in Berlin, Curt Rosenberg underlined the importance of self-chosen affinity groups: "There was no fundamental Jew hatred in the Nazi sense. Nevertheless, Jews associated readily among themselves or with half Jews . . but this occurred automatically and was, as it were, unconscious."[49] Victor Klemperer felt similarly: he did not experience any overt antisemitism in his Gymnasium: "Officially definitely not and unofficially hardly. But during the Jewish holidays, one was 'among one's own' and in religion class too."[50]

Antisemitic teachers, far more than antisemitic children, could poison an atmosphere badly enough to be remembered in memoirs many years later. Although such teachers appear to have been the exceptions, those who chose to insult and discriminate against Jewish children could do so. In the village of Rosenthal near Marburg, for example, the teacher told six-year-old Wilhelm Buchheim in 1893 that a Jew could never be the best pupil in his class. Later, Wilhelm held second place although he had attained the best grades.[51]

Snide remarks also cut deeply. On the first day of Gymnasium a Jewish boy unintentionally chose a seat next to another Jewish boy, prompting the teacher to comment that the "black-haired ones always sit together."[52] Some teachers singled out Jewish-sounding names for special emphasis during the roll call, embarrassing Jewish children.[53] Jewish children developed antennae to detect hostile teachers. In Samuel Spiro's Gymnasium, the Catholic principal forbade hostility toward any religion, but one Protestant teacher refused to comply. Word traveled quickly among Jewish children regarding this teacher. To their relief, he ultimately deferred to the principal.[54]

Even teachers intending to combat antisemitism might unwittingly display their insensitivity and ignorance. Recalling that his small-town school administration prohibited prejudice in school, Sammy Gronemann (b. 1875), later a Zionist activist, described how his teacher handled a young antisemite. To Gronemann's dismay, the teacher cornered the culprit and asked him if he would tease someone with a hunchback for his posture or a blind person for

not seeing. He added: "If someone is born a Jew, it is exactly such a misfortune . . . and it is rude to insult the poor person."[55]

Considerate teachers could make an enormous difference in the treatment of Jewish children and in how they remembered school.[56] Hugo Marx gratefully recalled his principal, who infused his Heidelberg Gymnasium with a "liberal-humanistic spirit."[57] Marx did not attend school on Jewish holidays and never wrote on the Sabbath, yet his teachers never remarked on his observance.[58] In Berlin, Victor Klemperer's teacher thwarted the only antisemitic incident of his school life. In 1902, shortly before his Abitur, another student referred to him as "un-German." His teacher immediately responded that antisemitism was "inhuman."[59]

Jewish Schools and Religion Lessons

The Imperial era saw the decline of the state-financed and certified Jewish *Volksschule*.[60] These schools had taught both a secular curriculum, mandated by the state, and a religious curriculum. Some of these schools closed due to population decline, others to a decline in Orthodoxy, and still others because the community no longer could or would support them. In general, Jewish parents favored public elementary education for its excellence and the acculturation and social status it provided. In Prussia, where two-thirds of the German-Jewish population resided,[61] 50 percent of Jewish children attended Jewish schools in 1864. That percentage dropped to approximately 20 percent by 1906.[62] In Berlin, for example, only about 8 percent of boys and 7 percent of girls attended Jewish public schools.[63] By the turn of the century, observers found that urban Jewish schools instructed the poor, "especially . . . children from Eastern Europe."[64]

Many of the remaining village schools were unevenly distributed across the Empire, with Posen, for example, supporting far more such institutions (50 in 1905) than Westphalia (9) and Silesia (2). Most of these schools were no more than one-room schoolhouses,[65] like the one that Alex Bein attended in his village in Lower Franconia. In first grade (1909), he learned to read and write the German and Hebrew alphabets and do basic arithmetic. First the children practiced on chalkboards, later on paper. The religion curriculum included stories from the Hebrew Bible. Bein's classroom consisted of 20 children from preschool through seventh grade, all taught by a single teacher.[66]

Children who attended Jewish schools had no contact with Christian children during school hours. In many villages this extended to after-school hours too. In Rülzheim (Palatinate), for example, Jewish and Catholic children attended separate institutions and avoided each other in their free time.[67] Even where children did play together after school, denominational schools fostered a sense of distance between Jews and non-Jews. For Christian children in particular, that distance was fraught with misunderstanding and ignorance of all things Jewish. Unlike Jewish children, who lived in a Christian culture, watched Church processions and festivals, and had parents who explained

simple customs and rituals to them, Christian children had little knowledge of the customs or holidays of Jewish peers unless they went to school with them. They retained highly superstitious views about Jews and Judaism, often reinforced by their clergy. Alex Bein recalled that the Christian children with whom he played exhibited tremendous curiosity about Jewish customs, peeking through the keyhole into the synagogue during services and viewing Judaism as akin to magic.[68]

The demise of Jewish *Volksschulen* meant that increasing numbers of Jewish children attended a denominational (Catholic or Protestant) school or, if possible, the more liberal *Simultanschulen.* Jews found themselves in a context in which they stood out when they observed their holidays, particularly the Sabbath injunction against writing. While all schools provided Christian religion classes, many small-town schools provided no Jewish religious instruction at all.[69] In major cities[70] with significant Jewish populations, the majority of Jewish children received some religious instruction within school. When schools provided religion lessons, Jewish children reluctantly split from the rest of the class. They felt embarrassed, singled out: "We had Jewish religious instruction while the others had Christian religious instruction. . . . so we parted into two . . . groups."[71] Although parents preferred public, hence Christian, denominational schools where nondenominational ones did not exist, many still sought Jewish religion lessons for their children, and Jewish communities provided some form of religious instruction. Usually a religion teacher hired by the community met with the children after regular school hours. Lessons included biblical history, Hebrew, religion, and memorization of proverbs, songs, and psalms.[72] Communities that could not afford this instruction shared a teacher or sent their children to a teacher in a neighboring town. This "roving instruction" (*Wanderunterricht*) accounted for 209 religious classes in Prussia by 1905. Other Prussian-Jewish children that year attended either the 249 Jewish *Volksschulen* or the 525 after-school religion classes.[73] Most Prussian-Jewish children attended some form of religious instruction, boys longer than girls in order to study for the Bar Mitzvah. Religious schooling continued unabated among Orthodox Jews, whose wealthy families tutored their sons privately, and among the poorer Eastern European immigrants, who provided a significant contingent of Orthodox pupils for Jewish schools.[74]

Pupils' memories of Jewish religion lessons share two main themes: the incompetent teacher and tedious lessons. These may not be valid descriptions of actual situations, nor do we have the teachers' perspectives. The evidence is overwhelmingly one-sided: "Religion was a discipline and not a gratifying one."[75] Some teachers administered physical punishment rather heavily, even for an era when the rod was not spared in any school. Others merely controlled the chaos. Many pupils believed their teachers to have been reasonably knowledgeable about Judaism, if not about children, but some even questioned their teachers' educations.[76]

Memoirs also portray Jewish religion lessons as "the most boring of all hours."[77] They leave the impression that Jewish children absorbed very little

during these lessons, although they did learn to read Hebrew and to memorize certain prayers. Boys, in particular, relished the antics they engaged in to alleviate the monotony.[78] Hugo Marx, otherwise the perfect pupil in his regular school, characterized his "so-called religious instruction" in Heidelberg (1890s) as superficial and proudly identified himself as the "center of the resistance."[79] Similarly, another boy in the rural village of Ellar (1890s) noted: "the most important thing for us was to know that we had annoyed [the teacher]. Even I was no exception, although I often held back when the mischief became too flagrant. When this was the case I got hit anyway."[80]

Teachers, too, worried about tedium: a conference of East Prussian teachers in 1898 featured a lecture entitled "How Can One Create Interesting Hebrew Lessons?"[81] They realized that few besides the Orthodox even understood Hebrew as a language. By the turn of the century, Jews argued about whether Hebrew should be taught as a modern language or memorized in prayer form.[82] Suggestions that the vernacular should replace Hebrew became more common, especially (but not only) for children: "One should waken faith in children, [and] must therefore speak in a language that they understand."[83] Jewish educators also hoped to teach knowledge of and encourage devotion to Judaism. Jews debated whether "old-fashioned" memorization inhibited real thinking or whether "Precise knowledge of the holy scripture makes a Jew . . . a real Jew."[84] They also showed concern regarding the content of prayerbooks, suggesting that "the material should undergo a thorough examination, everything that does not accord with the requirements of inner truth, psychological closeness and beauty of form should disappear from prayerbook and curriculum."[85]

Despite debates that reveal an intellectual engagement in their profession among some, most Jewish teachers followed traditional curricula and had little opportunity for innovation. There were two kinds of religion teachers, those licensed to teach in the Jewish *Volksschule* and religion teachers who taught during the normal school day or after school.[86] None received adequate pay. Statistics indicate that of 299 teachers in Jewish *Volksschulen*, 171 held other jobs within the synagogue community.[87] Probably even more of the 369 religion teachers held extra jobs, and many were extremely poor. Teachers frequently could not make ends meet. In Alsace-Lorraine, yearly salaries began at 800 Marks in 1865 and rose, after 30 years, to 1,400 Marks.[88] In comparison, between 1870 and 1890, an ordinary worker's salary could fluctuate between 1,020 and 1,200 Marks a year.[89] Teachers often received living quarters and fuel from the community to supplement their incomes.[90] In 1906, 18 poor Jewish families in the village of Geroda (Lower Franconia) strained to pay their teacher 840 Marks a year. A sacrifice for them, it nevertheless forced the teacher to take on other jobs to support his family.[91] Small communities, unable to support their teacher, even petitioned neighboring communities for help.[92]

The organization Achawa, founded in 1864, supported teachers as well as their widows and children. In 1894, the club gave small grants of between 40 and 50 Marks to several dozen teachers and pensions of 140 Marks to about 120 former teachers.[93] Teachers also banded together to create pension systems and to press for better working conditions.[94]

Overworked and underpaid, Julius Lippmann taught in Gaukönigshaufen (Lower Franconia) from 1874 until 1891. He instructed about 21 boys and girls of different ages simultaneously in religion and ethics, the Hebrew Bible, memorization of prayers, reading and translating Hebrew, and oral Hebrew. He and his family lived in two damp, small rooms provided by the Jewish community, one of which served as the classroom during school hours. The father of nine children, Lippmann earned extra income as a bookbinder and cantor and received firewood as partial payment in kind.[95] Many teachers had no choice but to beg for charity.[96] In 1894, the teacher J. Levi, from the town of Sögel (near Hannover), beseeched the local Jewish community to assist his aging and sickly parents. He could not help them on his income.[97]

The impoverishment of teachers resulted in a perpetual teacher shortage. In 1888, for example, Jewish organizations tried to fill a deficit of over eight hundred teachers in small communities where Jewish children were growing up without any religious education.[98] Teachers tended to move on, especially if they were also rabbis: "the name and face of the rabbi changed every couple of years, since these gentlemen used the dull provincial town only as a stepping stone to more interesting appointments."[99] Jewish education required skilled professionals but staggered under the burden of inadequate funding and lagging interest.

University Education

Finishing the Gymnasium and completing the Abitur placed one among a small elite of about 1–2 percent of the male 18-year-olds in Prussia. About 65–75 percent of these graduates aimed for the university,[100] while the rest considered business or lower civil service careers. During the Imperial era, the number of students of all denominations grew rapidly. They hoped to become lawyers, doctors, teachers, upper-level civil servants, or theologians. Due to an antisemitic job market, Jews focused on the first two choices, in which they could become independent practitioners.

The majority of Jewish boys who considered university educations were well off. But needy Jews also attended,[101] with help from Jewish foundations or the extended family. An uncle or brother might be called upon "if . . . [the student] could increase the honor and reputation of the family."[102] Victor Klemperer's brothers supported his education because "we much prefer a professor to a . . . journalist. . . . [T]he title of Doctor . . . will be to your—and our—advantage."[103] Hugo Marx, whose parents could not support his legal education, first studied at night and worked during the days before his relatives helped support his full-time studies.[104] Even some cattle dealers and peddlers might send their sons to nearby towns to study at the Gymnasium and then on to the university.[105] Education separated village Jews from non-Jews. The latter saw education as a "privilege of the upper class," whereas some poor Jews scrambled to save their sons from a rural backwater and a career of petty trade.[106]

By whatever means available, an increasing number of young Jewish men

attended the university, the largest numbers preferring Berlin and Breslau.[107] The number of Jewish men who matriculated at Prussian universities in 1886, 1,134, grew to 1,356 by 1911, although their percentage of the student body fell in these years from 9 percent to about 6 percent. Jews tended to study medicine, a traditional profession among Jews and, more important, a profession in which they could set up private practices and control their own destinies. The most exclusive faculty, law, attracted the nobility, the wealthy patriciate, and sons of non-Jewish academics and discriminated against Jews. Thus by the mid-1880s over half (57 percent) of Jewish university students had enrolled in Prussian medical schools, making Jews 34 percent of all medical students in Berlin alone. As the legal profession freed itself from state control (1879), legal opportunities for Jews grew, since the Prussian state, in particular, had discriminated against them. As Jews turned to law, the percentage of Jews among medical students dropped until it reached 25 percent in 1906.[108] In Prussia between 1886 and 1891, an average of 17 percent of Jewish men enrolled in the legal faculty (the same as the general student enrollment), but by 1906 41 percent of Jews registered for law (compared with 23 percent of the general student population).[109] Like doctors, Jewish lawyers also set up private practices to avoid antisemitism in state or civil service positions.

Jewish women entered the universities more slowly. While professors brandished weighty arguments in defense of male privilege, Prussia delayed female matriculation until 1908, receiving women thereafter only grudgingly. Furthermore, few Jewish parents encouraged their daughters academically. Yet by 1914 Jewish women comprised about 13 percent of all German women students. Even though Jewish women's numbers were quite small, their percentage was twice that of Jewish male students.[110]

Ignored, insulted, and patronized by professors and male students alike, these pioneering "New Women" remained outsiders to the academic community. Neither parents nor professors offered young women advice as to educational or career paths. Marie Munk, who became a member of the Berlin Superior Court, arrived there via detours through teacher training, social work, and a semester studying economics.[111] Her father, a Berlin judge, had refused to advise her.

Generally, non-Jewish women registered for philosophy, history, and philology in order to become teachers. Jewish women, much like Jewish men, looked toward medicine, given that the legal profession was still barred to all women and the school systems were generally antisemitic. In Prussian universities in 1908, 34 percent of Jewish women students, compared to 15 percent of other German women, studied medicine, and 59 percent of Jewish women matriculated either in medicine (including dentistry), science, or math, compared to 37 percent of their female colleagues. In 1911, when 14 percent of female students in Prussia were Jewish, 39 percent of female medical students and 50 percent of dentistry students were Jews.[112] Jewish university women looked for careers in previously "male" fields such as medicine, journalism, and upper levels of teaching. Although banned from the legal profession, they studied law for careers in social work, publishing, or business.

Women students had limited opportunities to mix with male students outside of the lecture halls. The more prestigious (non-Jewish) fraternities where men of the upper class assembled did not invite women students, let alone Jewish women, to their parties. Moreover, the (non-Jewish) dueling organizations forbade romantic relationships with Jewish women.[113] Only the Free Students' Association, an association of liberal men, invited them to its events; even then, they frequently behaved condescendingly. Still, university women did go out with their peers. Margarete Sallis had "a good number of young men" in her life. She explained that her popularity resulted from "a gift that men liked very much, namely to listen to them quietly and amiably. When I discovered this, I began to pursue it as a sport, and when I did it as a sport it began to interest me."[114] Seeking greater freedom than their mothers' generation, women students eschewed chaperones, looked forward to companionate marriages, and in some cases preferred single life.[115] Käte Frankenthal, for example, believed that she needed a housekeeper, not a husband. Fiercely independent, she explained to her suitors "very early and very clearly that marriage or any kind of commitment was out of the question for me."[116]

Whereas male students acquired sexual experiences, usually with women below their social class, university women had fewer sexual liaisons than one might have expected from "New Women"—although reticence to discuss this topic in memoirs can not be equated with abstinence.[117] Though these young women had rebelled against parents' expectations, they generally guarded their reputations. They bowed to the moral conventions of society, intent upon achieving their academic goals.[118] A few pregnancies among students caused tremendous consternation; "premarital sex—even in serious relationships—was unthinkable for most women students."[119] Hugo Marx confirmed this: his "first love," a female student, was "a very platonic affair, because she saw nothing in me but an object to mother."[120] Käte Frankenthal was one of the few who freely acknowledged intimacy with men.[121]

Similarly, Jewish male students did not seek binding relationships with women. In hot pursuit of *Bildung*, they enjoyed theater, concerts, operas, and travel. They journeyed widely on special student discounts, staying in low-cost lodgings. In accordance with German ideals of manhood, they also relished the outdoors, particularly weekend or vacation hiking. Arthur Czellitzer's postcard to his mother (around 1890) radiated his elation as he contemplated fulfilling his aspirations for *Bildung*:

> Who is the luckiest soul under the sun? I who am now sitting in [lecture]. Tonight I am going to hear [Wagner's] "Walkuere." . . . On Sunday I will travel to the blue Königsee and, in eight days, I will be in the Dolomites, speaking Italian with Uncle Max. Hurrah![122]

Universities were not ivory towers, and after 1880 Jews could rarely escape antisemitism on campus any more than in society at large.[123] During 1880 and 1881 antisemites circulated a petition to limit Jewish immigration that, along with a separate student petition, received over 250,000 signatures. In Berlin, over 40 percent of the student body signed antisemitic statements,[124] and in

1881 German students formed the highly visible German Students' Association (Verein Deutscher Studenten), which espoused a mixture of nationalism, monarchism, (anti-Catholic) Christianity, and antisemitism.[125] Its members argued that "Jewish liberalism [was] the sworn enemy of Christianity," that Jews were dangerous socialists, and that although Jews "improve with German education . . . they are just not German and can never become so."[126] Hostility surged with the arrival of foreign Jews, mostly from Russia, in the 1890s. In 1886–87, foreign Jewish students made up about 17 percent of the foreign student population in Prussia. By 1911–12 this figure had risen to 40 percent.[127] German students joined a campaign sponsored by the conservative Alldeutscher Verband in 1905 against the alleged overcrowding of German universities by foreign Jews.[128]

Jewish students reacted with outrage and sadness. Some of their fathers had fought in the War of 1871 and had been members of German fraternities themselves.[129] These young men had grown up hearing about the romantic fraternity traditions and the virile virtues of dueling. They had looked forward to the camaraderie and colored hats of fraternity membership. Suddenly the Jewish student faced a situation entirely different from his expectations. He found hostile peers and fraternities that impugned his masculinity, considering him an unsuitable mate in the gloried tradition of drinking and an unworthy opponent in the much-hailed ritual of dueling.

Sorrowfully, Jews acknowledged that antisemitism thrived among their contemporaries. They even lost their non-Jewish Gymnasium friends when these young men joined the antisemitic fraternities.[130] Moreover, Jewish students worried about the future political behavior of antisemitic students: "Racial hatred will become a tradition and will increase from one generation to the next. The tension accumulated in this way may one day explode with elementary force over our heads."[131]

In reaction to bigotry on campuses and corresponding to the flowering of many different kinds of Jewish organizations, some Jewish men created their own fraternities, while others joined the Free Students' Association,[132] an interuniversity group of unaffiliated students promoting liberal universalism. The Association, a group made up largely of Jewish men at its beginning, consisted almost only of Jewish men by 1890. Jewish men who joined it chose to socialize primarily with other Jews while not emphasizing their Jewish identity, whereas Jewish fraternities stressed their in-between status, negotiating dual identities for their members.[133] At Breslau, the Jewish fraternity Viadrina (1886) designed a coat of arms embracing the word *Germania* at its center. Although omitting any obvious Jewish symbol, its Latin motto read "None may harm me with impunity," an allusion not only to masculine honor but also, most probably, to antisemitism.[134] Choosing "to display their Jewishness honorably,"[135] other Jewish fraternities intended to fight antisemitism as well as to strengthen their members' self-confidence. Still, they insisted that they could be good Germans too: "we Jews are and feel German and will not let anyone rob us of our dear Fatherland. . . . [T]he German language is our mother tongue . . . and our spirit is filled with German spirit."[136]

They named themselves "old Germanic names . . . 'Friburgia,' 'Sprevia,' 'Thuringia' . . . everything true German"[137] and aped the German fraternities by drinking and demonstrating "manliness."[138] In their ardor to imitate university conventions of masculinity and honor, Jewish fraternities embraced the dueling tradition and "carved out a ferocious reputation as duelists."[139] However, since dueling was a "distinguishing mark of higher standing groups,"[140] some non-Jewish fraternities did not consider Jews "honorable" enough to combat, and Jews often met with the humiliation of having their challenges ignored. Even so, Viadrina students provoked their adversaries until they relented, displaying just how much they shared the values of their Christian opponents and, arguably, forcing an increasingly segregated fraternity system to integrate for a few moments, during the duel. Jewish and non-Jewish men proudly wore battle scars on their faces,[141] convinced that they had performed honorably.

Whether from the pressure of the antisemitic movements surrounding them or from their own secular intellectual interests, Jewish male students frequently reevaluated their attachment to Judaism. Some severed all ties, others became more adamantly Jewish, forming their own (non-fraternity) Jewish student clubs,[142] and still others found Zionism. Some non-Zionists saw these separate clubs as temporary, until German students would welcome them back—but this never happened.[143]

Jewish women did not encounter the variety of clubs available to Jewish men, nor did they create their own Jewish organizations. They did associate with newly forming women's clubs.[144] In Heidelberg, the women's club (Verein) invited women of all faiths and elected a Jewish chairperson. The umbrella organization of women students, the Verband der Studierenden Frauen Deutschlands, open to all, affiliated in 1915 with the German women's movement. Antisemitism, however, infected women too. A year after Prussian universities opened to women, a Christian-national, that is, antisemitic, women's organization formed. It combined with similar ones in 1914.[145]

Conclusion

Jews shared the German education system as well as its classics, they appreciated German Enlightenment ideals, and they saw a place for themselves in an enlightened society. Jewish children lived within multiple milieus that reinforced German educational goals, whether academic, cultural, or patriotic. Most also received some schooling in Judaism during or after school. Yet Jewish children lived in a Christian milieu, and even when they attended the most liberal *Simultanschule*, they understood that Christian values and traditions counted there. Moreover, an increasingly chauvinistic society, emphasizing its Christianity, isolated Jewish university students, reminding them of their otherness.

16

Work

Emancipation and industrialization were the motors of Jewish economic ascent, defined simply as the rise from peddling and irregular trades into that of the "respectable tradesman or merchant with an open shop or office and a fixed address."[1] Emancipation gave Jews freedom of movement and allowed them to take up almost all occupations. With the growth of the industrial and commercial economies, small family shops grew into larger enterprises and the rise of the railroads made deliveries to small and, later, larger shops easier and cheaper, eliminating the need for most peddlers. The profits from growing businesses went into the further educations of sons or the expansion of businesses. For a few, it could mean the acquisition of spectacular wealth.

Vocational Profile

Jews were tradespeople. Their occupational profile—based on past and contemporary discrimination and on economic trends—differed from that of most other Germans. Antisemites had long argued that "money grubbing" Jews preferred business and avoided productive work, thus setting themselves apart from an idealistic German work ethic. During the Emancipation era, some Jews and many Germans urged Jews to "normalize" their occupations, to seek a job distribution similar to that of the majority, concentrated in industry and agriculture. They argued that people who sought civil rights should become "productive," a word that meant agriculture and trades for boys and housekeeping for girls. The language of "productivity" reinforced antiquated notions of trade and commerce as "unproductive" and thus exploitative.[2] It is not surprising, therefore, that some Jewish organizations promoted crafts and agriculture, trying to prove that Jews contributed to the fatherland rather than "exploited" it.

As the German economy grew and the capitalist middle class flourished, many Germans felt ambivalent about their changing world and the new wealth around them. They pointed to "the Jew" as an embodiment of all they disliked. Gustav Freytag's best-seller, *Soll und Haben* (Debit and credit), published in 1855 and in its 114th edition by 1922, chastised the corrupt exploitative "Jewish" speculator, Itzig, and approved of the efficient, honest capitalist, Anton. Similar stereotypes were popular in works such as Wilhelm Raabe's *Hungerpastor*.[3] Looking back at the books he read, Kurt Blumenfeld, later a Zionist, commented: "In the most widely read novels of that time, the Jew, if he appeared, was a despicable figure. I met Feitel Itzig in . . . Freytag and Fagin in Dickens . . ."[4]

Work was not simply about economic survival, but also about the image and self-image of a minority. In 1901, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* printed a letter urging Jews to become peasants, arguing that "then antisemitism will decline, you will mow it down more readily with sickle and scythe than through thousands of . . . speeches and publications . . ."[5] Zionists, too, exhorted Jews to take up farming, a "healthy" career, also useful in Palestine.

Despite claims that the Jewish occupational profile had been restructured, most Jews, even craftsmen, had businesses on the side.[6] The most widespread trade among Jews was that of butcher, and butchers did not simply slaughter animals, most ran small shops as well. Custom and a growing capitalist economy persuaded the vast majority of Jews to remain in commerce. Sammy Gronemann, a Zionist, mockingly remarked that those who urged co-religionists to change careers believed that others, not they themselves, should do the changing.[7] Reformers only managed to train boys from orphanages and impoverished girls, "future wives of the humble man,"[8] who had little choice in the matter.[9] Further, German state administrative policies, particularly those of Prussia, exempted prosperous merchants during mass expulsions of East European immigrant Jews. This ensured that even eastern newcomers chose commerce, whereas their counterparts in England or France engaged in manual crafts.[10]

What did the Jewish job distribution actually look like? The percentages in Table 1 give an overview. In 1907, 55 percent of Jews, compared with 13 percent of non-Jews, worked in commerce. Gender categories broke down slightly differently, with 64 percent of Jewish men and 52 percent of Jewish women in commercial fields in 1907, as proportionately more Jewish women than men worked in domestic service and agriculture. Jewish merchants maintained special contacts with other Jews. Economic closeness developed based on kinship ties, common networks, and longstanding trade relations reinforced by a shared culture.[11] If previous histories of the bourgeoisie have emphasized a work ethic based on individualism,[12] further research into Jewish work strategies may highlight the importance of group solidarity and networks.

Between 1871 and 1913, fairs and markets gave way to traveling businessmen, local trade to national trade, and general retailing to specialization. The value of German exports increased fivefold, and business schools, business-

Table 1. Jewish and Non-Jewish Job Distribution

	1895		1907	
	Jews	*Non-Jews*	*Jews*	*Non-Jews*
Agriculture	1	36	1	29
Commerce	56	12	55	13
Industry	19	39	22	43
Civil service/professional	6	5	7	6

men's clubs, and chambers of commerce multiplied.[13] With the rapid expansion of German business, the number of non-Jewish Germans in this sector nearly doubled, from 4.5 million in 1882 to about 8.3 million in 1907.[14] In absolute numbers, Jews made up a tiny minority—about 313,176 in 1907.

How did this job profile look on a local level? In the town of Witten, in the industrial Ruhr, Frank Ahland identified types of Jewish employment (see table 2). The preponderance of commercial careers must have been apparent to contemporaries.[15]

In rural Naumberg (Hesse), 84 percent of Jews engaged in commerce.[16] Even if Jews were a tiny minority of the nation's business sector, their virtual absence in agriculture represented a stark contrast to other Germans.

Jewish women seemed not to work outside the home as much as non-Jewish women; the census data showed 18 percent versus 31 percent, respectively, in 1907. In part, this was because Jewish women's work had been disguised as "family help," or they labored behind closed doors in order to

Table 2. Jewish Employment in (industrial) Witten

	1870	1897
Commerce	(85 percent of Jews)	(82 percent of Jews)
Traders (*Händler*)		
(Modest)	12	5
(Wealthy)	—	2
Merchants (*Kaufleute*)	18	26
Butchers	9	6
Bankers	—	2
Managers	—	1
Sales personnel	—	12
Free professions	1 (2 percent)	5 (8 percent)
Industrial workers	1 (2 percent)	—
Handicrafts	—	2

Table 3. Jewish Employment in (rural) Naumberg

Occupation	Number
Commerce	
Trader	5
Merchant	6
Livestock dealer	1
Horse dealer	1
Butcher	2
Peddler	2
Rag collector	4
Free professions	
Pharmacist	1
Teacher	1
Industrial worker	—
Handicrafts	
Shoemaker	1
Agriculture	
Farmer and wagoner	1

maintain their family's middle-class standing. In the first decades of the Imperial era, middle-class Jewish women often "helped out" in the shop, kept accounts, and organized merchandise. Rural Jews' homes and businesses were inextricably linked (often in the same building), and wives often "filled in" for husbands when the men visited customers. Generally, only women from the poorer classes or immigrant groups surface in the statistics. They worked as seamstresses, store assistants, and domestics. But by the turn of the century, middle-class women, too, began to seek employment openly, typing and clerking in newly proliferating offices or serving as sales personnel.

Women also performed hours of unpaid labor daily, in the form of housework and childcare. In the early decades of the Imperial era, most housewives still produced much of their own clothing. Alone or with domestic help, they mended, shopped, cooked, baked, preserved, and canned. Homes, grimy from wood- or coal-burning stoves, needed constant care. Rural women had even more to do, including gardening. Not only did housework produce the basics, even for the middle classes, it also filled the gap between aspirations and reality. Yet housework's isolation and its disparagement have made it easy to overlook as a job. Moreover, by the late nineteenth century, what had previously received recognition as "work" was granted only the status of a "gift of love."[17] In hindsight, this lack of acknowledgement is particularly galling, since around the turn of the century, a servant shortage converted many housewives into a crypto–servant class.[18] John Kenneth Galbraith has called this an "economic accomplishment of the first importance. . . . The servant-wife [was] available, democratically, to almost the entire . . . male population."[19]

Simultaneously, women had to fulfill important roles as consumers. The

increasing availability of running water and new appliances, as well as canned foods and manufactured clothing by the turn of the century, reduced the time housewives spent as producers and increased their work as consumers. They were crucial to the expansion of popular consumption in the modern economy. In the 1870s, Max Hachenburg's mother carried the "care of the household . . . upon her." She "attended to the kitchen herself, made clothing for us boys until we were ten, found time to re-read her favorite poets and not neglect recent publications." His mother also read and commented on his school essays.[20]

Apprenticeships

Because parents considered marriage women's ultimate goal, even though some daughters began to demand or need jobs in the last decades of the century, most girls learned household-related skills at home and took gender-tracked classes at school. Middle- and upper-middle-class girls attended "household" or finishing schools or learned the basics of housewifery during the first months of marriage.[21]

Boys' careers, on the other hand, took careful planning, including an appropriate education and apprenticeship. Families often hoped to pass a business on to the next generation. Jewish textile entrepreneurs in Silesia, for example, passed on family businesses from generation to generation.[22] Sometimes, however, career decisions could cause acute tension, as when families insisted that their unwilling sons follow in their fathers' footsteps or work toward their parents' goals.[23] In the 1890s Lotte Paepcke's grandfather wanted her father to take over the family leather shop. The young man loved the piano. The battle between "Lied und Leder" (song and leather) ended with a three-year apprenticeship to a Jewish leather merchant.[24] At the turn of the century, Carl Cosmann hoped to study medicine. His father, a merchant who had acquired real estate, insisted that he become a lawyer in order to help with the property.[25] Sons who refused the paths that families cleared for them caused anxiety and displeasure. In the 1890s, Jacob Epstein had hoped that his oldest son would enter his flourishing business. The young man preferred collecting minerals and volunteering at zoological institutes. His father contributed to his upkeep but felt profoundly disappointed.[26]

Many rural children began informal apprenticeships while still in elementary school. They helped in the family shop or business, running errands, cleaning up, or serving customers. Livestock dealers expected sons to help in the stables and accompany them on visits to peasants. When these boys finished lower school, some joined the family businesses. One boy from Ellar (Hesse) entered his father's cattle business in 1901 at the age of 14. He and his 17-year-old brother bought and sold cattle at the markets. By 17, he too functioned as a full-fledged cattle dealer.[27] In a village near Mannheim, the four Friedhoff children, born between 1896 and 1907, helped run the family hotel and kosher butcher shop. The children guided guests to their rooms by candle-

light. The shop's "freezer" consisted of blocks of ice that the children chopped and carried from a nearby lake. The girls helped the two maids with the weekly laundry. This included pumping and carrying water from a well, soaking the wash in hot water on Sunday, and then boiling and scrubbing it on Monday. When their father bought a calf, he sent one of the boys around to his Jewish customers to announce that meat would be available and the price at which it would be sold. As a 16-year-old, another son learned how to be a butcher by helping his father's friend slaughter some goats.[28]

The Friedhoffs illustrate how some families scraped together enough to furnish each of their sons and daughters with an apprenticeship or some instruction beyond lower school. Although the parents had only completed *Volksschule* themselves, they supported their oldest son's apprenticeship even as they struggled financially. However, they could only manage to apprentice him in a small-town department store. Although he later became a prosperous tobacco manufacturer, he felt he had succeeded "despite his lack of better training."[29] The parents paid for piano lessons for both daughters and sent one of them to a business school in neighboring Karlsruhe. Toward the end of World War I, the two sisters had enough hotel experience and business training to open a small guesthouse for Jewish soldiers. The youngest son benefited from his parents' later prosperity. They sent him to Gymnasium in another town, forfeiting his assistance in the hotel as well as paying for his room and board with a family that kept kosher.

A large majority of urban Jewish boys looked for an apprenticeship in a store or business. Apprentices spent three years learning a trade while generally earning only their room, board, and a bit of pocket money. By 1900 some boys also attended a few night school courses—such as arithmetic, bookkeeping, business correspondence, and foreign languages—at a local business school. These schools had grown from about 50 in 1870 to 750 by the beginning of the war, as part of the growing professionalization of business. Those with training could aspire to better positions, relatively good pay and working conditions, and possibly even to setting up an independent business. During his apprenticeship, Victor Klemperer met such men: they had achieved the one-year army level certificate (the equivalent of an American high school education), though not the Abitur, and "had very good manners, including the tone of the educated middle class."[30] Those with only a minimal (*Volksschule*) education made up a lower class of assistants who "in the struggle related to working conditions [were] in part worse off than laborers."[31]

Since their choice of an apprenticeship often depended upon family connections, Jewish boys frequently wound up in the employ of relatives, friends, or distant acquaintances. Young Hugo Marx, unclear about his future, apprenticed at a bank through his uncle's connections. Although he quickly grew to hate the job, he stayed for a year and a half because his family saw the position as a favor and because the bank, beholden to his uncle, put up with him.[32] When he finally quit, he lasted only two months in the next job until another uncle promised to subsidize his legal studies.[33]

What did young apprentices experience on a daily basis and how did they perceive their prospects? Julius Berger, who apprenticed in Berlin in 1875 at the age of 12, and Victor Klemperer, who apprenticed there in 1897 at 16, represent a large contingent of urban commercial clerks. From a small town in West Prussia, Julius Berger secured an apprenticeship through his father in a leather wholesale house. He worked all day packing, unpacking, examining, and readying leather. Still of school age, he had to attend night school. His income, 20 Marks a month, covered the room and board that he took at his aunt's home, where he slept in a windowless room with five cousins. Berger labored long hours and walked to work to avoid the expense of public transportation. He spent almost the entire 3 Marks a month his father sent him on shoe repairs.[34] He had very little pocket money.

Whereas Berger offers an outline of his activities, his poverty, and his thrift, twenty years later Klemperer depicts better conditions but increasing frustration in a Berlin export firm. Right before leaving school, he had written an essay describing a businessman as someone who could conquer the world, someone who carried not only business but also culture abroad. His older brother, sensitive to antisemitism, read the essay before Victor handed it in, "afraid that [Victor] might speak inappropriately about money."[35] He expected his younger brother to earn money but certainly not to write about it. The bourgeois work ethic pretended that money did not count,[36] and Jews insisted that they did not count money.

With that message, Klemperer embarked on an exciting adventure—at least for the first year. His father had known one of the firm's owners, which probably facilitated his entry. His work consisted of examining newly arrived shipments, learning about the stock, writing lists of entries, and filling shipping orders. At the office, he met both Christians and Jews, mostly from the middle and lower middle classes. He could recall no issue arising from the religious differences. The job demanded 10 hours of work six days a week. He had to attend business school two hours a week for further education, in his case, to improve his handwriting. His business world did not yet use typewriters, and he had been told his handwriting would be an obstacle to his success.[37]

The work challenged him, and he enjoyed the income, 15 Marks a month in the first year. He could look forward to 20 Marks in the second and 30 in the third year, by which time he would be doing the work of fully trained personnel. He also reveled in a feeling of independence from his family, the business English he studied at night, and the conversations with coworkers during breaks (when they were permitted to talk) and behind warehouse shelves (when they were not).[38] These chats provided collegiality along with important gossip about salary conditions, hires in neighboring firms, career problems, and prospects.

Boredom soon set in. After one year, he would awaken on Monday mornings feeling he was about to embark on a six-day jail sentence. He had tired of handling the vases, photo albums, picture frames, and ashtrays he had to send

abroad. His illegible handwriting kept him in the warehouse long after he should have advanced to the front offices, and he began to fret. Would he always be stuck in the warehouse? Moreover, he saw no prospect in this firm since like many similar firms, it had few permanent employees, relying on cheap apprentices for most of the work.

Klemperer worried that he would never be happy if he did not love his work. He debated this idea with his close friend and coworker, Hans Meyerhof. The latter contended that one fulfilled oneself outside of work: "Look at [my] Papa; he sells nails . . . and has his gymnastics club, his Freemason lodge and preaches, philosophizes, and debates and is happy." Meyerhof presumed that most people toiled 10 hours a day in monotonous jobs. Klemperer's unhappiness grew until he finally left the apprenticeship after 31 months. He was lucky to come from a family with the desire for further prestige, and his brothers supported his academic education.[39]

The big city provided assorted delights for apprentices escaping the tedium of their jobs. Despite his poverty, Julius Berger managed to go to the theater on Sundays, paying 25 Pfennige for a standing room ticket.[40] In Breslau, at the turn of the century, Adolf Riesenfeld, miserable in his apprenticeship, enjoyed a lending library, the theater, and the relatively new thrill of bike riding. He also visited friends and joined a club of about 20 young men who discussed literature and general issues of interest to them, such as free love. He later reflected that these weekly meetings provided him with a social life and a "ray of hope" beyond the humdrum of work.[41] Victor Klemperer used the remainder of his weekly income—after depositing part of it in a bank—at the opera (standing room), theater, comedies, and cafés.[42] He also enjoyed riding his new bicycle on weekends in addition to his commute to work. Both he and Riesenfeld took what seemed to be the obligatory Sunday dance lessons, intended to enhance their social skills and provide opportunities to meet appropriate young women. Apprenticeship afforded young men their first semi-independence from their families and their first step into the adult world of work and entertainment.

Jewish families arranged apprenticeships, and wealthier families also provided startup money or money to expand their sons' businesses. Extended families also assisted young men. Jews lived in France, England, and the United States, countries still more commercially advanced than Germany. There German-Jewish relatives learned newer methods and made contacts. As Germany became more enmeshed in international trade, Jews could take advantage of their connections abroad: "No wonder that the young Jew was ready sooner to go abroad—whether into an apprenticeship or on a business trip."[43] Marriages, too, could enhance businesses. The arranged marriage between the scion of textile magnates from Silesia and the daughter of an Austrian textile industrialist in 1887 improved contacts with the Austrian business and proved to be a financial asset to both sides: the Silesian family entered the dowry of 100,000 Marks "directly into the profit columns of the company accounts."[44]

Types of Work in the Villages

In the 1870s most village Jews still made their living by trading livestock and agricultural products, but the spread of the railroad dramatically transformed the rural economy. Telephones and bicycles further helped Jews enhance their businesses. Many converted their traveling dealerships into permanent stores. The demand for meat also skyrocketed: Germany grew from 41 to 54 million people, and meat consumption rose from 27 to 42 kilograms per adult a year.[45]

Livestock dealers put in long, hard days, rising before dawn to feed the animals and traveling by foot or by wagon to buy and sell them. Fathers handed down their particular territories to their sons. Many left home on Mondays with kosher provisions only to return by the Sabbath. They slept in Jewish inns or in other Jewish families' homes. On market days dealers met each other and the local peasantry and sold or traded their goods. Jewish dealers spoke in a mixture of local dialect and "Hebrew expressions [which] belonged to the rituals of the trade," understood by non-Jewish dealers too.[46] Jewish dealers also advertised in local papers.[47] Wealthier ones often sold horses, which were more expensive than cattle. The poorer dealers held relatively low status within the Jewish community, as is evidenced by the marriage ads of poor or "overaged" women—that is, over the age of 25—who would accept a marriage to "widowers or livestock dealers."[48]

By the 1880s, with trade expanding beyond the local area, Jews could earn more by importing cattle (for consumption) from distant regions and exporting cattle to the cities. The cattle market quickly became a European market. Business expansion but also consolidation took place. Fewer and fewer peasants owned more and more cattle.[49] Between 1882 and 1914, the number of cattle dealers shrank by 25 percent.[50] In 1900, only 17 percent of the sons of cattle dealers in Baden chose to enter their fathers' profession.[51] Still, Jewish livestock dealing remained strong in southwestern Germany. In Baden in 1900, for example, 42 percent of Jews engaged primarily in cattle and horse trading, and another 34 percent did so in addition to another job or business such as owning an inn or a butcher shop. In 1917, the chair of the Association of German Livestock Dealers (Bund der Viehhändler Deutschlands), a Jewish businessman, estimated that about 60 percent of traders in farm animals (25,000 out of 40,000) were Jewish. Monika Richarz suggests that if one subtracts pig trading, then the percentage of Jews who traded cattle and horses swells to about 80 percent.[52]

Other rural Jews did not limit themselves to one kind of product or even to one kind of business. They tended to be small shopkeepers, selling such products as cloth, shoes, wine, spices, or small appliances, sometimes combined with trading in livestock. Or they traded grain and agricultural products (such as animal feed, hops, tobacco, wool, or leather) or owned inns[53] or butcher shops, sometimes a combination of both. Frequently they enhanced their business by providing credit.[54] Jews in the tiny town of Gaukönigshofen (Lower Franconia) provide an example of this flexibility. Some Jews opened up

shops but continued to trade in livestock and real estate.[55] By 1880, seven Jewish general merchandise shops competed among each other and with shops owned by non-Jews. In order to limit areas of competition, some Jews specialized and others broadened their offerings. One man, for example, sold only cloth in his shop (especially the fabric needed for the local traditional costume) and also opened a grain dealership in order to avoid competing with his sister-in-law, who owned a variety shop.[56] Other Jews enticed customers by offering delivery services or advertised "sales"—a new concept—in local papers.[57] When the competition became too onerous, some migrated, while a few opened new kinds of businesses, for example, in farm machinery. Those unable to change with the time faced poverty. Three of the poorest families in the village of Gaukönigshofen were Jewish small shopkeepers.[58]

Shops owned by Jews usually had male proprietors. Wives or daughters "helped out." Unmarried women or widows sometimes owned their own shops,[59] occasionally aided by Jewish organizations founded to help women entrepreneurs. In a small East Prussia town, the German-Israelite Loan Fund for Women and Maidens lent between 70 and 760 Marks in the 1880s to women for various enterprises, from buying a sewing machine to setting up a shop.[60]

By the turn of the century, "Jewish textile, dry goods and grocery stores marked the business life of rural communities."[61] As businesses grew, owners often hired traveling salespeople to reach rural customers, who, aside from attending regional and local markets, expected dealers to come to their homes. Modern transportation and communications systems increased the efficiency of these sales personnel. Some Jewish businesses grew so large that their owners established wholesale companies.

Jews and the surrounding peasantry knew each other intimately. Jews provided convenience and credit, so peasants generally remained loyal to them. Moreover, Jews often hired non-Jewish help for their business and homes.[62] Jewish dealers often offered loans to peasants who preferred Jewish lenders of last resort to the shame of borrowing from a bank.[63] Still, peasants' observations could lead to false understandings. For example, although many peasants knew that Jews worked long days, often traveling by foot, they did not interpret that as "work" or admit that it caused significant physical hardships, instead believing that "[Jews] didn't want to work. That is, physical work. They traded."[64]

The economic crash of 1873 and the more general agricultural crisis boosted agrarian antisemitism. In Hesse, the crisis brought Otto Böckel, a virulent antisemite, to the Reichstag. Antisemites attempted to boycott Jewish businesses,[65] to establish "Jew-free" cattle markets, and to set up the more popular antisemitic loan associations.[66] However, most Jews preserved their clientele.[67] Anti-Jewish commercial prejudices, even the common accusation of usury, did not have a major impact.[68] In the village of Ellar, a man (b. 1887) wrote: "In my youth I had already heard occasional derogatory comments about Jews, although these antisemites usually did business with us."[69] Even in serious conflicts non-Jews hesitated to step "beyond certain boundaries in

order to maintain the economic, social and cultural equilibrium." Those who harbored antisemitic sentiments—and sometimes voiced them, only to take them back when challenged by a Jew—did not want to endanger economic relationships with Jews.[70] Moreover, peasants and Jews dealt with each other over several generations, thus building up links between families.[71] An observer (b. 1879) noted: "of course [the peasant] deals with [the Jew]. . . . So he is inevitably tied to the Jew."[72] Indeed, even those who believed that Jews were dishonorable exempted the Jews they knew, maintaining that "the marten [a weasel-like animal] does not steal in its own nest."[73]

Despite underlying misunderstandings or antipathies on both sides, Christian-Jewish economic relations could be characterized as an "attempt at stability."[74] Jews tried to disregard everyday antisemitism, and non-Jews generally restrained the expression of hostilities to maintain economic and social peace. Aside from neighborliness, business dealings remained the most constant form of contact between Jewish and non-Jewish villagers.

Commercial and Industrial Work in Towns and Cities

Economic advances and the lures of the city led to the decline of the rural Jewish population.[75] As businesses improved, sons left villages to choose more promising careers. In 1900, young Jewish men in Baden preferred to enter commercial fields (60 percent), and a small but significant group entered academia (5 percent).[76] Nonnenweier's small Jewish community of 233 Jews (in a village of 1,354 in 1875) produced at least five jurists, three doctors, three Gymnasium professors (including one woman), one pharmacist, one female dentist, and six teachers at the turn of the century. In one family, the boys attained positions as a wholesale merchant, a department store owner, a shoe manufacturer, and a theater owner, all in cities.[77]

Jewish men in Imperial Germany, however, faced contradictions as they planned for jobs or careers. On the one hand, from early on they understood that their dreams for a career would have to be tailored to the limits set by antisemitism. The Jewish press warned its readers as late as 1905: "Jewish equality does not exist *de facto* . . . [in] public offices, [among] teachers at public institutions, [or in] the military, [and] the worst situations are in the university, electro technology and pharmacies."[78] In the 1890s, Paul Mühsam "knew that narrow bounds were set to my future activities, while all doors were open to every non-Jew."[79] In 1912, when his schoolmates discussed their futures, the young Norbert Elias volunteered that he hoped to be a professor. A classmate quipped, "That career was cut off from you at birth," alluding to his circumcision.[80]

On the other hand, careers had opened to Jewish men in a way that their grandfathers, and even their fathers, could not have imagined. Further, they could anticipate more opportunities, better jobs, and more comfortable lives than previous generations: "there were so many promising and satisfying choices for work . . . that one could put up with exclusion from the civil ser-

vice or academia."[81] Despite discrimination, Jewish men chose academic careers, and because of discrimination, they chose business careers. In numbers disproportionate to their percentage of the population, they made their mark in both fields.[82]

Most Jews in Germany made their living in commerce (*Handelsgewerbe*), particularly with merchandise and produce (*Waren und Produktenhandel*). In 1895, 127,000 Jews found employment in this sector, a number that rose to 137,350 by 1907.[83] In some cities, Jews made up a significant proportion of the people in commerce.[84] Jewish men devoted long and intense hours to their business, just like many other German businessmen. Such dedication led to increased identification with their work and a subsequent hardening of gender roles in the latter nineteenth century.[85] In 1907, the Jewish publisher S. Fischer described himself as "a person completely possessed by his work."[86] He had left his small Hungarian birthplace at age 14, spending a few years in Vienna before settling in Berlin. There he worked in a bookstore, soon rising to partner. By 1886 he founded his own publishing house. His daughter saw him as totally, passionately engaged in and engulfed by his work. He rarely came home to dinner without an author in tow. His daughter reflected: "for him a book was a living thing and he lived with these, his 'children.'"[87] She continued: "He was so caught up in his work, the extension of his publishing house took his entire energy, that there was not much time left over for his private life."[88]

Less fortunate businessmen were also deeply identified with their work, though they might toil very long hours and barely make ends meet. In the 1880s, Jakob Wassermann's father gave up his small variety shop. In his roman à clef, Wassermann describes his father: "He wanted . . . to establish a factory . . . to realize his life-long dream. His dream was to be a producer . . . to put machines into motions and to manage. . . . He had had it selling ribbons and pipe tips."[89] As a small factory owner, he encountered striking workers and had difficulty raising capital. A fire destroyed his workshops: "He worked like a dog and often appeared to collapse from exhaustion in the evenings."[90] Ultimately, he declared bankruptcy and found employment in an insurance company. He barely supported the family and had "the feeling of being a failure."[91]

Adolf Fröhlich illustrates the standard career path of a small-town businessman. Born in 1872 in Kaiserslautern (Palatinate), he was the youngest of seven children of a cattle dealer, popularly known as the "milk-Jew." Despite poverty, Fröhlich completed the *Realschule.* He apprenticed in a local wholesale firm, then spent two additional years in businesses away from home. Upon his return to Kaiserslautern, he climbed from purchasing agent to manager to partner of a small business. As a father, he hoped that his sons would attain a university education rather than enter his business.[92]

Of the more prosperous businessmen, the odyssey of the Hirschfeld brothers offers an example not only of the growth of a retail business but of the kind of family business—textiles—common among Jews. Like other such entrepreneurs, the Hirschfelds invested not only in merchandising textiles but also in manufacturing them. In West Prussia, Isidor Hirschfeld's mother

Furrier business in Breslau, 1899. Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute.

owned and ran a tavern, and his father, who distilled the liquor sold there, peddled wares by horse and carriage. In 1882, at 14, Isidor entered a three-year apprenticeship in a fabric store in Preussisch-Stargard. First he shelved in the back stock room; then he helped out with the fabrics; next he assisted customers in selecting trousseau items; and finally he learned to pack white linens. By his third year, his boss gave him even more responsibility. He enjoyed the work, although he considered bargaining over prices "old-fashioned." Standard pricing had not yet arrived there. When his boss offered him a permanent job—at 35 Marks a month after a three-month trial period—he happily accepted. A blue-collar worker's salary would have hovered between 20 and 32 Marks a month.[93]

After a stint in a Berlin store facilitated by his uncle's connections,[94] Hirschfeld moved to its Hamburg affiliate. He rose to branch manager in 1889, and by 1893, at the age of 25, was eager to open his own ready-made clothing store in Hamburg. He and his brother rented a small shop of approximately 1,600 square feet at a cost of 8,500 Marks per month. They made a profit of 9,500 Marks in their first three months. Encouraged by their surprising success, they visited a spa and accepted social invitations in the hopes of making potential business and marriage contacts. Good connections with and solid dowries from other Jewish families enhanced the business.[95]

What these examples do not tell us explicitly is that Jewish merchants like the Hirschfelds were among the first to advertise, institute end-of-season sales, and accept mail orders. They also pioneered in establishing fixed prices, welcoming browsers, accepting returned merchandise, and selling ready-made clothing. These important innovations also aided in contradicting stereotypes of the haggling Jew. In addition, Jews kept careful track of international trends. Some invested in department stores, specializing either in the luxury trade or in catering to poorer customers. The latter establishments were called colloquially—and antisemitically—*jüdische Ramschbasare* (Jewish rummage sales or junk bazaars). Antisemitic boycotts could have hindered Jewish economic survival, yet these did not seriously affect Jewish business, although not for lack of trying.[96] Practically inclined, customers remained loyal to good prices and quality.

About 5 percent of Jews in "commerce" owned or managed inns and pubs, transport businesses, and insurance concerns.[97] One could find both small pubs in the eastern provinces of Germany and stylish restaurants on Berlin's most elegant boulevards with Jewish owners, as well as hotels and resorts catering to a Jewish clientele. The general growth in commerce spurred the transport business: between 1895 and 1907 the number of Jews involved in transport, in such positions as shipping agent, teamster, coachman, or ship and barge owner, doubled.[98] Despite Jewish successes in private businesses, especially private banking, there were limits on the number of Jewish men in upper management. When the Deutscher Bank named a Jewish director for its Frankfurt branch in 1911, it did so only after the one other Jewish man on the board of directors retired.[99]

Like Jewish men, Jewish women entered commercial fields: the figure of 19,100 women in 1895 (48 percent of all working Jewish women) grew to over 27,800 women by 1907 (52 percent). Women were self-employed owners of small shops or businesses and white-collar workers, holding jobs as salesgirls, secretaries, or steno-typists. The number of non-Jewish women in these fields rose dramatically too, although most still worked in agriculture or industry.[100] Modern urban life had thrust some Jewish women into (paid) jobs that their (unpaid) grandmothers had held in the shop and behind the scenes two generations earlier.

With more education than non-Jewish women, Jewish women held higher status jobs. Compared to Jewish men, however, their status was lower. Women in general worked long hours, had fewer opportunities for training and appren-

ticeships, and were paid less than their male associates. Whereas male sales personnel could still find a job at age 40, females reached an impasse by 30, as they "aged" and employers found them less appealing, ostensibly to their clientele.[101] When women organized in the Association for Female Employees in 1893 to improve their lot,[102] Jewish women accounted for about 20 percent of the membership and some, like Rosa Cohn, one of its founders, and Gertrud Israel, one of its spokeswomen, held prominent positions in the organization.[103]

Jewish men chose the "free professions," those in which they could work independently, particularly law and medicine. Without converting, these were their best choices: they would have had little chance in the notoriously antisemitic civil service or in academia.[104] In 1896, a mother noted her son's impressive knowledge of history and literature but understood that an academic career was forbidden to him as a "Jew and the son of not-rich parents." He would have to follow the "well trodden path of jurisprudence."[105]

As late as 1909, Jews made up 10 percent of *Privatdozenten* (unsalaried lectureship) but only 2 percent of *Ordinarien*, the regular professorate (and only 1 percent in 1917).[106] Only Jews who converted had a chance at success.[107] When the medievalist Harry Bresslau complained to the prominent historian Leopold von Ranke of his (relatively) stymied career, Ranke simply urged him to convert.[108] Only Frankfurt University, established in 1914 and supported by a number of Jewish donors, offered Jews a level playing field. Strangely, discrimination may have aided their successes. Shulamit Volkov has shown that biases against Jewish academics in medicine and the natural sciences forced them to hold positions as *Privatdozenten*, from which they had more time to pursue research and develop their own specialties.[109]

Teaching—even at the lower levels—was not a job alternative, since most schools were Christian in character. Jewish teachers made up about 1 percent of all teachers in Germany in 1907.[110] This held true for Prussia as well, where in 1909, higher schools employed 96 Jewish teachers, 1 percent of teachers in Prussia.[111] Migration to cities, emptying the rural Jewish *Volksschulen*, also hurt Jewish teachers. Once they lost their jobs in rural areas, they generally could not find public school posts, except to teach Jewish religion lessons. In Prussia, the number of Jewish lower-school teachers sank from 405 in 1896 to only 386 in 1906.[112]

Jewish women found even fewer openings. Although more Jewish women prepared for teaching than for either medicine or law (women could not enter the bar until after World War I), they suffered from the antifemale and antisemitic biases of school systems. Unlike males, female teachers could not be married.[113] Celibacy meant that teaching could only be considered a short-term career or one for spinsters and widows. Further, women's salaries came to only half of men's, justified, according to school systems, by the fact that women were single![114] After completing their studies, some Jewish women tutored, others married, and still others faced unemployment. In 1886, only 94 Jewish women taught in Prussia, not all full-time. By 1901 only 115 had found regular positions. Jewish schools also balked at hiring women, preferring men who, in small towns, also took on the role of Jewish religious functionary. Women replaced men only during World War I.[115]

Jewish men who decided upon law as their academic field had to assume that they would practice law but rarely teach it. As a student in 1890, Berthold Freudenthal wrote in his diary: "Should I wish to become a *Privatdozent*? As a Jew I will have to tolerate considerable mental anguish, be dependent, and renounce success."[116] When he succeeded against all his expectations and attained the esteemed title of *Geheimrat*, he confided to his diary: "[it is] nice to achieve this at the age of 44 as a Jew."[117]

Jewish lawyers could not expect to arrive in the upper echelons of state service or the judiciary either. Only the elite of non-Jewish lawyers entered the high bureaucracy. Although Jews had been appointed to judgeships and notarial positions in the founding decade of the Empire, the antisemitic wave of the 1880s saw a slowdown in appointments.[118] In 1888, a successful lawyer wrote to his brother about his prospects in Prussian state service: "I have absolutely no chance of promotion . . . if I don't get baptized."[119]

Thus "less competitive jurists"—those excluded by antisemitism, class, or ability—tended to become private attorneys.[120] Hence Jews, who made up about 15 percent (1,877) of the legal profession in 1907, found particular success in private practice. In Prussia, where most Jews lived, the Jewish share of private attorneys rose from 7 percent to 20 percent in the 1880s and to 27 percent by 1904. In Berlin, where 21 percent of all Jews lived in 1905, the proportions were even higher; it is likely that close to half of private practitioners there were Jewish. Some of their success, at least at first, was due to business within the Jewish community, and many of their legal colleagues and contacts were Jewish.[121]

Wishing he could have become a professor, Max Hachenburg began his private practice as a commercial lawyer in 1885. Happily, he reported that this "marriage of convenience"—his Mannheim firm—turned into a "love match."[122] During his first years, he sustained a modest office, working on business contracts, bankruptcies, divorces, and small criminal cases. By 1900, years of experience and a new civil code enhanced his practice. He specialized in representing the Mannheim business community and in writing books on commercial law. He described his routine as advising and arguing with his clients while attempting to maintain collegial relations with other lawyers. His friend once joked that a lawyer was the "freest" person on earth, dependent only on his clients, his colleagues, and the courts.[123]

Hachenburg achieved great personal success. His practice flourished, he was elected to the executive committees of the Bar Association of Baden in 1896 and the German Bar Association in 1909, and he received Mannheim's gold citizens' medal of honor in 1930. He claimed not to have been affected by antisemitism but acknowledged its persistence. (Unlike Hachenburg, many of the founders of the Centralverein, the main Jewish defense organization, were lawyers who had suffered discrimination themselves.)[124] Hachenburg recommended that other Jewish lawyers be "doubly careful in conducting their practices," recognizing that "one false move hurts everyone."[125] A sense of humor helped too: after being asked if he knew that a young magistrate with whom he had worked was an antisemite he responded, "No, he doesn't look like one!"[126]

Jews chose medicine because it, too, remained open to private practitioners. In 1895 and 1907, there were about 3,000 and 4,700 Jewish doctors, respectively, in Germany.[127] In percentages, this meant that in 1895 and 1907 about 6 percent of (male) doctors and—far more strikingly—probably close to 30 percent of female doctors were Jewish.[128] These proportions rose dramatically in the cities. In Berlin at the end of the century, about 5 percent of the population and almost one-third of the doctors were Jewish.[129] Nervously, Jewish observers entreated: "it would be in the interest of Jewry if young Jewish doctors . . . move[d] to the countryside."[130] On a daily basis, urban non-Jews could easily encounter a Jewish doctor.[131]

That "Germany was . . . the world's medical leader and home to more Jewish doctors than anywhere else" had both positive and negative results for Jews.[132] Jewish successes aided professional and social advancement, furthering embourgeoisement and creating a sense of self-worth among Jews. Yet Jewish achievements also made them targets for antisemites during a period of fierce economic competition.[133]

As with law, academic medicine kept (unbaptized) Jews at bay. In the early 1880s, Ludwig Edinger, one of the first neurologists in Germany, worried that antisemitism would stymie his career. He observed, that there were no "clinical or anatomical position[s] for . . . someone afflicted with Jewish descent."[134] In 1908, Paul Ehrlich won the Nobel Prize for his work on immunology. An active member of the Jewish community, he was still an assistant professor at the age of 54.[135] Antisemites did not just restrict careers in academic medicine, they also pressured some hospitals and clinics to call for Christian doctors only and attempted, less successfully, to curb the growth of private practices by warning patients against "greedy," "lustful," and "un-German" Jewish doctors.[136] Jewish doctors often relied on family connections and financial support to launch their private practices. Until the turn of the century, when office hours became more common, many served as "house doctors," visiting patients at home, attending to entire families, and often getting paid only at the end of the year.[137]

Journalism and writing also attracted educated Jews. Single Jewish women writers, a small minority of all Jewish writers, generally depended on their earnings for a living. Jenny Hirsch, an activist in the women's movement, supported herself from 1870 until 1881 as publisher of the *Frauen Anwalt* and thereafter as an independent writer. Her novels, published under a male pseudonym, augmented her income. In her later years, however, she could not support herself by writing and lived with relatives.[138] Jewish men could hope for equal treatment from some of the newer leading newspapers established by Jewish publishers like Rudolf Mosse and Leopold Ullstein in Berlin. Jews made up about 8 percent of the profession in both 1895 and 1907, an increase of almost 75 percent in actual numbers.[139] It took great efforts for journalists to sustain themselves on their writing. At first Victor Klemperer depended on family connections to find entree into editors' offices. Later he wandered from office to office, offering themes about which he hoped to write or accepting commissioned topics. He hated selling ideas and facing excuses as to why

an editor had no time for him. He found the suggestion "You can send in the article . . . but we naturally don't commit ourselves ahead of time" most disagreeable.[140] At one paper he earned 5 Pfennige a line in 1905 and 6 Pfennige in 1906.[141] At about 10 to 50 lines per article, this amounted to very little.[142] At the age of 30, with his journalism career well underway, Klemperer could not support his wife and himself. With his brothers' prodding and financial subsidy, he left journalism—and Judaism—to pursue a Ph.D.[143]

Although at least three times as many Jews worked in the industrial sector as in the professions, they left little trace of themselves. For the most part, only quantitative records remain, sadly devoid of workers' feelings or travails. In 1907 about 128,000 (or 22 percent of) Jews labored in "industry and crafts,"[144] an increase of 37 percent since 1895.[145] Fearing antisemitism or preferring to work near other Jews, Jewish workers clustered in three branches—apparel, foods, and textiles. Immigrant Jewish craftsmen and workers came closer to the German employment profile, but even they tended to focus on secondhand goods, cigarette making[146] and selling, and textiles. By 1910, about 23,000 Jews could be found as blue-collar workers in industry. Of these, about 20,000 (including 6,000 women) toiled in the building trades, mining, and factory work.[147]

The Jewish occupational distribution deviated even more sharply from the norm because the majority of Jews in "industry" were, according to census categories, "self-employed" or "employees," not actual "workers." Jews preferred tiny, independent concerns,[148] whereas non-Jews labored as factory workers.[149] About half of Jewish handicraft workers (tailors, butchers, milliners, bakers, and shoemakers) owned their (small) enterprises.[150] Tailors or seamstresses doing "outwork" could also figure in these statistics as "self-employed." Increasingly, however, these handicraft workers could no longer compete with the speed and efficiency of industrial production.

During World War I, Eastern European Jewish men worked in armaments industries in the Rhineland and Westphalia. At the beginning of the war, about 45,000 to 50,000 Eastern-Jewish workers lived in Germany. With many German workers at the front, the German government recruited—and when that did not work, compelled—at least another 30,000 Jewish workers in the eastern occupied areas to come to Germany. About four thousand labored in the Ruhr mines. Most of them lived in crowded, dirty barracks, where the security personnel could not be distinguished from hostile, armed guards and where they ate unhealthy and vile food. They did the least skilled work in factories and mines and fell victim to diseases and industrial accidents.[151] They earned less than other workers and even less than they had been promised. However, by East European standards they earned decently. Most lived frugally in order to send money home to needy, even starving, relatives: "Their pride was the postal money order receipts that they always carried with them."[152] Jewish workers toiled long hours and faced "constant supervision, that degraded them into dependent . . . work slaves."[153] German authorities treated Eastern Jews as the lowest rung on a ladder of poorly treated foreign workers. Eastern Jews distinguished themselves from other foreign laborers in their desire to live on

their own, their organizational ability, and their preference for entrepreneurship over industrial hierarchies.[154]

Attitudes toward Work

It is difficult to glean the meaning of work from memoirs and diaries. Most Jews described their jobs but rarely expounded on the existential significance of work. Unlike Victor Klemperer, most took work for granted, as neither a blessing nor a curse, neither a source of self-fulfillment nor a source of alienation. Nonetheless, many took pride in having established or expanded their businesses, and some reported gratification from their work. They were drawing attention to their bourgeois values and to their own deeply felt experience when they wrote about how hard they worked, how many hours they toiled, and how many obstacles they faced. Rural Jews, in particular, described long hours and hard work. The son of a Hessian-Jewish cattle dealer recalled his father's motto: "He who rests, rusts." Father and sons worked day and night. Sometimes "we'd get home shortly before midnight, and then have to drag ourselves out of bed at three or four in the morning." Few admitted to slackening their pace, though they pointed out others who might have: "Certainly . . . many of our business colleagues . . . did not work as hard and were not as exacting as we . . . [but] we felt happy and satisfied when we were busy." "Busy" was not only a descriptive term that meant business was good; it was also a positive value. Moreover, "Father often talked about his career, since he was proud of it."[155] Similarly, the son of a Bavarian horse dealer remembered that his father's business was risky but his father "loved his horses." This love of horses accompanied some of these men long after they had given up the business.[156] Despite long hours, work was not the sum total of these Hessian and Bavarian livestock dealers' lives. Both found enjoyment in family and community; one of them served as president of his synagogue.

Urban, bourgeois professions provided different kinds of satisfactions and hardships. Bernhard Freudenthal delighted in his first university teaching assignments. But he quickly despaired when his colleagues appeared aloof or showed disrespect toward him. Ultimately, he moved from Breslau to Frankfurt, believing that Jews were treated better there.[157] Female professionals probably experienced the most frustration. Having succeeded in hostile universities, they now faced unwelcoming professions. More important, those who chose to mix careers with marriage confronted hard choices that men rarely faced. Rahel Straus, a doctor, reflected that while a man's career made up the essence of his life, with the entire household geared toward facilitating it, a woman's situation was completely different. Once women married, they could no longer focus exclusively on careers, a source of frustration to Straus: "[Women] take on a second job when they marry, to create a house, a home. . . . How I would have loved to train further in surgery . . . Oh, there were thousands of things that I would have wished to learn."[158]

For many (men especially), their struggles and successes at work provided

the leitmotifs of their memoirs; they rarely recorded their failures. Jewish "success stories" cover a spectrum from renown, financial prosperity, and glowing satisfaction to modest achievements, frustrations, and some disappointments. While some thanked God for their good fortune, most attributed it to hard work.[159]

Hard work kept fathers from families but also explained these families' improved living standards. In addition, the bourgeoisie linked work and *Bildung*, perceiving work as an enhancement of human dignity.[160] For Jews, whose occupational distribution tended to make them stand out from rather than blend in with the majority, their long hours helped them fit well with the bourgeois work ethic and *Bildung*. Moreover, intense labor sanctioned *Erholung*—recuperation—a euphemism for "vacation."[161] And, ultimately, work could be transformed into leisure.[162] Having accumulated some wealth, the Jewish middle classes could hope that they, and surely their children, would find time to enjoy music, travel, or a richer and more varied social life.

Conclusion

Jews shared in the economic upswing of the nineteenth century, generally experiencing success even during what has been known as the Great Depression of 1873–96. Halfhearted attempts at altering the Jewish career profile had no effect: more than half chose commercial fields and remained self-employed. Their history gave them some experience in business, their families provided them with encouragement, financial support, and useful commercial networks, and contemporary antisemitism compelled them to fend for themselves.

17

Religious Practices, Mentalities, and Community

Before Emancipation, Judaism enveloped the lives of its members. An isolated, often segregated Jewish community assumed its members' beliefs and strongly supported and demanded the practice of commandments and rituals. In the course of Emancipation, it has been argued, Jews plunged into assimilation, absorbing German culture as they integrated with the political and social worlds. Judaism lost its hold and allegedly evolved or declined—depending on one's viewpoint—into a simple religious creed rather than an all-encompassing environment. The behavior of German Jews at the end of the nineteenth century is more complicated. If, in theory, "milieu religiosity" gave way to an "individualistic religiosity,"[1] in practice there was actually a complex relationship between the two. At the grassroots level, individuals created their own Judaism, a Judaism striking in its variety. This Judaism could be defined as including elements of traditional beliefs and practices,[2] a strong sense of kinship with family and (an increasingly voluntary) Jewish community, and a profound attachment to German Enlightenment traditions. Judaism was the sum of many parts.

Traditions Transformed

The nineteenth century witnessed gradual privatization of religion among most Germans, both Christian and Jewish, especially in the cities. "God was indeed 'dead' for the educated city-dweller of Protestant Germany,"[3] but religion was not. Although Protestant weekly churchgoing reached its lowest rates of the century between 1870 and 1880 (at between 1 and 5 percent),[4] "each person made up his own religion," choosing among life-cycle events and organizations

with a religious character.[5] Moreover, for Protestants, contemporary Lutheranism and Pietism emphasized a direct, personal experience of divine intervention rather than churchgoing.[6] Educated urbanites subscribed to a "secular religion," a *Bildungsreligion* based on the values of the German Enlightenment[7] and inner spirituality.

German Enlightenment thinking, Protestant "inwardness," and the pressures of modern economic and social life provided the context in which Jews redefined Judaism and what it meant to be Jewish. Jewish religious life incorporated a multiplicity of voices and practices. Even in the same family, children could take a variety of paths toward and away from religiosity.[8] Husbands and wives, too, could differ.[9] Arnold Eisen, a scholar of religion, has suggested that "Jews for the most part navigated their way through modernity's unfamiliar terrain much as we do today: via eclectic patterns of observance and varied, often individual, sets of meanings discovered in those patterns or associated with them."[10] This is the best description of daily Judaism in Imperial Germany.

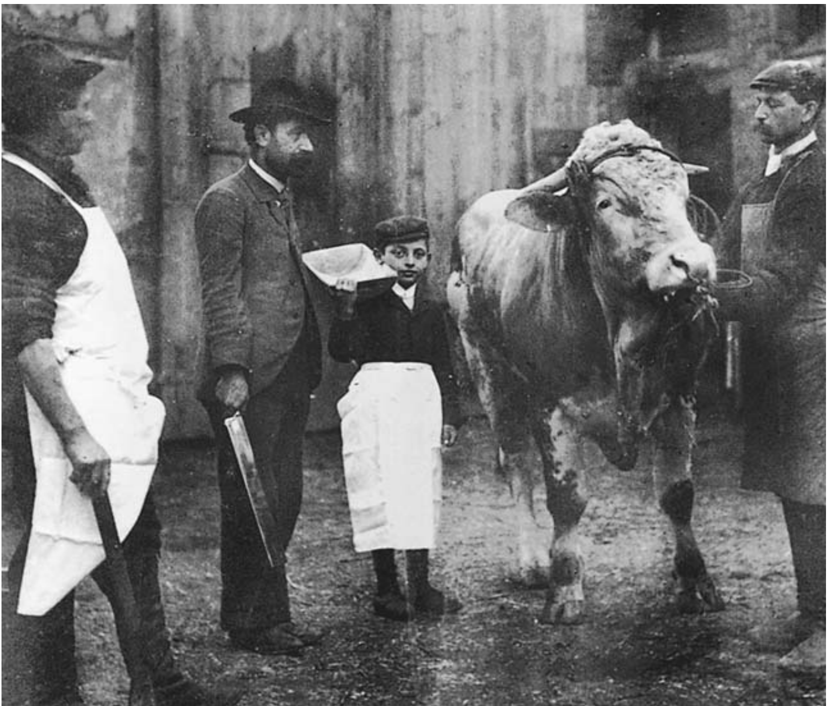
It is impossible to gauge precisely the extent of religious practice among Jews or to measure their religious beliefs, defined either as feelings or convictions. Moreover, every pious action can be interpreted in multiple ways—theological, familial, communal, or simply traditional—and there is rarely a direct correspondence between practice and belief.[11] Does maintenance of ritual indicate deep faith or did those who appeared devout do so out of "consideration for their reputations and relatives . . . fear or habit"?[12] Conversely, "a good deal of religious consciousness and sentiment can live on without necessarily finding expression in socially observable conduct."[13]

Beliefs and identification were not static. Mentalities changed even over the course of an individual's lifetime. As a child attending a Liberal synagogue in Nuremberg, Alex Bein was "always edified by the aesthetic of the room and the beauty of the songs . . . also . . . the sermons . . . with their eloquent connection between traditional learning and modern *Bildung*." Although this appealed to him early on, Bein later wondered whether the service was too aesthetic, lacking "simple religiosity."[14]

Synagogue attendance declined; Jews turned away not only as a result of modern intellectual, economic, and social currents but also because social hierarchies within synagogues frequently caused antipathy. Both rural and urban synagogue communities remained beholden to affluent members. Not only did the wealthy occupy the coveted seats in the front of the synagogue, they were also honored by being called up to the Torah more frequently: "the highest honors . . . would go to the highest bidder."[15] Although hierarchies were certainly not new to synagogue culture, in an era of greater mobility in general society formerly accepted hierarchies within the religious community appeared more irksome to many. In addition, lack of decorum during services offended some participants. Acculturating Jews, attempting to adopt the restraint and inwardness of Protestant assemblies, found synagogue services irritating. Jakob Wassermann complained of a "noisy routine of drill," a "gathering without devotion." His newly built synagogue's "parvenu-like splendor failed to cover up the declining emotional power of the religion."[16]

Jewish education came with daily life. One memoirist noted: "what parents gave their children of Judaism [*Judentum*] wasn't religiosity, nor knowledge, but their lived lives."[17] Jewish leaders, too, realized this when they pointed to the family as a crucial element in fostering Judaism. Samson Raphael Hirsch, the leader of neo-Orthodoxy in the mid–nineteenth century, wrote: "The house has little power without schooling, the school however has nothing without the house!"[18] As men moved farther from traditional forms of devotion, including Torah study, Jews assigned new meaning to religiosity in the home and family. Families mediated Judaism on a daily, personal basis, since family-based ritual was (and is) an essential part of Judaism.

In practice, this meant that men and women passed on gendered traditions deeply embedded in Judaism: women cultivated a "domestic Judaism," while men "counted" for the *minyan* (prayer quorum) in the synagogue and in public expressions of religion even as their attendance waned. The public and private, however, did not exist as opposites. They needed each other. The Sabbath and holidays required home and synagogue observances. Maintaining *kashrut* (kosher or dietary laws separating milk and meat products and prohibiting



Kosher butchering in the courtyard of Anselm Katz, around 1903 in Ostheim near Hanau. Courtesy of Monica Kingreen.

certain foods) and *shehitah* (ritual animal slaughter) required women's close adherence but also public arrangements involving (male) rabbis to resolve disputes over the issue of *kashrut*, (male) butchers who could slaughter animals according to Jewish law,[19] and (mostly male) merchants to sell kosher foods. The public and private reinforced Jewish life.

Public prayer required 10 men. It did not necessitate a rabbi, and many villages made do with a less expensive alternative, the teacher or cantor.[20] In 1905, 1,101 cantors and only 217 rabbis officiated in Germany. The greatest number of rabbis, cantors, and religious teachers per capita could be found in Alsace-Lorraine, Württemberg, and Bavaria. The large city communities did not expand the number of religious leaders to equal their growth in population. Hence urban Jews had fewer leaders per capita than rural Jews but easier access to them.[21]

In villages and towns, public prayer and private observance more often reinforced each other. For boys in these settings, Judaism meant a close identification with their fathers' rituals, watching them participate in prayer quorums and "lay tefillin" (perform their morning prayers with phylacteries, two small square boxes containing scriptural passages that men wore on their left arm and head).[22] Mothers played a pivotal role in maintaining traditions within the home. Food set the tone of the household, reflecting its ideology and mentality. One's loyalty to Judaism as faith and community could be appraised publicly by the stores one patronized or the homes in which one agreed to dine and privately by whether or not one observed the laws of *kashrut*. Hugo Marx believed his mother created their Jewish home: "She demanded . . . Orthodox . . . rituals: a kosher household with separation of tableware and dishes for milk and meat, the strict observance of the Sabbath, from which . . . father . . . withdrew in order to pander to his passion for smoking."[23]

When male synagogue attendance declined,[24] religious practice privatized. Judaism, by default, shifted its focus (though not its theology) to women's domestic practice, particularly the Sabbath and private prayer. Paul Mühsam (b. 1876) reported that Jewish holidays "remained mere names for me." Nevertheless, "every Friday evening I saw my mother quietly praying to herself from her prayer book, conscientiously rising up at the prescribed places . . . but I myself did not have the urge to do the same."[25] Similarly, Curt Rosenberg learned nothing of his religion except his nighttime prayers, which his mother taught him and without which he could not fall asleep. He noticed his grandmother praying every morning, but this impressed him far less than the Christian melodies he sang at school.[26]

Often privatization preceded marginalization. Women's activities and beliefs did not carry as much respect as those of men. Mothers who hoped to imbue children with a religious spirit faced an uphill battle that many of them lost. The philosopher Edith Stein reported that her mother kept Jewish practices, much to the amusement of her children. They negotiated for shorter Seders, and she capitulated. Stein became a Carmelite nun but was later murdered by the Nazis as a Jew.[27]

The historian Bettina Kratz-Ritter has suggested that women's inability to

pass on religious rituals to their children was connected to men's disinterest in passing on the more formal public and educational aspects of Judaism (usually to their sons). Since men no longer participated regularly in synagogue or showed interest in formal Jewish education, children no longer understood its content and saw their mothers' practices as empty.[28] Since Judaism had always been gendered and since both spheres fortified each other, it was unlikely that the home *alone* could sustain Judaism. When piety became a "feminine" attribute, it was devalued as such.

Regardless of formal or informal, daily or weekly religious practices, Jewish life-cycle rituals provided occasions to demonstrate not only familial cohesion but also the family's connection to the religious community. Unlike most holidays, life-cycle rituals remained important to urban Jews too. In fact, well after Jewish men began to neglect Jewish study or synagogue, "usages connected with the life cycle . . . that is, usages that had a family connotation, continued to be strictly upheld."[29] Birth rituals and the Bar Mitzvah will serve as examples here, although marriages[30] and funerals also continued to have major significance.

Both Jewish and non-Jewish women gave birth in their homes, usually with the help of non-Jewish midwives and female relatives.[31] With very few exceptions,[32] on the eighth day of a boy's life, the family celebrated the *berit milah*, or circumcision, as a religious initiation. Friends and relatives attended, although only men actually observed the procedure and prayed along with the *mohel* (circumciser). The parents gave their son a Hebrew name, and the religious community welcomed him into the fold. A party followed. The birth of a girl brought far less excitement and almost no communal ritual. In some areas a naming celebration took place a few weeks after the birth of a boy or girl when the mother returned to synagogue for the first time. Family, female friends, the local teacher, and neighboring children came to the informal ceremony, known as *Holekrasch*, and gave the baby its secular name amid prayer and bountiful sweets.[33]

Namings connected families to previous generations and to religious traditions as parents passed on the Hebrew names of their ancestors to their newborns. Namings also confronted Jews directly with the vexed issue of tradition versus acculturation as families passed on secular first names—or "Germanized" old Jewish names. Sometimes only a first letter remained as a reminder of the person after whom the child had been named. In the 1870s, for example, Jacob and Hanna Epstein named one daughter Trude for her grandmother, Träutchen, and one son Ernst for his great-grandfather, (H)enoch.[34] Jewish parents, like non-Jews, "were quicker to release their female descendants from the constraint of traditions of names."[35] Jews preferred boys' names such as Moritz, Adolf, or Hermann to those of their own or their parents' generation, Isidor, Abraham, or Moses. Dietz Bering has shown that urban and professional Jews, especially, responded to an "antisemitism through polemics against names,"[36] also changing names in adulthood.

The more humble Jewish population followed at a distance, but follow they did. In a Hessian village in the 1880s, the local Jewish teacher who also ran

the synagogue services insisted that newborns be given modern names. His daughter reported:

> The child's father would give it God-knows-what-kind of old-fashioned, horrible name. He would call it Itzig, Schmuel, Voel, or Hirsch; a girl perhaps even Reis or Mahd. "Nothing doing," my father calls out firmly, "such a name would only bring the child ridicule. . . . The child shall be registered not as Reis but as Röschen . . . not as Itzig but as Isidor."[37]

The male coming-of-age ceremony, the Bar Mitzvah, was *de rigeur* even among those most distant from ritual. Another chance to reaffirm family, it was celebrated in country and city. At 13, the age of religious responsibility, the boy prayed in front of the congregation during the Sabbath services and attained religious manhood. Of course, boys did not always understand the meaning of their Bar Mitzvah, and city boys appear more removed from its significance than their country cousins. In Breslau, Adolf Riesenfeld, a Bar Mitzvah in 1897, underwent hasty tutoring before the event. He later wrote: "I rapidly read off the incomprehensible Hebrew words without getting stuck, and then . . . at home . . . gifts were showered upon me."[38] Girls could be confirmed (along with boys) in Liberal synagogues in some German cities, but confirmations were not the equivalent of the Bar Mitzvah.[39]

Village boys could also look forward to parties at home with pastries, candies, and fruit.[40] More observant guests had brought gifts to the house the day before in order not to violate the Sabbath. Some families provided a banquet for family and friends, usually including toasts by the Hebrew teacher and family members.[41] Typically, the boy received cufflinks, pens, and books. The latter included the German classics, Grimms' *Fairy Tales*, the *Niebelungenlied*, and authors such as Gustav Freytag and Karl May. In later years, Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig, Jacob Wassermann, and Arthur Schnitzler joined the list.[42] The Bar Mitzvah sometimes occasioned a special gift. In 1909, a wealthy Frankfurt family gave its son a gramophone, an exceptional present at that time,[43] and a village Jew recalled another outstanding gift from his brother, *Meyers Conversations-Lexikon*, which "made up a large part of my sex education."[44]

Parental observance of religious rituals and life-cycle events provided concrete examples of their Jewish identities to their offspring. Still, in most cases, each generation observed fewer Jewish rituals.[45] Only among Orthodox Jews was it more likely that offspring would remain Orthodox, but even Orthodoxy was by no means uniform.[46] Moving from rural to urban centers in this era, it too had evolved over time as well as suffered losses. The Orthodox teacher and ritual slaughterer in a village in Hesse-Nassau saw his sons marry Christians in the 1890s.[47] Even Orthodox Eastern European Jews in Berlin did not always fare better, despite living, ostensibly, in "a closed world."[48] The author of these words, whose sisters all agreed to marriages arranged by their Orthodox father, a rabbi, broke from her family to become a communist. Gender and generation influenced religiosity, but location probably had equal or greater power.

Location, Location, Location

One's location, both geographical and within one's own stage of life, played a significant role in religious practices and mentalities. Daily life and traditional Judaism complemented each other more easily in villages and small towns where change came more slowly. There Jews punctuated their life cycle and calendar with Jewish rites. Urban society offered Jews more choices: they could engage in a wide variety of secular interests and move farther from observance.

This period witnessed an extraordinarily rapid rate of Jewish urbanization. In Berlin, where Jews clustered, this meant 10 synagogues served huge populations of about 10,400 people each[49]—although the three thousand seats of the New Synagogue on Oranienburger Strasse were rarely filled except on the holidays.[50] Similarly, the number of synagogue employees (*Kultusbeamten*) per Jewish inhabitant varied widely between city and province, indicating a more fragile religious infrastructure, for example, in Westphalia, East Prussia, or Brandenburg than for Posen, Hesse-Nassau, Bavaria, or Württemberg.[51] Synagogues, too, ranged from grand ones, like the New Synagogue, to tiny, practically invisible ones, like two rooms above a stable where congregants could hear the mooing of the cows.[52] Synagogue services differed almost as much as the structures, ranging in scope from urban temples that presented sermons by highly trained rabbis and the music of Lewandowski to rooms in which the Jewish teacher led a small prayer quorum.

Synagogue architecture affected the daily lives of Jews both aesthetically and politically, as Christian neighbors took note of new buildings.[53] Synagogue inaugurations happened in full sight of the gentile neighborhood, sometimes with town representatives in attendance.[54] In Osterode in 1893, for example, this festive day began with a service in the old synagogue, followed by a procession in which men ceremoniously carried the Torah scrolls through town to the new building. Afterward, members of the community attended an outdoor concert performed by a military band.[55]

Urban synagogues tried to reach out to busier, less engaged, more cosmopolitan populations. Arguing that adults and children found lengthy services monotonous, some rabbis attempted an "internalization and condensing" of the service,[56] while others urged religion teachers not to stress the requirement of kosher foods in order to avoid a conflict of conscience in children whose parents had dropped it.[57] Numerous synagogues championed sermons in German, offered youth services,[58] or encouraged singing, including choirs with male and female voices, the latter anathema to Orthodox doctrine and sensibilities.[59]

By contrast, small-town and rural Jews were more observant. Daily synagogue services tended to be held in communities of between one hundred and three hundred people rather than in larger ones, where weekly services predominated.[60] Most important, family and community reinforced Judaism, making it an organic part of the calendar and landscape.

In villages and small towns, communal life centered on the synagogue, whether in a town like Preussisch-Stargard (West Prussia) with one hundred

Jewish families or in a village like Horb am Neckar (Württemberg) with 30.[61] Most practiced traditional religion, bowing to or participating in local pressure to remain devout. In a small Hessian village, for example, "anyone who dared to desecrate [the Sabbath] . . . was pilloried from the pulpit."[62] A Jewish villager from Rülzheim (Palatinate) asserted: "No one doubted that every village Jew kept a kosher home";[63] kosher butchers could count on regular customers.[64] Village Jews as well as Christian observers frequently give the impression of uniform devotion, and memoirs generally idealize the Sabbath and holidays. Memoirs may, as will be shown, exaggerate the uniformity of devotion, but they certainly highlight the emotional importance of these observances to the writers and to their presumed audiences.

Men, women, and children prepared for the Sabbath. Men left work earlier on Friday, in time to get home to wash and dress up. Children also bathed and dressed for the Sabbath. Although his home had no running water, a man born in 1907 recalled: "On Fridays I took my weekly bath and dressed in 'good' clothing."[65] Women cleaned their homes, changed into finer clothing, and prepared more complicated multicourse Sabbath meals. Peddlers and cattle or horse dealers, carrying meager rations of bread, sausage, and fruit on the road for most of the week, especially looked forward to the richness and variety of the Friday evening dinner.[66]

A letter by newlywed Sigmund Hirsch to his wife, Rosa, in 1895, describes the Sabbath he spent with her family in the tiny village of Pflaumloch (Swabia). She was one of seven children whose father ran a small cigar manufacturing and retail business from home. Hence the meals reflect the income of a man of middling means, whose wife may have added a few more courses for her new son-in-law. Hirsch wrote that on Friday evening they had a meal of soup "a la mother-in-law," beef, asparagus, bean salad, chicken ragout, roasted capon, a meat roll with chicken sauce, salad, and a variety of desserts. On Saturday, synagogue started at 8 A.M. The family took a short walk before the main Sabbath meal, then ate dumpling soup with cauliflower; soup meat; asparagus, celery and carrots; cucumbers and horseradish; five types of preserved pike; tongue with peas; roast goose; salad with hard-boiled eggs; cherry pie; tropical fruit; and coffee. He added that he would not eat an evening meal later or he would get sick.[67]

In villages, laymen or the Jewish teacher or cantor ran the Sabbath services on their own.[68] The services, like almost all synagogues in Germany (Liberal or Orthodox) were sex segregated: women either prayed in the back of the room or in a special women's gallery.[69] Philippine Landau recalled how she felt when she visited her mother in the women's balcony. As she peered down into the men's section, she had "a strange feeling, to see my own father in the mass of strangely behaving . . . men, [and he] now also appeared very different and elevated into a different sphere."[70]

Rural Jews maintained an allegiance to age-old local tunes and practices during Sabbath services. Moreover, a partiality to local rites meant songs could be sung to the melody of old German folk tunes.[71] It also meant that when rabbis or congregants tried to initiate reform, objections and conflict could

In front of the Breisach/Baden Synagogue, Imperial Period. Courtesy of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, EA 99/001 Bue 305 Nr. 167. Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

ensue.[72] For example, in a small town in West Prussia during the first decade of the twentieth century, a new rabbi attempted to involve the entire congregation in singing rather than leaving the chanting to the men alone. In addition, he organized a girls' choir. The "gentlemen of the community . . . began to feel uneasy" and protested silently by boycotting certain events. They only fired the rabbi, however, when he began preaching Zionism to the young people.[73]

Village Jews observed numerous holidays besides the Sabbath. These cannot all be described, but their un-self-consciously public nature is of interest. In contrast to the mid-1850s, when synagogues could not be located on main thoroughfares or face the street, Jews could commemorate holidays in view of their non-Jewish neighbors and with confidence that there would be few unfriendly repercussions. In towns such as Worms, one noticed the "constant coming and going of festively dressed men and women" near the synagogue and those "simply taking a break from worship . . . in the open air."[74] Sukkot, the Jewish harvest festival, also attested to the comfort with which Jews displayed their observances. Many families built a *sukkah*, or booth (partly open to the sky), near their homes. They decorated it with fruit and colored ribbons and ate their meals there for a week. Despite occasional negative reactions by non-Jewish villagers, most village Jews continued to build these structures at least until the end of World War I.[75]

Jewish children made Purim—commemorating the defeat of a plot to massacre the Jews of Persia in ancient times—the most public of holidays.

They paraded through their villages in masquerades, visiting neighbors, "not just the Jewish ones," hoping for treats. Moreover, children wore all sorts of costumes, as they do on Halloween today, not simply those commemorating the religious heroes and heroines of Purim. One year Alex Bein dressed as a shoemaker's apprentice, with an apron, a hat, and a pair of shoes in tow.[76] The Jews of Gailingen, the largest rural Jewish community in Baden, held parades dressed in their holiday costumes.[77]

Jews used Passover as a bridge to their neighbors. They gave away leftover breads and other ritually forbidden foods,[78] and during the holiday, some presented gifts of matzot to Christian neighbors. If Passover and Easter coincided, non-Jews might return the courtesy with colored Easter eggs.[79] During the High Holidays in the village of Nonnenweier (Baden), Jews sometimes invited non-Jewish acquaintances to the Kol Nidre service, the prayer on the eve of Yom Kippur. At the same time, the police stood watch outside the synagogue to prevent rowdies from disturbing the service.[80]

Despite the general outline of rituals just described, and insistence on uniformity notwithstanding, a multiplicity of customs and mentalities existed among and even within villages.[81] Small, isolated villages differed markedly in their practice. In parts of Bavaria and Hesse, village Jews strictly observed the Sabbath, kosher laws, and the ritual bath, whereas in parts of Westphalia[82] and the Rhineland Jews kept mainly the High Holidays and rites of passage, abandoning the ritual bath and strict Sabbath observance.[83] Around 1906, Hugo Mandelbaum's community of 18 Jewish families in Geroda (Lower Franconia) observed the Sabbath. When he attended middle school in nearby Buttenhausen (Württemberg), a community of 40 Jewish families, he found only two families that observed the Sabbath. There, the Jewish horse dealers paraded their newly purchased horses through town on Saturdays for all to see.[84]

Even if all Jews prayed together, religious demarcations existed among the congregants. Sometimes these were in the form of *sehr fromm* (very religious or very observant), *nicht besonders fromm* (not especially religious), and *nicht so kosher* (a bit lax)[85]; other communities characterized their members as *sehr fromm*, *fromm*, and *liberal*. The last term connoted adherence to the Reform movement in Judaism.[86]

By the 1880s and 1890s even more observant village Jews relaxed some of their practices. It appears that Jews gave up ritual purity before other daily or weekly observances. Except for the Orthodox prayerbook, women's prayerbooks no longer mentioned the ritual bath, or mikveh, by the late nineteenth century.[87] By 1900, only 55 percent of communities maintained a mikveh, a sign of disinterest and the inability of small communities to support its upkeep.[88] Women's wigs, too, diminished in popularity. In some families older women wore wigs, an Orthodox requirement for married women. Julius Frank (b. 1889 in Bavaria) had a grandmother who still observed this tradition, but his mother did not.[89] The Sabbath and food rituals lasted longer, but individual choice dominated here too. Frank considered his home "religious." His parents kept kosher and did not work on the Sabbath, although on that day his father shaved and carried money to pay for his beer at the inn (both of which

were interpreted as "work," hence forbidden, by some). Mentalities differed; individuals demonstrated diversity.[90]

More pluralistic than villages, towns witnessed the easing of religious strictures even earlier. Nevertheless, enough social pressure existed that even nonobservant Jews showed deference to the feelings of other Jews. By the early twentieth century, however, some small-town Jews dropped all forms of observance,[91] and a few even intermarried. Familial traditions remained the most enduring obstacle, with some waiting until their parents died before making a final break with Judaism.[92] In the cities, many of the divisions already visible among rural Jews grew even more apparent. Most communities split, with Liberal Judaism (the adherents of Reform) dominating, although many urban communities also contained an Orthodox congregation.[93] The Prussian law of 1876 made secession from the synagogue community possible without loss of membership in the Jewish religion. This law gave Orthodoxy new legal and political powers, because it could actually threaten to withdraw its adherents and financial backing from the community. German Orthodoxy was henceforth divided between a Secessionist Orthodoxy that supported separatism from the overall community (*Trennungsorthodoxie* or *Austrittsorthodoxie*) and those who opposed such secession and remained within the community (*Gemeindeorthodoxie*). Yet by 1900 only about 15 percent of German Jews could still be considered Orthodox.

Often (but not always) those who achieved the greatest financial and social success absorbed urban secular culture fastest.[94] Yet even poor, immigrant Eastern Jews often broke away from strict observance once they moved to cities.[95] Jews who chose migration to the cities were probably more prepared to give up certain rituals—or had already given them up—than those who chose to remain in villages. Most urban Jews restricted or reframed observance in order to partake of the urban economy and culture: they negotiated between tradition and participation.

Redefining Judaism

This reframing took the shape of blending "Jewishness"—the interaction of Jews with each other, their families, and community—with "Judaism," the values, beliefs, and rituals of Jews. No longer attending synagogue or performing rituals with regularity, Jews turned Judaism into a form of "ethnic encounter," transforming ceremonies formerly attached almost entirely to religious practice into family occasions and community events.[96]

As urban observance dwindled, the extended family served as a bridge to Jewish traditions. Rural relatives provided more traditional models for urban visitors. When, for example, a child from Breslau visited her relatives in a small town in Posen, she saw their *sukkah* and learned about the holiday.[97] The generations also spanned a variety of practices.[98] A child living in Frankfurt/Main whose parents no longer observed any Jewish rituals learned about them when she visited her grandmother.[99] Around 1905, an urban child could find her

provincial grandmother wearing a wig, her otherwise-observant aunt with no hair covering at all, and her small cousins wearing naval outfits in imitation of the kaiser's family.[100]

By the turn of the century, most urban Jews no longer obeyed the laws of *kashrut*, but a form of gastronomic Judaism persisted, with certain foods identified as "ethnic emblems."[101] They maintained food traditions in complicated and symbolic ways to appease older generations, to ease their own consciences, because they enjoyed them, or from habit.[102] Women's construction of food habits and family customs provided their husbands and children with a Jewish experience, sometimes in the form of a compromise. The most common agreement may have been about what was eaten "inside" the home and "outside" in public: while the kitchen remained kosher, "outside . . . we could eat what we wanted."[103] But this could bring its own strange twists: "With regard to my mother's kitchen, I would set the word 'kosher' in quotations marks. Although my father refused to eat pork, he ate ham."[104] Another truce concerned couples who only kept kosher kitchens so that their observant parents could eat with them.[105]

A sense of ambivalence[106] pervades these stories: the legitimacy of some observances lingered among Jews as they remodeled the practice and blended it with family occasions. As Jews omitted some rituals, the family itself became a crucial site for Jewish observance, a central form of religious activity, and indeed a replacement for it.[107] Not unlike many Christian families in which "the family honored Christian holidays as a way of celebrating itself,"[108] many Jews experienced the Sabbath and holidays as familial celebrations. They gathered for a family meal on Friday evenings or Saturdays without any rituals at all. In the 1880s, a Berlin woman recalled "a strict rule of family togetherness" on Friday nights.[109] The two elements, family and religious/ethnic consciousness, cannot be disentangled. When Jews reduced rituals, they still commemorated the major holidays with a family reunion and a traditional meal. Thus the family became a cornerstone of a more secular version of Judaism,[110] what the historian George Mosse called the "embourgeoisement of Jewish piety."[111]

Urban Jews appropriated not only family but also *Bildung* as a cornerstone of their Judaism. *Bildung* served as an entree into the culture of the bourgeoisie, but its stress on Enlightenment values meant it was malleable and many sided. George Mosse has shown how Jews transformed "*Bildung* . . . into a kind of religion—the worship of the true, the good, and the beautiful." Increasingly, love of German culture replaced purely Jewish learning. For many Jews, Mosse concluded, *Bildung* was "synonymous with their Jewishness."[112] In his will, for example, Adolf Fröhlich, born in 1872, recommended Goethe's autobiography, *Truth and Poetry*, and his novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* to his children.[113] Although Fröhlich had intermarried, distancing himself from Judaism, traditional Jews, too, merged Jewish traditions of learning with secular appreciation of German language, literature, and etiquette. Orthodox families also embraced German culture.[114] Writing of Schiller in 1905, the Orthodox *Israelit* enthused: "Truly, if Hedwig Tell and Gertrud Stauf-

facher only had Sabbath lights, Schiller would have created the idealized portrait of Jewish housewives!"[115]

The diary of Helene Eyck (b. 1857) offers a glimpse into the inner world of someone constructing a religion of *Bildung*. Although she never mentioned attending synagogue, she created a very personal God for herself. She taught each of her children to pray in a meaningful manner—cautioning them not simply to drone on—and her sons celebrated their Bar Mitzvahs with Eyck stressing the familial character of the events.[116] Eyck embodied some of the "in-betweenness" of Jews in the process of secularization. In her diary entry of May 1895 she prayed that Lilli, her two-year-old, remain loving and sweet. Instead of a Hebrew benediction (even in translation), she quoted the great German poet Heinrich Heine (a convert from Judaism): "It seems as though I must lay then, My hand upon thy brow, Praying that God may preserve thee, As pure and fair as now." Helene Eyck had probably memorized the poem at school or knew it from musical compositions by, among others, Franz Liszt or Robert Schumann.[117] In Helene Eyck, artifacts of German culture fused smoothly with Jewish customs of family gatherings and traditional foods on the Sabbath, the importance of Bar Mitzvahs, and regular references to a personal God. Feelings, in the form of beliefs and allegiances, lingered as ritual waned.

Superficially, Eyck may have fit the popular stereotype of the "three-day Jew" who attended synagogue only on the three High Holidays and, ostensibly, ignored her faith otherwise. But this stereotype overlooks her feelings. Nor does it appreciate observances of Jewish traditions, from family visits on Friday evenings and attendance at Passover Seders to avid participation in Jewish voluntary organizations and the Jewish community. Similarly, Berthold Freudenthal (b. 1873) appears to fit the "three-day" stereotype. Although he did not appear there during the rest of the year, he walked to his Frankfurt synagogue on the High Holidays.[118] In contrast to his public behavior, however, he prayed every night.[119] Philippine Landau's family (Worms, 1870s) also limited its observance to three days and traditional meals.[120] She, like other memoirists, used the Yom Kippur fast as a measuring rod for the decline of religiosity, since minimally observant Jews complied somewhat longer with this obligation. She and her mother did not fast, and eventually her father stopped as well. However, "on this day there still hovered over our home an aura of sacredness and deep solemnity." Moreover, meals were "somewhat abridged" because "by every right we actually should have been fasting." And when she and her mother sat in the women's section of the synagogue on that day, she said, "I was in an enchanted, better world, full of holiness. . . . I felt strangely purified and lifted up into another, noble world."[121] Performing or ignoring rituals allowed Jews to express "a variety of meaning—whether to [themselves], to fellow Jews, or to Gentiles."[122] Thus, before dismissing the "three-day Jew," it is useful to consider personal mentalities and private behaviors. More secular than previous generations, they nevertheless maintained strong ties to their religion. Moreover, "the blandly generic term *secular Jew* gives no indication of the richly nuanced variety within the species."[123]

Still, by the 1880s, some Jews ignored all Jewish practices, choosing not to provide religious lessons for their children either. A few went so far as to object to circumcision, and others set up Christmas trees.[124] Andrea Hopp analyzes the decline of religious observance in several generations of Frankfurt families. Whereas paintings of ancestors before midcentury included a skullcap for the man and a hair covering for the woman, in the second half of the century these ritual head coverings had disappeared.[125] As the family became wealthier over the generations, its ritual observance in terms of synagogue attendance, kosher foods, the Sabbath, and holidays waned. Hopp attributes the "sinking relevance" of holidays not only to urban bourgeois life but also to interest in the ideas of Charles Darwin, Ernst Haeckel, Hermann Cohen, Spinoza, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche.[126] Finally, a few families took the logical step of formally leaving Judaism, on the basis of their philosophical views. They identified themselves as "without confession."[127] Jewish behavior spanned a vast spectrum.

Religious schooling (as has been seen) failed to communicate the importance of religion and to fill the gap left by secularizing parents. Whether in Jewish schools or in afternoon lessons, it rarely brought children closer to Judaism. If children came from traditionally observant households and remained in villages, Jewish schooling provided enough of a basic education for the self-motivated to continue learning on their own.[128] Family and milieu, not religious education, encouraged them to maintain rituals. If children came from secularizing families, Jewish schooling did not return them to the fold. These children acquired their parents' more unsettled and ambivalent relationship to the religion. For this next generation, Judaism meant fewer commitments to ritual and more connections to Jews in many parts of the world.

In addition to their dedication to family and *Bildung* as part of their Jewish identity, individuals created and reacted to a sense of peoplehood. Jewish institutions and a lively Jewish press demonstrated concern for Judaism as a community, culture, and religion. Even before the establishment of most national organizations, Jews developed a newspaper culture that gave them a sense of Jewish regional and national interests. These papers never replaced the German press, but they revealed an interest in Jewish affairs. Over 30 newspapers and newsletters enlivened Jewish reading, including, among others, political and literary journals, as well as periodicals aimed at family and youth, Orthodox and Liberal, and teachers and gymnasts.[129]

Jewish charities complemented the press in bringing Jews together. Like nonchurchgoing Christians who manifested their allegiance to Christianity by participating in charitable organizations "pursued in a Christian spirit,"[130] Jews could reimagine their Judaism through the secular forum, based on religious law, that Jewish charities provided. An observer noted: "The more women and men . . . participate in organizational life, the more people remain interested in Jewish matters, [the more] their joy in belonging, [the more] their feelings of solidarity are strengthened."[131] Indeed, Jews were active agents in designing and expressing their Jewish identities. People who prac-

ticed few or no rituals often underscored their commitments to Judaism by voluntary connections to the official Jewish community. Paul Mühsam's father attended Jewish community meetings regularly, "but he never went to services."[132] Similarly, another man who attended synagogue only three days a year gave his son a Jewish education and participated in the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, which stressed its "Germanness" but also became "intensely preoccupied with strengthening the sense of Jewish identity."[133] The CV, as it was known, attracted over 100,000 Jews.

On a grassroots level, Jews embraced the mitzvah, or commandment, of charity. In the 1880s and 1890s, this included very personal ministrations as well as institution building.[134] Some individuals devoted large portions of their lives to charities. In the 1880s and 1890s, Hirsch Hildesheimer, the publisher of a small Jewish newspaper in Berlin, spent all of his free time participating on the boards of Jewish charities and worked fervently to help the victims of Russian pogroms.[135]

Jewish communities supported a variety of local charities.[136] Most important was the (male or female) holy society, or *hevrah kaddisha*, which saw to proper burials and often dispensed other forms of poverty relief. Local women's organizations combined religious sensibilities with social commitments. In Allenstein (East Prussia), the women's group (founded in 1879) helped women "who through no fault of their own" had fallen into poverty. Its members paid a weekly minimum of 10 Pfennige to the club and committed their time and money for at least one year.[137] Grassroots charity started with small donations to members of the community one might know or, at least, know about.[138] In cities these charities took on less personal, more extensive obligations. But there, too, the organizations saw their mission as twofold: social work and Judaism. A leader of the Israelitischer Humanitärer Frauenverein (Hamburg) declared: "we have always . . . tried to be upright Jewish women and not Jews by happenstance. . . . We take part in the ethical, religious renewal of Jewish life."[139]

Jews also conceived of themselves as part of a supralocal community, funding more distant projects. In Allenstein, the local Jewish community received entreaties from poorer communities or individuals in the region asking for charity.[140] These pleas presumed that Jews would demonstrate solidarity. They sometimes included requests for funding religious requirements, such as rebuilding a synagogue.[141] Cries for assistance came from afar too. In 1889, Turkish Jews dying of cholera in Baghdad needed help. The Jews of Allenstein collected over 20 Marks, between 1 Mark and 50 Pfennige per person.[142] Palestine, too, belonged to the extended community: in 1889, German Jews sent money for matzot to indigent Jews in Jerusalem and to Jews in Haifa who needed to restore their cemetery.[143]

Cultural, fraternal, and women's organizations complemented charities. By the turn of the century, 12 national organizations stretched across Germany, along with hundreds of minor ones.[144] Moreover, the small Zionist movement, stressing a new kind of Jewish identity, nationalism, found adherents among young German Jews and East European immigrants. Including na-

tional, regional, and local groups, approximately five thousand Jewish clubs thrived in Germany, with tens of thousands of members. For some such activities "became their principal mode of Jewish identification."[145] For others Judaism lost its hold entirely.

Abandoning Judaism

Conversion, the most radical step away from Judaism, was closely related to waves of antisemitism. Some baptisms of Jewish children by parents who remained Jewish, for example, accompanied the rise of antisemitism in the 1880s.[146] Urbanization also led to increased conversion.[147] This often had little to do with a switch of faith: when Hedwig Wachenheim and her sister converted, "it had nothing to do with faith or religion. Conversion was [intended] to remove us from the social discrimination against Jews."[148] Some professions put great pressure on members to convert if they hoped to achieve higher status.[149] Between 1871 and 1919 about 23,000 Jews converted.[150] Jewish men were about three-quarters of all converts between 1873 and 1906.[151] Their share fell to 60 percent by 1912 as more women entered the work force and hoped to enhance their job prospects, but female converts came from the lowest income categories.[152]

The vast majority of Jews eschewed this final break. In Frankfurt, for example, a Jewish family who evinced no close connection to Jewish observance, having not circumcised their sons since the 1870s, remained Jewish out of a feeling of duty toward older generations and toward a beleaguered minority. The family saw conversion as "dishonorable" and a form of "desertion."[153] One simply did not "abandon a besieged fortress" even if one no longer believed in the tenets of Judaism. It was a matter of character, not faith.[154]

Converts formed a transitional stage. Jews by birth, they abandoned belief and practice but still remained influenced by their upbringing and an informal Jewish community. Like those who formally left the Jewish community, converts generally did not abandon Jewish familial and friendship networks, nor were they abandoned in return. Due to personal attachments as well as to the persistence of antisemitism, it was nearly impossible to "escape" being Jewish in one generation in Imperial Germany. Converts may have hoped to make it easier for their offspring to marry and blend into non-Jewish society, and in this they were probably successful. The second generation, no longer raised as Jews, although still relating to Jewish grandparents and relatives, generally blended into non-Jewish society more fully.

Conclusion

At the turn of the century, the Orthodox *Israelit* praised the previous century as one that had seen such extraordinary progress for Jews that the few prejudices and shortcomings that still existed paled in contrast. It worried

only that the progress of Jews (Judenheit) had come at the expense of Judaism (Judentum), the decline of religious observation.[155] By this time, most Jews practiced an individualistic religiosity, influenced by their family, location, community, or nation and even by their own life cycles. Belonging to a Jewish family and to Jewish organizational life remained a linchpin of Judaism as Jews fashioned a comfort zone somewhere between tradition and *Bildung*, between conformity to hallowed customs and openness to new forms of Jewish life.

18

Social Life

Jews bridged two worlds. They maintained intense relationships with their Jewish families, friends, and communities, while interacting with non-Jewish Germans in public, charitable, professional, and business organizations. Jews formed their own clubs and organizations, often choosing to patronize Jewish spas and hotels. However, they also joined non-Jewish groups and associations, mingling in—and generously subsidizing[1]—secular civic and cultural organizations.

Social life with other Jews and with other Germans helped Jews display their class status, affirm their Jewishness, and assert their Germanness. These shifting allegiances affected and reflected their self-definition. Jews reacted to majority culture in at least three different ways: trying to become exclusively German; painfully combining dual identities; and accepting complex identities without attempting to reconcile them. Jewish religious leaders complained that the first group favored all things German—from modern languages and gymnastics to dance lessons—but neglected their own religion.[2] Jakob Wassermann's anguished description of his identity evokes the character of the second group: "German Jew—one has to emphasize both words thoroughly. . . . His two-fold love and his battle on two fronts drive him to the brink of despair."[3]

Gustav Landauer, the cultural critic and anarchist whose life spanned the Imperial era, exemplifies the third and largest group of Jews, those who insisted on fluid identities. In 1913, he wrote: "I have never had the need to simplify myself or to create an artificial unity. . . . I accept my complexity and hope to be even more many-sided."[4] Orthodox Jews, too, saw themselves as "Germans by birth and inclination," assuming harmony between their loyalty to Judaism and to the state.[5] Jews took pride in Germany as a nation on its way

up: "We felt our fatherland, and ourselves in it, honored and respected . . . we sang the 'Emperor's Song' on Sedan Day [the anniversary of Germany's victory over France in 1870] . . . and our German hearts beat proudly in our breasts."[6]

With Our Own Crowd: Social Life with Other Jews

Just as Catholics related almost exclusively to other Catholics[7] and Protestants to other Protestants, relationships with other Jews took up the bulk of Jewish social life. Jews remained deeply enmeshed in their extended families. These were "so big and so pronounced that family gatherings filled up the majority of one's life."[8] Regular visits preserved bonds among those in the same areas;[9] family members who had migrated elsewhere were also expected to attend regular family events.[10] In Munich, Rahel Straus and her husband called on his large family every Sabbath. In the morning, he would, half-jokingly, declare, "Today we have to visit uncle Moritz, uncle David, aunt Sarah, uncle Angelo, uncle Lothar," and she would cover her ears as the list went on and on.[11] These family interactions were not idyllic or free from tensions,[12] yet families gave crucial support, emotional and material. They generally provided the first ring of social comfort for each other. They were also each other's support on a practical level: heavily urban, middle class, and involved in commerce, Jews could and did spring into action on behalf of their families with advice or financial backing for business or education. An uncle, for example, paid for Rahel Straus's entire medical education.

Jews also showed a staunch allegiance to their religious and ethnic communities.[13] Although family provided the most dense and intimate form of social interaction, and the synagogue offered a community for those who attended, most Jews also maintained other kinds of personal relationships and more formal, secular affiliations with other Jews. This broad range of contacts—from intimate home visits to membership in national organizations—enriched Jewish social life. In villages, Jewish families dropped in on each other on Sabbath afternoons. Unrelated people rarely visited each other at home, although they might meet in a beer garden. Acquaintances did come by on special occasions, though, as when a friend's relatives arrived from Berlin or Paris, because "that was interesting."[14] In larger towns, both family and friends, observant and nonobservant Jews participated in Saturday coffee visits, a secularized form of Sabbath for the latter. These visits, part of a bourgeois "calling" culture, reaffirmed friendship and family networks.[15] Urban Jews entertained each other privately. In the 1880s, Sidonie and Leopold Dann invited friends regularly: "Every Friday and Saturday afternoon friends came to us for tea and cake and conversation." They celebrated the Jewish holidays, especially the more social ones, Hanukkah, Passover, and Purim, at home, among relatives and friends.[16] Friends and family might spend evenings at home over dinner or more actively, playing music or reading aloud from classical or popular plays.[17] In Breslau at the turn of the century, Lotte Hirschberg's family

played chamber music regularly with other Jewish friends. Trying to make this custom comprehensible to her grandchildren in the 1990s, she explained that her parents played chamber music "the way we listen to radio or watch television today."[18]

Urban cultural events provided another venue for friends and family to meet. In Posen, Berlin, Königsberg, and Breslau, for example, Jews avidly subscribed to the theater and chatted with relatives and other Jews during intermissions.[19] After the turn of the century, younger Jews began to gather in more casual locales, such as pubs and restaurants. Rahel Straus and her husband met their friends in Munich beer halls, which "at first . . . seemed very strange." As a wife and a full-time physician, she soon noted an advantage, however, as "this form of sociability . . . saved effort and work in the household."[20]

From the major urban centers to the smallest villages, many Jews also came together in synagogue. A communal religion, Jewish practice took place within a social environment. In the town of Preussisch-Stargard (West Prussia) "Jewish life was centered around the synagogue." "Young people could walk about . . . and exchange looks" in its courtyard, and women could "chat undisturbed by any household duties" in its women's gallery.[21] Photos of Jews milling around synagogues after services attest to acquaintances formed and fostered at the synagogue. Moreover, religious requirements, such as burial societies, provided further opportunities for social relations. Thus Isidor Hirschfeld's family, situated in a small West Prussia town, felt obliged to join the few other Jews "on occasions of joy and sorrow."[22] Especially in towns with small Jewish populations, Jews reached out to other Jews. In the 1880s, Paul Mühsam's family was one of only a few Jewish families in his small town of Zittau (Saxony). The parents of a Jewish schoolmate frequently invited Paul to their home to play with their children.[23] Similarly, in the villages of Baden, newlywed women—up to one-third of whom had moved from other towns—approached relatives and other Jewish neighbors in order to make new friends.[24]

Simply being Jewish,[25] however, was not sufficient; class was also a consideration. In Posen in the 1880s, Adolph Asch described eight different steps on the Jewish social ladder, from the highest to the lowest rung, noting that the boundaries had loosened somewhat since his grandmother's days.[26] About one hundred Jewish families lived in Preussisch-Stargard (West Prussia) in the early twentieth century, where, according to Charlotte Popper, "in everyday life, class rules were sacrosanct."[27] Henry Buxbaum of rural Friedberg (Upper Hesse), the son of a peddler, said "I never was able to overcome my feelings of inferior status within the social life of the community. . . . [E]ach time I was invited to a birthday party . . . the brightness and riches made me feel small. . . . I never knew where to turn, where to stand, or where to sit."[28] Why class played such an important role among a tiny minority remains to be explored. Did upper-class Jews maintain their distance because they assumed they were more acculturated and integrated, hence more "German," than lower-class Jews (despite—or because of—antisemites lumping them together)? Or did wealthier Jews seek more stringent boundaries between themselves and less privileged co-religionists because they, in fact, shared more time and space

with "their" poor (participating in religious, cultural, communal, and philanthropic activities with other Jews) than their non-Jewish counterparts did? Further, did Jews, despite these social cleavages, remain more closely interconnected than Catholics or Protestants?[29]

The dance class, a prime symbol of bourgeois aspirations, both reinforced class distinctions and allowed some social movement within the urban bourgeoisie. By the turn of the century, many of these dance classes provided a forum for young people to meet potential spouses from the same or "better" backgrounds. Philipp Loewenfeld recalled that in Munich the sons of the "fine" Jewish families, those with money or titles, attended dance lessons made up of Jews and Christians. The children of "ordinary" Jewish business people took lessons in which only middle-class Jews participated. As a teenager, Loewenfeld preferred the Jewish class because his friends attended it, but his parents insisted that he participate in the "better" dance class.[30]

In Breslau, the Baer and Reif schools attracted the Jewish middle classes. Adolf Riesenfeld attended the Baer Institute, which was "entirely Jewish" but not as "distinguished" as the dance lessons at the Reif school: "those who went to Reif . . . wanted to consider themselves part of the 'better' circles, that means there weren't just purely Jewish participants, but what one would call 'mixed' today [1941], and people who had become wealthier and thought they had assimilated by baptism." At Baer, one found young academics and business people, "exclusively Jewish middle class . . . from . . . 'good families.'"[31]

Class was determined not solely by economic markers; place of origin could count as much or more. In turn-of-the-century Fulda (Hesse-Nassau), "there was the class of the old-established families, who by virtue of their Fulda roots thought that they were better than their brethren who had moved from the villages." These tensions escalated when native Jews derided the newcomers' "eastern" origins or their rural roots. Henry Buxbaum wrote that Friedberg Jews, some of whom had lived there for three hundred years or more, "considered themselves nobility and looked down with contempt . . . at the 'yokels'" who had arrived more recently from the East.[32] Ultimately, however, other class markers, like occupation, education, and income, trumped geography. Middle-class Eastern European immigrant Jews eventually came into contact with the German-Jewish middle class, associating in social clubs. By the 1920s, all of the mutual aid societies, trade associations, B'nai B'rith lodges, and Masonic lodges included Eastern European–Jewish members.[33]

Despite these divisions, clubs and organizations provided crucial social arenas for the Jewish population. These organizations expanded in the 1880s so that by the 1890s, a veritable "organizational renaissance"[34] had occurred. About 40 percent of the approximately five thousand Jewish clubs in Germany in 1906 had formed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[35] Jews created clubs based on what they saw as a shared heritage and interests. By the turn of the century 312 major Jewish associations, not including myriad local ones, functioned in Germany.[36] Jewish club life also blossomed on the local level. In Sulzburg (Baden), a town with 416 Jews in 1864, the Jewish community sup-

ported a Reading Society, a glee club, and a women's club while also sustaining several charities.[37] Even villages supported at least Jewish male and female burial societies, many of which also served as local charities. Some even boasted more than one Jewish club unrelated to ritual necessity, although many of these declined as Jews migrated to the cities.[38] In big cities, a plethora of clubs vied for members. Berlin offered at least 62 Jewish clubs in 1896, and Frankfurt am Main housed 137 Jewish clubs and foundations (*Stiftungen*) by 1911.[39]

The Association for Jewish History and Literature (Verband der Vereine für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur), founded in 1893, the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, CV), and the League of Jewish Women (Jüdischer Frauenbund), organized in 1904, illustrate the popularity and range of Jewish organizations. Starting with 29 local chapters and at its peak encompassing about 230 (1914) in its national organization, the Association for Jewish History and Literature attracted about 15,000 members by 1903.[40] The Association published a popular yearbook, set up libraries, organized discussions, and offered lectures on Jewish topics of interest.[41] By 1900, it supported about a thousand lectures in 150 Jewish communities during the winter.[42] In Stettin, Max Daniel recalled that he "never missed" its events.[43] The clubs promoted Jewish knowledge in order to foster Jewish self-awareness. The organization further hoped to impress non-Jews, eventually: "Even though these [clubs] serve . . . Jews, the knowledge that many Jews possess will soon make its way to the non-Jewish milieu and will raise the position of Jews in the eyes of non-Jews."[44]

The Centralverein saw its main goal as defending the civic rights and interests of Jews. Jews united, as one organizer expressed it, because "they were aware that their . . . fate could only be influenced through collective action."[45] Describing friends who joined the CV, Friedrich Solon (b. 1882) believed they "fought in civil society for the rights of Jews in Germany."[46] The CV represented Jews who eagerly avowed their Germanness and tended to be less observant but whose Jewish identities were supplemented by the CV's secular Jewish actions. By 1903 it claimed 16,000 members.[47]

The CV has been seen as a response to persistent antisemitism, a sign of the limits of Jewish integration. There is, however, another interpretation. Notwithstanding the CV's stated purpose of supporting Jewish organizations only when antisemites barred Jews from similar groups,[48] the CV provided precisely the kind of Jewish atmosphere that many German Jews appreciated: one in which Germanness and Jewishness mixed. Moreover, it offered a social context for Jews who, even if they belonged to nonsectarian organizations, still wanted to socialize in expressly Jewish circles. Perhaps another way to measure the success of the CV's position is to note the minimal attraction that Zionism held for German Jews before the war.[49]

Women's organizations also spread rapidly, spurred on by a growing feminist movement. More than half of all German women's organizations in existence in 1908—the year that women could legally join or create "political" or-

ganizations[50]—had been founded after 1900.[51] This included the League of Jewish Women, which united Jewish women's groups across Germany. Founded by Bertha Pappenheim in 1904, the League grew to 35,000 members in its first decade. It established home economics schools, a home for unwed mothers and their children, job counseling centers, and night classes for women. It also fought for the women's vote in the organized Jewish communities and against the international traffic in prostitution.[52] The League's emphasis on women's equality and its alliance with the German women's movement gave a political, feminist form to what would otherwise have been seen as social welfare projects. Moreover, many League members created informal careers for themselves as untrained social workers. Some of its chapters resembled small businesses in the size of their yearly incomes and expenditures. In Hamburg a precursor to the League and a later affiliate, the Israelitisch-Humanitärer Frauenverein, grew from a handful of members in 1893 to 176 members in 1895 and to over 750 in 1912.[53]

These organizations represent only a few of the most prominent of a profusion of Jewish organizations. Associations for rabbis, Jewish teachers, and other religious employees grew nationally and regionally so that 36 of their organizations existed by 1905, with about 7,300 members.[54] Jewish singing, hiking, and study groups vied with similar nonsectarian groups. Jews could join together to support Jewish teachers or defend Jewish rights, to learn about Jewish poets, or to simply read with other Jews. Although this was an era of unprecedented associational growth in society at large, Jews had specific reasons for their own clubs. Some preferred a Jewish milieu for a feeling of familiarity, useful social and business connections, and a perception of shared values and culture.[55] Others turned to Jewish associations such as the Association for Jewish History and Literature or a "separate Jewish culture of welfare,"[56] for the community and cultural heritage they no longer sought from religious observance or the synagogue. For them organizational activity became their principal form of Jewish identity.[57] Still others joined in response to the increasing antisemitism of the 1880s and 1890s.[58]

Reaching Out: Social Life with Other Germans

In December 1899, the widely circulated newspaper the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (*AZJ*) looked back with pride at Jewish achievements, characterizing the nineteenth century as one in which Jews had left their "narrow and stifling ghetto [and] sad and humanly degraded existence to enter general culture." It lauded the changes in German-Jewish life of the past hundred years, claiming they were of greater consequence than all the trends and exertions of more than a thousand years.[59] To the *AZJ*, "general culture" meant both the Jewish affinity for German literary and musical classics and, equally important, social relationships with other Germans.

A great variety of personal relationships with non-Jews existed, although this varied by region, class, and the extent of urbanization. Extraordinarily

complex, these relationships tended to be more formal and less intimate than those with other Jews[60] and far more likely to take place in a public forum rather than at home. Lifelong, intimate friendships did, however, develop for some. Moreover, some informal mixing occurred in the public spaces of small towns and villages. Cities offered fewer opportunities for casual mixing but provided a vast variety of organizations and clubs. These affiliations could lead to ongoing camaraderie between Jews and non-Jews.

Both informal and formal mixing should be seen in the changing context of political antisemitism. The growth of antisemitism in the 1880s heightened non-Jewish exclusivity and Jewish defensiveness. Jews found clubs that had previously been open to them closed and created their own. Friendships continued for some and frayed for others. Ultimately, a complex picture of inclusions and exclusions—sometimes at the very same point in time—emerges.

About 70 percent of Jews in 1871 and about 30 percent in 1910 lived in towns and villages where neighborliness—pleasant, informal contacts—took place. Villagers viewed such connections as a "social duty," even a social necessity. In Nonnenweier (Baden), Jews sometimes helped non-Jewish neighbors in the harvest, lent them money or vouched for them, offered them storage space in their own barns, or gave them advice—even in "matters of the heart." Christian families brought Jews barrels of fruit, either in gratitude or in exchange for a favor, and helped Jews press juice from apples and cut cabbage for sauerkraut. Neighbors' children helped observant Jews turn on lights and heating on the Sabbath, for which they received candies or small gifts. On special holidays they exchanged foods.[61] Weddings remained a family affair, but Christian children attended Bar Mitzvah parties.[62] Funerals, much like sick calls, occasioned a spirit of community. Jews and Christians attended one another's funeral processions and, sometimes, graveside rituals.[63]

Neighborliness could lean toward or turn into friendship. Personal home visits, however, tended to be rare—even between Christian neighbors. In a village in Lower Franconia at the turn of the century, the Jewish teacher occasionally entertained the village pastor, who "enjoyed coffee with matzot at our house on Passover."[64] These relationships indicate that boundaries could be crossed even as they acknowledge that boundaries existed.[65]

Some neighbors kept their distance. For the most part, Jews believed them to be antisemites, but in Baden, for example, Jews also noted that Protestants and Catholics treated each other similarly or worse.[66] Different occupations and religious practices separated Jews from other villagers, reinforcing misunderstandings. Jews also lived a more bourgeois life, signaled by their clothing, home furnishings, and educational expectations for their children.[67] Further, the churches, particularly the local clergy, reinforced separation. Werner Cahnmann commented dryly, "the teaching of the Church, particularly around Easter, did not provide for a friendly atmosphere."[68] In Gaukönigshofen (Lower Franconia), between 1900 and 1920, the priest began his sermons with "Heathens and Jews out."[69]

In villages, most nonfamilial leisure time was gender segregated. As boys, Jews and non-Jews often played together and knew each other's families. As

teenagers, however, proportionately more Jewish than non-Jewish boys left their villages for further education. Those Jews who remained had longer school days and less time for camaraderie. During their late teens, Jewish boys frequently apprenticed far from their villages, and in south Baden, about 25 percent of Jews (mostly the younger ones) left for good between 1875 and 1900, severing any friendships they might have had.[70] In fact, migration may have played a significant role in isolating Jews, separating schoolmates and old friends.

Those men who remained in the villages settled down to work and families, spending time with non-Jews in taverns or inns after the day's work. Jewish men tended to gather in Jewish inns, but they might also visit non-Jewish locales to play cards with non-Jews.[71] Then they went home for dinner, rarely coming out again in the evenings. Some non-Jews claimed this was to save money,[72] but it is more likely that the reason was simply that they rose well before dawn.

Gender roles and duties kept housewives apart. In villages, neither Jewish nor Christian women had time for extended pleasantries.[73] Some had attended school together, which guaranteed a level of familiarity, but as one non-Jewish woman explained, "there wasn't any sitting around together, we had no time!"[74] Moreover, Jews were a relatively well-off commercial middle or lower middle class surrounded by peasants and a small, local bourgeoisie. Thus distances created by class—the fancier furniture of Jews and their use of real as opposed to ersatz coffee—may have inhibited visits.[75] Instead, habitual casual encounters provided a measure of congeniality. Gossip in the streets or at the front doorstep constituted typical moments of courtesy, affability, and neighborly exchange.

Single women and widows had more time to socialize. Loneliness may also have driven them to make neighborly contacts regardless of religion.[76] Village girls also befriended each other, some joining gymnastics clubs,[77] others trading books. For non-Jewish girls, these friendships allowed them glimpses into the urban worlds of consumption, which Jewish teenagers knew through relatives or because they attended schools in nearby cities. This shared enthusiasm for urban styles and customs strengthened girls' relationships.[78] Some female friendships lasted for decades.[79]

In small towns, men of the same class could meet informally. In Sobernheim (Rhineland-Palatinate), the *Stammtische*—tables regularly patronized by the same people—at the local taverns seem to have been completely integrated. Jewish and non-Jewish men of the lower middle classes—tailors, grocers, shop owners—regularly played cards or drank beer with each other.[80] Middle- and upper-middle-class men in small towns occasionally joined reading groups that attracted the *Honoratioren*, the educated, male citizens. From the 1870s through the heightened antisemitism of the 1880s, Victor Klemperer's father, a rabbi, belonged to such a group in Landsberg an der Warthe (Brandenburg), whose members included lawyers, public officials, and professionals as well as the rabbi and the minister.[81]

Village and small-town couples rarely visited each other's homes across

religious boundaries. These visits would have announced an intimacy with which most Jews and non-Jews did not feel comfortable. It should be noted, however, that non-Jews, too, centered much of their private social life on their families. Although they reached beyond their families to entertain members of their professional and social circles, these visits occurred rarely.

Public mixing of Jews and non-Jews, both male and female, took place at the annual church festival[82] and the veterans' balls. In 1896 in a south Baden village, the "spring festival" guest list drawn up by middle- and working-class villagers included 35 middle-class Jews among 101 guests (double the proportion of Jews in that community).[83] Village Jews and non-Jews celebrated and danced with each other—but only in public.

In contrast to villages and towns, private gatherings grew in importance in the cities. There a real test of integration would be how well Jews and non-Jews mixed at home. Among the wealthiest groups, Jewish men mixed with non-Jewish men both in public places during the day and at home, accompanied by their wives, in the evenings.[84] The Hamburg factory owner Joseph Wachtel ate his midday meal in a restaurant with other wealthy non-Jewish merchants and with members of the Hamburg Senate. His wife held a salon for Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals in their home.[85] Although Hamburg had a liberal reputation that might assume some mixing, this took place in the dour atmosphere of Berlin as well.[86] That such interactions existed is not in doubt, but that they might be considered friendship is. Among the affluent, these events served to display wealth.[87] Many saw it as a way "to advance careers rather than to get to know people."[88]

Even at such wealthy, urban gatherings, however, prejudices continued to limit interactions between Christians and Jews. Aristocrats, who turned up their noses at the bourgeoisie in general, shunned Jews. Even when it was no longer possible to ignore them, the aristocracy mingled grudgingly. Baroness von Spitzemberg, for example, a regular participant in one of Berlin's Jewish salons, referred to the circle around her hostess as a "clan," commenting in her diary: "I can't warm to them, and feel myself at heart alien."[89] Often business elites, too, shared these attitudes.[90]

Urban Jews and non-Jews mingled with greater success in intellectual, artistic, and bohemian circles. Max Hachenburg, a lawyer, and Adelbert Düringer, later an eminent judge, became close friends despite religious and political differences. They visited each other at home in Mannheim and corresponded regularly when Düringer moved away. When his friend died in 1924, Hachenburg spoke at the funeral.[91] In Insterburg (East Prussia), the parents of Kurt Blumenfeld, later a Zionist leader, took great interest in the arts and music: "My parents' relations consisted entirely of intellectually and musically interested non-Jews."[92] Similarly, the music publisher Henri Hinrichsen had personal and business relations with Jews and non-Jews, entertaining them at his home in Leipzig.[93]

Several examples illuminate Jewish social success and its limits. The Heilbrunn family of Frankfurt am Main provides a striking case: although the head of the family participated in mixed social and political associations—he had

even been a mayoral candidate in 1913—he never invited a non-Jew into his home. Other wealthy Jews in places as diverse as Frankfurt, Karlsruhe, and Königsberg invited Jews and non-Jews to dinner parties, but the guests remained predominantly Jewish.[94] Similarly, in Berlin, a 1902 survey by the Attorneys' Association showed that non-Jews preferred Jewish lawyers for "intimate family affairs" because Jews mostly "stood further removed from their social circles."[95] Even among the most integrated Jews, including converts and intermarriages, the successful banker Carl Fürstenberg noted that Jews often relied on each other.[96] Thus "one could not speak of sociability that erased the boundaries between the confessions."[97]

Integrated clubs revealed dwindling divisions between Jews and non-Jews. By the late nineteenth century, this form of sociability was such an ingrained part of Jewish bourgeois life that Jews saw it as part of what it meant to be bourgeois.[98] Further, their participation announced (for all who cared to see) that they had achieved social recognition. Some individuals went even further, delighting in the opportunity to mix with their fellow Germans.[99]

In villages, Jewish and non-Jewish middle- and lower-middle-class males participated in hiking and gymnastics clubs, volunteer fire departments,[100] sharpshooting clubs, and veterans' associations. These Jewish men helped create a bourgeois rural milieu,[101] sometimes even attaining prominent positions, such as representatives to communal parliaments.[102] Jewish men belonged to almost all of the singing clubs but remained apart from those music clubs that met in local chapels.[103] Thus some social boundaries based on religion endured. Analogously, occupational differences could separate Jews. Jewish men belonged to the volunteer firefighters but tended to avoid mandatory firefighting associations, since so many Jewish men traveled for a living.[104]

Gymnastics, not only the most popular sport in Germany but also ideologically associated with ardent nationalism, attracted many Jewish men. They participated on the boards of directors of gymnastics clubs, vied in regional sports events, and returned to cheering crowds when they triumphed in competitions.[105] Jewish men also enjoyed local riflemen's clubs, which combined fervent nationalism with camaraderie.[106] Annual sharpshooting tournaments included the selection of a queen of the competition, a position occasionally held by young Jewish women.[107] Veterans' associations—the largest mass organizations in Imperial Germany[108]—provided further opportunities for men to bond: In Baden, "there was hardly any greater closeness between Jewish and Christian men . . . than in the rigorously nationalistic veterans' associations of the waning nineteenth century."[109] Certainly, these men came together because they liked to sing or to display their manly shooting prowess or patriotism, not as an overt act of bridge building. Whatever their motivations may have been, today rural historians suggest that the era before 1900 was the high point of "Christian-Jewish male sociability."[110]

Integration varied from town to town. In some places, self-appointed elites kept Jews at a distance. Civil servants, innkeepers, wealthier merchants, and landowners might organize reading clubs and dances that excluded Jews. In a south Baden village, the local Protestant notables allowed only a few

Catholics into their elite club but barred Jews entirely.[111] In a Rhineland town where Jews and non-Jews insisted that the division between Protestants and Catholics was more rigid than that between Jews and Christians, the elite recreational and literary clubs refused entry to Jews.[112] A Jew from Hesse summed up the situation most aptly: "We belonged to the village, but we didn't totally belong."[113]

Cities offered a vigorous associational life, and formal associations provided points of contact. In Breslau, Jews joined most social clubs, their participation was numerically high, and they held leading positions. By 1878 it seemed only "a matter of time" before Jews could attend any club (aside from Christian denominational groups).[114] The same could be said of other big cities. In Königsberg, Jews were active participants in the city's social life. Jews and non-Jews, for example, founded the Goethebund in 1901, a club that grew to over one thousand members within the year.[115] Still, barriers to complete integration persisted, such as the *Zwingergesellschaft*, the bastion of exclusive Christian society in Breslau.[116] In Königsberg, too, certain associations were simply "off bounds."[117]

What did Jewish participation mean within non-Jewish groups? The attitudes of liberal Freemasons may be indicative. Many of these local elites, despite propounding "brotherly love"[118] and eschewing religion, nonetheless believed that for practicing Jews it would be "practically impossible to join with a Christian in intimate friendship." Such attitudes notwithstanding, by the mid-1870s, especially in places like Hamburg and Frankfurt, "Jewish Freemasons could feel that they were an important part of German lodge sociability without having to relinquish their Jewish identity."[119] In the wake of the antisemitic agitation of the 1880s, however, Jewish membership became politicized. Some lodges no longer accepted Jews as new members and lost their older Jewish members as a result.[120] Some (non-Jewish) Freemasons, angered by the illiberalism of their brothers, formed new (Settegast) lodges in the 1880s that not only welcomed Jews but, given the antisemitism of the times, consisted of a largely Jewish membership.[121] Despite the intractable opposition of some elites and the cooling of relations toward Jews in other circles, Jews still reached a high point of integration in cities like Breslau around 1900.[122]

Nevertheless, in response to the antisemitism of the 1880s and as an assertion of independence, Jewish men founded the B'nai B'rith Order, lodges exclusively open to middle-class Jewish men.[123] Henceforth Jewish men could and did join nonsectarian as well as Jewish lodges. This was a sign of myriad opportunities, but it was also a reflection of normal bourgeois associational patterns. Many middle-class people joined more than one organization.[124] Jewish women, for example, entered Jewish groups as well as the Fröbel educational societies, attracted by their liberal ideas: "As a result of their activities in the club, Jewish Fröbel supporters could make their first . . . contact with fringe groups of the non-Jewish bourgeoisie: free-thinking dissidents, sympathizers with women's emancipation."[125] In Breslau, at the beginning of the Imperial era, about one-third of Jewish men involved in at least one Jewish club also belonged to at least one nonsectarian organization. After the turn of the

century, over half of Jewish men participated in both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations, and many belonged to more than one non-Jewish group.[126]

Yet the situation of Jewish feminists illustrates both how well Jews could integrate into a formal, joint cause and the limits to real mutuality—the basis of friendship—set by non-Jews. In the 1890s, Jewish and non-Jewish women established close ties in cities like Königsberg, where a number of Jewish women helped establish and lead the major progressive women's organizations there.[127] In the small city of Witten at least four Jewish women cofounded the local Patriotic Women's Association (1909).[128] At the national level, too, Jewish women held prominent positions in the women's movement even as antisemitic campaigns grew in society at large.[129] About one-third of the leaders of the early feminist movement were Jewish or of Jewish origin.[130]

Membership in the same clubs led to an exchange of ideas and a glimpse into another person's character, but could it also lead to friendship, or did these contacts "cease at the doorstep?"[131] If friendship is too extreme an expectation, did "social capital" like help, sympathy, and fellowship accrue to Jews who joined other Germans in associations? Did club activity provide "social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" that arise from joint activities?[132]

Some Jewish feminists maintained friendships with non-Jewish women that went beyond organizational cooperation, implying mutual trust and reciprocal relations. In Berlin, the activist and author Hedwig Dohm invited women and men of all confessions to her home. She had close contacts with non-Jewish intellectual women.[133] Rosa Vogelstein founded a branch of the German women's movement in Stettin. A rabbi's wife, she and several leaders of the Federation of German Women's Associations, all Christians, were good friends, visiting each other at home regularly.[134] Deep friendships did develop from these encounters.[135] Even antisemites noticed this, accusing Jews of "ostentatious" charity intended as "means to an end": integration.[136]

Although formal organizations could result in friendships, trust, and reciprocity on both sides of the religious/ethnic divide, mutual engagement could also lead to conflicts, and some individuals did resort to antisemitism. For example, progressive Jewish and non-Jewish feminists gathered in the national League for the Protection of Motherhood and Sexual Reform, seeing themselves as a political minority under attack by conservatives. Nevertheless, in the Frankfurt branch, differences in approach (and possibly in personality) degenerated into antisemitism when Ines Wetzel complained that her (Jewish) treasurer, Clementine Cramer, was "terribly spoiled by Jewish flattery"[137] and accused her of "fomenting the Jewish elements, who are . . . under her control."[138] Malevolent individuals could arbitrarily invoke antisemitism without fear of censure.

Since so many opportunities to meet existed, what remains more striking than occasional antisemitic invective is that "social distance remained on both sides."[139] In Königsberg, for example, about one quarter of Jewish children whose parents engaged in a wide range of nonsectarian organizations believed that their parents had "only Jewish" friends; more than half thought they had

"primarily Jewish, with a few individual Christian acquaintances." Rarely did their parents have "very close Christian friends."[140]

The Ultimate Union: Intermarriage

Increases in the rates of intermarriage suggest that more opportunities had opened for Jews and non-Jews to meet each other and that more frequent, friendly, social interactions between young Jews and non-Jews of the opposite sex occurred (possibly at work, in the universities, and in clubs), than the foregoing discussion implies. Statistics shed light on the increasing intimacy between the Jewish minority and those in the majority.[141] In 1875, the introduction of civil marriage legalized intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews in Germany. Given the small size of the Jewish community and the difficulties of marrying within it, intermarriage rates remained relatively low. In 1903, for example, 8.5 percent of Jewish grooms and 7.3 percent of Jewish brides married out.[142] However, the rate of intermarriage (with males in the lead) rose rapidly in the prewar and war years, especially in several large cities. In Berlin, the rate jumped from 18 percent of all Jewish marriages in 1910 to 33 percent in 1915.[143]

Intermarriages often had very romantic beginnings. Unlike intra-Jewish marriages, in which bourgeois parents often influenced the choice of partner, these couples fell in love on their own.[144] They then confronted their families, who accepted the decision, faced the marriage reluctantly, or expressed intense opposition. Having overcome these obstacles, the couple achieved a happy ending—or at least a happy beginning. In 1904, Victor Klemperer, a 22-year-old university student, met Eva, a pianist. Years later, he wrote: "[I] immediately felt we belonged together."[145] Their families opposed the relationship. Hers, although poor, stemmed from the nobility and deplored his Jewish background. His had no overt difficulty accepting her religion—his brothers had intermarried too—but preferred a woman with money. Their deep and tender relationship later nurtured them through the horrors of the Nazi years.[146]

Although we cannot generalize from one love story, we can appreciate some of the feelings and milieus in which these intermarriages took place. Young people usually do not marry the first person they date, especially if that person is of another religion. For every intermarriage, there were far more friendly interactions between Jews and non-Jews that did not lead to marriage. Thus intermarriages show that Jews and non-Jews had ample opportunities to mix with and befriend each other—even to fall in love.

Social Antisemitism

Antisemitism set limits on Jewish success and also the boundaries against which Jews relentlessly pushed. Organized antisemitism remained a political danger, taking on new energy in the 1870s with the stock market crash and the Christian socialist movement of the court chaplain Adolf Stoecker.[147] But the

antisemitic bubble soon burst with economic recovery. By 1912 the antisemitic parties were as good as dead.[148]

Jews reacted to political antisemitism in a variety of ways. In the mid-1880s, some Jews feared for the continuation of Jewish emancipation.[149] By the end of the century, optimistic voices rejoiced, "our arch enemy, antisemitism, seems to be in retreat all over," while more cautious ones suggested it would take many years to eradicate political antisemitism.[150]

Social antisemitism presented different kinds of dilemmas. Latent, pervasive, and never far from the surface, it could affect Jewish lives more immediately and more intensely than an antisemitic political party. Jews contended with some degree of informal antisemitism at school and in the choice of friends, careers, where to live, and where to establish a business. Taking prejudice for granted, they managed to achieve success in spite of bigotry. They engaged in conscious or unconscious forms of resistance, accommodation, or acceptance—sometimes registering hurt and anger and at other times shrugging their shoulders. At greater or lesser psychological cost to themselves, they continued to build their families, careers, and communities—their futures—"at home in Germany."[151]

Antisemitism was never monolithic or consistent. Instead, interfaith contacts and friendships grew even at times of heightened antisemitism. Since the newly unified empire encompassed regions strikingly different from one another, levels of antisemitism varied drastically. Even within regions, denominational tensions between Catholics and Protestants created a variety of atmospheres with regard to antisemitism, as did the success of local demagogues.[152] Since antisemitism was irregular and unpredictable, Jews could maintain hope for fuller integration. Between geographical and individual experiences lay a multitude of daily exchanges between Jews and other Germans.

Some individuals responded personally to antisemitism, reacting spontaneously and even violently.[153] But physical retaliation, with its small satisfactions, remained a minority position. Everyday antisemitism affected most Jews in a variety of ways. Children, in particular, recalled such early experiences well into adulthood.

As a child, Kurt Blumenfeld did not experience much antisemitism at all but remembered the few incidents into old age.[154] Mathilde Katz recalled that although she regularly helped her non-Jewish classmates with homework, on Easter they attacked her for "killing Jesus" and refused to hear her denial—"but I wasn't even there at that time."[155] Growing up in Karlsruhe, Rahel Straus remembered that many people disliked Jews but only rowdies hurled epithets at Jewish children: "That didn't affect us deeply, but we. . . . sensed that the street boys thought we were different." She recalled that at age 11 she had noted the concerns among her elders at the success of the antisemitic agitator and Reichstag representative Hermann Ahlwardt, and that she had worried about the Xanten "ritual murder" case (1891),[156] appalled that the Jewish defendant did not find immediate vindication.[157]

Jews found ways of alleviating their pain. Village Jews, for example, frequently took antisemitic annoyances for granted.[158] When neighboring

non-Jewish children taunted them, Jewish children and adults often knew the culprits and either ignored them or took revenge upon them but did not question their ongoing relationships with Christian neighbors. They were resigned to antisemitism but were also confident that it would remain limited. Perhaps Norbert Elias summarized the situation most aptly for the majority of Jewish children: antisemitism was "bad and distressing" but did not influence the "core of our . . . self-esteem."[159]

Early bouts with antisemitism rarely immunized against later affliction. At the university, for example, the growth of antisemitic fraternities (after 1880) came as a blow. But individuals who disdained fraternities also ran into antisemitism. Victor Klemperer, for example, had befriended a young female teacher who, after some time, announced that Jews, an inferior race, engaged in ritual murder. Klemperer thought: "How is this possible? She grew up in the middle of Berlin, has a good education, isn't really dumb and is certainly not wicked, and she thinks like this!"[160]

Daily affronts should be seen in connection with the general political atmosphere—one in which Jews might expect antisemitism even at a peaceful time—and in connection with Jewish memories and anxieties. Jews passed cautionary tales on to future generations. In the 1870s and 1880s, the rural peasantry in Baden faced harsh economic conditions just as rural Jews found new niches in the growing commercial economy. Political antisemitism riled the peasantry. By 1881, rumors that Jews would be attacked circulated in the peaceful village of Müllheim. The rumors appeared in an area in which Jews and non-Jews generally coexisted peacefully, although occasional outbursts of violence had interrupted the daily rhythms of harmony in 1846, 1848, and 1862. In 1881, Jewish men were frightened enough to send some of their women and children away. Nothing occurred, and by 1900 political antisemitism had run its course there.[161] Although Jews and non-Jews went on living in daily rapport, each side acknowledged the possibility that an eruption of hostility could occur.[162]

Big-city antisemitism was not as immediate or as personal as that of a small town or village. In the wake of renewed political antisemitism in the 1880s and 1890s, the Frankfurt Jewish bourgeoisie noticed more informal antisemitism, more "closed doors" to society, and more places where antisemites agitated. The Kölner Hof, one of Frankfurt's most elegant hotels and restaurants, whose owner served as a city council representative, refused to serve Jews. In addition, certain resorts either continued to turn Jews away or decided at the turn of the century to do so.[163] Certain groups refused Jews entry but most stood open. In Breslau and Essen, for example, antisemitic agitation, painful to Jewish sensibilities, did not prevent Jews from intermingling socially, attending schools, or practicing their professions.[164]

Naive antisemitism (in the case of Klemperer's friend), threats of force (as in Müllheim), or restrictions against Jews in hotels made Jews realize they still had a distance to go toward full acceptance. Jewish integration was neither smooth nor certain, experiencing serious setbacks that also affected the way different generations of Jews perceived their situation. Those who experienced

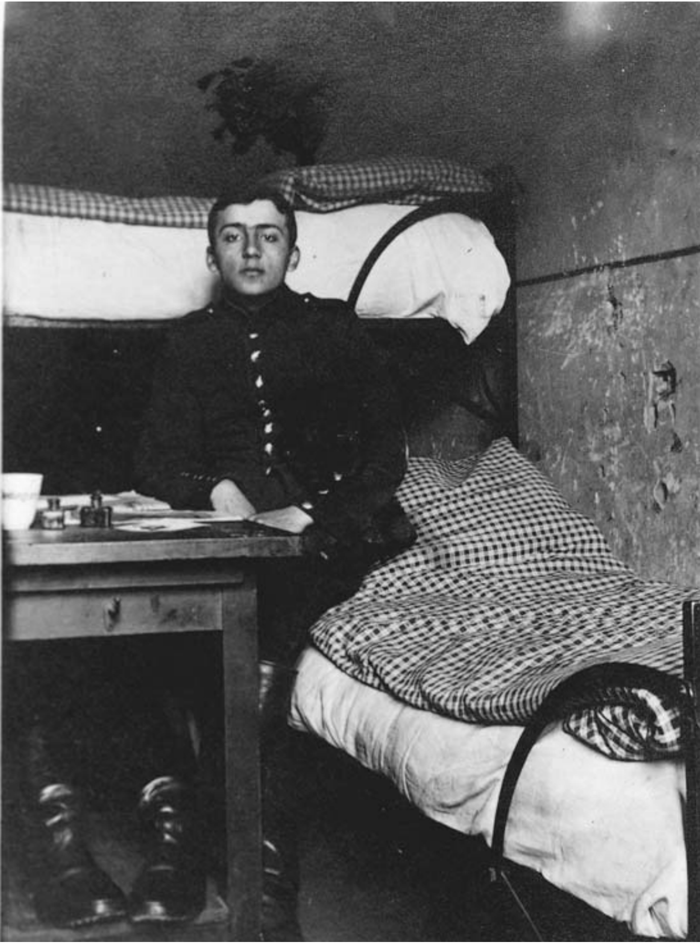
official inequality before 1871 and then the onset of emancipation in what they called the "peaceful, optimistic century" remained hopeful.[165] Their children, brought up in the Imperial era, faced the resurgence of antisemitism and were more pessimistic about Jewish integration.

Antisemitic ideology, however, "did not automatically translate into practice."[166] On the whole, German Jews had seen a "straight line of social ascent." Norbert Elias reflected on his family, noting that his grandparents had been better off than their parents and his parents "were better off than theirs. A rising line." When they saw antisemitism, they believed it to be among uneducated groups: "they had real contempt for antisemites. Their defense mechanism was that those people were not worth talking about."[167] The Centralverein viewed antisemitism as a "curable disease," and Jews believed that the emperor and the state would protect them.[168] Nevertheless, earlier predictions of integration met with a sobering reality. In 1900, a Jewish journalist who looked back "with great satisfaction" at the nineteenth century believed the promise of the early nineteenth century—equality before the law, freedom of conscience, and a "tide of freedom"—had been reneged on in later years: "the century had begun with greatness and ended in pettiness."[169]

World War I exposed the complexity of the relationship between Jews and other Germans. The situation looked promising at first. With the outbreak of war, the emperor called for unity, declaring "I recognize no parties any more, but only Germans." Jewish organizations and individuals met this appeal with patriotism. They saw their participation in the war as natural and welcomed the chance to "prove themselves genuine Germans" to those who still doubted this.[170] In dire need, the German army even reversed its exclusion of Jews in the officers' corps. Over three thousand Jews served as officers (almost one-third as doctors).[171] And Jewish civilians served the home front, Walter Rathenau being only the most prominent.

Delighted to be included in the emperor's embrace, a young volunteer applauded: "The Kaiser recognized no parties . . . all factions were to be united . . . everybody defended one mother: Germany."[172] Jewish newspapers professed their unconditional and unlimited love of Germany. The Orthodox and Zionist press strongly supported the war as well, even labeling it "a Jewish war" insofar as the enemy was Russia and they were concerned for Jews there.[173] Most synagogues began Friday evening service with a prayer concerning the war.[174] The rabbi of Dortmund personally delivered gifts he had collected for soldiers at the front and held a special weekly war prayer service attended by Jews and other Germans.[175] In Berlin, one rabbi compared the Germans to the Maccabees.[176] When Hindenburg defeated Russian troops, a Berlin Orthodox rabbi named his newborn son after the general, and a hasidic prayer house in Leipzig renamed itself Hindenburg Synagogue.[177]

War fever spread, especially among urban, bourgeois Germans, who had grown up on stories of the wars of German unification, the patriotism of their families, and the nationalism of the German school system. The playwright Ernst Toller observed: "We were living in a state of emotional delirium."[178] Many Jewish men from similar bourgeois backgrounds shared the same long-



Postcard from the war; Werner Halberstädter wrote on April 9, 1916: "Hooray, we are still alive." He was later killed in the war. Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute.

ing for excitement in the face of danger. Adolf Riesenfeld, who considered himself a pacifist, felt drawn to this "purely defensive war." He "cheered the soldiers marching past."[179] Jewish women, like many other women, "were . . . ripped by the same fervor as the whole nation."[180] Whether Jewish patriotism remained within bounds, not succumbing to the appalling chauvinism of prewar and wartime Germany, is an open question,[181] but early successes in the war gave even enthusiastic Jews pause. Berthold Freudenthal, who prayed for German victory, traveled to the eastern front between November and December 1915. He asked his diary: "What will the new Germany look like?" Uneasily, he replied: "Outwardly, perfect. . . . Inwardly: a great deal of self-confidence. Resoluteness. Indifference towards the interests of others increased to brutality. . . . Many prejudices, also against Jews."[182]

Hostility toward Jews grew as the war stalled, and setbacks at the front turned public opinion openly against Jews. In October 1916, the war ministry decided to count the number of Jews in the military, implying that they were shirkers. The "Jew count" turned private grumbling into a public political act, making antisemitism permissible even in polite society. Jews suffered denunciations and discrimination inside and outside the army. Despite the efforts of about 100,000 Jewish men, of whom approximately four-fifths had served at the front with about 12,000 casualties,[183] Jews were made to feel "that we were strangers, that we stood apart . . . that we had to be specially categorized, counted, recorded, and handled."[184] The war seemed to change the meaning of civility, civil society, and even what Jews had thought of as their own "Germanness." Suddenly, whether in uniform or volunteering as civilians, Jews saw their integration challenged and were made to feel—and felt—like outsiders. Their brief honeymoon as ostensibly full-fledged "Germans" appeared to be over.

Conclusion

Relationships with other Jews took up the majority of Jewish social life. Still, Jews found themselves more integrated than at any time in German history. Many of their relationships with non-Jews would fall into what Georg Simmel called "differentiated friendships" that connect individuals according to common intellectual interests, common experiences, and common careers or situations in life. These friendships maintained a degree of reserve, avoiding certain areas of interest and feeling.[185] Still, some of these links led to great affection, and some even ended in marriage.

Weathering a perplexing mixture of hospitality and hostility in Germany, Jews found acceptance and benefits but also prejudice and discrimination. The German-Jewish "symbiosis" was only a partial one.[186] Each group understood the boundaries between them to be only semipermeable. Such limits notwithstanding, by the turn of the century Jews had unquestionably found a place within German social life. Despite antisemitism, there was ample room for optimism and no visible end in sight.

Part IV
From Everyday Life to a State of Emergency: Jews in Weimar and Nazi Germany

Trude Maurer

Translated from the German by Allison Brown

After the experiences of World War I, in which all hopes for complete integration had been disappointed, and the collapse of the monarchy, which came as a surprise to most, Jews initially continued living in the Weimar Republic much as they had before. But the inflation and the Great Depression threatened middle-class lifestyles, and many had to cut back drastically, due to lost assets, business losses, and increased unemployment. On top of financial insecurity came contradictory experiences in Jews' social lives. While integration continued to develop in public as well as private spheres, antisemitism also continued to spread. In the later years of the republic, a certain caution in public seemed advisable to some, and relations between Jews and non-Jews began to erode.

Nonetheless, January 30, 1933, represented a major break. The government forced Jews out of the civil service, independent professions, business, and higher education; it clearly intended to force them out of middle-class society altogether. Despite impoverishment and attempts at career restructuring, Jews held on to their bourgeois habits, seeking therein a kind of security. In the face of such social ostracism, the family took on renewed significance as the nucleus of middle-class life, and the Jewish community became the center of Jewish life, with its diverse offers of aid, both material and spiritual. But the increasing terror, the increasing strictures on normal life once the war started, and finally the deportations destroyed the constant attempts to adapt and survive. Everyday life was replaced by a permanent state of emergency.

19

Housing and Housekeeping

Jews lived in a wide variety of homes in the 1920s but increasingly faced housing shortages under the Nazi regime, when their living arrangements deteriorated from cramped apartments to small rooms in "Jews' houses." Similarly housekeeping, especially cooking, shifted between tradition, modernity, and terrible scarcity.

Population and Communities

After World War I, German Jewry's demographic profile evinced a dropping birth rate and an aging population, both of which accelerated dramatically in the Nazi era. In 1933, more than half (55 percent) of the half million Jewish inhabitants of Germany lived in 10 major cities with populations over 100,000, almost one-third of them in Berlin. Generally, however, German Jewry spread out over 2,000 towns of different sizes, and there were more than 1,600 official Jewish communities.[1] Almost one in five Jews lived in rural areas or small towns; the proportion in southern Germany was significantly higher than the average for the country as a whole. The main settlement areas of rural Jewry were in Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse.[2]

Despite being scattered in many residential areas, the Jewish population retained a certain cohesion, usually living in certain districts. In 1925 in Berlin, for example, 80 percent of all Jews lived in 6 out of 20 administrative districts in the city, mainly Wilmersdorf and Charlottenburg.[3] New Jewish residential centers developed in the late nineteenth century as a result of intraurban migration, a sign of economic and social advancement. The Grindel quarter, in the Hamburg district of Rotherbaum, where Jews made up 15 percent of the

population in 1925, is a good example of this. Here Jewish life in all its diversity was concentrated in less than half a square mile. On the other hand, other Jews deliberately avoided this area,[4] and some even considered it "almost like a ghetto."[5]

During the Nazi regime the number of small Jewish communities decreased within a few years, as Jews migrated from rural areas to the cities, often to live near relatives. In 1937 there were only 1,349 communities and 85 percent of all Jews lived in only 52 of them.[6] Overall the Jewish population dropped due to internal migration and emigration; the major cities lost one-third and the rural areas almost two-thirds of their populations. Members of various organizations—such as the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith or the League of Jewish Women—sought to ease the growing isolation of those who remained through visits and welfare activities.[7]

Various cities wanted to prohibit the influx of Jews,[8] yet as late as December 1935 the Reich Ministry of the Interior clearly said that there was no way to legally prevent Jews with German citizenship from moving to any community within the country.[9] Some local authorities found other ways to limit the undesired influx. Referring to a general ordinance that limited public welfare in depressed communities, Berlin refused to grant newly arrived, poor Jews any public relief as of 1935, offering them only "institutional care" in municipal shelters, and threatened sudden expulsion.[10]

In fact, the relatively small drop in the Jewish population in the capital (from 160,000 in 1933 to 140,000 in 1937)[11] was due to immigration and emigration. The elderly and entire families seeking the care of the large Jewish community moved to the city: "The mere fact that not one or two or ten families lived in a certain town, but hundreds or even thousands, was comforting and encouraging in times of hardship."[12] Others wanted to start a new life or arrange their emigration; and young people desired training, whether in companies that still took on Jewish apprentices or in special facilities for emigrants. Others sought protection from the aggressive antisemitism of their non-Jewish neighbors in the anonymity of the metropolis.[13]

Migration and emigration reflected the demographic profile of German Jewry. In the Weimar Republic the Jewish population was already disproportionately old compared with the overall population. The birthrate decline that began in the nineteenth century intensified greatly during the Great Depression following the 1929 stock market crash. From 1920 to 1925 there were 15 births per thousand among Jews annually, but by 1932 this figure dropped to 7.2 (compared with 16.2 in the population at large).[14] The emigration wave triggered by the Nazis' persecution of Jews left behind mostly the elderly, raising the average age in the Jewish community still further. A young girl who was giving directions to a Jewish welfare worker in a town in Brandenburg stopped in the middle of the conversation and asked her, "Dear God did make me Jewish—I really would like to play with Jewish children. Do you know any?"[15] Jews started fleeing small towns with greater urgency as early as the summer of 1938, that is, even before the November Pogrom, or "Kristallnacht."[16] Nevertheless, in 1939 Jews still lived in more than 2,600 different towns and cities in

the *Altreich* (Germany's pre-1938 borders), though they were often scattered and isolated.[17]

Homes

Germans faced a housing shortage during the Weimar Republic, since very little new construction took place during the war or postwar years.[18] Some newly married Jewish couples solved the problem by redoing part of a business building as living space or by renting large apartments that were not subject to waiting lists.[19] Others joined housing cooperatives founded in the 1920s to build inexpensive, simple, small apartments.[20] Moreover, after the inflation and the Depression reduced the fortunes of many Jews, even those who had been affluent had to cut back. This is most readily seen in moves from larger to smaller apartments or from an owned villa into a rented flat or even a home for the aged.[21]

After the Nazis banned Jews from certain professions, organized boycotts of Jewish businesses, and dismissed Jews employed in private industry, moves to increasingly smaller apartments became even more common. Some families had to move a number of times within only a few years,[22] not only to save money but also because they had been openly harassed.[23] Landlords faced no repercussions, since courts either interpreted the tenant protection law of the Weimar period *against* Jewish tenants or declared it invalid for them. The Nazis argued that the law was supposed to protect the "house community" from troublemakers and that their idea of "community" could only be implemented among people of the same "kind" and "blood." Consequently, a "house community" with Jews was considered just as untenable as a *Volksgemeinschaft*, or "national community," with them, since both carried connotations of racial purity.[24] It became increasingly difficult for newly arriving Jews to find housing anywhere; non-Jews no longer dared to rent to them or treated them with mistrust and aversion.[25] Once the Nuremberg Laws were passed in 1935, Jews could no longer live in the large municipal housing projects.[26] Jewish members of housing cooperatives were pressured to sell their rowhouses or apartments, in isolated cases as early as 1933.[27]

These discriminatory practices were ultimately underpinned by new legislation. Under the law concerning tenant relations with Jews (1939), "any and all tenant protection is no longer valid when evicting Jews if the landlord is in possession of a certificate from the local authorities saying that the Jews put out on the street could find lodging elsewhere."[28] The main thrust of this law was to concentrate Jews in certain buildings, reducing several families to living in a single apartment. Relocation and concentration of Jews was carried out differently in different cities from 1939 to 1941. In Leipzig, for example, some families had to move up to seven times within one year.[29] In some villages, Jews had to move out of the homes they owned and were then herded together into a few houses, the worst in the area.[30] Finally, camps with shacks were set up in a number of cities, mostly in connection with the deportations but even

earlier in Dortmund, Dresden, Essen, Hamburg, Hannover, Laupheim, Munich, and Ulm.

The experience of Julius Moses, a former Social Democratic member of Parliament, illustrates how residential habits and attitudes changed under the pressures of persecution. Shortly after the Nazis assumed power, he and his non-Jewish partner and their son had already given up their spacious five-room apartment. In the summer of 1934 they were forced to move again, into an even smaller and less expensive apartment. Moses would have preferred to move in with his partner's mother in a union-owned housing development in the Köpenick district. "Earlier that would have been too closed-in and cramped; under present circumstances it would have been just about perfect; no, it would have been absolutely perfect. I could have gone for a walk every day"—whereas in the city he had already started avoiding the streets. But since SA (*Sturmabteilungen*, or Hitler's storm troopers) riots had already taken place in that housing development in 1933, Moses would have put both his partner's mother, a member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), as well as himself, at risk.[31] Moving to a Jewish area could offer a greater "feeling of security."[32]

The ever-shrinking apartments, often single rooms by the end, forced those affected to give up most of their possessions and with them a feeling of security and comfort. The League of Jewish Women encouraged housewives to favor bright colors and cheerful fabric for the new apartment as a way to cope psychologically with the situation. The new apartment was also supposed to serve "to muster new courage to start a new life."[33] But it proved impossible for many to feel at home in their new surroundings. After the poet Gertrud Kolmar and her father had to sell their house in a Berlin suburb and move to a new district after the November Pogrom, she wrote: "Soon we will have been here six months and I just cannot seem to develop some sort of relationship, whether tolerable or intolerable, to this area. I feel as strange here now as I did the first day."[34]

Living in tighter spaces with new housemates caused greater discomforts. Observers noted, "In such close quarters, not only do the things 'bump' against each other, but people do too."[35] This got even worse in the "Jews' houses," where there were even fewer opportunities to choose housemates. Right after being forced to move into a "Jews' house" in May 1940, Victor Klemperer wrote, "the greatest loss of time is caused by the constant fussing interference of strangers . . . which hopefully will not lead to friction, but of course strains the nerves even without friction."[36]

Particularly after forced labor was required in November 1940 for all Jews between 18 and 55, competition for shared facilities (kitchen, bathroom, toilet) in the mornings and evenings gave rise to irritability.[37] However, the "blessing of community" could be a kind of compensation for lost independence, and sometimes "what started out as unwanted, close coexistence even led to strong feelings of friendship."[38] Often residents of the "Jews' houses" shared each other's suffering and pain. Sometimes they helped each other by dividing up bread or potatoes or lending someone a bread coupon. Yet Victor Klemperer, plagued by hunger, also stole a little piece of sugar, a scrap of sausage, or a spoonful of honey from a housemate.[39]

Homemaking

Conditions for running a household changed fundamentally within only a few years. Corresponding to their social class, most Jewish families probably had a maid during the Weimar period.[40] Most servants were non-Jewish women, even in Orthodox households where domestic help was also responsible for keeping dishes and silverware for meat and dairy separate.[41]

It is virtually impossible to determine how many Jews in Germany observed *kashrut*. Following World War I the figure is estimated at 15–20 percent, not including the Secessionist Orthodox communities in Berlin, Frankfurt, and some other places.[42] There were also a number of concentrations, for example, among rural Jews, but also in cities like Hamburg, with its pluralistic system of several religious denominations under the umbrella of a single Jewish community. In 1925 in Hamburg, 12 percent of all slaughtering was done according to religious rites, while Jews made up less than 2 percent of the total population. The particularly strict regulations of the Sephardi rites that were observed there led to more than half of this meat not being recognized as kosher;[43] even taking into consideration sales beyond the city limits and the high level of meat consumption among the affluent middle class, this figure suggests that kosher meat was eaten by far more than just Orthodox Jews (and the Jewish population in general).[44] Similarly, bakeries could be found in Hamburg that had all of their rolls marked with stickers saying they were prepared under rabbinical supervision.[45] Jews also brought their homemade Sabbath bread to non-Jewish bakers in their neighborhood to be baked.[46]

Meals in Jewish households, an expression of the complex identity of German Jews, consisted of popular regional recipes as well as traditional Jewish meals.[47] The Carlebach household, for example, was run "half à la Berlin-Prussian cuisine and half à la North Sea fish"—but for Sukkot they had *Kräppchen*, small dumplings filled with ground meat and served in soup.[48] Adoption of local eating habits can be seen, for example, in the sausage selection of the meat vendors concessioned by the Hamburg Chief Rabbinate,[49] as well as in advertising for *Tomor*, a kosher vegetable margarine: "It can be used for meat or dairy and is a tasty sandwich spread with meat,"[50] making it appropriate for a typical German supper. However, the *Spätzle* that Jewish housewives in Swabia prepared showed not only assimilation with their surroundings but also preservation of their own traditions. Whereas these homemade noodles were a Sunday meal for their neighbors, Jews ate them on workdays, not on the Sabbath, since they had to be prepared fresh.[51]

Shortages during World War I led some Jews to abandon the dietary laws.[52] Attitudes toward these regulations could vary, even within different branches of the same family.[53] Still, some housewives kept kosher even though some rules seemed archaic to them, simply because they wanted religious relatives to eat in their home.[54] In the Weimar Republic, the entire spectrum was represented with respect to deviations from strict *kashrut*. Some Jews used kosher products only on Passover,[55] or they got out the special Passover dishes on the holiday, though they otherwise ate even pork: "We bought sausage at

the Christian butcher; we bought ham and ate quite a bit that was not allowed."[56] Some Jewish women who grew up in the late Imperial period and the Weimar Republic did not learn about the laws of the Jewish religion with respect to food purity until they worked in Jewish institutions in the 1930s.[57]

Jewish cuisine could also be found in households of nonreligious Jews, not only due to custom but also as an indication of a remaining, or even a strengthening, Jewish component to their identity. Julius Moses's non-Jewish partner, for instance, prepared a "real noodle *kugel*" for him for the Jewish New Year and *Kräppchen* for Purim; thus they showed themselves "whenever they could to be good Jews."[58]

In a 1934 article about "Jewish national meals" in the Orthodox paper *Israelit*, the Lower Franconian author spoke of a "steady effort to maintain the rural Jewish ways and customs of past decades." That could refer directly to the dishes named, including different variations of baked or fried *kugel* (noodle, potato, or bread pudding) and others. Studies of other rural areas have shown that in the 1920s gefilte fish, the common Friday evening appetizer of the late nineteenth century, had disappeared, and the dessert *kugel* had been replaced by cake.[59] The connection to tradition referred to in this article was not only the "religious order" but "Jewish history," since "Jewish national meals . . . tell of undisturbed holiday peace, of quiet Friday evenings lit by the *Sabbath* lamp, of narrow alleyways, and of content people living in harmony with G—d and the environment." With that, the author also hinted at the drastic change in these conditions even at the beginning of the Nazi regime and recommended the Jewish dishes as a means of "reflection on Jewish ways and customs."[60]

Jewish eating habits and especially keeping kosher required great sacrifice during the Nazi period. Their significance grew for the preservation of the religion and the reinforcement of a Jewish identity, both religious and secular. Kosher slaughtering had already been banned in Bavaria in 1930 and was threatened before 1933 in some other states. In almost all of Germany, by the end of March 1933 it was impossible to buy fresh kosher meat, and on April 21, 1933, legislation was passed banning kosher slaughtering altogether.[61] Although "the responsible Jewish offices" tried to convince the Reich government to lift the bans,[62] only in Upper Silesia was kosher slaughtering still permitted, due to the minority protection law in effect there. It was still possible for friends and relatives abroad to send kosher meat[63] or to import it from Jewish butchers in Denmark, Holland, and Poland, at a higher price. The Reich Central Office for Matters of Kosher Slaughtering coordinated the import and distribution. In late 1936 it became impossible to obtain foreign currency, so importing had to be organized as a present from abroad. Negotiations to obtain meat by trading it in exchange for goods from Germany failed. In early November 1938 the Kosher Slaughtering Office was closed. Poultry traders at the Dutch border supplied kosher poultry (at least for the western part of Germany). Illegal kosher slaughtering also took place. The Frankfurt Jewish Community, for example, officially prohibited its butchers from conducting illegal kosher slaughtering but tacitly tolerated purchase and sale of kosher meat "because of the public pressure on the butchers." In addition, starting in 1937, in-

spectors in Upper Silesia were bribed to allow more kosher slaughtering than was officially permitted there. This meat was then illegally imported into the rest of Germany. The meat carried neither a kosher stamp nor seal, but it had secret markings that had been agreed on with a ritual official in Hannover. However, the authorities discovered the practice and prohibited it.[64]

Probably due to the fear of malnutrition, Jewish communities partly subsidized meat. For example, the Breslau community gave financial assistance for meat purchases to large families and welfare recipients in 1935. Some said at the time that butchers would lower their prices for kosher meat if that led to increased consumption.[65] If clandestine kosher slaughtering was discovered,[66] however, the punishment was often internment in a concentration camp.

In attempts to cover the demand for kosher meat while at the same time complying with state law that prohibited butchering without anesthetic, compromises were made, though they did not comply with religious law. For example, "in the Bavarian rabbinical districts meat from animals that had been anesthetized prior to slaughter was used in good faith as kosher."[67] Some Jewish restaurants even advertised that their "meat kitchen [was] new-kosher."[68] According to religious law, however, meat from anesthetized animals was not kosher even if slaughtered by kosher butchers. As rabbis had already done in 1933,[69] they once again asked Jews "to follow faithfully the Divine laws and, especially in this difficult time, to use only meat that is really kosher."[70] There are indications that the calls to respond to the ban on kosher slaughtering with intensified devotion to religious lifestyles were received positively. The Königsberg rabbi, for instance, received several requests for information on how to keep a kosher household.[71]

The extent to which people changed their diets as a result of the ban on kosher slaughtering cannot be determined precisely. A range of Jewish newspapers offered various vegetarian tips to persuade their readers to give up meat entirely. They gave detailed treatment to nutrition and physiology, and one of them even coined the slogan "Fish is also meat."[72] As early as summer 1933 observers noted: "all Jewish newspapers have been competing in recent weeks to offer their readers numerous, very varied weekly repertoires of so-called dairy meals."[73] The recipe column in the most popular Jewish newspaper, the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, was originally called "menu for meatless cuisine" and later changed to "menu for Jewish cuisine." At first these menus hardly offered balanced vegetarian nutrition. The recommendations tended to be traditional cooking simply without the meat, and approximately two fish meals per week. To the extent that it was available at all, recipes "stretched" meat, requiring housewives to use their imagination.[74]

Although meat was compensated for with fish, cheese, or nuts,[75] the Frankfurt cantor Joseph Levy observed that the bans on kosher slaughtering and on importation of kosher meat led over time to violations of *kashrut* laws: "Today there are only a dwindling number of Jews in Germany who live according to tradition and totally refrain from eating meat," he noted in 1939–40.[76] And in the Israelite Hospital in Hamburg the rabbi even gave permission to eat anything except pork.[77]

Beyond the ban on kosher slaughtering, other factors made obtaining food more difficult for *all* Jews. Starting in 1933, shopping opportunities were limited for Jews; in January 1936 they were prohibited from having non-Jewish maids. There was a (general) rationing of food even before the war started, and Jews were forced to shop only at certain places and times.

In the first few years of the Nazi regime, Jews from smaller towns had to drive to larger ones "in order to get a haircut or do major shopping."[78] Joseph Levy's memoirs record a broad spectrum of positive attitudes toward Jewish customers: a masseuse who had been treating Levy's wife for decades remained loyal to her "despite physical abuse by her professional association; [also] groceries were delivered secretly, in the dark; and only rarely did someone refuse to make a delivery." He added: "In one . . . cake shop the owner asked me to remain her customer even if a sign saying 'German store' or 'Jews not wanted' were to hang in her window as it did in many others. She said she did not agree with such a statement, but like many others was being forced to post the sign. The spite and torment intended in this harassment of the Jews was obvious, not only in the overwhelming number of stores displaying these signs but also in their style and typographical design," as the printing on the signs copied the square form of Hebrew letters.[79]

Many Jews initially avoided stores that posted the sign "German [or Aryan] store." But little by little they got used to shopping in these stores and even caught themselves "feeling satisfaction if the baker greeted [them] on the street."[80] On the other hand, many Jews made an effort to shop as much as possible in Jewish stores and to employ Jewish tradesmen and artisans.[81]

The Nazi seizure of power served to strengthen the position of non-Jewish maids vis-à-vis their employers. Some did all kinds of things they never dared to earlier.[82] Then the Nuremberg Laws of September 1935 prohibited Jewish households from hiring "Aryan" maids under age 45 or maintaining existing help that was under 35 if any men lived in the household, reflecting the Nazis' perverted suspicion of abuse of "Aryan" women by Jewish men.[83] According to all reports maids did not want to leave Jewish homes, and there is often mention of tears. But both sides bowed to the pressure, and even steadfast maids eventually succumbed to the propaganda, some suddenly seeing "the" Jews in a different light and thus seeking a new position.[84]

By following the wording of the Nuremberg Laws to the letter, some Jews tried to facilitate the continued employment of willing hands. They hired women who were above the age limit, and in isolated cases they even hired men as domestic servants.[85] This prohibition nevertheless affected wide circles. For an elderly couple it might have prompted them to give up their own household and move into a Jewish boarding house.[86] But most of those affected were simply forced to run their households without help; in wealthier families it might have been the first time that the women did any housework at all.[87] In 1938 it was noted: "nowadays every halfway reasonable woman among us is her own maid, with dignity and more or less grace."[88]

Cooperation was needed in order to get all the housework done. In 1935 Jewish women appealed to the youth leagues and declared it "youth's duty of

honor to help mothers with housework and not just let themselves be served."[89] Martha Wertheimer, an editor of the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, was even more explicit: "I do not see why young groups at social evenings should talk big words about community and self-discipline and then forget the practical application with respect to their own mothers."[90] The League of Jewish Women set up a class for boys in one of their housekeeping schools.[91] And Wertheimer also appealed to men whose experiences at the front in World War I had often been extolled:

> You *also* have more troubles? More strain? But certainly not so much that you cannot come to the housewife's aid, hammer in a few nails, carry a heavy basket; and even the tiresome task of peeling potatoes was something natural when you were in the service and in the trenches and just because an overburdened woman should get some benefit from it, it is suddenly "unmanly"?[92]

But the repeated appeals in the Jewish press suggest that the amount of assistance left much to be desired and was only offered in the case of emergencies.[93]

On top of difficulties due to the ban on kosher slaughtering, impoverishment, and the loss of servants came rationing. Even before the start of the war, butter, eggs, and oils were rationed, and everyone had to register for these goods at particular stores. Jewish families whose income still permitted it used the same ways of getting around the limitations as non-Jews; they asked people who could no longer afford these products to buy them anyway, and they bought the goods from them (possibly for a higher price).[94] Sometimes they received preferential treatment from their merchants, either because they were liked or in (an individual, silent) protest against the Nazi regime.[95]

Once the war started, food and textiles were generally distributed on the basis of ration coupons, but as early as the end of 1939 Jews were discriminated against with regard to their allotments.[96] Soon the rations for basic foods were reduced for Jews, and they no longer received any special apportionments at all. As of 1940–41, they no longer received rice, legumes, canned vegetables, coffee, tea, cocoa, artificial honey, sweets, fruit, poultry, game, or smoked foods. The only vegetables they could buy were rutabagas, cabbage, and beets.[97] In 1942 other products were added to the list of foods not available to Jews, including meat and meat products, eggs, wheat products, whole milk, and even "fresh skimmed milk," a product invented by the Nazis. If they received any food packages from abroad, the contents were subtracted from the allotted ration.

More serious limitations on shopping began 10 days after the start of the war, when Jews were required to shop only in "particularly reliable stores." Some cities then set up "Jew shopping locations" in districts with a large Jewish population. In 1943, after almost all Jews had been deported, these stores were closed. The combination of Jews being assigned to shops a long distance away and the ban on Jews using public transportation meant that as of mid-1941, hour-long "shopping marches" often became necessary.[98] It became time-consuming and enervating to obtain even trivial items.[99] The times at which Jews

were allowed to shop were usually limited to one or one and a half hours daily, often at closing time,[100] when products were largely sold out. Sometimes, for Jews and non-Jews alike, it was possible to obtain extra supplies on the black market, but that required even more money and was of course much riskier for Jews than for full citizens of the Third Reich. "If apples or tomatoes were found or even chocolate or coffee beans," the punishment was at least a high fine, but the buyer could also be arrested. Some violators were taken from jail to a concentration camp.[101] It became increasingly difficult to make purchases or do many household tasks[102] once Jews were banned from having drivers' licenses and car registrations (December 1938), telephones (July 1940), and finally even electrical appliances (June 1942).[103]

Yet many Jews tried to maintain their earlier standards of everyday life. Thus the 77-year-old Theodor Tuch, when moving into "substitute housing" in 1942, asked himself: "if we are going to have only one room, will I have to lay out and remove the tablecloth from the dining table 8,000[!] times a year?"[104] In a permanent state of emergency, and in view of the impending deportations, old habits could at least give the impression of "normalcy."

Conclusion

The inflation and Depression had already forced Jews to cut back on their bourgeois lifestyles during the Weimar period, but this was intensified during the Nazi regime as a result of discrimination and impoverishment. Their lives were increasingly limited, not only as a result of poverty but especially by shortages during the war and limitations on their shopping. In the end most Jews, herded together in "Jews' houses" and robbed of all nutritional foods, could barely eke out an existence.

20

Family Life

" 'No more corset, no long dresses, short hair, much more freedom'—with these words an emigrant from Berlin summed up what the change from the Imperial era to the Weimar Republic meant for women."[1] Owing to the war, the sudden end of the authoritarian state, and the subsequent inflation that shattered the economic foundation of especially the Jewish lower middle class and middle class, the options for Jewish girls expanded in professional as well as private spheres. This was especially the case in the cities. And so traditional and modern lifestyles existed side by side. However, Nazi persecution resulted in a return to the family and to Jewish life, further influencing women's status.

Marriage, Childbearing, and Children

Many Jewish couples had gotten married during the Imperial period, but widespread matchmaking by friends and relatives did not always have favorable outcomes. Outward appearances were nevertheless maintained. "I discovered very late how unhappy my mother was when she was forced to marry my father," wrote a woman born in 1913.[2] The ideal of a love match did not correspond to such marriage arrangements, so seemingly chance encounters of future spouses were arranged. This practice from the German Empire continued into the Weimar period.[3] It corresponded to the marriage strategies of the middle class in general, though it is virtually impossible to determine how widespread this form of marriage brokering was. In 1918 a woman broke off her engagement two days before the wedding, which had only been agreed on under pressure in order to legitimize the couple's friendship. The woman was later more judiciously married off:

> In March there was a small dinner party at friends of mother, all doctors; I was the only unmarried one, sitting next to "Bubi." . . . It was quite obvious that this was arranged with some foresight, but somehow I was not so aware of the intention or (rather) purpose. Silly![4]

On the family's vacation "Bubi" appeared again and proposed to Nora.

Sometimes the couples initiated the marriages themselves,[5] but generally the parents had a say in the choice of a spouse, and they paid particular attention to a secure economic foundation. When Simon Bischheim and his wife got engaged in 1919, it was a surprise to both families, and both fathers objected. Bischheim later admitted that they were right from an economic point of view, but since his mother supported the bride, who was also willing to start her marriage at a far lower standard of living than she had been used to, the marriage did take place. For Bischheim's sisters, however, the father sounded out the economic situation of the prospective grooms, even inspecting their offices, before he allowed a meeting to take place.[6] So, while there was greater leeway for personal decisions, traditional criteria for a "suitable partner" were decisive for the parents and still played a certain role for the young couples themselves.

Prerequisites could be more easily clarified through newspaper ads, which were widespread especially among lower-middle-class and middle-class Jews, particularly those who lived outside of Jewish residential centers. They placed special ads in newspapers, particularly the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, filling two pages of each issue. In the Weimar Republic, objective criteria continued to determine choice of partner, including career options and business necessities, as a young man could be offered the option of "marrying into" a family business.[7] These marriage ads also depict a willingness to marry per se, despite concerns voiced by Jewish observers that Jews were not eager enough to marry. Moreover, they indicate a determined effort to find a Jewish spouse.

Although the tendency toward endogamy remained stronger among Jews than among Catholics and Protestants,[8] the proportion of mixed marriages continued to grow, due to progressive secularization among Jews and non-Jews alike. The ratio of purely Jewish to mixed marriages indicates both the degree to which Jewish identity was preserved and the integration with society as a whole. In general, more men than women entered into mixed marriages, which exacerbated the difficulties Jewish women had finding spouses.[9] In 1927 in Germany, 26 percent of Jewish men but only 16 percent of Jewish women married a non-Jew.[10] Since the children were usually not raised Jewish, mixed marriages were considered a threat to the continuation of Judaism. Especially in Orthodox families, mixed marriages were firmly rejected. This applied not only to Ilse Gimnicher's grandparents but also her parents—born in the 1880s: "My grandparents were kind and tolerant people toward everybody but they believed in a complete separation between ourselves and others. There could be no family mixing."[11]

Households generally diminished in size in the Weimar period. In major cities, they were made up largely of nuclear families. In Hamburg, which historically had one of the lowest birth rates in Germany, the average household

size in 1925 was about two people, almost two children for each Jewish couple if single-person households are excluded.[12] But this was no longer unusual; the birth rate in Königsberg dropped even lower.[13]

Though it was claimed that the "disintegration of traditional Jewish family and community life was largely an urban phenomenon,"[14] this generalization must be examined. There was no disintegration of family life per se but at most only its traditional form. And although this decline was greater in the cities than in rural areas, family connections were maintained in major cities and between them. People visited their grandparents and other relatives,[15] and children working away from home returned to the parents' home on the Jewish holidays.[16] It might be more accurate to speak of a variety of familial relationships. The traditional form was maintained more intensively in the countryside, but family cohesion was preserved despite social mobility and geographic scattering. The stability of the Jewish family can be seen, finally, in the relatively low divorce rate compared to that of the population as a whole.[17]

Disruption of Jewish Family Life in Nazi Germany

Most Jews maintained traditional attitudes even after the Nazis came to power. Parents continued to demand economic security as a prerequisite for marriage, and traditional marriage practices were preserved, especially the practice that the two young people retain a distance from each other, and sometimes also from the family of the prospective spouse, until they were officially engaged.[18] On the other hand, these formal ways already seemed old-fashioned to some of the younger generation. Cora Berliner, one of the directors of the League of Jewish Women and a board member of the Central Organization (Reichsvertretung, RV) of Jews in Germany, observed in a 1937 appeal for the employment of women that "our young people get married more easily today than in earlier times. The old middle-class principle that a man should not think of marriage until he can support a wife and children is a thing of the past. We think that's lucky."[19] Demands for the traditional dowry, a financial payment from the woman's family, also declined accordingly.[20] In these pressured times, loosening of restrictions on relations between women and men was ultimately accepted by some parents. In exceptional cases, even Orthodox parents allowed their daughter to travel to her boyfriend's home, though they actually considered it "immoral." But since the daughter wanted to help her future in-laws who had suffered during the November Pogrom, she argued that everyone had to help each other in this situation, and they changed their minds.[21]

The progressively worsening financial situation of Jews and the restrictions on their daily lives definitely had an impact on their desire to have children. The birth rate among Jews sank drastically.[22] Emigrants reported illegal abortions in the 1930s that were performed in private apartments, with great security measures taken in order to protect both doctor and patient from possible prosecution.[23]

The decision to forego children differed from individual to individual. Frau P—, for example, a physician banned from practicing, had an operation in 1938 in order to be able to have a child, but a year later all she and her husband thought about was emigration.[24] Another woman even risked deportation in 1942 by staying away from her forced labor job for weeks because of complications early in her pregnancy: "As improbable as it sounds, in spite of everything I wanted to have a child in these times, and my parents and myself were overjoyed when . . . I got pregnant."[25]

Avoiding pregnancy or having an abortion can be viewed as a sign that in the 1930s many Jews no longer saw a future for their children in Germany. Even frequent assurances that the regime would soon come to an end and organized efforts to deal with the new situation were ultimately unable to dispel uncertainty and worries.

The declining birth rate also sheds light on the "return to the family," a theme that Jewish leaders had propagated since 1933. Family was considered beyond the reach of the system, the "indestructible core" of Jewish existence, where the individual and Judaism as a whole could be reinforced. Within the family, unlike the outside world, it was possible to breathe freely.[26] The ideology of the return to the family found echoes in the occasional reprints of Daniel Moritz Oppenheim's series of paintings entitled "Pictures of Old Jewish Family Life." These were popular both as a collection and as illustrations in Jewish newspapers.[27]

But were such appeals successful? Could family life really provide emotional stability for the desperate minority? There is certainly evidence that life in the family was seen as the "sole protection against a hostile environment."[28] Nevertheless, a teacher emphasized how the burden facing the Jews had an impact on families: "It would be wrong to say that the parental homes disintegrated, but in many cases home life was cheerless and full of troubles."[29] Because Jews spent more and more evenings at home and conversations focused on the same thing—worries and problems[30]—family life could feel too confining,[31] and family members could take out their stress on those closest to them.[32]

Under these circumstances, Jewish women's roles changed yet again. "Because our lives were narrowing down to the small community and greater emphasis was placed on domestic work, the Jewish woman in Germany took on a new-old domain of chores and duties" that included her family as well as social tasks in the community. She was to have a balancing influence, since "the tension that we have all been living under for a year has made people irritable; the constant struggle against attacks makes them aggressive, intolerant, impatient. They can barely stand being contradicted. They tend to take objective things personally."[33] At the same time, the Jewish press gave mothers the task of converting feelings of inferiority imposed on the children by their surroundings into "true pride."[34] This was particularly hard, since some Jewish children even wanted to become members of the Hitler Youth[35] in order to share in the security of the majority.

Jewish leaders had previously criticized the family for its lack of Jewish-

ness. After 1933, Jewish children were rejected and ostracized in Germany precisely because they were Jews. Yet, according to Jewish observers, the negative impact of the environment was supposed to be "balanced by the doubly positive structure of Jewish life. But that requires two things: *knowledge of Jewish history* (since it is necessary to know the path and goal of something in order to feel totally connected with it) and *knowledge of the Hebrew language*."[36]

Thus the traditional image of women was reaffirmed, even by the League of Jewish Women: "Today the woman is not only the spiritual, but, unfortunately[!], often the material support of the family." Even wage-earning women were supposed to wake their children and tuck them in: "The first and last glance of the day must reconnect the mother-child unity."[37] Employment for women, earlier promoted by the League, was regarded only as a last resort, acceptable for married women only in a crisis.[38] When the League later recommended that men work in the household, it envisioned this primarily as extra support. In the end, the League of Jewish Women sought to modify gender relations as needed but did not intend to make any fundamental changes in gender roles: "Jewish woman, where to? As far as possible into the family and Judaism!"[39]

Relations between parents and their children focused on welfare and protection, but these functions took on greater significance as circumstances changed. If classmates stopped going to school, no one knew if they had moved away or emigrated, or even if they had fled: "We knew too little. I grew up in a time when the world of children was clearly separated from that of the adults. . . . Parents did not talk to children, especially not about their plans and worries."[40] This was an attempt by parents to protect their children from getting depressed, as well as to maintain their own security. The risk was too great that a child might one day say something inappropriate in public and put the whole family in danger.[41] But it was impossible for parents really to protect their children from the hardships of the time.[42]

Jews and Non-Jews in the Same Families

Families in which only one spouse was Jewish had a particular set of problems. The number of these mixed marriages in 1933 has been estimated at 35,000.[43] But as early as 1934 the percentage of mixed marriages among all new marriages clearly declined.[44] Even before the Nuremberg Laws, attempts had been made to outlaw mixed marriages. Starting in the summer of 1933, anyone who married a "non-Aryan" became ineligible for the civil service and could be dismissed from a present position.[45] In November 1933 the law "against abuses in marriage and adoption" declared all marriages null and void that took place for the purpose of changing a name (the law did not mention Jews, though it clearly targeted them). Jews were also prohibited from adopting non-Jewish children on these grounds. Prior to the Nuremberg Laws, in some places the Gestapo noted a downright "*Rassenschande* psychosis,"[46] a phobia that the Nazi Party had stirred up against race defilement. Many Jews had already been

sent to concentration camps on race defilement charges.[47] As early as the spring of 1935, justices of the peace refused to perform marriages between Jews and non-Jews. In July this practice was legally sanctioned by an edict of the Reich Ministry of the Interior.[48]

Those affected felt the threat to mixed marriages right from the start, in 1933, as demonstrated by the attempt to anticipate the feared ban. A non-Jewish lawyer and a Jewish medical student secretly wed in June 1933, although the Jewish mother of the bride made the difficulties clear, especially to the groom. At the time the couple would not have "considered leaving Germany together." Tightening strictures led the woman to convert and have a church wedding in 1935, since her husband thought she would then be "better protected."[49] There are also isolated examples of a non-Jewish partner converting to Judaism during the Nazi period in order to show solidarity.[50] And in some mixed families, inner cohesion grew under the external pressure, just as it did in purely Jewish ones.[51]

The "Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor," passed in 1935, banned both marriage and extramarital sexual relations between Jews and "citizens of German or related blood."[52] It took effect the day after it was promulgated. The law's procedural regulations stipulated down to the last detail which marital partners were permitted for children or grandchildren from mixed marriages. "Half Jews" were allowed to marry Jews, though that meant they would be counted as Jews. They could marry other "half Jews" without any restrictions but required special permission to marry "quarter Jews" or "citizens of German blood." If this permission was denied, and in some places it was across the board, even if the couple already had children,[53] the couples were then regularly monitored by the Gestapo.[54]

Consequently, young people sometimes even avoided friendship with peers out of fear of having to reveal their heritage. A young Jewish woman panicked at her boyfriend's mere mention of getting a marriage permit, which could have been viewed as a show of solidarity with her: "I was almost speechless. 'For God's sake,' I said, '. . . Don't go giving those madmen ideas, or they'll watch us like hawks.' "[55]

The 1935 law was not only limited to *future* relationships but also applied to already existing marriages, which then carried the stigma of "race and national treason." This increased the pressure on the non-Jewish partner. For example, men who had divorced their Jewish wives before the Nuremberg Laws only pro forma, because they could not otherwise have found a job and supported their families, now became guilty of "defiling the race." As punishment, the non-Jewish partner could expect a long jail or prison sentence and the Jewish partner, especially if male, internment in a concentration camp. The revision of the general marriage law in 1938 made it easier for such marriages to be dissolved.

A wide range of reactions and consequences can be illustrated within the circle of friends of the dramatist Fritz Goldberg alone. One person committed suicide "in order to clear the way for his wife and children." Someone else emigrated due to pressure from his wife; but when he wanted her to follow with

their child, she had the marriage annulled on the grounds that she had married under false pretenses and "only through Hitler had she become aware of the difference in worth between the two races." So-called *Mischlinge*, or children of mixed blood, would refer to themselves as being born out of wedlock rather than admit to having a Jewish father. On the other hand, some people who were engaged "remained loyal" despite the ban, which required "incredible courage."[56] Not only was the charge of defiling the race made rather arbitrarily (to harass or even to blackmail someone)[57] but also the courts interpreted the term itself very broadly. Merely touching someone could constitute a crime.[58]

Even if families could stay together, they suffered numerous restrictions, even though only the Jewish member of the family was formally affected.[59] Intensifying persecution forced the Jewish spouse and any children considered *Mischlinge* to be increasingly dependent on the non-Jewish member of the family. Gerhard Beck had been segregated from the rest of his class in 1933 at the Nazi flag ceremony in his school and went on to develop a strong Jewish identity. When celebrating the birthdays of Herzl and Bialik with his friends in the early 1940s, his father charged into the room, "tore the portraits of the two Zionist leaders from the wall, and cut them up with scissors," admonishing them: "As long as you have a Christian mother—who protects us, don't you forget—you will not worship these Zionist idols!"[60] If the non-Jew in the family died or filed for divorce, all protection for the immediate Jewish relations disappeared, and they were threatened with deportation.

A few years after the Nuremberg Laws, categories of mixed marriages were established. For the first time a so-called Führer Decree contained distinctions about how Jews were to be treated after the 1938 pogrom. In the law "on tenancy with Jews," the status of "privileged mixed marriages," meaning a marriage in which the children were not raised as Jews, was mentioned for the first time, though the term was never laid down specifically in law. Mixed marriages in which there were no children and the wife was Jewish also received privileged status. An astute contemporary interpretation of this, including the strategic considerations that might have been behind this distinction, was offered by author Jochen Klepper, who was married to a Jew:

> Great loyalty, if seen through the eyes of the government, for the many important *Mischlinge* in the army and industry; no forced divorce; and transfer of assets is allowed. But truly cast out to the Jews and in much more dire straits than Jewish women with Aryan husbands were the Aryan women married to Jews. Heaped upon them was all the misfortune the rest of us were spared according to the present state of the measures.[61]

Jews in mixed marriages were, relatively speaking, in a better position in that they received regular food coupons and other rationed items, though this could not buy them security. Not only could every measure be revoked at any time but also, more important, in different contexts treatment varied considerably. Registration of Jewish residences, ordered in May 1941 in preparation for

the deportations, also applied to privileged mixed marriages. And even Christian partners in nonprivileged marriages shared the fate of Jews; for example, they had to move into "Jews' houses," sometimes with large families.[62] Individual attempts by non-Jewish women to avoid this measure, by going to the Reich Ministry of the Interior, for example, were to no avail.[63]

The regime exercised a degree of caution with regard to Jews in mixed marriages in order not to stir up resistance to the system among their non-Jewish relatives, since such family connections reached all the way to the leadership of the Nazi Party and the government administration. Nevertheless, non-Jewish relatives were "as a rule" prepared "to accept far-reaching discrimination [of the Jews]."[64] Even within individual families, a range of different responses could be seen. Whereas Gerhard Beck's aunts discreetly helped the family by paying for groceries when they went shopping together at the market, his cousins all became "staunch Nazi women" yet treated their own relatives as an exception. At some point, however, they all simply stopped visiting the Beck family—but never did anything to hurt them.[65]

Conclusion

Traditional criteria for a "suitable match" remained largely valid even in the Weimar era. Family size declined, and during the Nazi period the birth rate dropped dramatically. At the same time, however, most Jews attached increased significance to the family as a (supposedly) protected sphere and nucleus of the community. Emphasis on the family served to reinforce traditional gender roles, despite the rise in female wage earning. Thus there were contradictory developments in family life during the entire period.

21

Education and Vocational Training

Liselotte Stern, the daughter of a horse and grain trader in the Württemberg town of Weikersheim, recalled growing up in the 1920s in a town with only six Jewish families:

> On Christmas day presents were opened in the Protestant church and my brother and I always had a special place there. We were the only two young Jewish children and always got the first packages. . . . When my father was a child there was still a Jewish teacher in Weikersheim, but more and more families moved away and the young people went to the cities when they married. Then Mr. Adler the religion teacher came every Sunday from Edelfingen to give my brother and me lessons in religion, since we were the only Jewish schoolchildren in the town.[1]

These short remarks touch upon the central aspects of the school lives of Jewish children: their relationship to the non-Jewish environment, attending a Jewish or general school, and finally, participating in life within the Jewish community.

Schools, Peers, and Teachers During the Weimar Years

Schooling depended on the parents' aspirations to raise their social status as well as on the ideology of *Bildung*—education and cultivation—that was inextricably linked to the emancipation of German Jewry.[2] Both status and *Bildung* (reflected, for example, in a waiter providing for music lessons for his children)[3] influenced the choice of school. At the beginning of the twentieth century, two-thirds of all Jewish schoolchildren attended a public Gymnasium, or

secondary school.[4] Since these Gymnasia were frequently affiliated with their own private elementary schools, many boys and girls born toward the end of the Imperial era did not attend public school until rather late, sometimes not until they were 10 or 12 years old. A law during the Weimar period finally called for the elimination of the old private elementary schools.[5]

The public elementary schools were still primarily denominational schools. All states in the German Empire that had licensed denominational schools had both Christian and Jewish ones; this was primarily the case in Bavaria and Prussia, as well as Hesse. But these were often one-room schools, many of which were then closed within the course of the Weimar Republic. Thus 85 percent of Jewish children attended non-Jewish schools.[6] Good public Jewish elementary schools existed almost only in the major cities, especially in the Rhine and Ruhr industrial centers, where there was also a relatively strong Eastern European Jewish immigrant population. On the other hand, in places without public denominational schools, some private Jewish schools received state subsidies.[7] About one in five Jewish children in Prussia attended a public Jewish elementary school; if private elementary schools are included in the figure, then one-third of all Jewish children received a Jewish education in the Weimar Republic. Roughly one in eight, or 13 percent, of secondary school children attended the ten Jewish Gymnasia in Germany in 1932–33: two each in Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Berlin, and one each in Breslau, Leipzig, Fürth, and Cologne.[8]

In keeping with their middle-class aspirations, German Jews long strove to be integrated into the general school system, and many viewed Jewish schools as an instrument by which to "Germanize" the children of Eastern European Jewish immigrants. Toward the end of the Weimar Republic some liberals, too, accepted the need for a Jewish school. While more and more Jewish schools had to be closed, at the same time some new ones opened. A Jewish school taught religious knowledge and (limited) Hebrew competency and also gave the pupils their own weekly rhythm, distinguishing them from their peers. In Krefeld, for example, Jewish children had to go to school on Sunday mornings, since they had Saturdays off for the Sabbath.[9] Still, many Jewish schools adjusted to certain non-Jewish school traditions, such as the cardboard cone filled with sweets that children were given on their first day of school, but others held back. While for some receiving the cone of sweets on the first day at the Jewish elementary school or private elementary school was an unforgettable experience, the children of Chief Rabbi Joseph Carlebach had to do without it.[10] It is "not a Jewish custom," he told them, though most of the other first-graders at the Jewish school in Altona did receive a cone of sweets.[11]

Jewish secondary schools presented widely varied religious worldviews—seven were Orthodox, one Conservative, and two Liberal. Accordingly, the principal of the Philanthropin School, a Liberal Jewish high school in Frankfurt, emphasized in 1932 the "explicit examination of Jewish consciousness with respect to the ideals of Greek philosophy, especially Hellenism," since that was the "foundation of the concept of humanity throughout the non-Jewish

Jewish elementary school in Cologne. Courtesy of Bildarchiv Abraham Pisarek.

world." In contrast, the director of the Orthodox Samson Raphael Hirsch School, also in Frankfurt, stressed strict observance of *halachah*, or Jewish law, at his institution.[12] Yet both institutions conveyed secular as well as religious knowledge, and for both of them German culture was a central focus. This is demonstrated by the 1932 graduation ceremony at the high school of the Secessionist Orthodox community in Berlin, in which a Goethe quotation was selected for each graduate and entered onto his graduation certificate.[13]

The combination of Jewish and German values might have shifted somewhat over time. In 1911 the Talmud Torah High School in Hamburg defined its

educational goal as "fostering civic knowledge in connection with a Jewish way of life" and educating "competent Jews, competent Germans, competent Hamburgers";[14] yet the later principal, Carlebach, wanted the curriculum as a whole to be pervaded with Jewish spirit and wanted every Jewish festival to be "an experience for the young souls."[15] The former demand tended to juxtapose civic and Jewish knowledge, satisfying the demand for *Torah im derech eretz*, the maxim of Orthodox education theory. Carlebach, on the other hand, obviously strove to make the Jewish aspect the standard and to merge civic education into it. The Liberal Philanthropin School in Frankfurt had a similar outlook; founded as a Free School, it had pupils from all social classes. Despite their different religious orientations, these schools took an interest in progressive education, and beyond the classroom they offered extracurricular clubs, athletics, and other events encouraging the students to develop a feeling of community.[16]

In the "general schools"—the few nondenominational and many denominational elementary schools, as well as the largely mixed-denomination secondary schools—some differences distinguished Jewish students from the others. First, for the few Orthodox students there was the issue of writing on the Sabbath. Consideration was often—in Bavaria almost always—shown in this regard.[17] In some places Jews were generally excused from school on Saturdays with the obligation to make up the work.[18] Religious instruction served to separate out Jewish students in several ways; first, when most children left the classroom to attend religious lessons held during the school hours, Jews stayed behind, and second, Jewish religious instruction was often held after school. Only if a teacher was hired for that express purpose in the general schools (as was frequently the case in Prussia and Bavaria) could lessons take place parallel to other classes. Otherwise, Jewish students had a free period, but they lost a portion of their free time in the afternoon. Some also participated in the Christian religious instruction, or were given something else to do while sitting at the back of the classroom, as was Lotte Schloss. Once, she heard anti-Jewish remarks, and her protest brought an apology from the teacher, which was even delivered to her parents by a member of the consistory.[19]

The conduct of the Christian students was more significant. The perceptions by Jews reflected in later reports were dependent not only on location but also experiences of exclusion they had in later years. Wolfgang Roth recalled: "In our class there were six Jews among the twenty-five boys, but that didn't make any difference." In 1933 in Vienna, however, he gradually noticed "that I was a Jew—that was served to me in Vienna on a silver platter—something I never felt in Berlin."[20]

On the other hand, antisemitic incidents occurred regularly at schools in the early years of the Weimar Republic. In Munich as well as in the more liberal, cosmopolitan Hamburg, 10-year-olds distributed hate-filled flyers of the German-Völkisch Defense and Offense League (Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund).[21] And in Berlin, Hans-Joachim Schwersenz reported about this time: "Hardly a day went by that we weren't bothered by our schoolmates.

They constantly teased and mocked us." Yet his recollections were tempered by other kinds of ostracism and exclusion, as on a visit to Bavaria: "One day boys were throwing stones at me and insulting me. I thought of course they were referring to Jews. No way! There they meant: 'You Prussian pig!' "[22] But by the end of the Weimar period the baiting of Jews had taken on a new quality and strength.[23]

Incidents outside of school reinforced the positive and negative school experiences. Like young Schwersenz in Berlin-Wilmersdorf, some Jewish children found their playmates among their Christian neighbors.[24] However, some Christian families did not let their children play with Jewish children.[25] On the way to school there were "fights between Christian and Jewish children that were triggered by antisemitic comments and physical attacks. I always dreaded the way to school."[26] There were even fights between students from Jewish schools and nearby Christian ones.[27] The same child could have contradictory experiences, being "treated normally" in elementary school and attacked as a Jew on the streets.[28]

It is virtually impossible to say what behavior toward Jewish children was typical and what was atypical. In addition, differences must be taken into account with respect not only to place but also time. Defamation and exclusion were greater in the beginning and end of the Weimar Republic and weaker in the middle years. The behavior of children toward their Jewish peers thus fluctuated with the development and strength of antisemitism in general.

It is, however, conspicuous that Jews stress their teachers' proper behavior toward them, even teachers with antisemitic attitudes.[29] In this regard there might have been differences depending on the type of school. The following observation by a Jewish teacher emphasizes the position of Jews on the faculty; his positive assessment is occasionally also confirmed with reference to protecting Jewish students from antisemitic attacks.[30]

> German elementary school teachers of the last decades of the previous century and the first of this one were definitely liberally and democratically minded; we Jewish teachers were self-evident members of the local and state teachers associations as regular members and often even as board members. The university-educated secondary school teachers, on the other hand, were by and large reactionary, though in Frankfurt there were in fact some Jews in the Philologist Association. The official status of Jewish religious instructors on the faculty of the public schools varied considerably. In some we were treated totally as equals, especially with regard to giving grades and participating in the exams. In some schools, however, especially the Gymnasia, we were excluded from such important decisions.[31]

State education and school policies, which aimed increasingly at removing Jewish pupils from the general schools, represent only one of several fundamental burdens experienced during the Nazi regime. Others stemmed from the actions of teachers and schoolmates.

Outwardly at least, official policies toward Jewish students were initially ambivalent. The Reich Ministry of the Interior, as well as the responsible ministries in Baden and Prussia, reconfirmed in 1934 that consideration was to be shown for the Sabbath and the Jewish holidays. However, these edicts now contained a clause saying that schools were not responsible for any consequences resulting from missing school and that the curriculum would not be adapted in response to the needs of absent students.[32] The common, widespread solution—for observant students to go to school but not write—was then officially prohibited, "and it became compulsory to write. Nevertheless, my son's teachers [at a Munich high school (Realgymnasium)] responded to my request by tacitly allowing my son to refrain from writing."[33] True tolerance of Jewish religious laws was now only possible if a teacher consciously deviated from the regulations.[34]

At first Jewish public school pupils were treated in an ambivalent manner. Authorities in Baden, for example, instructed school principals on numerous occasions in 1933 to protect the Jews from abuse and attacks by their schoolmates.[35] On the other hand, starting in 1934 in many places Jewish students were already segregated into special classes. This obviously satisfied the interests of both the Nazis and the Jewish Community, each of which is listed in different sources as the initiator of the measure.[36] In Munich, a majority of Jewish parents had expressed their approval in February 1934 for their children to be taught in a separate school, and then in 1936 city school authorities prohibited Jewish children from attending public elementary schools.[37] This left only elementary schools run by the Jewish Community or private instruction as options.

The Reich Ministry for Education and Instruction issued a general initiative on the separation of Jewish and non-Jewish pupils in 1935, only a few days before the Nuremberg Laws were promulgated. The Ministry requested proposals from the subordinate offices as to what should be done with Jewish elementary school children.[38] As of 1937 there were more and more initiatives for segregation in various regions, and in July the establishment of combined classes or special schools for Jews—whenever this was possible without any additional burden—was "urged" of the public funding authority for compulsory public schools. Wherever such special facilities existed, "attendance was mandatory" for Jewish students.[39] This did not happen everywhere, such as in Bremen, where there were too few students as well as too few Jewish, or "*Mischling*," teachers needed for such schools.[40] After the November Pogrom, various principals expelled Jewish children from their schools on their own authority, but on November 15, 1938, Jewish children were banned once and for all from attending general schools, because, according to an education journal, "after the dastardly murder in Paris . . . surely no German teacher . . . could be expected" to teach them.[41]

The experience of Jewish children on the streets and in school had long driven them toward Jewish schools. Abuse and harassment on the way to

school, already observed in the latter years of the Weimar Republic, intensified up to the start of the deportations.[42] In hopes of avoiding the attacks, for example, a young girl in Hanau scratched off her name from the metal plate on her new schoolbag "so no one would notice that I am a Jewish child."[43] And a young boy in Hamburg wanted to be a girl, so the others would not recognize him as a Jew (since he was circumcised).[44] The children had already internalized the "principle of remaining inconspicuous."[45] They were also taught this in the Jewish schools. The principal of a private school in the Grunewald area of Berlin reported: "I put all my pride into having our pupils not be outwardly conspicuous at all."[46] Yet ultimately, efforts to be inconspicuous turned into fear: "Even if we didn't talk about it, we sensed that people could tell that we were Jewish and possibly consider us fair game."[47]

In the general schools there was at best a neutral atmosphere in which the pupils were treated "correctly," though they perceived this as a sign that they did not belong.[48] Some classes had special benches for Jews.[49] Frequently, their achievements were not assessed adequately; the authorities even pressured teachers not to give Jews and "non-Aryans" the best grades. If teachers insisted, the grades were no longer announced in class.[50] Jews were also denied sports awards; Gerhard Beck was the final runner in a relay race at his school sports festival in 1934 and was the first to cross the finish line, but he was not allowed to stand on the victory platform with his team.[51] The Nazi salute also brought complications, since views as to whether Jewish students had to give the salute or whether they were not allowed to give it varied from place to place and case to case.[52] A prime example of Nazi behavior—the song with the refrain "When Jew blood spurts from the knife, then things are getting even better"—might even be sung when a Jewish child was hurt.[53] Explicit reports of having been spared hearing the song also speak for how widespread it generally was.[54] Gerhard Beck's experience shows the ubiquitous effect of antisemitic propaganda on children and how they took it out on their classmates: "Up to that time I had been one of the well-liked pupils. I was always in a good mood, lively, and funny. Then all of a sudden strange things started happening. 'Herr Teacher, can I sit somewhere else? Gerhard stinks like sweaty Jewish feet!' "[55]

However, several reports—from teachers as well as students—suggest that anti-Jewish behavior varied greatly in extent and intensity in boys' and girls' schools. Girls reported less harassment, but persecution continued. The efforts of a mathematics teacher at the Munich girls' high school to be fair and discerning in his report brings out the increasing distress all the more clearly. For example, comments that Jewish girls participated in *self*-organized student activities tacitly implies that they had already been excluded from *official* school activities:

> There was a smaller or larger group of girls in each class who were antagonistic to their Jewish classmates and tried to isolate them and cut them off from all contact with Aryan classmates. These were generally children of Party members. . . . The antisemitic influence finally got to be so strong in 1937–38 that in many classes the Jewish girls spent all

> their time amongst themselves. This fact led many Jewish parents to take their children out of the school. Especially in the higher grades, however, some girls did not let all the propaganda affect their behavior toward their Jewish classmates and they maintained their earlier friendships. By and large the situation of the Jewish girls at our school, in comparison with other schools, especially the boys' schools, could be regarded as tolerable.[56]

Tom Angress reported that although he felt he had suffered less harassment than Jewish children elsewhere, anticipating possible remarks or attacks kept him anxious:

> Every school day began with apprehension that some classmate or teacher could say something humiliating to or about me that would hurt, but which I would have to ignore. Even when a classmate recited, seemingly into the air, a rhyme by Wilhelm Busch such as . . . "That's how Shmulie Schivelbeiner is, (But our kind is better)," it was enough to totally rattle me inside; luckily I had learned not to show any feelings outwardly.[57]

Private contacts or friendships between Jewish and non-Jewish classmates were usually broken off, even when they had been commonplace.[58] On the other hand, a schoolboy might never hear "a word against the Jews" from his classmates, who, at one point, totally disconcerted an openly antisemitic teacher by criticizing his comment that it was "as loud as a Jew school [synagogue] here."[59]

Teachers usually treated their Jewish pupils in a formal, correct manner, though the range varied greatly from harassment to active assistance. Thus the Munich mathematics teacher reported of a "still rather young teacher who expressed her antisemitism in a virtually sadistic way," though he also added that most teachers tried to remain objective and saved the Jewish children from being tormented.[60] Perhaps the worst thing a child could experience was to be rejected for being Jewish by a loved and admired teacher. After he changed to the Talmud Torah school, a young Hamburg boy visited his former teacher, to whom he was very attached. He came back ecstatic. But the next time the teacher did not have any time; and a letter remained unanswered. The father, also a teacher, reported: "we met him on a walk, but he hardly responded to our greeting."[61]

Some students found a particular teacher to be especially helpful in these times. When in 1933 a classmate told Lotte Schloss that she no longer belonged, it was a German nationalist, or even *völkisch*, teacher who comforted her. He had lost all respect for the Nazis since even in mathematics they "bent the truth."[62] Nonetheless, it is the highlighting of such positive examples that suggests how abandoned the schoolchildren generally felt.

From the outset, the Nazis tried to limit admission to secondary schools. The April 1933 "Law against the Overcrowding of German Schools and Universities" permitted a fixed percentage of Jewish enrollment everywhere, regard-

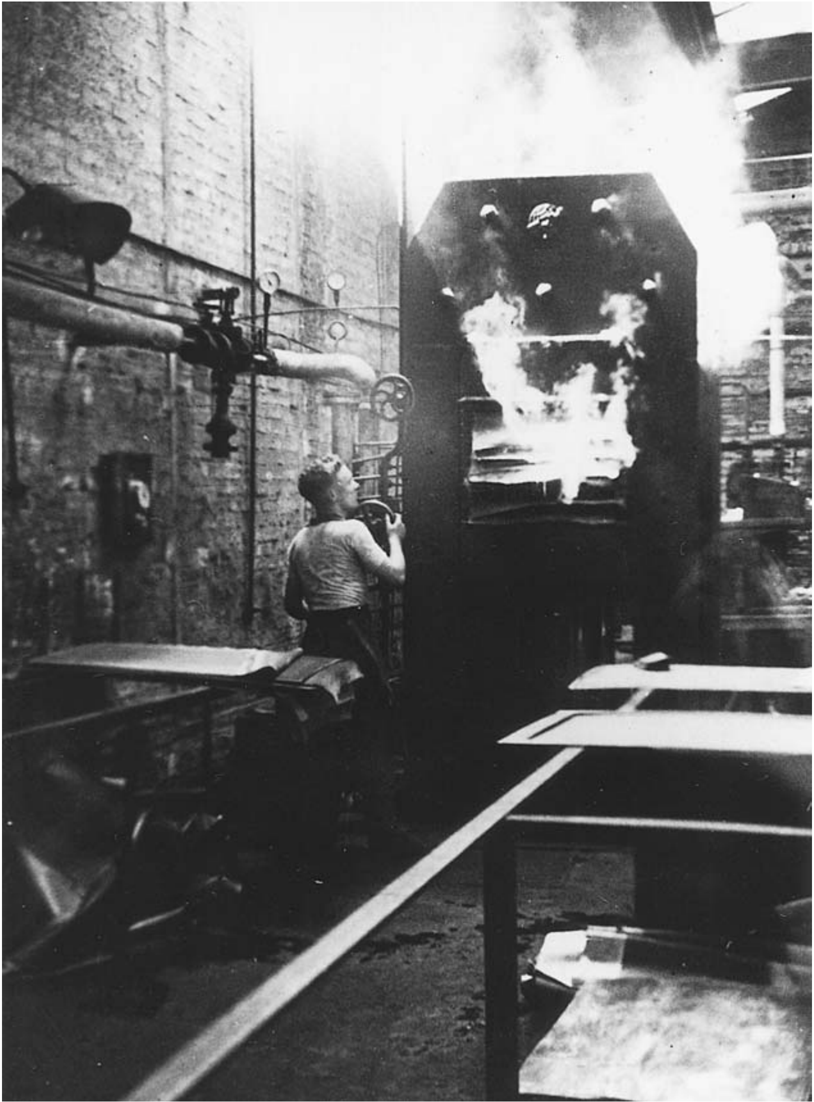
less of the respective share of Jews in the population at large. Whether in Berlin, where Jews made up 3.8 percent of the population, or in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, where only 0.1 percent of the population was Jewish, new enrollment by Jews in secondary schools was not allowed to exceed 1.5 percent, and existing enrollment was to be reduced to 5 percent. This quota did not yet apply to children of foreigners and World War I soldiers who fought at the front (or children with one "Aryan" parent or two "Aryan" grandparents). Although these exceptions pertained to a majority of the Jewish schoolchildren, the proportion of Jews in secondary schools dropped rapidly anyway.

One reason for this was the elimination of reduced school fees for Jews. This had already been enforced in municipal schools in Berlin and Munich in 1933; in Baden reduced fees were limited to a maximum of 5 percent of the "non-Aryan" pupils, but in 1934 Baden and Prussia totally eliminated fee reduction and exemption for Jews. In these places exceptions were also no longer permitted for former frontline soldiers. Only the reduction for siblings was usually still granted.[63] There are, however, isolated examples of exceptions to official policy. A school principal, for example, put aside part of the school fees for a gifted pupil from a special fund.[64] Doubtless some Jews had difficulty paying the school fees as a result of hardship in their businesses or careers. As detailed studies for Württemberg show, however, neither limited enrollment nor finances were decisive in the drop in Jewish enrollment at secondary schools. Instead, more than half of the students (58 percent) bowed to the pressure of the hostile atmosphere in the school itself.[65] Finally, a decree by the Reich Ministry of the Interior in April 1934 further limited Jewish access. Private schools had to be included when calculating the proportion of Jewish students in a certain area, and the opening of new Jewish schools (with the exception of elementary and vocational schools preparing students for emigration) was prohibited.[66] Not only did the Nazis want to segregate Jewish children by banning them from public schools, but they also aimed to lower their level of education.

The Jewish School System

The school system set up by the Jewish Communities and relief organizations helped elementary school students in major sections of Germany avoid antisemitic attacks. For more advanced students, however, relief was available only in the major cities where such institutions already existed or where general institutions had been converted to Jewish ones since 1933.

The rapid growth of the Jewish school system can be seen with respect to Baden, where there was only one Jewish school in 1933 (in Karlsruhe). Through state and Jewish efforts, a series of schools were added: in Freiburg, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Pforzheim, Bruchsal, and Emmendingen.[67] Of course, sometimes it was precisely where Jews were ostracized the most—in the small communities—that no schools could be established, since there were not enough Jewish children in the town.[68] And when they finally were set up,



Jewish trade school in Cologne: metal workshop with furnace. A two-year training course followed a one-year general instruction course. Courtesy of NS-Dokumentationszentrum Köln.

sometimes not until after 1938, emigration caused them to shrink quickly into one-room schoolhouses.[69]

Discrimination and persecution also brought about changes in existing schools. In Hamburg's Orthodox schools, it led to coeducation.[70] In a series of major cities, the elementary schools, previously going up to eighth grade, were extended to include ninth grade. This year, intended to provide in-depth Jew-

ish and general education, included practical subjects (such as wood and metal shop classes, home economics, stenography) to prepare students for vocational training and emigration. On the one hand, this provided some compensation for the higher education to which many no longer had access, and on the other hand, it was a response to the dilemma of Jewish children who could not find an apprenticeship position but were too young to emigrate. At the same time this ninth year took up an educational idea from the late Weimar Republic: the introduction of a special transitional year.[71] With its practical focus, this was an alternative to the "pre-apprenticeship" that targeted 14-year-olds who were tired of going to school but not tired of learning and working. Since the necessary equipment and machinery made this especially costly, it remained an option only for a few larger communities.[72]

Educational aims also changed gradually. Julius Stern, a member of the school department of the Central Organization of German Jews (RV), had experience in Jewish elementary schools. In 1935 he noted "that today almost all circles of German Jewry have admitted that the goal of Jewish education must determine the orientation and content of Jewish schoolwork." Despite ideological differences, he saw agreement on certain fundamental aspects:

> Jewish education at this point in time means making young people familiar with the history of their community, the language of their people, the specific achievements of their religion, the problems of their present existence, and finally, it means preparation for a Jewish life in Palestine or in another country, irrespective of the maintenance of European or German cultural assets.[73]

Liberal, Reform-oriented secondary schools such as the Frankfurt Philanthropin also integrated Judaism more deliberately into the curriculum in the 1930s than had previously been the case, and introduced Hebrew. Yet German culture remained an important part of the curriculum in all Jewish schools.[74] In a certain way, these schools were freer than the Nazi ones in preserving German culture: "The reading of Goethe's *Egmont* in a higher grade of the Jewish school not only contradicted the policy of excluding Jews from German culture but the very idea of the play was irreconcilable with Nazi oppression . . ."[75]

Jewish elements in the curriculum took on greater weight. This is especially apparent from the guidelines of the Central Organization for the curriculum in Jewish elementary schools. The 1934 guidelines began with the programmatic sentence "The Jewish school is marked especially by the twofold basic experience that all Jewish children living in Germany carry within them: the Jewish and the German." In contrast, the revised version of 1937 began by saying that the school is pervaded with "Jewish spirit."[76] In this atmosphere, and having been rejected by their surroundings, the children themselves began taking their Judaism very seriously. In a report on the "foolish youthful excesses" of his charges, the director of the girls' elementary school of the Berlin Jewish Community illustrates this point. The children wanted to sing only Hebrew or Yiddish songs. "If they heard about Mozart, they asked, 'Was he Jew-

ish?' When our music teacher started working on Bach's *Peasant Cantata* a few months ago, she faced resistance that suddenly disappeared when someone said that in an orchard in Palestine a leader was welcomed with the Bach cantata."[77]

It was a "precept of self-respect" for Jewish schools to continue using teaching materials from the Weimar Republic, and the central school administration complied with these wishes.[78] However, teachers were required to teach "race studies" (*Rassenkunde*), a subject whose total lack of scientific underpinning was often revealed in the public schools when a guest lecturer selected a Jewish child as a prime example of the "Aryan race." Memoirs offer countless reports of this. In the Jewish schools, too, the "general" textbooks were compulsory for this subject, but they were apparently not used[79] because they discussed the alleged danger of racial mixing due to the "subversive influence [of the Jews] on the national body."[80] Only a few articles from that time exist on "Race Studies" at Jewish schools; recollections of former schoolchildren do not mention the subject. The way "Race Studies" were dealt with suggests a general practice in Jewish schools in the 1930s: when teachers taught unacceptable or even banned subjects, they had to be prepared to switch to a subject from the approved curriculum in case of a sudden inspection.[81] The children grasped such situations immediately: "If, for example, we were talking about the development of efforts to build up Eretz Israel, then they asked us instead about seed development in carrots."[82]

In addition to the mandate of general and Jewish education at Jewish schools, in the 1930s they also took on new tasks demanded by the changed circumstances. The schools prepared students for emigration and compensated for the restrictions and hurt feelings the Jewish children suffered. Elementary schools supplemented the curriculum with foreign languages and practical craft skills as well as Palestine studies. Musical plays, for example, were intended to give the children courage and to prepare them for emigration. A play performed in 1933 in the Carolinenstrasse girls' school in Hamburg ended with: "Lights out! Hurray! The dawn is breaking. / With undaunted trust in God! We are emigrating!"[83]

With regard to the first new task, emigration, some worried that schools were serving only to train children in practical matters. Heinz Kellermann wrote an article in the newspaper of the Centralverein (CV) entitled "The End of *Bildung*?" He complained that education had become merely utilitarian. He saw the declining attendance at Gymnasia as a foreboding sign of the leveling down and proletarianization of Jews in Germany, and lamented that very few children learned musical instruments or were familiar with German and Russian classics.[84]

With regard to the second new task, to give emotional support to Jewish children, educators underscored its importance. The director of the Berlin girls' elementary school noted: "The Jewish School must spread the calmness and clarity that is necessary to comfort the agitated and unsettled children." Only then could children gain insight that would support them in facing life's

difficult struggle.[85] Even teachers who had come from families whose Jewishness had been deemphasized now wanted to instill in students the knowledge they needed to maintain a positive attitude.[86]

The Jewish schools succeeded in this task despite the great fluctuation that came with internal migration and emigration. In many cases, the children themselves wanted to change to Jewish schools.[87] Various children within the same family might respond differently, depending on age and previous experiences. One son of the physician Hermann Pineas, for example, was in the hospital on January 30, 1933, "where he suffered so terribly as a Jew among those around him in the children's ward that he was put in a separate room without his even asking." The child had already suffered as a Jew in 1932 when he had stayed in a vacation camp, though he had said nothing at the time. Suddenly,

> he pressured us to transfer him to a Jewish school, which we did for his sake. Hanno, on the other hand, had a more carefree spirit and thicker skin; he continued going to the French Gymnasium and was the last of the Jews to leave on November 11, 1938, after the principal had called us to say that after the burning of the synagogue it would be best not to send him to school anymore, about which he was very sorry.[88]

Gerhard Beck met with resistance from his gentile mother and Austrian-Jewish father when he wanted to leave the Gymnasium, especially when he suggested the Jewish secondary school: "My father was appalled. Is that why he abandoned the Yiddish of his family and became a good Prussian? So his son could run to the 'Jewish school'? No way."[89] Not until Beck was denied his medal at the sports festival did his parents concede.[90]

Recollections of the time, both by students and teachers, about the Jewish schools are on the whole positive.[91] Traditionally a site of discipline, school became a place where they had some freedom. It was

> ultimately the only place that children could make noise and laugh; at home they were no longer allowed to and certainly not on the street. Where could children let off steam and romp about? Only in school and it was often very difficult to let the children have fun . . . and demand the necessary discipline especially during recess.

They also had to be increasingly considerate of the non-Jewish neighbors.[92]

Jewish schools had traditionally hired not only Jewish but also Christian teachers. Some of them left the Jewish institutions right away in 1933.[93] This was not a general rule, so even in the Talmud Torah School Jewish children were not completely shielded from antisemitism.[94] Sometimes Jewish schools that could not find Jewish teachers were assigned unemployed, recently trained teachers in the civil service. One of these greeted his potential principal by clicking together his heels and spouting "Heil Hitler."[95]

Just as individual families were often forced to move, so too were students and their schools. This was a consequence of the shrinking numbers of students due to emigration. Of the 35 pupils who started together in one class

in April 1939, only 14 remained in August.[96] Even when consolidated, some schools ultimately had to relinquish their space at the behest of the authorities. Above and beyond their specific problems, the Jewish schools suffered under the general circumstances of the time. Once the war started, lessons were interrupted "until further notice"; later, they were repeatedly cancelled due to intense cold.[97] In the spring of 1941, the Berlin Jewish Community had to lay off 100 of their 230 teachers.[98] Starting on July 1, 1942, the Central Association of Jews in Germany (RVe) was ordered to close all schools, and teachers were not even allowed to continue to teach unpaid.[99]

Jews were forced out of higher education much faster than they were from secondary schools. The same quotas applied here as for high schools, but even new registrations for students for the 1933 summer semester were considered invalid due to the stipulations of the "overcrowding" law.[100] In addition, Jews were denied scholarships and fee reductions unless their fathers had fought on the front lines in World War I. All in all, Jewish students faced three kinds of pressure: discrimination in their studies and later in starting a career; exclusion from the "student body," denial of all social privileges, and the ban on student associations; and finally, antisemitic harassment in the press and in academia.[101] During the first few months of Nazi rule, Jewish students suffered numerous attacks. The number of Jewish university students dropped rapidly; in Heidelberg, for example, their registration went down 60 percent in the winter semester of 1933–34. In all subsequent semesters the number of "non-Aryan" students registered was even below the permissible quota.[102] In view of these difficulties, the increasingly attractive thought of emigrating and the fact that practical trade skills were in greater demand abroad caused many Jews to drop out of the university or not even to start.[103] Those completing their academic studies were usually banned from practicing their professions anyway.

Their rapid exclusion from general and higher education effected a change in the orientation of the younger generation. Ludwig Ferdinand Meyer, director of the Berlin Children's Hospital and an associate professor at the university, declared in 1934 that very few would achieve social advancement—a common goal of Jewish parents. The younger generation would be in a far worse situation materially compared to their ancestors. But, he continued, they would probably have a greater feeling of "inner happiness": "The next generation will not have the uncertainty and ambiguity that has accompanied us through life and has often made us ambivalent." He said that when he was young, Jews often hid their Jewishness. But being raised to be "true, positive, harmonious personalities," which previously had been possible with the help of purely German cultural ideals, now depended on "conveying *Jewish* spiritual and emotional values." Thus parents first had to teach themselves to re-create their "own cultural milieu."[104] Along with schools, youth organizations affirmed their Judaism: "School in the morning and youth organization in the afternoon filled the day, influenced the children in similar ways so that they forgot more and more what happened outside; they lived as if on an island. An autonomous Jewish life had become a reality."[105]

Conclusion

While Jewish education and career choices had traditionally aimed toward social advancement and integration into society as a whole, toward the end of the Weimar Republic the Jewish school system became an institution of protection against antisemitism and of strengthening Jewish consciousness. As the Nazis blocked this advancement by limiting access to secondary schools and higher education and strove to lower the Jewish level of education, Jews turned more toward their own history and culture, while preparing for emigration and also attempting not to lose sight of "general" history and culture.

22

Career and Employment

The two major economic crises of the Weimar Republic, the inflation at the beginning and the Depression at the end, accelerated the stagnation and economic decline that had already begun before World War I. As early as 1933, a social worker predicted that German Jews would experience such grave restrictions in their "economic sphere" that their standard of living would be reduced to the point of ending their "middle-class existence."[1] Sadly, this prediction came true, with the onslaught of discrimination, boycotts, and ultimately "Aryanization"—a euphemism for the Nazi expropriation of Jews.

Jewish Businesses and Work in the Weimar Republic

In the Weimar Republic, Jews active in trade and commerce made up 61 percent of all wage earners. The next largest group, 24 percent, worked in industry and the trades; and members of the civil service and independent professionals amounted to almost 10 percent. Moreover, the percentage of those who were "independent without an occupation," that is, those who lived from pensions, savings, or the like, was significantly higher among Jews than in the population at large; the figure was 15 percent in 1925 and even 20 percent in 1933.[2] However, when these figures are compared with those for groups in similar living situations—essentially urban residents—rather than with the total German population, Jewish occupational structures more closely resemble those of the general population.

Jews' concentration in trade and commerce corresponded to the higher percentage of Jews who were self-employed. This status, independent of an employer, was the only way for some Jews to observe religious law. The long

tradition and the independence associated with trade also influenced the prestige associated with the profession. Jewish career counseling even saw the need "to make a stand against a view widespread in Jewish circles that every young Jew was born to be a salesman and that a business career had higher social status and was economically more promising than other fields."[3]

Even within commerce and sales, there were different levels of prestige. The traditional focuses were in textiles and secondhand and metal goods, but Jews were active in a large number of fields. Especially in rural areas, they performed an important intermediary function, trading farm products and livestock. Some non-Jews even felt forced to make allowances for the Jewish Sabbath. The farm product exchange that was founded in Würzburg in 1921 introduced a second trading day, in addition to Saturday, in 1922.[4] Some cattle traders also had small farms—though these were not always run by the owner[5]—where they could diversify their business to include slaughtering animals, producing sausage goods, tanning leather, and trading furs and skin.[6] Trading in cattle usually passed down from father to son (or son-in-law) along with the business. This is why in the Weimar Republic there were still cattle and produce traders who had never received modern commercial training, though they did have considerable practical experience, while others had been specially trained in a nonfamily business.[7] In either case they continued to trade with farmers in the traditional way, relying on verbal agreements rather than written contracts. They often also advised customers on other financial matters. Some livestock traders ran their businesses with employees, such as a farmhand and a bookkeeper, perhaps also a chauffeur.[8] During the Weimar period, some were even able to expand their businesses. But the profession was not very respected within the Jewish community. Even a wealthy cattle trader could provoke a horrified outcry when asking for the hand of a daughter of the Jewish middle classes: "What! A butcher, and a village?"[9]

Jews were largely members of the middle classes, usually owners of small and midsized businesses. Like the rest of the middle class, they were hit especially hard by the inflation, since the currency devaluation essentially swallowed up all of their assets not invested in commodities, even before the hyperinflation of 1923. Savings of 50,000 Marks from the prewar period, which at the time provided sufficient old age security, corresponded to only 5,000 Gold Marks in 1920; by mid-1922 it was worth only 500 Gold Marks, and by early 1923 only 20.[10]

Consequently, a considerable segment of the Jewish middle class became impoverished and suddenly dependent on the support of the state or the Jewish Community. Single women living on small pensions were especially hard hit, but even a businessman from Würzburg who in 1921 still had over 40,000 Marks in assets was subsisting on only a meager pension when he died in September 1923.[11] The actual number of poor was certainly much higher than the number of relief recipients recorded by the Jewish Community, since many were too proud to admit to such a downward slide. Many perceived themselves as having been "catapulted out of a secure way of life."[12]

Under these circumstances, many were not able to retire at all, and others

started working again at an advanced age. A former owner of a fashion and linen shop retired in 1920 at 72 and lived from his savings; as a result of the inflation he received only a minimal pension and became a "Reich relief recipient," but he later went back to selling textiles, which he was still doing as an 83-year-old.[13] Others helped themselves by giving up part of their apartments: "Residents of the finest neighborhoods now had to rent out rooms."[14]

Business people who stuck to their traditional practices as an indication of their morality experienced large losses. Only those who could adapt to the new situation and develop new methods of payment when prices often rose many times over from morning to afternoon managed to stay afloat. Families of such businessmen were nevertheless also affected by the inflation and shared the same experience as their non-Jewish neighbors.[15] On the other hand, a small number of people, especially those with international contacts, were able to obtain foreign currencies and real estate at low prices. And for those lacking any scruples, considerable profits could be made through speculation.[16] This was not typical for Jewish businessmen as a whole, however.

For independent professionals, the devaluation of their income could have much more serious consequences than for blue-collar workers and salaried employees. The fees for physicians were still paid out quarterly by the medical insurance funds, and even for lawyers, the "invoice amount dwindled to almost nothing" by the time the payment was made. "Lawyers and some other strata of the population receive a tenth of their prewar income, but they have to pay double the old prices for their groceries," noted Paul Mühsam, a jurist and writer from Görlitz, on the day of the currency reform.[17]

By the mid-1920s the purchasing power of Jews had already decreased, although it was still above the average of the general population. Then the world economic crisis and Depression toward the end of the Weimar Republic hit both Jewish self-employed and salaried employees especially hard. Within two years, Prussian Jews lost 50 percent of their income.[18] Even earlier, rural traders had occasionally experienced difficulty with farmers who did not keep their verbal agreements, in some cases due to antisemitic propaganda.[19] The Depression provided fertile ground for more such agitation, due to the general decline in demand that was especially drastic in fields filled largely by Jews, such as the clothing industry. Jewish businesses were boycotted, especially in smaller towns, so many stores had to close even before 1933. And since Jews trained and worked predominantly in Jewish businesses—more than two-thirds of all employees in retail businesses—Jewish workers and salaried employees were affected by unemployment earlier and to a greater degree than non-Jews.[20]

In addition, it became increasingly difficult for Jews to find work with non-Jews.[21] And during the economic crisis one could hear criticisms to the effect that Jewish employers did not consider hiring unemployed Jews. In a discussion in Würzburg in early 1933, it was said that some did not "give preference to available Jews" and others "did not want Jewish employees from the outset."[22] A letter to the editor appearing in a Bavarian Jewish newspaper in 1927 complained of the difficulty Jews had finding jobs, citing cases in which

the Jews were rejected under a pretext. "Furthermore, there has been an especially drastic example in which the boss posed the question, 'Does the young man look Jewish?' When the answer came in the affirmative, he said, 'Then I won't even consider him, since I don't want my Christian customers to know that my business is a Jewish one.'"[23]

Anyone who observed the Sabbath faced a particularly hard test during the Depression. The Jewish job referral association noted that many

> have been dissuaded from observing this moral postulate. People should not condemn them; instead, they should put themselves in the regrettable situation of those faced with a question of conscience if they are not able to obtain a position in which they have the Sabbath off. Are they to work on the Sabbath or should they and their families be at the mercy of destitution and want?

Consequently the association appealed to Orthodox business owners to offer any new positions to Sabbath observers. The association indicated that prospective employees were willing to make up the time by working at other times, as confirmed by the fact that there were (albeit isolated) religious Jews in public companies, at the electricity works, and the postal service.[24]

In view of all these problems, most Jews did not participate in the "career restructuring" recommended by some among the Jewish leadership and the Jewish press. In fact, they resisted moving out of sales and commerce and shunned agriculture and the trades. Youth career choices indicated changing trends, but this was hardly noticeable in statistics up to 1933.[25] During the Depression it was virtually impossible to implement such retraining. Even earlier, in some places "Christian and Jewish master craftsmen resisted hiring Orthodox apprentices" (though they made up only a small minority of Jewish youth).[26] On top of this came the economic hardship of the employers. For example, not a single Jewish master tradesman in Mannheim hired an apprentice in 1932.[27] In view of the general trend toward industry, getting more Jews to participate in agriculture was a rather hopeless endeavor.[28] Between 1925 and 1933, the only visible change in Jewish occupational structures was a minimal rise in independent professionals from almost 10 percent to over 12 percent.[29] In places where prospects in trade and commerce were worsening, academic professions seemed, despite the noticeable overcrowding, most likely to offer a future with adequate social status, independence, and prestige.[30]

Economic Discrimination and Decline in Nazi Germany

Two turning points took place in the first few months of the Nazi regime: the boycott of Jewish stores on April 1, 1933, and the exclusion of Jews from the civil service through the "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" of April 7. The latter was amended in May to include supplemental regulations for other status groups, and the extension of the term "civil service" to include the postal service, railroads, communal health insurance systems, pro-

fessional associations, unemployment and salaried employees' insurance, miners' guilds, trade guilds, and chambers of commerce followed. Ultimately the law also had a standardizing effect on other branches of the economy. Both the boycott and the professional civil service law raised to a national level and generalized the threats and pressure that Jews had been experiencing in the preceding weeks through local acts of terror and regulations issued by individual German states.

Discrimination in the civil service had actually never ended, though the Weimar Republic initially made some progress toward formal equality. Jews were represented at all levels (including in high positions) but not in numbers corresponding to their level of education. This was accomplished through discrimination by authorities and coworkers,[31] as well as "voluntary" restraint by the Jews themselves. At the Lichtwark School in Hamburg, a teacher was in an environment "free of all prejudice, but caution was nevertheless called for. In the election of the school principal—schools were self-administered in Hamburg—I did not wish to be a candidate. A Jewish principal could be harmful."[32] Toward the end of the Weimar Republic there were again signs that the authorities would further intensify discrimination.[33]

In Baden, the minister of education had ordered leaves of absence on April 5, 1933, for all "members of the Jewish race" for the purpose of "maintaining security and order."[34] With the passage of the civil service law, some of those given a leave of absence were permanently dismissed; others had to be rehired since, according to the law of April 7, the forced retirement of civil servants who were "not of Aryan descent" exempted so-called old officials (who were already in the civil service by August 1, 1914), soldiers who had fought at the front, and those whose fathers or sons were war casualties.[35] This legal expulsion was also accompanied by acts of terror. For example, SA men stormed into a classroom at the girls' high school (Gymnasium) in the West Prussian town of Deutsch-Krone and shouted at the teacher: "You Jew, get out of here right away! You have no right to teach German children!" Although many of the students started screaming and calling out to him, the teacher bowed to the violence and left.[36]

The persecution proceeded in the individual states at varying speeds and with different financial consequences for those affected. In Hamburg, for example, "all civil servants of Jewish descent were eliminated by spring 1934," while soldiers who had fought at the front were not forced out of the civil service elsewhere in Germany until December 31, 1935. Some were "retired" according to "the vague Section 6 of the law to cut back on the administration."[37] Victor Klemperer, who had fought at the front, was forced to retire as early as the end of April 1935, but his professorship was refilled immediately, so his dismissal was obviously not due to economic stringency.[38]

The section of the law requiring that civil servants be "Aryan" and the exceptions for front-line soldiers also applied to the independent professions of physician and lawyer. Here, too, agitation and boycotts preceded the law. Already in late 1930, a doctor had registered complaints about attacks by Nazi physicians who—along with the German-Nationalists in the Berlin city

government—demanded the expulsion of their Jewish colleagues. The official physicians associations remained silent on the issue. Non-Jewish doctors also refused to refer patients to Jewish specialists.[39] The first few weeks of the Nazi regime were marked by local acts of exclusion and terror. The Berlin city administration, for example, had ordered on March 18 that Jewish lawyers and notaries public could no longer work on municipal legal matters.[40] In Frankfurt, attorneys were attacked and beaten bloody, and in several cities court buildings were occupied and Jewish judges and lawyers were taken away.[41]

A regulation of October 1, 1933, assured all licensed lawyers full enjoyment of the rights of the profession, entitling them "to the respect befitting a member of [their] rank and position." "Most of us were so naïve at the time to believe these pretty words and even think this was the beginning of a particularly good time in economic terms," since there was less competition than previously.[42] However, in some directories of lawyers the Jews were marked distinctively, and beginning in 1933 the Berlin justice administration circulated two different directories: a gray one including all licensed lawyers and a brown one from which the names of the Jews were omitted.[43] Julius Streicher, gauleiter of Franconia and publisher of the scandalous newspaper *Stürmer*, gave a speech claiming that "whoever still goes to a Jewish lawyer is a traitor to the people"; the speech was posted not only in the *Stürmer* showcase but also on the court bulletin board, where it was perceived as an official announcement. That intimidated potential clients.[44] Even Jews now preferred to go to non-Jewish lawyers, until that too was prohibited. In court the Jewish lawyers could immediately be recognized through the form of the Nazi salute that was required of them: they had to raise their arm but were not allowed to say the usual words.[45] And lawyers also received personal threats forcing them to renounce their licenses. One attorney in Frankenthal, who had been admitted to the bar in 1901 and had a flourishing practice, was arrested and held in the courthouse by the SA; only after relinquishing his license was he released. He was forced to consent to an "agreement" with the Chamber of Lawyers that made him subordinate to a young Nazi party member who liquidated his business.[46]

The government did not take legislative action against Jewish doctors, nor were they banned from practicing. Instead, regulations revoked their most important economic foundation: their registration with the medical insurance organizations. The criteria were adapted to the civil service law, and the procedure was left to the individual associations of medical insurance physicians, not all of which exercised their right to expel Jewish doctors. As early as July 1933, Jewish doctors lost their patients with substitute health insurance schemes, and private insurance companies reimbursed the fees of Jewish doctors only for their Jewish patients.[47]

In practice, there were parallels to the removal of the attorneys. Patients were deterred, for example, through monitoring by municipal employees and by distributions of flyers.[48] Later, various cities published lists of Jewish physicians that resembled a call to boycott.[49] Forty-five percent of all Jewish doctors in Germany were concentrated in Berlin, and another 30 percent were in other major cities. Jewish doctors were identified as such in the directory of physi-

cians of the Hartmann Association, a group originally founded mainly to give patients with social health insurance the right to choose their own doctors freely. Now it aimed to promote "Aryan" doctors' economic interests. Non-Jewish patients continued to see Jewish doctors secretly, acknowledging the illegality of the interaction and the further dissociation and alienation from Jews.[50]

In both professions, non-Jewish colleagues, either through their professional associations or individually, helped make it impossible for Jews to practice. For example, the former lawyers' association was disbanded, and in its stead a new National Socialist professional organization was founded that "non-Aryans" could not join. By late July 1933, the Reich Medical Council prohibited business contacts between "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" physicians. Jews were not allowed to stand in for doctors in other practices, nor could they work night duty.[51] The establishment of separate listings in address books in some cities led to a drop in clientele, without any express restriction of free choice of doctor or lawyer.[52]

Some colleagues had no qualms about throwing individuals into despair in order to profit from the situation.[53] The mere accusation that a Jewish doctor had performed an abortion put him or her at risk, even if it was claimed by a patient who herself had been denounced or who was trying to blackmail the doctor. In one case a doctor who was about to emigrate committed suicide while in detention.[54] In another, a colleague advised a physician to leave Germany immediately, while the lawyer who was willing to defend her advised prior to her first hearing with the police: "Madam, I believe you, but to tell you the truth, it is possible that they'll lock you up for months without any hearing. . . . You are Jewish! That's what it's all about!"[55]

Some doctors who remained registered with medical insurance companies, and some who treated only privately insured patients did manage to stay afloat for years; in isolated cases their businesses even thrived.[56] But this was possible to some extent because they were in cities with large Jewish communities where Jews continued to go primarily to Jewish doctors after their regular physicians emigrated or had their registrations revoked. Even in the small town of Apolda in Thuringia, the son of Julius Moses managed to find enough patients.[57] This individual success can be explained by the fact that Rudi Moser's newly established, highly modern radiology practice that charged moderate fees obviously filled a gap. And perhaps in light of his earlier name change, he might not have been known as a Jew. Other doctors developed their own strategies to continue their practices despite all the restrictions, such as setting up private insurance for their patients.[58]

In 1938, all Jewish doctors lost their medical licenses, and Jewish lawyers lost their admission to the bar. The few individuals still allowed to practice, but only for Jewish patients or clients, held the degrading title of "practitioner for the sick" or "counsels for legal advice."[59] This apparent privilege brought with it new problems and even new risks. The obligatory signs with a blue Star of David in a yellow circle led landlords to evict them from their offices because they "would not tolerate such ruination of their buildings since the Aryan ten-

ants would move out."[60] Moreover, the physicians themselves had to make sure they treated only Jews; for their own protection they had to filter out possible non-Jewish agitators.[61]

Jews were also excluded from a number of other professions, either by decree[62] or by introduction of a clause stipulating that only "Aryans" could be members of professional associations affiliated with Nazi organizations.[63] The civil service law (after it was extended to apply to blue-collar workers and salaried employees in the civil service) was replicated in the private sector. One of the major employers in East Westphalia demanded verification of "Aryan" descent from all employees in 1933, and any metalworker who could not present such proof was fired without notice.[64] In Göttingen, when an employee of the Karstadt Corporation was dismissed, he tried to have the decision reversed by referring to the fact that he had fought at the front in World War I.[65] Officially, the government maintained until 1938 that the law requiring "Aryan" status did not apply to jobs in industry,[66] but local employers did not consistently observe the official policy.[67]

In many places Jewish entrepreneurs in private industry were excluded from receiving public contracts early on. Even so-called satisfaction of need certificates, which were issued by local authorities as emergency relief or as aid in acquiring household items when starting a family, could no longer be redeemed in Jewish stores as of March 1934.[68] "The most effective legal means of suppressing Jewish trade activities" up to 1938 was the May 1933 law for the protection of retail trade. It banned the establishment (and takeover, starting at the end of 1934) of retail shops for which no general need existed. That meant that a government concession was de facto necessary, one that the government would be loath to give, a form of "administrative boycott" with respect to Jews and their children (who were thus prevented from taking over a business).[69]

The behavior of customers, suppliers, and competitors was more important than the official framework of laws and regulations.[70] In February and March 1933, Jewish business people were often threatened with smashed storefront windows or with their stores being "cleared out" by the SA. On March 28, the Nazi Party announced a multiday boycott of Jewish businesses throughout Germany in order to counter foreign news reports ("atrocity propaganda") of antisemitic rioting (believing that the boycott would force German Jews to refute them). But the boycott appeals directly before the start of the action proved to be "two-faced, belligerently against the Jews and simultaneously threatening potentially violent criminals." Leaders warned their followers that not a hair on any Jew's head should be harmed, and Party members who got "carried away" with rioting would have "their brown shirts torn off."[71]

The threatened Jews displayed a wide range of reactions to the boycott patrols. A Berlin doctor's presence of mind disarmed the "young lad" who entered her practice asking, "Is this a Jewish business?" She responded ironically, "This is not a business at all, it is a physician's office hours; are you sick?"[72] On the other hand, a sales representative in Breslau noted that even on the preceding days boycott guards and "Nazis" were hanging around in front of a store

"like beasts of prey."[73] There were many varied reactions among Jews, from those who ridiculed the boycotters to those who feared extreme brutality. Moreover, in front of one and the same store there might have been a guard in the morning who referred to his orders with embarrassment and then a zealous, dedicated Nazi on guard in the afternoon.[74]

Reactions among non-Jews were just as diverse. Some of Hertha Nathorff's patients cooperated with the boycott by not showing up for their appointments, and "the *Volk*" stood in front of the defaced and damaged physician's signs "gaping in silence."[75] A reporter for the *Vossische Zeitung* observed in western Berlin that the guards let customers through who said they were Jewish, and that individual non-Jews said they were not paying attention to the boycott. In the southwestern part of the city, "customers simply shoved the SA men aside." But very few customers came at all. "Even for the 'Aryan' store owners it was a business holiday, as if the Berliners had all agreed not to do any shopping on that day." Berliners read Jewish shop owners' explanations and testimonies as to how many years they had fought on the front lines "with interest; they looked with curiosity, even sympathy, at the decorated store owners who stood there defiantly as if the pillory were an honorary rostrum. Hardly any opinions were expressed, but the attitudes of the crowd were largely benevolent, often indifferent, never extremely hostile."[76] As diverse as reports from individual towns[77] and as different as the reactions even in the same place, the overall impression remained that the public neither wholeheartedly supported nor openly opposed the boycott. Most just stood by and watched.

Although many Jews were outraged and hurt, some demonstrated great presence of mind. Walter Tausk, a sales representative from Breslau, for example, pulled out a French company card and managed to enter two stores that had been locked up.[78] The store owners had put on their war decorations to refute the propaganda on the banners that Jews were not Germans. ("Germans! Defend yourselves! Don't buy from Jews!")[79] They displayed a patriotism that seemed misplaced and misguided to later generations but also the will to assert themselves. Nevertheless, the day of the boycott had already had a great impact on the self-image of Jews. It ranged from shame for having considered themselves German and having misinterpreted the Germans, to doubts about their Germanness and turning against those Jews who some considered to blame for antisemitism, to sudden feelings of hatred toward non-Jewish Germans. In practice, this day was largely a demonstration of solidarity among Jews: not only did Mrs. Angress in Berlin go into the notions store herself to buy something, she also sent all her sons there to each buy something for 10 Pfennige.[80]

As much as this day seemed to be a major turning point in the memories of many Jews and in written history, the boycott of Jewish stores neither began nor ended with this countrywide action. It continued to spread. In the state of Braunschweig, schoolchildren were incited by their teacher to prevent adult customers from entering the only Jewish store in the town.[81] An industrial lawyer from Essen and president (until 1936, vice-president) of the Centralverein summed up the experiences as follows.

Richard Stern, wearing his Iron Cross war decoration, in front of his store during April 1933 boycott. Courtesy of NS-Dokumentationszentrum Köln.

> The Jewish business sector was no longer blocked by the SA, but it was definitely boycotted—though not with the same intensity everywhere. The Nazis were not very successful in the cities. In smaller towns, however, the boycott often resulted in such extreme drops in sales that a large number of stores had to close or be liquidated. . . . Painful situations developed because the Nazis got one (or more) employee in every Jewish business of a certain size to act as their contact (informant). . . . They were supposed to—and did so willingly—find something and acted like the real masters of the house.[82]

A recent local study notes a "strategy of fighting a war on many fronts" against Jewish businesses.[83] On the "personnel front," employees were incited against the owner or Jewish coworkers. On the "customer front"—sometimes starting in late 1932—some customers did not pay their bills, and many stopped patronizing Jewish stores. This was partly the result of regulations prohibiting Nazi Party members and municipal employees from shopping at Jewish stores. Often strict controls were not even necessary. To achieve the desired damage to Jewish stores, party members needed only to behave threateningly toward Jews to keep other customers away.[84] In addition, customers were publicly denounced, and lists of "Jew-lovers" or "Jew lackeys" (*Judenknechte*) were posted.[85] This is why Jews reported again and again in their memoirs of loyal customers who still dared to buy from them only secretly, under cover of darkness and using a back entrance.[86] On the "supplier front," supply contracts were cancelled, and business organizations were founded that tried to eliminate Jews at a national level from the economic cycle.[87] On the "bank front," banks cancelled credits and loans. On the "association front," Nazis increasingly permeated trade organizations. On the "press front," newspapers refused to print advertisements for Jews. In some cases this started as early as 1933; in others not until 1935.[88] On the "Party front," the Nazis threatened business owners and customers. There was public agitation, rabble-rousing slogans were painted on stores, and perpetrators did not even shy away from physically assaulting business people and customers and destroying stores.[89]

Jewish cattle traders and butchers were often banned right from the start from entering municipal slaughterhouses, in most cases even before the general ban on kosher slaughtering was introduced. In Freiburg, as the local Nazi newspaper reported, the "Jewish tools of murder," referring to the kosher butchers' knives, were confiscated.[90] Because half of the Jewish population in some villages relied on livestock trading or butchering, small Jewish communities quickly faced impoverishment. Local organizations, as well as the Reich Food Estate, tried specifically to get rid of the Jewish traders of produce and livestock. "Still, a few came at night, to buy or sell a cow, and the old customers managed now and again to buy their meat where they had bought it for many years."[91] In addition to relationships with longtime customers, the more favorable offers made by the "Cattle Jews" also helped them stay in business until 1937 or even 1938, despite antisemitic agitation. An ordinance of January 1937 that required cattle-trading businesses to have a license led to their elimination once and for all.[92]

After downsizing their businesses, moving them into their homes, and switching to traveling sales, those Jews who had not yet given up their businesses often faced various kinds of blackmail. Two owners of a store were arrested because an article in the store window was supposedly mislabeled. In jail they received daily visits from a broker who promised to get them out of jail if they sold him the store and property. And he convinced them; but the selling price barely covered the fine for the improper labeling.[93] In Göttingen two brothers were brought to Gestapo headquarters several times in January 1939, where a lawyer and "Aryanizer" were waiting with contracts of sale that the two

were forced to sign.[94] There were also, albeit more seldom, business transfers that were concluded under fair conditions.[95] Some buyers also concluded temporary consultant contracts with the former owner or manager.[96]

Since most Jewish employees worked in Jewish companies, the elimination of these businesses affected them. In connection with the boycott in 1933, employers had already been repeatedly asked to dismiss their Jewish employees, and they were threatened with repercussions by the Nazi Party or by Nazi managers (*Betriebsräte*). Both non-Jewish and Jewish business people initially "felt obliged to fire Jewish employees in accordance with the boycott regulations." The Centralverein, together with the relevant retail trade councils, achieved "a decisive interpretation of the dismissal issue" that delayed the measure at the last minute,[97] but numerous Jews were nevertheless fired without notice, and the first labor court decisions ruled that "in connection with the national revolution of the German people" this was legal. After the prohibition of Nazi business commissioners in late April and the prohibition of all official intervention in the "self-regulation" of the economy by the minister of commerce,[98] the judicial rulings also changed. Even then, however, only dismissals without notice were deemed unjustified. Employers did not have to rehire the employees but had to continue paying their salaries as if a dismissal *with* notice had taken place.[99]

The firings further increased the number of unemployed. As was not the case in the 1920s, when the population looked to the government for help, Jews could now only look to other Jews for assistance. Hence unemployment became a problem for the isolated and persecuted Jewish community. In the Centralverein newspaper, a laid-off typesetter who had been supporting his children (who were also unemployed) appealed to the Jewish employer: "The hardship facing the Jewish salaried employees and tradesmen fired without notice is tremendous. No one has any savings since there are unemployed in every family to support. Give work and thus bread to these people so hard hit by fate!"[100] The Centralverein also complained in November 1933 that some Jewish business people had "grossly violated their moral obligations to their Jewish employees." The "supposed dilemma" and "external pressure" were often "worse than flimsy" excuses. Under the circumstances, the Centralverein continued, it should be possible to expect that a Jewish employer would take problems and even business setbacks upon himself if the survival of his Jewish staff and their families were at stake. The Centralverein also reprimanded employers who dismissed their employees for looking Jewish, since they were offended by their "name and nose."[101]

Self-Help: Substitute Jobs and Job Retraining

Jews who had lost their positions attempted various substitute activities in order to eke out a livelihood. University graduates became teachers at Jewish schools; some of them were academics but most were educators who had previously taught at general schools.[102] Young doctors took on home nursing

care, organized by the League of Jewish Women's housekeeping program for the elderly and for families whose housewife was sick or deceased. They were referred through the Doctor's Relief Organization, which also assumed all costs above and beyond the actual housekeeping costs.[103]

Members of various occupations worked as sales representatives and magazine vendors.[104] In 1933, 206 people in Königsberg earned a living in this way, "which in view of the antisemitic mood in the countryside was often a desperate endeavor."[105] People who had previously been active in other fields switched to trade and sales, a move partly supported by the Jewish Community.[106] More and more Jews also became active in Jewish organizations that were expanded or even newly established at this time. Thus there were lawyers who became the legal representative of the Centralverein, the manager of a regional Cultural Association (Kulturbund), or the emigration advisor for the Relief Association (Hilfsverein).[107] Some people who had worked in business became employees of the Jewish Communities or assisted rabbis, whose responsibilities grew with the increasing hardship of the Jews.[108]

Still, these alternatives often did not provide sufficient income to live on. Consequently, savings had to be used and perhaps additional means of income sought, such as renting out rooms.[109] Women of various social classes opened guesthouses, which sometimes forced a member of the family to sleep in the kitchen or away from home in order to free up a room.[110] The internal migration, dwindling incomes, and increasing necessity to give up one's own residence thus led to a rise in a type of income that had been relatively uncommon for Jews. This was primarily the case in major cities, where relief organizations and consulates attracted many who intended to arrange their emigration. At the same time, women especially lost this option to earn money in smaller cities:

> In university towns such as Würzburg, Marburg, Giessen, and Göttingen, Jewish women who rented out rooms and owned guesthouses were especially hard hit owing to the virtually total elimination of Jewish college students . . . and the student body's rejection of Jews. In Marburg there had previously been about thirty single women who supported themselves by renting out rooms.

Similar difficulties developed in the spa and resort towns.[111]

Both women and men were affected by the general persecution and expulsion of Jews, whether from trade and commerce, the civil service, or the many fields that modeled their regulations on those of the civil service:

> We Jewish women today have no different fate than that of the Jewish man. We have been touched not only in the domestic and family spheres, but at the workplace, in our careers, in civic and economic rights and options that cost us perhaps more than it did the men, since our rights are not as old; they were not as self-evident and still carried the momentum of memories of the struggle of the women's movement that the Jewish woman was part of.[112]

An example of traditional gender roles at the Gross-Breesen emigration training camps near Breslau set up by the Central Organization of Jews in Germany. Courtesy of Werner T. Angress.

While this last remark refers to the psychological implications, women were also affected more than men in terms of number and substance, especially in the professions. The exceptions hardly applied to women; they could not have fought on the front lines, and because of the late admission of women to German universities they had little chance of already having started work by 1914. Consequently, the majority of female doctors, but only 40 percent of their male colleagues, lost their registration with health insurance companies.[113] Overall, wage earning among Jewish women increased in the 1930s, since male job loss and declining salaries made it necessary for wives to contribute to supporting the family.[114] Although "wage-earning by the woman in addition to the man [was] no longer disdained in principle," it was considered "always only an auxiliary in times of need."[115]

Music performance at the emigration training camp in Gross-Breesen, 1936. Courtesy of Werner T. Angress.

Despite the changing views described here, there were voices in Jewish public opinion demanding that women should work in the household and let men have the positions with Jewish organizations.[116] On the other hand, women found work more easily than men did within the Jewish sector of the economy around 1936–37.[117] This was due, "unfortunately, almost entirely to the lower wages that women earned."[118] As a result, women from the middle class ran into particular difficulty. As so-called contributing dependents, they were affected by the closure of the family business, but advertisements, the employment office, or networking among friends and acquaintances often yielded nothing.[119] Women had to "fight for their positions" in Jewish organizations and Jewish Communities, although they were particularly qualified for them, having specifically chosen caring professions as members of the Youth Movement in the 1920s. In order to assert themselves, Cora Berliner advised them to assume a traditional female attitude: "Restraint; it's better [for women] to suggest their ideas to others in conversations, so they can be implemented, than to strive hell-bent on doing things themselves."[120]

The idea of retraining in a way that would "normalize" the Jewish job structure, that is, make it similar to the general job structure,[121] now met with a positive response from Jews, since they were excluded from traditional careers and had an eye on immigration options in other countries. Yet turning to the trades and agriculture actually required "a retraining of the entire person,

the urbanite."[122] It proved impossible to accommodate Jews in the countryside in the course of overall retraining. Many were moving precisely in the other direction, into the cities, due to antisemitism in rural areas. What originally appeared to be a benefit of retraining turned out to have major drawbacks. Such occupations seemed to offer Jews a "wealth of new relations to non-Jews," but they were totally isolated in their new careers. Moreover, they had to realize that their achievements and attitudes would be attributed to Jewry as a whole. Therefore, an observer saw the double danger that "retrainees" could become exhausted or lose their connection to other Jews.[123]

More than problems concerning surroundings, serious practical problems hindered career retraining. In the fall of 1933, the Centralverein criticized the retraining situation: "Where are apprenticeships for cooks, tailors, hairdressers, etc.? Why are apprenticeship fees still demanded? How should people who have been kicked out of their professions be able to raise such a sum?"[124] Furthermore, failed attempts at retraining quickly made it clear that in addition to finding work and training options, the skills that each individual brought to the job also had to be reviewed. A series of articles entitled "self-reflection toward retraining"[125] and "psyche and retraining"[126] dealt with health prerequisites, athletic training (to strengthen their will and their tolerance of monotony), and mental and psychological dispositions.

Despite these problems, Jewish leaders and the press not only continued to promote career retraining (which in view of emigration definitely made sense) but also idealized it.[127] Generally, the agricultural retraining was essentially reserved for the Zionists, whose pioneer organization (*Hehalutz*) ran about 30 training centers for that purpose in Germany. Of the isolated non-Zionist centers, only the emigration training camp set up by the Central Organization of Jews in Germany (RV) in 1936 in Gross-Breesen (near Breslau) stayed open for more than two years.

The retraining classes offered by the Jewish Communities generally dealt with occupations in the skilled trades. Over the years, several thousand Jews were trained in Berlin in three training workshops for vocations in construction (masons, carpenters, fitters), metalworking (machinists, welders, etc.), and woodworking (joiners, turners, etc.), usually over a period of 9 to 12 months. "Retrainees"—the word "apprentice" seemed unsuitable for adults who had already worked in a career—also received training in Jewish businesses. Moreover, there were courses in "photography, bookbinding, auto mechanics, ceramics, chemistry, show-window decoration, kindergarten teaching, nursing, cosmetics, fashion design, dietary and institutional cooking, weaving, leatherworking, watchmaking, millinery, and still others."[128] The associate director of the Hamburg Jewish Community noted, however, that "the initial enthusiasm for 'retraining' did not last very long. The adults had neither the patience nor the means for proper occupational training."[129]

Young girls were referred to low-prestige domestic work, which, in 1933, was "still seen as something more degrading than office work, sales, or factory work."[130] This gradually changed, however, as it became recognized as a career.[131] Child care received just as little interest, although 30 to 40 percent of

the positions offered were in Jewish families.[132] The League of Jewish Women strongly encouraged household training for girls. Poor job prospects led back to traditional roles, because it was thought that girls who had completed such training had better chances of getting married. The goal of the training was to "lead a simple, Jewish, cultured household" without outside help.[133] At the agricultural training centers, Zionist and non-Zionist ones, young men and women did most of the work together: making hay, harvesting grain and potatoes, caring for the animals. Household tasks, including washing and darning socks, remained a responsibility of the women alone.

The transition to agriculture and the trades by no means signified that Jews would abandon their previous lifestyle. This is illustrated by the lunch table at the Frankfurt vocational training workshops: "The people sit here at tables they built themselves, scoured white and set with good silverware from the house supplies."[134] Similarly, at least the non-Zionist organizations wanted to prevent middle-class children who were learning agriculture to improve their emigration chances from the "danger of becoming peasants [*verbauern*]."[135]

Conclusion

An observer noted: "It was precisely this step by step expulsion expanding month by month, year by year, place to place, from career to career, that brought the danger that many people did not become aware of the Nazis' true goal."[136] Those who took advantage of the exception clauses or could keep afloat with privately insured patients were perhaps more severely hurt in the end than those who were dismissed immediately, since they stayed longer and missed the grace period during which emigration was possible. At the same time, the few who continued to work as "legal consultants" and "caretakers of the sick" symbolized the forced end to a more general development that, even previously, had largely limited Jews to their own circles in their professional and business lives.[137] Not only did a separate economic sector emerge but so too did a closed Jewish way of life, largely cut off from the surrounding society.

23

Religious Practice in the Synagogue and at Home

A revival of Jewish culture in general, and also more specifically in the Jewish Communities and religious life, could already be observed during the Weimar Republic. Max Grünewald, who studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau and then became a rabbi in Mannheim, later recalled that "at that time, critical and creative energies confronted each other, that is, increased assimilation and a decisive turn to Jewishness."[1] Jewish self-reflection and self-assurance after 1933 built upon this foundation.

Jewish Communities

The Jewish Communities, legal entities that embraced all Jews within certain territorial limits, levied taxes on members, and organized Jewish communal and ritual affairs had already attempted to use their own institutions in the pre-Weimar period to satisfy the social needs of their members, including social welfare and funerals. They took on new tasks in the 1920s that became all the more urgent toward the end of the Weimar Republic, especially vocational retraining and economic relief. This meant a heavy financial burden on individual members, especially in smaller communities, since the religious tax there could amount to up to 150 percent of the income tax,[2] whereas the national average was only 20 percent. In view of the out-migration of those who were better off, small Jewish Communities could only survive with subsidies from the regional associations of Jewish Communities.[3]

In addition to professionalization that transformed traditional charity into social work and interest in larger social policy issues, volunteerism in this area, which contemporaries viewed as virtually "essential," also continued to

grow. Even with growing numbers of needy, it was considered important to avoid the "mechanization of human willingness to help" and the "shutting off of the human heart."[4] One Jewish Community newspaper frequently observed "a very close and genuine relationship between helper and those seeking help."[5] This was particularly due to the many women who had always done volunteer work. As neediness spread to a wider circle of social classes, discretion and sensitivity toward those who might feel that welfare was a "violation of self-respect"[6] were even more critical.

The responsibilities of the organized Jewish Communities continued to expand during the Nazi regime. At the same time, their options decreased. The makeup of the Communities and their boards and staff fluctuated due to migration from rural areas to the cities, from there to the larger Jewish centers, and to other countries.[7] Not only did that mean continually training new staff members but also it could sometimes weaken cohesion, since members of the community did not know each other as well as they had before. At the same time the financial capacity of the Communities decreased, since the share of taxpayers and potential donors declined steadily.[8]

Volunteerism and women's participation in social work within the Jewish Communities reached unprecedented proportions. The Jewish press viewed the latter as a substitute for Jewish women's exclusion from general women's organizations. At the same time the press urged women to take on the role of mediator. At meetings they were supposed to be neither "assertive" nor "critical" but were expected to express "the voice of honest balance . . . as if it were their table at home."[9]

Leadership within the Jewish Communities also adapted to the new needs. In Königsberg, for example, the board received special powers of attorney to expand its ability to respond to the tense situation. In Mannheim for the first time the rabbi was elected to the synagogue board.[10] Prior to Jewish community elections, a single, unified party list of candidates was usually agreed on in order to avoid campaigning between groups with contrasting religious and worldviews. This resulted in the elimination of women from Community positions almost everywhere.[11]

Most Jewish Communities responded to the dire situation with a dual strategy of supporting the emigration of younger members while improving the Jewish infrastructure for those who remained.[12] Beyond the conventional facilities, Nazi measures made it necessary, for example, to organize shower and bathing options for Jews of insufficient means who had previously used the showers at the municipal pools.[13] The Jewish Communities also needed community houses or centers for the many courses they offered, as well as for the Jewish clubs that could no longer rent space in private homes or restaurants.[14]

Rabbis also had to take on tasks in addition to their religious functions and educational duties. Now they were also looked to as the last hope, as a helper in all areas of life. Sometimes a rabbi was even asked to help by paying a congregant's rent.[15] In addition, foreign consulates often demanded letters of recommendation from a rabbi. The Berlin rabbi Max Nussbaum held office

hours every day in his apartment, and the line sometimes stretched through the stairwell all the way to the street.[16] The shortage of rabbis posed an even greater problem. There was constant uncertainty about whether or not the authorities would extend a foreign rabbi's residence permit; and a lot of German rabbis emigrated. To some extent the Jewish Communities showed understanding for rabbis who left; when the Göttingen rabbi announced in February 1938 that he was leaving for Jerusalem after the High Holidays in the fall, his congregation accepted the news without bitterness. And no one even considered trying to find a replacement.[17] Elsewhere, in contrast, (Orthodox) Jews were "very indignant . . . that the rabbis, of all people, were the first to turn tail and run. No one can imagine what is going on here and how lost the people are without any rabbinical guidance."[18] In late 1939 in the *Altreich* only 36 rabbis remained active, 12 of whom were in Berlin.[19]

Various measures were taken to compensate for this shortage. District rabbinates were created, serving up to 50 consolidated smaller communities. A Central Community was expanded to serve the surrounding small communities. Their rabbis were responsible for educating the children, carrying out the religious services, adult education, and social work. For these tasks some of them even had motorcycles.[20] Some people were doubtful of this consolidation, and Orthodox Jews demanded first and foremost that services would be held regularly, even if the necessary *minyan*, or prayer quorum of adult males, could not be brought together.[21] The notion of a rabbinical curacy also developed at this time, albeit mostly in larger communities.[22]

In the Weimar Republic there were many smaller Jewish Communities that "never had a rabbi, and the whole service was conducted without any sermon."[23] But in some areas the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith sent weekly emissaries, prayer leaders, and preachers to towns "without teachers or rabbis to offer the attention to religious and spiritual matters that had often been lacking for long periods of time." When the lodges' activities were restricted after 1933, individuals continued them.[24] In addition, starting in the Weimar Republic, the Prussian Association of Jewish Communities sent printed sermons to the smaller communities to be read aloud on the High Holidays.[25] In places where there were not enough adult men for a *minyan*, services were held only on the High Holidays (with the help of Jews from other towns).[26]

Attendance at services initially went down in the Weimar period, and synagogues were full only on the High Holidays.[27] It rose again in the early 1930s in some places,[28] but after the Nazis seized power, more Jews sought out synagogues than ever before. This was observed in small Westphalian communities as well as in cities such as Dortmund, Hamburg, and Berlin. On the evening before the boycott of April 1, 1933, one of the Berlin synagogues had to close its doors an hour before services even started because of overcrowding.[29] Sermons took on special significance as the religious interpretation was often combined with practical information that could no longer be conveyed by any other means. In addition, an attempt was made to counter Nazi propaganda and give Jews a sense of self-respect and even pride in their Judaism. Rabbis often employed legends or allegories that the audience knew how to decode,

or they quoted traditional passages to hint at Nazi persecution.[30] Such caution was necessary, since the Gestapo often watched services and temporary bans on sermons were repeatedly imposed on rabbis in Berlin.[31] This led rabbis to self-censorship in order to protect themselves and ensure that services continued to be held.[32] However, when Leo Baeck responded to Hitler's accusations after the Nazi Party convention in 1937, even children understood what he meant: "We hear words—insulting, tormenting, agonizing. Yet inside us the voice of silence echoes loudly." And 1,500 people left "the synagogue, agitated and yet encouraged."[33]

The newly awakened interest in services was not always strong or lasting, however. On the Sabbath before Hanukkah 1935 the synagogue on Levetzowstrasse in Berlin was almost empty, and Julius Moses could not be moved by the song and prayer as he had been in the Orthodox synagogue, where he had gone for Yom Kippur: "Emptiness inward and outward, despite Zionism and everything else!" On the other hand, his own turn to the synagogue was indeed lasting; in fall 1936 he went to "temple on both holidays . . . how things change."[34]

Domestic Religiosity

There were always fewer women at Friday services than men, since they were busy with Sabbath preparations.[35] This indicates the significance of religious practice within the home and family.[36] Recollections of childhoods among those for whom Judaism played a role always focus on the Sabbath as the most important memory. Strict Orthodox families observed the Sabbath to the letter. They did not use the telephone and kept the electrical lights on, since nothing could be lit during the Sabbath.[37] During the Weimar period some cities still used a special Sabbath boundary (*eruv*) that combined private and public space so that religious Jews (forbidden from work as well as other sorts of tasks on the Sabbath) could carry small items within that permissible area.[38] Thus in Fürth it was possible

> to enter the synagogue carrying a prayer book or to go to relatives with a bouquet of flowers. If someone went "out," however, to the Pegnitz River, things were different, since it was outside. . . . So on Friday afternoon we always attached a handkerchief to the sleeve of a coat, so it was part of the coat.

When a small girl dropped hers once on Saturday, she waited "until the first three stars appeared in the sky and the day was over. Only then did I pick up my handkerchief and ran home."[39]

Even though it was prohibited to carry and pay for things, where there was a will, there was a way. In Frankfurt, Jews took a Sabbath stroll in the Palm Garden; they did not carry their annual passes with them, but the gate attendants recognized them anyway. And the "Jewish coffee" (*Juddecaffee*) was paid for in advance or on the next day.[40] "You didn't learn these rules, you absorbed

them; they were part of daily life,"[41] and they were kept "without a thought or a doubt."[42] To some extent they were relaxed, even in Orthodox families. A family in Würzburg, for example, strictly observed kosher regulations, or *kashrut*, but they were only "relatively strict" regarding the Sabbath. "We didn't cook, we didn't write, but we always turned on the lights ourselves. . . . We generally avoided carrying things in public, since we didn't want to cause any offense, but we definitely carried things in private. Of course we didn't drive; no trips and no streetcar."[43] But at some point the daughter got on a bicycle on the Sabbath, unleashing "a real firestorm of indignation."[44]

Experiencing Friday evening—the epitome of family, festiveness, and peace—was more important than observing these rules.[45] Prayers, blessings, and psalms were still recited in Hebrew, even in some non-Orthodox families, and the children knew them by heart, even though they did not understand what they were saying.[46]

A richer experience, at least in some families, was the Seder evening at the start of Passover.[47] Whereas Sabbath and the Seder were celebrated in the house and were therefore largely out of sight of the non-Jewish surroundings, the booths set up for Sukkot made the ritual outwardly visible. Walking around the Grindel quarter in 1920s Hamburg, you could "count no less than three hundred sukkot in the yards and on the balconies of Jewish families."[48] The booths were usually decorated with fruit and candies that the children were allowed to "harvest" after the festival.[49] A Jewish woman from Fürth could not remember the gentile neighbors ever having felt disturbed by the sukkot prior to 1933;[50] yet the visibility was in extreme contrast to the feelings of some Jews that they had to hide their Judaism: "My father always carried his prayer books and prayer shawls on the street with pride, as well as the palm fronds on Sukkot. But some Jews discreetly wrapped them in paper, so it wouldn't make any *rishus*,"[51] any malice against the Jews. Not only did different Jews act very differently in the same place, they also expected very different reactions from non-Jews. Beginning in the early 1930s, some even closed their windows before singing Hebrew songs.[52]

Many who otherwise had no connection to religious tradition observed Yom Kippur. Even Jews who worked on the Sabbath closed their stores and businesses and announced it in the local press.[53] Many also fasted from sundown to sundown, as called for in Jewish law—some out of conviction, others for tradition's sake, out of habit, or simply out of consideration for relatives or appearances. Those who fasted out of religious conviction usually did so without much ado. Others, in the midst of the fast, were already thinking of the snack they would eat to break the fast.[54] Many women thought Yom Kippur the best day of the year since they did not have to do housework or prepare food. They could go to the synagogue and finally "just for one day one [could] become one's normal self again."[55]

As much as German Jews felt connected to their surroundings, the Sabbath and the holidays created a separate rhythm to Jewish life[56] and gave children a consciousness of themselves as Jews.[57] Above all, however, the holidays served to convey a positive understanding of Judaism.[58] This identity-building

function remained even in nonreligious families where Jews kept tradition only rudimentarily: "We did not observe any of the Sabbath regulations. We cooked, wrote, lit fires, and went on outings. But on Friday evenings the family was always together and there was a festive meal. My mother lit the candles; it was a special evening."[59]

Whereas these holidays and the Sabbath were specifically Jewish, Hanukkah took on some of the flavor of Christmas, partly because Jewish children felt left out of the omnipresent and, often, concurrent celebrations of this event.[60] Not only did Hanukkah become—like Christmas—a holiday of presents, at least for the children, for whom parents set up a table full of gifts;[61] some families even hired a "Hanukkah Man" who brought presents for the children.[62] In southern Germany Jews baked "little Hanukkah boys" and fruitcake.[63] Such customs drew criticism from other Jews; some felt Hanukkah was being stylized into a purely gift-giving holiday and such holidays did not exist in Judaism.[64] Of course, giving presents did not mean that material things had to become the most important aspect of Hanukkah. The daughters of families in which mothers carefully arranged the gift table later recalled lighting the candles, singing together, and the peaceful atmosphere of the Hanukkah evenings.[65]

Jews, even Orthodox, sometimes visited Christian neighbors or friends on Christmas.[66] As children they might sit with Christian friends under their Christmas tree and sing "Silent Night, Holy Night."[67] Some Jews had their own Christmas tree, even if they attended synagogue on the High Holidays.[68] In a Hamburg progressive school founded by a Jew, both traditions were kept—Hanukkah menorahs and Christmas trees stood side by side.[69]

Bar Mitzvahs were celebrated at home, following the part of the ceremony in the synagogue, in much the same way Protestants celebrated confirmations. Parents organized a party in which the entire family came together and the boy received presents. The gift table, traditionally displaying a "fountain pen, [a] wallet, and a complete edition of the major classics," had—in the times of inflation—"more and more modest items. Ernst had to be thankful for the often-cited suspenders from an uncle."[70] Liberal Jews in some places during the Weimar period also held so-called girls' confirmations. In Hamburg, for instance, the ceremony was held collectively after the Shavuot services. The girls' dresses resembled those of Catholic girls at their First Holy Communion, but each girl was required to recite a Torah verse and give "a short speech with explications on Jewish ethics and law."[71] Certainly, confirmation for girls, which continued during the Nazi period,[72] were primarily a response to demands to improve the status of women in religious life, as voiced by the nineteenth-century Reform movement and by Jewish feminists. It can also be seen as a turn to religion, particularly among young people in Weimar Germany.[73] In the Weimar Republic, "children . . . [brought] their parents to services and back to Jewish life. The Seder evenings organized by the synagogues had hundreds of guests, including many families."[74]

Whereas holiday celebrations in the Weimar Republic were primarily

family celebrations with a certain degree of individuation, religion during the Nazi regime became much more a matter of the Jewish community as a whole. The Jewish Communities now propagated what Jews had previously seen as an individual need to return to Judaism and *halachah*. The board of the Frankfurt Jewish Community issued a "call to return" to Judaism in May 1933.[75] In Leipzig the Community developed a similar slogan, explaining that Jews now "doubly feel" their dire straits, since they lack what their fathers had: "Being a Jew as a way of life."[76] A Jewish emigrant described this as an obvious psychological reaction: "It was something totally natural. . . . When they forbid you to assimilate; when they say: you're a stranger—then of course you try to get as much as you can out of your Judaism."[77] "Being a Jew" was for many their way of being defiant.[78]

The Jewish press supported this process; there was even a competition in the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*.[79] A lecture series held by Rabbi Joachim Prinz on Jewish history attracted seven thousand listeners. Yet the interest declined again in subsequent years.[80]

Just as Jews reinterpreted old prayers against the background of Nazi persecution and the biblical account of David and Goliath seemed a story of hope, the holidays also took on new significance. No longer routinely celebrated, they became part of the context of danger, fear, death, and hope. In any case, that is how the young (Zionist) Rabbi Prinz summarized his experiences in retrospect. Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur were no longer regarded as the most important holidays alongside Passover but were replaced by Purim and Hanukkah, traditionally rather minor holidays. Evidently a new hierarchy of holidays had developed corresponding to how they were perceived by the persecuted Jews:

> [Passover] was the great day of hope for redemption from our own Egypt. . . . We could now identify with the slaves since we were ourselves third-class citizens, or slaves. . . . The [Passover] motto "From slavery to freedom" became the song of our lives. If the slaves of Egypt could be redeemed from their fate, then so could we.

Suddenly the public Seder evenings in the Berlin Jewish Community were so crowded that people had to be turned away. The old songs and texts were absolutely current. "[Passover] had become relevant."

Purim celebrates the rescue of the Jews of Persia after the chief minister Haman had already forged plans to destroy them: "That too became the story of our own lives. It was totally obvious that Haman meant Hitler." The noisemakers normally used when Haman's name is mentioned became "instruments of demonstration amidst the powerlessness" for thousands who had come to the Berlin synagogues. And on Hanukkah, the victorious struggle of the Maccabees against the Seleucids became a symbol of Jewish courage and resistance.[81]

Whereas in the synagogues it was the political (and from a Zionist perspective, also the national) message of the holidays that came to the fore, the

celebrations sponsored by various organizations served as an opportunity for relaxation and socializing only partly connected to conveying a message. This was also helpful in strengthening a feeling of belonging and togetherness.[82] These social and perhaps also the educational events within the scope of the Jewish holidays served primarily to compensate Jews for the exclusion they experienced from society at large.

The corresponding holiday festivities at home, on the other hand, could be used to promote more strongly the "return" to Judaism, as Martha Wertheimer, the editor of the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, urged Jewish women in 1933. The day of rest and the festivals are important "in order to live as human beings rather than vegetate as slaves." Celebration of the holidays is more than recuperation and relaxation, she said, since recuperation is a necessary part of the work process. But holidays reversed the relationship entirely, Wertheimer added. Everyday routine only makes sense because it serves the upcoming celebration. And even those who up to now did not know anything about it should learn the "language of the heart."[83] This "homecoming," creating a "home" in Judaism,[84] differed from the religious, national "return" in a narrower sense. Perhaps its link to emotional needs and its stronger focus on family promised a greater chance of lasting success.

When in 1933 many Hanukkah menorahs could be seen burning in windows of Jewish homes, this was acknowledged as a reflection of "Jewish consciousness" that had developed into something positive from the "defiant Judaism" of the early summer.[85] But in the long term it became increasingly difficult to celebrate the holidays joyfully, and even the view of Passover as a promise of liberation subsided. An Orthodox family's preparation for Passover in 1938 was centered on a desperate longing for their own exodus, and it took the grandmother's reminder for everyone to be thankful that all were healthy and together.[86]

The new Jewish consciousness also triggered a new stance toward the Sabbath. The press kept offering new ideas for implementing it, making recommendations to celebrate the lunchtime break or the evening as the Sabbath if it was necessary to work on Saturdays or suggesting that housewives "observe the Sabbath at least as a few hours of rest." However, these were far removed from Jewish law and aimed only at a symbolic distinction from everyday routine.[87] Few parents took advantage of the chance to celebrate the Sabbath with their children when they were let out of school on Saturdays (which was made the "state day of youth" in 1934, with Hitler Youth events and indoctrination in Nazi ideology).[88] Nevertheless, some Jews started celebrating Friday evenings again, sometimes adding new elements. Parents sometimes did this for the children's sake even if they were no longer familiar with the celebration.[89]

Although the Orthodox press published articles urging Jews to celebrate the Sabbath properly, the thrust was neither about observing *halachah* (which went without saying) nor about any special problems of the Nazi period.[90] The reason for observing the Sabbath had not changed; it always had to be reconsidered anew and preserved from routine.

Religious Practice After the November Pogrom

The pogrom in November 1938 made it impossible for Jewish community life to continue in many places. When synagogues were destroyed, many small congregations lost their most important and last remaining community institution.[91] Larger congregations moved services to a school, a prayer room, or a private apartment, and they had to register with the police every time services were held. Services gradually resumed, but in Bad Kissingen, for example, they were not allowed until 1940. In addition, new local proscriptions could be issued at any time, as in Breslau on the High Holidays in 1939.[92] Where synagogues were destroyed and the rabbis had already emigrated, the extent of religious community life might be a forced labor camp where Jews lit candles on Friday evenings and said the blessing before the meal.[93] In Halberstadt an attic with space for only 12 people served as a prayer room; a Franconian village used a kitchen as the (secret) "emergency synagogue." Both of these remained in use until the 1942 deportations.[94]

In Hamburg the Neue Dammtor Synagogue was renovated and reconsecrated in 1939. Jews held services there even after the legal dissolution of the Jewish Community in mid-1943, when the Gestapo closed the synagogue. Christians from Jewish families stood guard during services.[95] In Berlin, services continued secretly in the apartment of the director of the Jewish Hospital even after the final deportations. And secret prayers were held at the Weissensee Cemetery up to the end of 1944; funerals were conducted according to Jewish rites until the very end by a preacher of the Jewish Community who lived in a mixed marriage.[96]

After 1938, celebrating the Jewish holidays at home required (at least for the Orthodox) additional help. Since it was virtually impossible to get food that was kosher for Passover, Rabbi Carlebach published special guidelines in 1939, and a year later five rabbis prepared new ones. The guidelines emphasized that these "relaxed regulations" applied only for that particular year and they were justified "on account of the compelling circumstances." Precisely because it was impossible to follow all traditional regulations, it was considered "especially imperative to observe everything that was indeed possible strictly and with love, in order not to violate the dignity and earnestness of Pesach law."[97] Nevertheless, even the wife of an Orthodox rabbi found that everything "made so little sense" in her 1939 preparations.[98] On the other hand, the fact that Jews had to overcome so many hurdles preparing the celebration could make it into a great event.[99] But when at Passover 1940 Rabbi Carlebach wrote a cheerful letter to his daughter about the past Purim celebration, the true bitterness of the situation became apparent in his next-to-last paragraph: "For the time being, the contrast between this and next year is still very stark for us and can only be overcome in prayer and longing."[100] With this allusion to the closing of the Passover liturgy—"Next year in Jerusalem," implying this year in slavery, next year in freedom—he underscored the oppression that the Jews were experiencing. Liberation could only be achieved at a spiritual level.

Despite their physical weakness as rations were steadily reduced, many Jews observed the fast days. Some evidently drew new strength from it.[101] As late as 1942, even some forced laborers working for the German railroad "managed to keep the tradition of the day of fasting"[102] in spite of the taxing conditions. A small group of young Jews living illegally in Berlin improvised rituals. Using substitute symbolic items and actions they tried to maintain tradition, keep Judaism alive, and maintain their will to survive.[103]

Conclusion

Longstanding processes continued in the Weimar Republic: Orthodoxy for a minority and growing secularization for most. Large segments of German Jewry, however, returned to religion after the major break of January 30, 1933, but this did not last. The Jewish holidays, celebrated mostly within the family until then, started gaining social and community significance, strengthening group consciousness, as greater emphasis was placed on holidays that had previously carried minor importance. Finally, with their comprehensive practical relief efforts in the initial years of the Nazi regime, the Jewish Communities became the center of Jewish life.

24

Leisure Time and Social Life

What role did Jews play in public life in their hometowns, and how were they treated on the streets, in restaurants, and at resorts? How did they interact with their neighbors? Who made up their circle of friends? All of these relations provide insight into their degree of integration with the non-Jewish environment and the bonds within the Jewish community.

Weimar: Integration and Separation

During the Weimar period, Jews were generally treated as one of several religious communities in public life. The Jewish community was publicly acknowledged, but this does not indicate anything about the *quality* of such recognition. Still, it signifies an important step. Local dignitaries, for example, usually participated in the consecration of a new synagogue.[1] In Dortmund the rabbi and his wife were invited to all official receptions.[2] In Baden the government of the Weimar Coalition consulted the president of the Supreme Council of the Israelites regarding all official events. This often gave him the opportunity to ask questions informally; "and in addition," he said, "it expanded the circle of people with whom I had contact."[3] Such official connections also furthered the integration of Jews into society at large.

At the interface between public and private life, clubs and associations offered manifold opportunities for contact. Jewish membership implied willingness for social interaction, by Jews and non-Jews alike, at least at this level. It was typical for someone to be simultaneously a member of the Freemasons Lodge "Zum Frankfurter Adler" and the Markus Horowitz Lodge of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith,[4] since Jews were active both in general clubs and Jewish ones.[5]

In retrospect, many stress their integration in general club life. This may have been due to career interests, since the general associations focused on business questions and problems. Local associations of Jewish tradesmen usually had very few members, while most Jewish tradesmen were active in the affairs of the corresponding general professional association.[6] However, some worked within a Jewish framework by organizing separate employment agencies that made it possible for observant Jews to keep the Sabbath. Others fought against anti-Jewish prejudice and for the advancement of the trade by working in the Central Union of Self-Employed Jewish Tradesmen in Germany, which had about 1,600 members at the end of the 1920s.[7]

Jewish business people also preferred to join organizations with non-Jews, in which some Jews even assumed leadership positions. When an Association for Commerce and Industry was founded in Deutsch-Krone (West Prussia) after World War I, the board of directors was made up of four Christians and three Jews. One of those Jews was also on the board of the newly founded Association for Arts and Science, there were five Jews among a total of 80 members in the singing club, and the chess club also had some Jewish members. All of this, and especially the way they were treated by the non-Jews, is evidence of the integration, albeit limited, of Jews in the middle-class society of the city. Edwin Landau noted: "In the chess club I won the championship. We three Jewish members were respected there since we played well, and it developed into almost friendly contact among the members." He often talked with the mayor, a member of the right-wing German National People's Party, and he especially stressed his good relations with the military, which was traditionally very reserved toward Jews, if not openly antisemitic: "Many officers in the Reich army sat at the same table as I did if we met at a restaurant. They even greeted me first if they marched by with the troops and saw me." He concluded, "The entertainment organized by many clubs generally depicted community life marked by coexistence of Jews and Christians and social contact between them. We often asked Christian women to dance and they enjoyed dancing with us."[8]

This emphasis on integration might be the result of contrasts with later experiences of exclusion. In addition, it is important to consider Landau's special situation in a city that voted in a plebiscite to remain in Germany after World War I. After that vote, all clubs, including the Jewish ones, marched through the streets in a long procession. Certainly Jews were desirable as partners in an alliance in favor of Germany; thus they were more easily accepted. Still, this example refers to Germany more generally, since Landau also notes intermittent anti-Jewish attitudes throughout Germany. In other parts of the country Jews were active in new clubs, sometimes holding leadership positions.[9] Thus club life is evidence of a certain security following the stormy first few years of the republic.

It was also possible for the two groups to establish great closeness in private life, yet this seems to be the exception more than the rule, and a barrier might always persist. It is especially evident in the story of a woman whose unusual access to education—she was one of the first women to attend a univer-

sity in Germany—gave her close ties to Christian friends. Her best and long-standing friend helped her with preparations for her daughter's wedding, right down to dressing the bride. But then she left, saying, "Please don't ask me to stay. You know how close I feel to you and your children. But when you are surrounded by foreign customs and sounds, then something foreign also comes between us."[10] It was an exception when someone reported that his family had many friends, "Jewish, non-Jewish, didn't make any difference at all."[11]

Generally, friendships among Jews were more frequent and closer than friendships with non-Jews.[12] For some families their entire circle of friends was exclusively Jewish.[13] Even though the findings here are rather heterogeneous, they do indicate that neither acculturation nor the abandonment of religious observance brought about close relations with non-Jews. On the other hand, observance of *kashrut* and the Sabbath did not necessarily mean that friendships had to be limited to Jews. The son of an Orthodox dentist from Würzburg, for example, even spent Christmas Eve with a Christian family.[14]

In addition to the circles of friends, leisure activities—especially excursions and vacations—indicated Jews' far-reaching integration, even in the Weimar period, with the surroundings and certain externally imposed restrictions, with subsequent voluntary self-restriction. Orthodox Jews in Frankfurt drove out to Ginnheim in the fall to drink fresh apple cider at an inn where everyone brought their own food anyway.[15] Sunday and Pentecost excursions were a tradition in many families. And as more and more people in better-off circles obtained automobiles, the radius of these outings increased.[16] Most also went away during the summer vacation. Some families even went abroad, to South Tyrol or Switzerland, for example.[17] The following episode, which actually corresponds to the political identity of the middle class in Weimar Germany, also depicts the isolation of the Jews.

> In the summer of 1927 we were in Travemünde, a small Baltic Sea resort town that is politically part of Lübeck. Every German on the beach had a small "castle" with a flag (the adults!). Most of them hoisted the black, white, and red colors of Imperial Germany. The frightened Jews flew neutral flags of their hometowns. We had two big black, red, and gold ones [the colors of the Weimar Republic]. After a few days the flags disappeared and our covered wicker beach seat was floating in the water.[18]

In both cases the Jews were part of a minority. Either they were demonstrative in showing their support for the Weimar Republic, or they specifically hung city flags to avoid making a political statement. On the North Sea island of Borkum, which claimed as early as 1897 to be "free of Jews," the resort orchestra played the famous Borkum Song several times a day: "Whoever approaches with big, flat feet, / a crooked nose, and curly hair / they should not have fun on this beach. / They must go! Get out of here!" Although the Prussian government in the Weimar Republic tried to prohibit this open discrimination against Jews, a 1922 travel guide warned: "Israelites are urgently advised to

avoid visiting Borkum."[19] Resorts displaying that sort of radicalism were rare.[20] Nonetheless, Jews seemed to restrict their possible vacation destinations as a matter of course. A teacher at a Jewish school typically experienced "smoothly running" class trips. But "when in 1923 we arrived in Frankfurt after a hike along the Neckar River, our relatives set us up in a hotel at the outskirts of the city, since a day earlier a Jewish lawyer had been beaten to death in antisemitic rioting in the city center."[21] The reports reflect, for one thing, that self-imposed restrictions tended to be accepted as normal as Jews became accustomed to them; they also show that Jews were slowly but surely being pushed out.[22] A seaside vacation that seemed peaceful to Jews of Hesse in 1932 was accompanied nonetheless by "swastika flags . . . in the sand castles" and concerts by an SA orchestra.[23]

Social Ostracism and the Intensification of Social Life among Jews

Starting in 1933, ostracism was fomented and intensified by specific exclusion. If many Jews did not recognize it immediately in all its severity, it was because, like many non-Jews, they hoped the regime would not survive very long, or else they felt the Nazis would have to become more moderate once they took power. In addition, local measures varied from place to place and took effect at different times in the first few years. A number of cities banned Jews from public swimming and bathing facilities as early as 1933. Others initially limited the measure to restricted times in which Jews could use the facilities.[24] Bans on bathing for Jews existed in 1935 in Breslau, Augsburg, Cologne, Stettin, Leipzig, Mannheim, Berlin, Bremen, Frankfurt, and Würzburg.[25] Nazi leadership supported such bans, even if for reasons of foreign policy all regulations from above were still avoided as late as 1937. They recommended instead an escalation in the wording and the posting of prohibition signs at each and every swimming pool.[26]

Jews using public swimming pools were an important subject for Nazi propaganda, next to that of "race defilement," as both fed on pornographic fantasies. Numerous insinuations about the supposed shameless behavior of Jewish women or the direct threat to "Aryan" women by Jewish men promoted the stereotype of Jews as sexual threats.[27] As a result, when the Nazis were not successful in pushing through their bans on Jews, they occasionally resorted to force.[28]

Use of public parks was also restricted. In 1937 various cities considered measures to regulate use of park benches.[29] In Frankfurt, Jews were excluded from the Palm Gardens in late 1938, even though many had a yearly pass and longstanding memberships.[30] In places where Jews were not banned outright but required to use special benches installed for Jews, these sometimes separated members of a single family. A man from a Jewish family who had been baptized at birth and was married to a non-Jew went for a walk with his son, who had been drafted into the Wehrmacht. "Both of them were tired and

wanted to rest in a park. But . . . the father was allowed to sit only on one of the benches for Jews, which the son in uniform of course was not allowed to touch." The bench permitted for the son was in turn off-limits to the father.[31] There were also instances, in Berlin for example, in which a non-Jew "demonstratively" sat together with her Jewish girlfriend.[32]

Private restaurants and hotels also largely excluded Jews. Even where the signs were missing and owners did not want to do without the purchases made by Jewish customers, they were nonetheless excluded. In 1939 Jews in a hotel in Stuttgart had to eat their meals in their rooms—and pay the higher prices for room service.[33] The discrete discrimination in the famous Café Kranzler in Berlin was even more perfidious; when two women wanted to eat there in 1937, a waitress brought them "a card on a silver platter that said, 'Your patronage is not desired here.' "[34]

Exclusion from public facilities, restaurants, swimming pools, and other places severely restricted the lives of all Jews. But beyond that, for many the personal attack could not be undone even when a ban was revoked. Those who refused to take advantage of new options out of a sense of honor created a sort of moral autonomy, thereby maintaining their dignity and self-respect.[35] After the November Pogrom they were no longer allowed to enter any restaurants at all. Thus, in big cities such as Berlin, they had nowhere to go to relax while covering the long distances to arrange their emigration. Hans Reichmann accompanied a family in 1939 to Hamburg and walked with them through the entire city, "but when it got to be time to eat, we went from the most remote corner of the city to the dining hall of the main train station, the only place where Jews were still allowed."[36]

Numerous restrictions hardened into legal foundation after the November Pogrom. The "police decree on the appearance of Jews in public" of November 28, 1938, gave provincial leaders rights "to limit the movement of Jews of German citizenship and stateless Jews to fixed places or times by stipulating certain districts or certain times in which they are banned from the public."[37] The off-limits zone for Jews in Berlin included all theaters, cinemas, cabarets, public concert and lecture halls, the Sportpalast, the Reichssportfeld, all sports and athletic grounds, all swimming and bathing facilities, and various streets.[38]

On the "Day of German Solidarity" (December 3, 1938) organized by the Winter Relief Service of the German People, when prominent Nazi dignitaries would publicly collect funds for the Relief Service, a curfew was imposed on Jews from noon to 8 P.M. Victor Klemperer noted: "when at exactly half past eleven I went to the postbox and to the grocer, where I had to wait, I really felt as if I could not breathe. I cannot bear it any more." And "every day brings new restrictions. Only today, Saturday, December 3, the newspaper reports ghettoization and limitations on the free movement of Jews in Berlin."[39]

As early as 1933, outings and vacations had to be limited, not only for financial reasons. While Jews had to be cautious about appearing in some places in groups,[40] car owners could initially still go on individual excursions relatively unnoticed. Once driver's licenses and motor vehicle registration papers

were revoked on December 3, 1938, this too became impossible. On New Year's Eve 1938, Victor Klemperer looked back wistfully on the outings he had taken:

> And so many small trips and the ease of shopping.—And then from time to time the cinema, eating out. It was a little bit of freedom and life after all—no matter how pitiable it may have been, no matter how it may have rightly appeared to us as imprisonment.[41]

The constant tension made vacations take on special meaning. Julius Moses had been invited by his son in 1935 to spend a week "following in Goethe's footsteps" in Weimar, and he was well aware of the compensatory significance of the trip: "Precisely because of the everyday troubles, to lift yourself up for a short time into a totally different, higher sphere—even with illusions—that is not merely something for the moment; its impact continues to reverberate the whole time."[42]

But these opportunities continued to diminish. The number of spas that Jews were allowed to travel to decreased steadily. In 1935, Jews were banned from Bad Tölz, Bad Reichenhall, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, and other Bavarian resorts.[43] This led to increased travel to Bad Kissingen, the only state spa still open to Jews. There, however, Jews were troubled by an antisemitic rally that was held, and signs (subsequently removed by attendants) hung anonymously in the spa garden. As of the summer of 1937, uniform guidelines applied, issued by the Reich Ministry of the Interior: Jews were to have separate accommodations as far as possible, and restrictions could be imposed as to when and where Jews were allowed in drinking halls and bathhouses. They could be banned entirely from spa gardens, restaurants, and sports fields. With that, the foundation for the "off-limits zones" had been set, at least for the resort towns, more than a year before the aforementioned "police decree on the appearance of Jews in public." In Bad Kissingen, Jewish guests were concentrated in Jewish hotels, but the number of licenses for Jewish establishments was decreased. The Jewish guests were not just to be segregated but their numbers reduced.[44]

Anyone who could still afford a visa obtained one and left the country for vacation.[45] Young people might still take bicycle trips through Belgium and Holland in 1936 and 1937.[46] One vacationer reminisced: "It was good just to be able to cross the border out of Germany and take a good deep breath." Two days visiting a cousin in Switzerland meant "two days of freedom without flags, without marches, without Nazi salutes."[47]

Leisure activities for Jews were thus drastically reduced in the first few years of the Nazi regime. Aside from financial difficulties, the restrictions imposed on Jews played a big part. Some years later, Fabius Schach noted in a popular Jewish weekly that "you could no longer afford external joys and distractions. Even going to the café to sit and read the newspaper was unaffordable. So you sat home and were overcome with bitterness and hopelessness."[48]

Corresponding to their integration into the German middle class in the nineteenth century and to how highly they esteemed education, Jews in Weimar Germany enjoyed cultural activities and were among the most enthusiastic theater and concert audiences. The Nazi regime did not issue a gen-

eral ban on these activities until after the November Pogrom in 1938. In some localities, however, Jews were excluded from cultural activities considerably earlier. In Leipzig and other towns in Saxony, this started in the summer of 1935.[49] Yet in 1937, 15-year-old Miriam Carlebach and a girlfriend were still able to see Beethoven's *Fidelio* at the Hamburg state opera house.[50] Despite the possibility of entering public cultural facilities in most of Germany, many Jews avoided them. Marta Appel "could not bear to be among people who hated me so much."[51] Others were prevented from "attending the general theater . . . by their sense of honor . . . starting from the moment Jewish artists were fired and when no Jewish author or composer was performed any more."[52]

Cultural activities thus had to be concentrated within the Jewish sphere. There were small local initiatives, such as public singing evenings in Hamburg that brought together almost one thousand people of all ages.[53] The Prussian Association of Jewish Communities also continued its "cultural trips" to smaller communities started during the Weimar period; they were intended to promote the "psychological strengthening and reinforcing of the communities and individuals" through lectures on religious themes and religious art.[54]

The main alternative to the public theaters, concerts, and lectures were the events of the Jewish Cultural Association (Jüdischer Kulturbund), founded in 1933. The Bambergers of Frankfurt limited themselves "strictly" to Cultural Association events, "whereas other Jews—unfortunately very many!—continued to go to theater and cinemas until the official ban was issued."[55] Except for movies, the Frankfurt cantor Joseph Levy also attended only Cultural Association events, but he felt they were a "weak substitute."[56]

Local and regional cultural associations sprouted up in response to the dismissal of Jewish artists from public cultural institutions. They were an attempt to help the artists "financially and psychologically." At the same time the Cultural Association also satisfied an important function for organizers and audience alike, "to support us through the enjoyment of artistic endeavors in times that weigh us down so profoundly."[57] The various Jewish Cultural Associations were joined together into a Reich Association in 1935 by the Nazi regime. There were three theater ensembles (Berlin, Cologne, Hamburg), one opera society (Berlin), and two philharmonic orchestras (Berlin, Frankfurt), as well as one cabaret and numerous choruses. Members, numbering around 70,000, were entitled to attend various events, usually for a fixed monthly contribution. The repertoires were soon restricted by Nazi proscriptions. In 1934 they were prohibited from performing Schiller and the works of the Romantic period; as of 1936, Goethe, and after Austria was annexed, Mozart as well.

Practical problems included not only the Gestapo's monitoring of all events but also locating a venue. State auditoriums (such as in schools) were denied, and municipal facilities were banned to Jews.[58] The synagogue sometimes remained the only option, provided the rabbis and the board of directors "approved [the events] as permissible within the framework of the synagogue."[59] In Hamburg, in consideration for the Orthodox Jews who traditionally avoided the "most convenient" space (the temple of the Reform movement), the building of the former B'nai B'rith lodge was converted into a

Jewish Community House.[60] Consideration was also taken with respect to the scheduling of events. Because the Sabbath ended so late in the summer months, for example, an event in June 1938 did not start until 10:30 P.M. and went until 3 A.M.[61]

Only a minority of German Jews were members of the Cultural Association, but it reached all social classes. This success also posed a problem: "Old and young, educated and less educated, those interested in theater and those just wanting to be entertained—all of these people come to our events and it is incredibly difficult to decide what to offer this kaleidoscopically thrown-together audience."[62] In many places, pieces with a clearly Jewish theme were poorly attended, though by 1936 a rising interest in such subject matter became apparent. A survey indicated that most members preferred light, entertaining programs.[63] Since it was important to fill the theater for financial reasons, the selection of the repertoire was always a compromise between the wishes of the organizers or the Jewish press and the taste of the audience, between cultural and business considerations.[64]

The correspondence of an Orthodox textile salesman and his wife with their son describes some of the functions of the Jewish Cultural Association. The mother reported of a theater evening "when we laughed again." A concert in which both Tchaikovsky and Yiddish music was played made her husband proud of "Hamburg Jewry," since the one thousand listeners were proof that they "did not deny their interest in such an artistic event!" Another week he and his wife spent two "lovely evenings" at a concert and the performance of a play by Sholem Aleichem. In 1940 they went to the movies at the Cultural Association once a week, after receiving press cards from a friend.[65] The experience "of being a community having the spirit of German culture conveyed only through Jewish actors"[66] reinforced the feeling of a collective identity.[67] Finally, as Jews continued to withdraw from the public sphere, the Cultural Association also satisfied a social function, since it was a way for people to get together with friends and acquaintances they had not seen in a while.[68] After the November Pogrom, the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, the only Jewish newspaper that was still legal, emphasized the way the various aspects of the program satisfied these very functions:

> By giving our people "the world," the Cultural Association lifted them out of their everyday lives . . . by giving them "Judaism" it incorporated them into the common fate of the Jewish community . . . by giving them both together it presented them with bright moments of happiness. What Jew in Germany would not want to take advantage of this source of strength that we still have.[69]

For some audience participants, however, the Jewish Cultural Association intensified the ubiquitous feeling of exclusion: "We were banished to an intellectual ghetto. It was a depressing feeling, despite the artistic enjoyment, to be so ostracized and segregated from the outside world, to listen to music with the consciousness of an outlaw."[70] The artists, on the other hand, saw the Cultural Association, "not as a ghetto. . . . When you are standing on the stage

then you aren't in the real world, the stage is my world," recalled actress Leni Steinberg.[71]

Ostracism and, ultimately, exclusion from the public sphere were intensified by expulsion from clubs and associations. Generally a clause requiring members to be "Aryans" was simply added to the charters of all kinds of clubs, even the carnival organizations.[72] In higher class organizations, such as a Hamburg tennis club, Jewish members were asked to "voluntarily" give up their memberships. "And everyone did."[73] In late March 1933, a Jewish man from Karlsruhe, fearing that having Jewish members could harm the Rotary Club, suggested they leave "so that the club can continue to exist"; at first the non-Jews protested, saying they would rather disband the club. But this did not happen, since the protest was viewed as "impermissible," and the offer by the Jews to leave was soon accepted.[74]

Intensifying Jewish club life initially compensated for these expulsions.[75] In Frankfurt, for instance, the meetings of the Jewish lodges were better attended in the 1930s than previously.[76] They offered an alternative to other evening events and made it possible to spend lively times together. Similar developments could be observed in the longstanding Jewish athletic organizations. The National Union of Jewish War Veterans (Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten) even set up women's groups.[77] But as emigration increased, membership figures dropped, so that soon neither side had enough players—neither the "Shield" of the National Union nor the "Maccabi" of the Zionists. Consequently, players sometimes had to join the clubs of their political adversaries.

Exclusion from public recreational facilities, cultural life, and the general clubs served to increase the meaning of private life. But even then, shattering experiences early on restricted private recreation as soon as it touched public space where Jews could experience verbal and even physical attacks. When Rabbi Salzberger of Frankfurt went for a walk with his family and relatives in the Grüneburg Park on a Sunday morning in the spring of 1939, there were

> very few people out strolling. . . . A well-dressed man holding his young daughter's hand approached us and shouted, "You damned Jews, don't you know there's no trespassing here for Jews? If you don't leave immediately I'll call the Gestapo!" That happened in the park that until a short time earlier had belonged to the Rothschild family, who had done so much to make the city of Frankfurt thrive.[78]

In the Weimar Republic, Jews had already begun experiencing violence, although at that time it received limited publicity even in Jewish newspapers. There was a rise in violent actions toward the end of the republic. Rabbi Salzberger, a member of the board of the War Graves Commission, had been attacked several times when he spoke at commemorations for soldiers who died during World War I. Finally, he received police protection at such events.[79] In 1930 and 1931 especially during the High Holidays there was a series of larger attacks on Jews that resulted in numerous injuries. Consequently, the congregation was asked to disperse as inconspicuously as possible after ser-

vices were over.[80] Children could also feel the threat in the agitated atmosphere and, for example, pulled their jacket zippers all the way up to cover the emblems of their Jewish sports club.[81] Being inconspicuous became a Jewish strategy.

During the Nazi era, some Germans behaved violently even against people they knew. When Hertha Nathorff and her family celebrated her youngest sister's wedding in 1934 in their hometown in southern Germany, rocks were thrown at the windows of the house to disrupt the celebration.[82] Changes in behavior were very visible with respect to funeral practices. In a village in Lower Franconia where Jews and non-Jews had lived together for a long time with good neighborly relations and often real friendships, fewer and fewer non-Jews attended Jewish funerals, though this had previously been a matter of course; and "finally it was totally frowned upon." After the local Nazi Party group leader threatened to publish photographs of funeral guests in the *Stürmer*, only isolated non-Jews still dared to attend the funeral of a Jewish friend.[83] In large cities as well, Jews had similar experiences. Fritz Goldberg's father, a theater director in Berlin, was honored in 1931 on his seventieth birthday as the honorary chair of the Association of Stage Directors. But in 1934 he was expelled from the Association, and at his funeral a mere few months later there were only about five non-Jews present. Even private condolence letters often remained "short and formal."[84]

Personal Relationships in Nazi Germany

Private and chance meetings with non-Jewish colleagues or acquaintances in public were very limited, due to their efforts "not to look like a friend of Jews."[85] A teacher who lived in Ernst Loewenberg's neighborhood ceased accompanying him home.[86] When Rabbi Salzberger greeted a teacher on the street whose school he had taught at for years, the teacher looked at him "angrily, as if it were an insult to be greeted by a Jew."[87] In other cases people greeted Jews so automatically that they were shocked when they realized what they had done. The Frankfurt cantor reported on meeting an older former colleague at a city school: "we had hardly exchanged a couple of words when my eye caught the resplendent Nazi Party pin on her dress. Catching my glance the lady suddenly grew pale and left me standing there without saying another word."[88] Levy interpreted it not at all as shame but rather as fear of being kicked out of the Party. The prohibition against Nazi Party members' having personal contact with Jews was renewed in 1935,[89] which suggests that such contacts continued to exist.[90] The following report by a teacher who had been dismissed in 1934 from his position at a Hamburg progressive school is perhaps typical of later encounters with former colleagues.

> I avoided all contact with them, since I knew how they were watched and how any word they spoke with me would be risky for them. And I knew their fear. So when I saw one of them on the street I would try if at all

> possible to cross the street to eliminate the conflict for them of either not talking to or greeting me, or placing themselves in the dangerous situation of talking to a Jew. The more things progressed, the freer we became internally; and the less free the "others" were, the Germans.

He remained in contact with his (also dismissed) school principal, but he met other colleagues only by chance at the bank counter or on an outing: "They all act warm-heartedly, and I guess they are, but they have to be careful."[91]

Neighbors demonstrated the same caution.[92] Even signs of sympathy offered by friends were "given surreptitiously, yet hidden—and even denied in public."[93] But the secrecy created new embarrassment for Jews and non-Jews alike. Non-Jewish friends "preferred . . . to come to our home after it got dark. They were very tactful in suggesting that we stop visiting them so no one would see us going into their home. They were very ashamed and beat around the bush. But we understood before they even finished."[94] There was also a deliberate attempt not to endanger upright non-Jews. For this reason, Jews withdrew more and more into their own circle.[95]

This "voluntary" withdrawal by Jews[96] was by no means only intended to protect non-Jewish friends; it was also a form of self-protection. Such relations were almost always overshadowed by insecurity and uncertainty, since acquaintances and friends often withdrew or even joined a Nazi organization.[97] By stepping back at the right time, Jews could spare themselves possible disappointments. Ultimately they had to acknowledge that each year fewer and fewer old friends came around on birthdays or New Year's Day.[98] And when someone who did come to give her congratulations reported nervously how long she had to wait until she could slip into the building unnoticed, her own fear made it impossible for her to understand "how terribly that depressed" the Jews she visited.[99] Paul Löbe, the former Social Democratic Reichstag president, however, remained loyal to Julius Moses and continued to visit him regularly even after the November Pogrom, but he was the exception.[100] For this reason, contacts maintained as a result of the initiatives of non-Jews took on very special significance.[101]

From the early years of the Nazi regime on, Jews thus turned more and more to contacts with other Jews, and these relations intensified. Julius Moses, for example, was invited to visit other Jewish families three evenings in a row in 1936, to spend Rosh Hashanah and the following Sabbath, and he emphasized what a contrast that was to previous times.[102] Another man noted: "But when we met in Jewish company, it meant mostly that there was not the slightest relaxation, because every last person had either his own unpleasant experience or some sort of ill tidings to report from somewhere else."[103] Gertrud Kolmar had observed that the worries of the Jews

> developed into a sort of emotional egoism that led to their immediately reporting to others about their troubles or even just whatever they had experienced and the troubles and experiences of their friends and relatives. And the listener did perhaps exactly the same, merely waiting until Mr. X was finished telling about his son in Rio before confirming, ex-

panding, or contradicting that story with one about the fate of a niece who also lived in Rio. . . . And each individual is so bent over with their own burden of coping that they can hardly see anyone else's, much less think about relieving that person's load. Two speak and neither one of the two really listens.[104]

Consequently, Jewish guesthouses were often not very relaxing, since the concentration of people who were persecuted also intensified the depressed atmosphere. Sociability that normally served to relieve tension merely ended up reinforcing it.[105] It was only possible to counter the daily worries by avoiding contact with Jews; but that meant "lonely relaxation."[106]

Exclusion from public cultural life, reduced contact with non-Jewish friends, and withdrawal from Jewish circles corresponded to a shift toward reading. Jews traditionally enjoyed mostly general literature, possibly accompanied by Jewish literature. They also read largely liberal daily newspapers, supplemented perhaps by a Jewish weekly.[107] During the Nazi period Jews felt a greater need to read Judaica, and the Jewish press thrived. Since, at least in Berlin, these papers were sold at newspaper stands, they could have even been read by non-Jews as well. Julius Moses read the *Berliner Tageblatt*. From 1934, he shared the subscription for this daily with a friend.[108] He also followed the Jewish newspapers *C.V.-Zeitung* and *Israelitisches Familienblatt*; and he just about studied the *Jüdische Rundschau*.[109] Rabbi Prinz observed that "the Jews were hungry to learn. They no longer read Jewish books, they devoured them."[110]

At this time Jewish readers developed an interest in Jewish history. This was true for the entire spectrum, from Julius Moses,[111] a social democrat with Zionist leanings, to Victor Klemperer,[112] who always stressed his German identity, to the textile salesman Benjamin Perlmann,[113] who was Orthodox. In addition to books on Jewish history, memoirs also became popular reading.[114] Both Moses and Klemperer also read novels with Jewish themes by Jewish authors.[115] Klemperer noted about the novel *Tohuwabohu*, by the Zionist author Sammy Gronemann: "A surprisingly good book. But it cannot convert me. I cannot escape my Germanness. But I am quite beyond nationalism."[116]

Klemperer's interest is very significant, despite his continued dissociation from Zionism and the late point in time at which he came to Judaica—he did not read these works until during the war, when he lived in a "Jews' house," several years after Moses read them. Julius Moses, on the other hand, read everything from 1933 on from a Zionist perspective—not only current works but also nineteenth-century authors. "I read a lot of 'Jewish' works, especially Heinrich Heine and Börne in their relationship to Judaism. Sometimes when reading Heine . . . you are convinced, as if Heine himself were unconsciously one of the first Zionists."[117] But this strong Jewish orientation remained connected to love for the German classics that Moses continued to quote, and sometimes parody, in his letters. And he studied Jewish history parallel to German history. "I would have to cross out my own life, commit suicide to a certain extent, and I cannot and will not do that."[118]

Conclusion

Despite all the differences in their worldviews, such contrasting figures as Moses and Klemperer went through developments similar to German Jewry as a whole. Although ostracized from German cultural life, they held fast to German culture and learned more and more about Jewish authors and Jewish history. Thus, a strengthened Jewish communal life and a return to Jewish holidays at home were also accompanied by an intellectual return to Judaism.

25

Constricting and Extinguishing Jewish Life

The many massive restrictions in all areas starting in 1933 dramatically changed life as German Jews had known it. In addition, some new experiences became part of everyday life. The frequency and lasting nature of the problems made some new experiences into everyday occurrences. These included antisemitic violence, ranging from attacks against individuals to the November Pogrom and subsequent imprisonment in concentration camps; the unrelenting question whether, in view of the dwindling prospects for survival in Germany, to leave the country or eke out an existence there in spite of the circumstances; and finally, once the war started, becoming a prisoner in Germany, with forced labor, deportations to the extermination camps starting in 1941, and, for only a very few, a precarious chance to survive underground.

Antisemitic Violence

Immediately after the Nazis assumed power, their supporters took revenge on numerous opponents of the regime. In March, the SA beat a Jewish baker's apprentice in Berlin to death because he had filed a police report after Nazis had attacked him a year earlier. At least 15 other Jews were murdered in the same year in the SA barracks, "unofficial" concentration camps, and the like.[1] Some Jewish lawyers who had defended socialists or members of Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold, the Weimar Coalition security force, were physically assaulted and murdered or driven to suicide.

Nor did the violence remain limited to political adversaries. Early on, the manager of the United Breslau Theaters was kidnapped and abused by men in SA uniforms; a Jewish moneylender in lower Bavaria was abducted from his

home and murdered; on March 8, a hotel in Magdeburg patronized predominantly by Jews was attacked, and the guests were injured with knives and guns. The next day, Jews in the Scheunenviertel, the poor East European Jewish district in Berlin, were beaten bloody, and three Jews in Worms were dragged to an SA meeting place, where they were beaten and forced to "whip each other."[2] Moreover, there were two firebomb attacks on March 9 against Jewish businesses in Königsberg. There, the police chief promised the representative of the Centralverein to provide protection for the Jewish shops, but two days later he asked the Jewish representative and his family to leave the city, since he could no longer guarantee their safety. Three days later numerous Jews were assaulted in Königsberg, one of whom died from his injuries.[3]

There were also many instances of violence in connection with the boycott on April 1, 1933. After Reichsmarshal Göring refused to order police to protect Jewish stores on March 11, attacks began in mid-March in a number of southwest German cities.[4] When the boycott was decided on March 26 and publicized in the press thereafter, rioting started as early as March 28. In Göttingen, five Jewish businessmen were even forced through the streets on a cattle truck.[5] In Frankfurt, SS men broke up a meeting of Jewish retailers who were discussing a possible joint response to the boycott and brought between 80 and 100 participants to police headquarters.[6] The Jews were

> chased at double time through the main streets of the city. . . . It was a horrendous sight for the eye not yet accustomed to such scenes to see these honorable, mostly already gray and often ailing men tormented in such a degrading and torturous way, some of them chased to the point of utter exhaustion, and then finally released by the police.

Onlookers remained "totally passive, silent, shaking their heads from the sidewalks and at the windows. Only very few dared to express their outrage. A few smiled sympathetically—was it meant for the tormenters or the tormented? There was no loud applause or open agreement."[7]

Despite the order not to enter Jewish stores or touch the owners, there were also attacks on the day of the boycott.[8] Even after it officially ended, the boycott continued into the summer, as did the terror against Jews.[9] When the buildings and assets of the B'nai B'rith were confiscated in various cities in August, SA men in Nuremberg abducted members of the lodge, as well as other Jews, in the early morning hours, brought them to two sports fields, and forced them to perform useless tasks such as loading and unloading bricks. They even had to pull out grass with their teeth.[10] Over the next few years, synagogues were vandalized, antisemitic slogans painted on shop windows, and windows shattered during the night.[11] Damages were by no means limited to property. In Treuchtlingen (in central Franconia), during December 1934, for example, members of the Hitler Youth beat and knifed a Jewish man at home, demolishing his furniture.[12] Nor did the Hitler Youth shy away from hurting children and teenagers.[13]

Many Jews and non-Jews alike reassured each other after the Nazis took power that the regime would not last long. Moreover, many Jews felt secure on

the basis of their integrity and their participation in World War I.[14] Every time non-Jews mentioned public discontent, it was interpreted as a confirmation of the regime's fleeting nature. In spring 1933 a Frankfurt wholesale businessman was stealthily approached by his former servant, who told him, "things are seething; the people will revolt"; it immediately raised his hopes again, which were then reinforced by the "indignation abroad."[15] Such false confidence was renewed again and again; for example, many Jews viewed the Röhm Purge as the beginning of the end of the Nazi regime.[16]

But the Jews were virtually at the mercy of the Nazis, since control measures and informants continually offered pretexts for "punishments."[17] Cantor Levy reported from Frankfurt:

> Over the course of the years there were individual arrests almost daily on ridiculous charges or sometimes anonymous denunciations—at any time of day or night. . . . No Jew could be certain of living a peaceful, undisturbed life. The most innocent, harmless citizen could be accused of any offence or crime. . . . Jail, prison, concentration camp, at the very least weeks of pretrial detention without any court hearing, frequently involving rough treatment, threatened all of us.

And some businesses were already destroyed or "Aryanized" while their owners were in police custody.[18] Even trivial reasons and denunciations led to arrests, and the investigations and searches after the fact were for the purpose of collecting or fabricating incriminating evidence.[19]

As president of a Jewish lodge, Cantor Levy of Frankfurt had to reckon with the Nazis' searching his home. In order to assure they would not find anything incriminating, Levy destroyed all of his newspaper clippings referring to his actions against antisemitism prior to 1933: "And my caution proved to be justified."[20] In early 1938 Jews in Berlin, as in Frankfurt, had to assume that there could be police searches in spontaneous raids in cafés or restaurants:

> Anyone who did not have identity papers with them (in normal times that was not common), was arrested and given trouble. And all Jews (around early 1938) had to hand in their passports without receiving any substitute identification card. I was able to avoid such a sudden arrest only because I could show the certificate for my Hindenburg Cross for war veterans.[21]

Local riots and expulsions as well as centrally organized actions against Jews became more frequent throughout Germany in the summer of 1938. Within the scope of actions against so-called asocials, a total of 10,000 people were sent to concentration camps under the guise of "criminal police preventive detention," including 1,500 Jews. The edict underlying the actions expressly targeted Jews who had previously served a jail sentence of more than a month. Jewish organizations became aware of this by chance. Initially neither those arrested nor their lawyers could make rhyme or reason of the mass arrests. Some of the detainees fulfilled their sentences by paying a fine; some were even exempted by the amnesty declared a month earlier; most had long since served

their sentences: "Traffic and tax offenders; people who had bought food during the war without a ration coupon; doctors who had prescribed morphine; verbal harassers; people who had violated the foreign currency laws, often only with gross negligence."[22] Knowing that even minor previous offenses could serve as a pretext for mass arrests, Jewish institutions started issuing warnings for the most trivial of everyday actions. For example, in some cities they urged hospital visitors to use the shortest direct route crossing the street when leaving, because two hidden police officers were stationed there for the sole purpose of issuing tickets for jaywalking. Since the fine for Jews was 30 Reichsmarks (as compared with 5 Reichsmarks for non-Jews), they were considered to have a police record.[23]

Arrested Jews brought to Buchenwald (near Weimar) and Sachsenhausen (about 20 miles north of Berlin) concentration camps had to perform such heavy labor that even the strongest among them could barely survive. Within only a few weeks there were about a hundred deaths; murders were justified as "shot while attempting to escape," even when doctor's certificates confirmed otherwise.[24] Prisoners were released primarily if they could credibly show their intention to emigrate. At that time some of them might have been so broken that that was hardly possible.[25] The extent to which these mass arrests preoccupied all Jews is shown by the reaction to a teacher's comments about Goethe's life: "'He was born in Frankfurt and died in Weimar.' 'In the camp?' asked a Jewish child."[26]

In addition to the never-ending terror measures against individual Jews, in May and June 1938, antisemitic actions increased again in various major cities. In Berlin, Magdeburg, and Frankfurt, synagogues were damaged; slogans were painted on Jewish stores; store windows were smashed; and the owners were sometimes physically assaulted. Propaganda Minister Goebbels even gave police orders "to go out of their way to constantly intervene against Jews."[27] Jewish residents of several villages in the Hunsrück region fled to nearby cities in September after they were attacked. Nazi Party members in Franconia drove Jews out during the High Holidays, forcing them to leave their homes and sell even the synagogues at ridiculously low prices.[28] Legal pretexts were offered early on, in the summer of 1938, to tear down major synagogues in Munich and Nuremberg, for "traffic and road development reasons" and to "re-create the historical city," respectively.[29]

The first major deportation from Germany took place in late October. A new Polish law made it possible to revoke the Polish citizenship of persons who were out of the country for an extended period of time; on top of that, a one-time inspection of passports issued by Polish missions abroad was authorized in the fall. Consequently, on October 27–28, Nazi Germany took roughly 17,000 Jews with Polish citizenship into custody prior to deporting them. The authorities feared that Poland would want to prevent the return of its Jewish citizens. This affected largely people who had been born in the German Empire.[30] The deportation caught them totally unaware and was carried out ruthlessly, even brutally, in many places: "Many women and children collapsed and were left lying on the ground."[31]

Jewish Communities everywhere tried to help those designated for deportation during their departure by giving them food for the journey. Even those who had previously been very distant toward or even rejecting of the East European Jews showed solidarity. A Zionist from Frankfurt said: "On this day all contrasts and social differences disappeared entirely. The Community was extraordinarily active and coordinated support at the train station. Even those in assimilated circles . . . understood that this was a dress rehearsal."[32] In some cases it proved possible to have the sick and elderly deferred from deportation.[33] After the action was concluded on October 29, all those who were still on German territory could return to their place of residence. Again helpers from the Jewish Community greeted them; and again an emotional bond formed between the two groups. "I myself knew only a few, but when the first distraught people came toward me I opened my arms wide and stroked and kissed whoever I could reach."[34]

The misery of the deportees and of those who spent days camping in the no-man's-land between Germany and Poland spurred the son of one of the deported families to assassinate a German diplomat in Paris on November 7, 1938. The Nazis used this event to justify the pogrom. Many Jews had feared an "annihilating strike" for a long time.[35] Despite this anticipation and the rioting of previous years, the pogrom carried out by Nazi organizations that began on the evening of November 9, 1938, and continued until the next evening was a radical consciousness-raising experience. Until that time most of the personal violence had targeted individuals and was frequently not known beyond the small towns where it took place. This was a sudden, staged, and centralized action of unprecedented proportions. Throughout Germany Jews were attacked, their homes ravaged, synagogues set on fire or—where this was not possible without endangering adjacent buildings—largely destroyed. Almost 100 people died; about 27,000 Jewish men were taken to concentration camps, where hundreds of them died from exposure, abuse, and disease.

In places, Jews were spared some of these excesses.[36] But the overall picture is marked by the combination of all forms of rioting. As with the boycott in 1933, it began with apparently "spontaneous" actions on the evening of November 7,[37] but preparations had been made over a longer period. Jewish stores were required by the Berlin police in late June to post a sign identifying them as such: "'Pogrom Guide' is what I had called it, and I was right."[38]

To some extent synagogues were a symbol of German Jewry, and a Hitler Youth song had long incited people to set them afire.[39] But the destruction also affected countless private apartments.[40] In search of Jewish men to bring to concentration camps, SA and SS men had no qualms about attacking their families. In Göttingen, for example, women were also arrested and not released until the following morning.[41] And when the Gestapo did not find the representative of the Centralverein in Leipzig at home, they took his wife and feverish son: "He'll croak all the faster."[42] The arrested Jews were not deliberately killed, but at least some Nazis had reckoned with the possibility of Jewish deaths in the pogrom. As with the remark about the feverish child, the Nazis' also showed their disdain for humanity toward patients in Jewish hospitals. All

Jews in Breslau hospitals whose body temperature was not above 98.6 degrees were ruthlessly discharged. A patient in Fürth was torn from his bed the day after an operation to be transported to Dachau. He died several minutes later of a heart attack. In Berlin clinics, however, no searches took place.[43]

The perpetrators came from all social classes and were almost all Nazis, many of whom had not joined the Party or other Nazi organizations until the Nazis took power.[44] The widespread notion that the perpetrators carried out the pogrom in places where they were not known, however, does not seem to hold. Three models can be identified. In some towns local terror commandos coordinated and had sole responsibility for the actions; in others the rioters were nonlocals. The third category involved organization by nonlocal Nazi activists, but both local and nonlocal Party members carried them out. Some even attacked their next-door neighbors.[45] In many places the activists also incited teenagers and even children. By no means did they limit themselves to practicing antisemitic chants. Schoolchildren also demolished apartments and threw stones through the windows of old-age homes. Schools remained closed on the morning of November 10 in many places, and sometimes the teachers even led their students in the violence.[46] On the following days, Hitler Youth continued to terrorize individuals in their homes.[47]

In a village where Jews and non-Jews had previously lived together in relative harmony, where non-Jews had attended services on Yom Kippur and a young SA trooper even put one Jewish man under "house arrest" for his "own safety," shocking scenes took place. After a while people in civilian clothing joined the SA: "Three men who had smashed the [Torah] Ark threw the [Torah] scrolls . . . to the screaming and shouting mass of people that filled the little synagogue. The people caught the scrolls as if they were amusing themselves with a ball game . . . until they reached the street outside. Women tore away the red and blue velvet, and everybody tried to snatch some of the silver adorning the scrolls. . . . It did not take long before the first heavy gray stones came tumbling down, and the children of the village amused themselves by flinging stones at the many-colored windows."[48] Torah scrolls and other ritual objects were ceremoniously burned on the University Square in Heidelberg a week later.[49]

A majority of the population did not participate in the riots, but the events attracted large crowds of onlookers. When those arrested in Frankfurt arrived at the festival hall in the western part of the city where they were locked up together pending deportation, "the masses had already started gathering on the street, receiving us with shouting and mean insults, with chants . . . the most well-known of which was '*Juda verrecke!*' [Death to the Jews!]" And when those over 65 years old were released in the evening, they were "met with shouting and agitated insults: 'Hang them! Let them face a firing squad! Why should these criminals be released?!' "[50] In nearby Hanau, on the other hand, one of those arrested noticed on the way to the train station that "the people stood shoulder to shoulder and let us walk past them. Hardly anyone made any comments, few laughed; you could read sympathy and outrage on many of their faces."[51]

Criticism that was actually expressed pertained mostly to the destruction of things, which seemed especially absurd in view of Nazi attempts to reeducate the masses:

> The same government that systematically . . . collected and ordered . . . the collection of every little piece of aluminum foil, every tube, every tin can, every crate, every cardboard box, every old newspaper, every little piece of paper—that same government ordered "destruction commissions" to carry out, under the slogan: "scot-free," the senseless destruction of merchandise stocks, pieces of art, furnishings, expensive libraries, musical instruments, in short, to destroy, shatter, and smash items of infinite, inestimable worth.[52]

What a cultured Jew had expressed so eloquently could also be heard among ordinary Germans. But of course such criticism tended not to question the system per se. Moral objections also existed, as well as spontaneous expressions of sympathy, which soon faded away again, since they were not based on any fundamental sympathy for the Jewish "citizens."[53] Moreover, many onlookers got carried away and started looting.[54] Some non-Jewish neighbors expressed criticism and spontaneous sympathy or even attempted to call for help or intervene themselves. But most helpers quickly withdrew as soon as the activists shouted at them, making it clear that this was a Nazi Party action.[55]

Some offered concrete assistance after the pogrom by taking Jews into their homes, helping them clean up the damage, lending neighbors dishes and clothing, and shopping for them. While general hospitals did not accept even injured Jews until checking with Nazi Party and police offices, there is evidence that some denominational hospitals offered their services, taking in entire families or residents of a Jewish old-age or rest home. Sometimes help even came from Party members or members of Nazi organizations.[56] On several occasions older police officers warned Jews to get to safety and returned the valuables of those arrested to their families.[57] All in all, offering help was more the exception than the rule.[58] Jews seeking assistance were often turned away at the door,[59] especially if they were asking for help regarding men in concentration camps: "I ran to Christian acquaintances, friends, and coworkers, but everywhere all they did was shrug their shoulders, shake their heads, and say no. And everyone was happy when I went away. I was treated like a leper, even by people who were well-disposed toward us."[60]

The arrested Jewish men were herded together in jails and other public buildings and then brought to the Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Dachau concentration camps.[61] When they arrived[62] they had to endure the vilest insults and were driven so hard that there were numerous accidents with broken bones and, on occasion, even skulls. In subsequent weeks they were repeatedly ridiculed; SS harassment never ended. Given contradictory instructions, the inevitably "improper behavior" resulted in punishment for trivialities. Sometimes an entire block of 200 elderly men had to squat for two hours and "leap like frogs."[63] Diabetics, refused insulin or even placement in the hospital barracks, died agonizing deaths. One SS doctor said bluntly that he wanted to see

Jews only to issue their death certificates. Not until many had already died were Jews allowed to enter the infirmary.[64]

At work, prisoners were driven to the point of collapse.

> Suddenly someone was totally worn-out. He was pale as death and stopped in his tracks; when the guard shouted at him he answered quietly and unemotionally, "Shoot me. I can't take anymore." To my surprise he wasn't slapped around. The fellow answered slowly, weighing the options, "Yeah, shoot! You'd like that, wouldn't you! Well it isn't as easy as you think. Shoot? Keep walking, that's what you'll do!"[65]

This difficult, often senseless forced work went on for weeks without interruption: "We are living without Sundays and that means 'living in a circle, living without end, thinking without end'; joylessness without end, injustice without end, toil without end—never-ending torture."[66]

Advice and concrete aid from "career criminals," "asocials," and especially the political prisoners, who had already been in the concentration camps for a long time, was very important for Jewish prisoners. Whenever there was pork, one block leader insisted that an Orthodox rabbi eat bread and butter from the leader's own provisions and did not let up "until the pious man was more or less full." On the other hand, Jews judged other Jews who did not show solidarity with particular harshness. "Thefts of bread and other food" seemed "most sickening" within the "community of deprivation."[67]

Despite some support and tactics of self-preservation, imprisonment in a concentration camp was intended to drive people to the brink of insanity or to suicide:

> It is eerie when at night one's sleep is disrupted and in the middle of the room, which is half-lit by the lights outside and by the circling of the searchlights, a figure arises and, mentally confused by all he has experienced, begins in a monotonous voice to recite Kaddish. . . . Or when in the washroom a desperate person . . . hanged himself. . . . Many a person to whom life here became an unbearable burden made use of the prohibition to put an end to himself by running out of the barrack into the fire of the machine-gun towers.[68]

Men were released from concentration camps almost only for the purpose of emigration, and under threat of reinternment in a camp if they returned. As of December 12, 1938, men over 50 and sometimes former front-line soldiers were released, or people whose businesses had just been "Aryanized," since they were needed for the necessary legal actions. On isolated occasions those with necessary skills, such as "legal consultants," were released.[69] In order to be discharged, prisoners had to sign a pledge that they had been treated properly and would not talk about camp conditions, a promise to which most of them felt bound. Rabbi Carlebach of Hamburg got them to speak when he invited them to his home for *kiddush* following his public blessing of rescue after their release. Since the pledge had been signed under utmost physical and psychological duress, he stressed that it was null and void.[70]

Most of those released suffered long after their imprisonment: "The Jewish Hospital in Berlin can hardly comprehend the admissions: frostbite, sepsis, pneumonia. Some cannot stand the feeling of regained freedom and break down remembering the experience at Sachsenhausen."[71] In the hospital the patients still responded in a military-like manner, answering questions with yes or no. It took a long time until they got used to the fact that they were among Jews who wanted to help them.[72]

Non-Jews had different encounters with the prisoners. In Oranienburg, the nearest town to Sachsenhausen, where people must have recognized recently discharged prisoners by their shaved heads and ragged clothes, "the people indifferently and busily [went] . . . about their ways."[73] On the other hand, someone who returned to Berlin reported:

> The Aryan neighbors on the street who had all known me for many years gave me an almost warm welcome. The mailman, the grocer, the druggist, all expressed their sympathy. Even our porter, the most brazen and shrewish lady in the district, told me in tears that she didn't want to have anything to do with all this.[74]

That was a clear dissociation from the major atrocities of the Nazis but ultimately rather noncommittal with regard to the aid that would have been needed during the pogrom. And help for those released from concentration camps might well have been connected to a conviction that "the Führer knows nothing of this."[75]

During this time women played a crucial role, since virtually all males from some towns were in concentration camps. They showed great courage in the face of fear, in helping those being looked for and those already arrested. Many Jews hid with single women, since the search commandos were not looking for women.[76] Individual women went to speak to the Gestapo or even a camp commander about the release of loved ones.[77] Many took care of business affairs and moved heaven and earth to find options for emigration; all the while running the household and perhaps caring for an elderly family member.[78] Dealing with emigration matters took not only resourcefulness and endurance but also nerves of steel.

> Hour after hour in travel agencies, day after day at the emigration advice center and the Gestapo . . . countless women stand and wait until they drop from exhaustion. Finally Eva [Reichmann] managed to get a visa for Paraguay. She had to beg for it and with great skill had booked the passage, made telephone calls and sent telegrams all over the world, didn't shun anything that promised a lead, sought out "gangsters" whose "excellent connections" would free me in a couple of days.[79]

When the men were discharged they found the world had totally changed: "There was no Jewish life anymore. There was nothing but a crowd of frightened and hunted people."[80] All that mattered now was getting out.[81]

The Difficult Decision: Emigration from Germany

With emigration the sole escape, even those who had been reluctant or had previously rejected the idea made plans to leave the country. In 1933, 37,000 Jews left Germany, but the number of emigrants dropped in the following years (to between 21,000 and 25,000) and did not rise again until 1938, to 40,000. In 1939 the number even reached 78,000.[82] In the aftermath of the pogrom, the British government allowed Jewish aid organizations to arrange the immigration of children under seventeen and have them cared for by English foster parents. In total, these "Kindertransports" saved close to 10,000 Jewish children from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Many of them never saw their parents again.[83]

A long and difficult decision-making process preceded every emigration. The Görlitz lawyer Paul Mühsam emigrated in the fall of 1933. For him,

> the inner struggle [went on] . . . for weeks, and I was torn between conflicting feelings. One moment emigration seemed perfectly natural to me and the only possible solution; the next moment I was asking myself if I was so crazy to even consider leaving my homeland and all that was familiar, and to face an uncertain future at such an advanced age. . . . But the thought of turning my back on the inhospitable country that had become so foreign to us and was certainly no longer the same as our beloved homeland was not dictated by insanity but by reason, and so it gradually . . . gained the upper hand.[84]

The drawn-out process of deciding "to stay or to go" involved not only the problems of finding a host country and a secure livelihood, which for some were almost insurmountable, but also the emotional difficulty of leaving their homeland. And so the decision was often put off for years. Alongside family connections and obligations, it was also a matter of identity. German Jews saw themselves as Germans. To now view themselves first and foremost as Jews challenged their long-held interpretations of their position in Germany and, ultimately, the very foundation of their lives.[85] In addition, simply feeling rooted in a place was very important for many.[86] Some actually went on farewell journeys before emigrating.[87]

Aside from ties to Germany, a series of other reservations and obstacles also surfaced. Many became uncertain when considering emigration, since friends and relatives already overseas had advised against it.[88] Around New Year's Day 1938, German Jews might have still received warnings from friends: "Stay where you are; over here it is not easy either."[89] In addition, non-Jews kept giving potential emigrants signs that the worst was over. And many let themselves "all too willingly . . . be advised and comforted" against their better judgment.[90] As long as they were not personally in danger, they rejected the thought of emigrating: "Beatings that other people go through are quickly forgotten." Furthermore, reason conflicted with emotions.[91]

On top of everything came fear of being a "nobody" abroad: "Here we still

have a roof over our heads, but abroad we shall just be beggars."[92] Even an emigration counselor rejected the idea of his own emigration after the November Pogrom. Others were at risk and had to emigrate, but he himself was still needed, and so he considered himself protected. What resulted was "a dangerous separation of personal prospects for the future and general developments,"[93] until it was too late.

Aside from these psychological factors, there were also material reservations and concrete obstacles. "As long as the business was still going," some people continued to scorn emigration.[94] For someone dismissed from the civil service, even receiving half his salary as a pension seemed like "security . . . that I would not find abroad all that easily."[95] And emigration meant sacrificing part, and later almost all, of hard-earned savings that many families had built up over several generations. The 25 percent *Reichsfluchtsteuer*, an emigration tax introduced by the Brüning government, initially applied only to assets above 200,000 Reichsmarks, but from 1934 it was levied starting at 50,000 Reichsmarks. Soon people leaving the country were allowed to take only part of their assets with them; the rest was treated as a blocked account. And in the end Jews could exchange their money for foreign currency only through the Deutsche Golddiskontbank, at a loss of 92–94 percent.[96]

For people who were less well off, the cost of emigration was prohibitively high.[97] Moreover, after the November Pogrom the ship's passage had to be paid for in foreign currency.[98] Obtaining a visa also posed problems; many documents had to be presented, and a medical examination was required. Not only latent tuberculosis but even a mother's presumed hereditary nervous disorder could thwart a daughter's plans.[99]

Entry into the United States required relatives or friends living there to stand surety, insofar as the immigrants did not have enough assets to secure their own livelihoods. This all-important affidavit had to include information pertaining to occupation, income, and assets of the guarantor. It was up to the discretion of the office issuing the visa whether or not this would be recognized as sufficient. The Berlin physician Hermann Pineas obtained several affidavits, but the consulate found none of them satisfactory.[100] Some immigration efforts had to be supplemented by bribes. And if it became necessary to leave the country faster than originally planned, perhaps another visa could be obtained on the black market. That was very expensive, but for people who had the money, in the spring of 1939 the price was irrelevant.[101]

Meanwhile, the immigration requirements in a number of countries had been tightened. Once passports of Jews were marked with a *J*, it became next to impossible to immigrate, even to countries not requiring a visa.[102] Even before the mass onslaught at the foreign consulates in the wake of the November Pogrom, Julius Moses had written regarding the emigration of his second son: "The whole world is boarded and nailed shut; the only possibility for getting out was Shanghai, and he'll try to move on farther from there."[103]

The lack of help from abroad posed grave problems for some. The English chief rabbi arranged for some German rabbis to enter England in November 1938, but Joseph Carlebach declined. Carlebach's permit was still valid in 1939,

but it guaranteed support only for a few months and only for him. His children received just an entry permit. Since he had a permit for England he had been stricken from the list of those to be admitted into Palestine. Without his knowledge, his wife wrote to four dignitaries asking for help, but no one replied.[104]

The situation was all the more bitter when one's own relatives did not think they could help.[105] A Hamburg couple was too embarrassed to write to their son-in-law in Palestine but then finally demanded "in no uncertain terms" that their daughter file a "request" that her parents join them. Although the young couple lacked funds and the son-in-law did not see any income possibilities for the father, the man applied for the certificate for his in-laws in order "not to blame himself" later on.[106] Correspondence between family members who already emigrated and those still in Germany clearly reflect the complexity of the decision-making process. It elucidates the wish to be reunited, the possible reservations of those who already emigrated, the wish of those left behind not to be a burden on others, and above all the effort to maintain the correspondence, and thus family ties, despite differing perceptions and priorities. The reversal of existing roles made it even more difficult, since parents often became dependent on children.[107] The reasons to decide in favor of emigration were in the end the same for everyone, despite individual details: the destruction of their economic base, the psychological burden of discrimination and exclusion, and the attempt to reunite the family after emigration.[108]

It was usually women who pushed for emigration, due to the burdens on their children, whereas men could often not imagine how they could possibly "really leave all this behind to enter nothingness." This objection by a Dortmund rabbi came during a conversation among friends about a doctor who fled; the men condemned the escape while the women favored it. This conversation was only one of many that this couple had, in which the husband's and wife's opinions were always split along gender lines. Even pressure from the children did not help. Not until both parents were arrested in connection with the action against the B'nai B'rith did the family flee to Holland and then to the United States.[109] Women generally assessed the situation far more critically than did men, who refused to emigrate as long as they still had ways to earn an income, or made themselves believe they did. In addition, women were prepared to accept a lower standard of living for the sake of safety. In most cases, the man won out.[110] But such disagreements could place a lasting burden on family relations.[111]

However, circumstances particular to women also put obstacles in their path. Unmarried women often could not consider emigration since they did not know "how they would feed and especially care for their mothers in the beginning, until they could send money. In the same families the sons went their own ways without a second thought."[112] Gertrud Kolmar's sister was already active in Switzerland trying to find a way for her to get to England. However, in late November 1938, after the house had just been sold, the housekeeper also decided she wanted "to retire." Gertrud Kolmar did not want to leave her father alone. The plan that she would go on ahead and he would move into a guest-

house and join her later no longer seemed feasible in February 1939.[113] Ultimately they were both deported, the father in 1942 to Theresienstadt and Gertrud Kolmar in 1943 to Auschwitz. Other women recognized that after the November Pogrom their men were at much higher risk than they, and they persuaded their husbands to emigrate alone while they tied up loose ends in Germany and then hoped to rejoin their husbands. But the war brought an end to their escape plans.[114]

The paper chase for the necessary documents was always connected with harassment. Individuals reported long waits, and then right before it was their turn the window would suddenly be closed and no one would be processed until the next day. Just to apply for an ID card for domestic use only, the Frankfurt Cantor Joseph Levy had to wait 10 hours; he had to wait just as long for his passport and then again for his Police Certification of Good Conduct, which the United States Consulate required. That was followed by visits to tax consultants, taxation agencies, the foreign exchange office, and the customs office. A visit to one agency often meant getting sent from office to office, requiring up to five or six tries. It was obvious to those involved that this was "systematic torture," since one office clerk rejected certified copies because of "invented errors" and the next one said "That wasn't even necessary."[115]

On top of this arduous process came blackmail. Before one emigrant's application was approved, he had to pay past taxes for something that had been officially resolved 12 years earlier. "At least every second office worker could be bribed. He took money and expected it before he would start processing a case. Sometimes it was possible to speed up your case in this way; sometimes it was simply a further instance of private blackmail."[116]

> The German civil service has been infected with the corruption bug. . . . "Magicians" offer to prepare lists of Jewish assets such that the surcharge for the Golddiskont Bank is insignificant. Or they want to find a well-meaning valuator for the assets you're taking with you, or they let you give them a few hundred Marks to speed up the processing of your case. The referral would be worth it . . . who knows if a new regulation will appear tomorrow prohibiting you from taking certain goods with you that are still allowed today.[117]

Having their accounts blocked caused major problems for emigrants. For every payment that had to be made, it was now necessary to obtain special authorization.[118] And some people might not have had enough cash to live on. Consequently, many emigrants sold their furniture and goods, driving prices down.[119] In the summer of 1938 Julius Moses estimated that his son would receive only 10 percent of the value for his state-of-the-art radiology equipment.[120] A former publishing house editor learned the extent to which non-Jews tried to profit from the emigration of their neighbors: "'Why don't you give me your tuxedo; what will you do with it as an emigrant abroad?' 'Oh, sell me your bookcase. I'll pay ten Marks for it!' (It was worth fifty times that amount.) That's how the morality of the government rubbed off on the people."[121]

Since it was illegal to take foreign currency out of the country, Jews bought expensive items such as cameras, typewriters, silverware, china, and rugs so they could sell them in their new country for startup capital.[122] These items could be stored along with the assets they were taking with them in large wooden containers, which people referred to as "Jews' crates." But some of the official valuators, insurance people, and shippers took advantage of their clients' situation.[123] Even packing provided opportunities for blackmail, although for some packers it was a matter of honor not to see things that were not permitted, or even to repack those items more securely themselves.[124]

After all formalities and practical preparations, the last and perhaps most difficult problem was saying goodbye. Erwin Moses found that "it is too much to stand; it is simply impossible to withstand that last handshake and kiss without the most severe emotional shock." That is why he told his brother of his departure in a letter and asked him to visit their parents for the upcoming holidays. Their father, Julius Moses, approved of this way of doing it: "Certainly it was painful for us, at that first moment, that you left without saying goodbye. But after thinking about it calmly I would have to say, it was good that way!" As difficult as he found such farewells, when his sister emigrated in the fall of 1934 and his second son in the fall of 1938 it became clear that "the poor human heart has to break little by little. Ever since we knew what threat we were facing I had myself well under control, and I controlled myself until the very last moment. But then, when the train started moving, that was the end of my control." Only a month later, however, after the November Pogrom, everything appeared in a new light: "And then there was an overwhelming feeling of happiness to know that the two boys were abroad. And both grandsons too!"[125]

Emigration separated families, often leaving only the elderly parents behind. In other cases individual family members went to different countries, perhaps the parents to the United States and the children to Palestine. Obituaries sometimes mentioned as many different countries as there were bereaved.[126] For some people the thought of separation was so painful that when a young man asked for the hand of his bride, his father-in-law made him promise—as late as 1937—not to make any plans to emigrate.[127] Others, who understood the necessity of emigration, nevertheless feared alienation, that the members of the family "would 'grow apart' all too much, and that is the worst thing I could imagine." For this reason writing and receiving letters became a central focus of life.[128] Yet here there were individual limitations, as well as those caused by persecution and censorship. A woman in Hamburg was disappointed that the letters of her son offered "only the sign of life that you are obligated to give your parents. The things we are going through here cannot be written down and how strong we must stay!"[129]

Letters could also serve to build communities beyond the actual writer and addressee. They were often circulated among relatives and offered those who remained in Germany something to talk about.[130] That brought those left behind closer together. And it might have counteracted to some extent the shrinking of one's circle of friends.[131] It could take a long time "until you get closer to someone again." And new contacts were precarious from the outset.

"That's how it is all the time now. If you happen to get to know someone nice, for sure he is already 'getting ready'!"[132]

Trapped in Germany: Forced Labor—Deportation—Illegality

Between the start of the war and the final halt to emigration in October 1941, very few Jews succeeded in emigrating. In September 1939 roughly 185,000 so-called Jews by faith were still living in the *Altreich*;[133] these people, already stripped of their life insurance[134] and precious metals,[135] became further impoverished due to the "punitive payment" for the damages of the pogrom, which was collected as a personal property levy.[136]

Since predominantly young people and men emigrated, the remaining Jewish population was elderly, and every age group (except for those under 15) was disproportionately female. Only 16 percent of those who stayed were wage earners, and even including those in training and only people of working age (age 15–59), the employment rate still reached only 31 percent. Aside from the loss of their assets and lack of income sources, the constant uncertainty and expectations of continued harassment were a heavy burden.[137]

Once the war started, many restrictions followed in quick succession. A curfew was declared, and Jews could not leave their homes after 8 P.M. in the winter and 9 P.M. in the summer (September 1, 1939). Soon Jews could not own a radio (September 20, 1939) or a telephone (July 19, 1940), or use a pay telephone (December 12, 1941). Later they could not buy newspapers (February 17, 1942) or use public transportation (April 24, 1942).[138] Jews were systematically isolated and cut off from information. Contact to relatives abroad, often their own children, was largely prevented. Communication to most countries (and the British Mandate for Palestine) amounted at most to telegram-style signs of life, with a maximum of 25 words, conveyed through the Red Cross.[139] And it was letters that were "more important than bread in these hard times."[140]

Jews were also isolated through forced labor, which more and more were pressed into starting around New Year's Day 1939. Three weeks before the pogrom the regime initiated a separate (that is, segregated) assignment of Jews registered as unemployed and intensified this secret decree two months later. In December 1938 Jews were also banned from entering the regular offices of the Berlin employment bureau. A separate office had been established for them on Fontane Promenade in the Kreuzberg district, which they soon started calling "Harassment Promenade." With an eye toward the impending war, all able-bodied male Jews from 18 to 55 were registered in August 1939. Not only people receiving unemployment benefits but all the needy were to be included. In October 1939 the Jewish Cultural Association was forced to reduce its personnel; everyone who had been laid off became available for the general *Arbeitseinsatz*, or "labor deployment." Starting in the fall of 1940, all Jews could ultimately be mustered for forced labor. The age limit, especially in Berlin, was raised to 65 for men and 60 for women. Jews were used in early 1939 for very heavy physical labor in road building and construction as well as at garbage

dumps, and up to the spring of 1940, especially for short-term (owing to the vague "relocation plans") harvesting, snow clearing, and transportation services. As long-term workers, they were used primarily in industry. At first classified as unskilled workers, some were later even trained for skilled positions. In villages they were used for municipal jobs or assigned to individual farmers as farmhands. By the end of July 1941 roughly 90 percent of all able-bodied Jews were included in the "labor deployment." For that purpose, different types of work camps, separate from the concentration camps, were set up within the *Altreich*, starting in 1939. The labor deployment did not protect any forced workers from being deported later; instead it served as a temporary deferment until February 1943, when all remaining Jews were picked up for deportation in the so-called Factory Action. Those protected through a mixed marriage and exempted from deportation until shortly before the end of the war were again employed in unskilled labor.[141]

The working conditions of the Jewish forced laborers varied from site to site, from "untenable and harassing" to "bearable and proper."[142] Nonetheless, they were characterized everywhere by segregation in special Jewish divisions or work gangs, jobs in areas foreign to their training, minimal payment, insufficient or nonexistent social security, and restricted freedom.[143] The Jews faced extremely harsh working conditions and financial discrimination—the lack of all usual bonuses and the imposition of a 15 percent "social compensation tax"[144] from 1940 on. Nevertheless, the hardest thing to cope with was the deprivation of personal liberty, which is why Jews deliberately used the term "forced labor" rather than the official term.[145]

Elisabeth Freund's and Victor Klemperer's experiences represent different forms of forced labor. Despite their individual reactions, similar characteristics come to light. With her degree in economics, Elisabeth Freund first had to work in an industrial laundry, initially at a steam press and later in the shipping department. She collapsed twice and finally—although a physician from the company's health insurance plan gave her a clean bill of health—got certification from a supervising physician prohibiting her from working in heat and carrying heavy loads.[146] She was then transferred to an electrical factory. Her working conditions were typical in that medication was denied for Jews,[147] she received a minimal wage of about 12 Reichsmarks per week (approximately half the wages of a non-Jewish unskilled worker and in any case barely the rent of a furnished back room in the western part of Berlin),[148] she was excluded from the cafeteria,[149] and she was segregated from non-Jews, down to separate toilets.[150] The long commutes from home to work were also typical. It took about an hour and a half to get to the first factory (that is, three hours per day) and only 45 minutes to the second, but the special routes required of Jews on the company grounds increased the time to 80 minutes.[151]

When increased workloads made it impossible to continue separate shifts for Jews and non-Jews, wooden partitions were set up around the steam presses where the Jewish women worked.[152] Non-Jewish workers occasionally showed some compassion,[153] and Elisabeth Freund once noted that on one day two supervisors treated her properly and even looked at her. But these in-

cidents stood out harshly against the usual harassment, spiteful comments, and baiting and were carefully recorded for that reason.[154] Non-Jewish workers blamed all mistakes on the Jews and delegated the hardest work to them.[155]

The forced workers attempted to form small groups among themselves for the journey to and from their shift and even for continued education. A group of former kindergarten and nursery school teachers met regularly to read Pestalozzi and Montessori.[156] In addition, the women tried to help each other, despite severe criticism by their bosses. The labor was very hard, carrying heavy cartons, for example, and this was only possible if the women worked together. If they failed to finish the work or were considered antagonistic due to "insubordination," they could be sent to a concentration camp.[157]

In addition to forming groups and helping each other, some women recited poetry, a coping strategy to make time go faster while doing monotonous work. Elisabeth Freund's repertoire lasted two hours, and a very young nursery school teacher also recited poems.[158] One woman wrote poems and thought up stories, secretly making stenographic notes about them.[159] An individual reaction (yet certainly not an isolated case) was to make the forced work into a personal task: "then the forced labor lost its sting. At least we hope it will!"[160] The poet Gertrud Kolmar responded similarly, wanting to view "the factory work not only as a harsh necessity, as coercion, but as a kind of lesson, to learn as much as possible." Coping with this situation gave her a stronger sense of herself, and she ultimately developed "a feeling of home" in the factory that she no longer had in her apartment.[161] Such reactions were, however, rare. For many Jews the forced labor marked the start "of concentration camps," when the "foremen . . . bossed them around like slaves and harassed them according to their whims."[162]

Victor Klemperer was not mustered for forced labor until 1942, at first only temporarily, to spend weeks clearing snow. His coworkers were all over 60, with some even over 70. Most of the others were not Klemperer's intellectual equals, and he mentioned their penchant for jokes with sexual innuendoes several times, but he also noted: "One feels close to the whole group, not much work is done, the day passes." One of them even gave him half a cigarillo and a liverwurst sandwich.[163] Klemperer repeatedly dealt with non-Jewish supervisors who protected the old men and gave them "humane and courteous" treatment.[164] Passersby behaved in totally contradictory ways. While a young women saw the torture of the old men as a disgrace for Germany, one young man expressed obvious enjoyment at their suffering.[165]

Gradually, more and more young people were conscripted into forced labor. A young man was sent to a Jewish work camp, immediately after having completed his apprenticeship in March 1939, to do drainage work. He lived with 50 others in a shack and was allowed to visit his family only once a month, provided that his work quota had been fulfilled. In August 1939 he was allowed to return home because of severe stomach trouble.[166] Elisabeth Freund assessed the situation facing young people as "the worst," despite her own breakdowns. In the second factory she worked at, there were many young people, even 14-year-olds. Worse than the hard work and the insufficient care

was the sheer "hopelessness," since they did not even learn any practical skills. When going on outings on the weekends they had to reckon with attacks by Hitler Youth.[167] Protection for young people was "expressly annulled" for Jews;[168] and totally ignored for women. Whereas work on the heavy lathes was normally prohibited for women, Jewish women assigned to such work did not even receive the usual leather aprons and consequently suffered constant bruises on their hipbones.[169]

Starting in April 1943, after almost all Jews had been deported and there were only "60 wearers of the star" in Dresden,[170] Victor Klemperer had to do permanent forced labor, first in a company for medicinal baths and herbal teas and, after it was closed, in a paper factory. In both he did strenuous machine work and worked only with Jews, who, like himself, lived in mixed marriages. Again and again individuals were arrested and faced virtually certain death. The companies even arranged for the National Socialist Welfare to supply food for the forced workers, which would have been quite a relief for Klemperer. But at first he could not take advantage of it, since in addition to payment it also required "3½ ounces of meat coupons . . . Jewish meat coupons in my name." Since he lived in a nonprivileged mixed marriage, he had no coupons and went away empty-handed.[171] At his second forced labor job the workers received food "gratis and in all secrecy." Sometimes someone from the non-Jewish staff gave him a piece of fruit and asked about the treatment of the Jews or the fate of a worker who had been picked up. But Klemperer could not feel good about such concern: "Evidently [Frau Loewe] is just as fearful and as anti-Nazi as I am. But I am repeatedly gripped by the suspicion that she could be acting as an informer. Or repeat something out of foolishness."[172]

Even before the introduction of the yellow star, Jewish forced laborers were visibly marked at their work places.[173] Identification through special names had already been decreed in the summer of 1938. Jewish newborns could receive first names only as laid down in the guidelines of the Reich Ministry of the Interior and publicized in, for example, the *Berliner Tageblatt.* Jews having other first names had to supplement their name with "Israel" or "Sara."[174] Very few people considered the supplementary name to be an "honor," as Joseph Levy did,[175] although Jewish newspapers attempted to suggest this through the explanation that Israel meant "one who wrestled with God" and Sara "princess": "The purpose and intention of this name-giving remained irrefutably to mark Jews as inferior and defame them."[176] On the other hand, some individuals always found ways of avoiding the stigmatization. Klemperer's neighbor altered her signature in such a way that others read "Lore" instead of "Sara," which enabled her to maintain her health insurance for years.[177] Tactful non-Jews sometimes chose to ignore the supplementary names even during the war. The roads inspector who had to pay Klemperer and other forced workers simply left these names off their wage packets.[178]

Plans to make Jews wear some kind of identifying patch were quashed by Hitler right after the November Pogrom.[179] When the yellow star was introduced in September 1941, "every star-bearing Jew carried his own Ghetto with him like a snail its shell."[180] The stigmatizing effect was increased when an-

other, protective distinguishing feature, namely the yellow armband for blind and disabled people, was prohibited for Jews as of summer 1942.[181] The mood after the yellow patch was announced, but before it went into use, was described by Klemperer in his diary: "Since the Star of David, which is due to rise on Friday, 19th September, things are very bad. Everyone's attitude changing by turns, mine included: I shall go out proud and dignified—I shall shut myself in and not leave the house again. Eva plans as far as possible to be the 'Sabbath goy.' "[182]

The stars marked even Jews who did not have what non-Jews (and often they themselves) considered "Jewish" looks. All felt its impact: "Wearing the Jewish Star forced me to walk with a bowed head and looking down. I did not want to see other people's reactions. The star made me feel afraid of attracting attention, a feeling of rejection. It isolated me from the others."[183] Even hearing that in Berlin passersby sympathized with wearers of the star did not comfort Klemperer.[184] After Mussolini's death in 1943 a worker wanted to encourage him with the sentence "One of the swine . . . is gone now," but Klemperer answered: "But the children on the street torment me more than before."[185] On the one hand, the already meager contact with non-Jews was now almost totally prohibited. On the other hand, Jews kept noting shows of sympathy from strangers: a man jumped from his bicycle to assure someone wearing a star that he disapproved of the measure;[186] others offered their seats in the streetcar or sneaked an apple or a newspaper to a star wearer.[187]

Jews kept trying to hide the star. They turned the collars of their coats over it, covered their left breast with a bag or carried an open umbrella, even if the rain had stopped. But a police officer might reprimand someone with an open coat because the star was not clearly visible, and some even checked with a pencil that the star was securely fastened.[188] In smaller towns hiding the star did not offer any protection; in larger ones it was dangerous and was soon punishable with deportation.[189]

After the Nazis started systematically deporting Jews out of Germany in October 1941, any violation of anti-Jewish laws and decrees or any dissatisfaction expressed by supervisors at forced laborers could mean that even those who had previously not appeared on the "lists" could be assigned to the next "transport." Of course, during the first few months the true meaning of euphemisms such as "transport," "migration," "relocation," and "evacuation" were not yet known—and beyond the conceivable.[190]

In the subsequent months, horrific expectations were still held in check by considerations of efficiency: "We imagined forced resettlement or internment in work camps in the East, where we would have to work under harsh and difficult conditions for the war machinery of the Third Reich, but we would remain alive."[191] Victor Klemperer too still tried to calm himself and others at the start of the deportations from Dresden in January 1942: "They will not treat much-needed workers all that badly . . . there is obviously a tremendous shortage of labor, and what work can a dead Jew do?"[192] Jews already living in forced labor camps interpreted "information such as 'agricultural work program in Poland,' 'being housed in work camps,' or 'working for farmers'

. . . for the mere sake of self-preservation as a chance to leave the oppressive camp situation."[193]

Receiving no news from deportees, sometimes for weeks, though unsettling, did not initially give rise to, "despite all previous experience . . . the simply unthinkable" fear of murder.[194] Theodor Tuch recorded on December 22, 1941, that his housemate, who had been deported on October 24, "still had not written or was not allowed to write a decent letter." When asked for money two days later, he responded with a certain lack of understanding, and when receipt of the money was confirmed, he wondered why she "did not write any more." On January 7 he noted that no news had been received about later "transports," not even their destination. On January 16 he received a postcard that had been sent to Litzmannstadt (Lodz) marked "'Return. Presently no mail delivery on the street of the recipient.' That says a lot." In late January it was known that later "transports" had gone to Riga and Minsk, but still no news had been received from there.[195] In July 1942, when the Tuchs received their deportation notices, the mother wrote her daughter living abroad: "It is terrible to go into banishment and give up everything. We will be brought to a camp and have to do without any and all comfort." It cannot be determined for sure whether the question at the bottom, "When will you receive this letter, will we still be alive?"[196] suggests a premonition of the deportees' true destination or refers simply to the advanced age of the couple and the uncertainty regarding the duration of the war.

In early 1942 information sometimes trickled out, at first giving rise to the worst possible fears and ultimately offering some people the certainty that had been lacking.[197] Victor Klemperer's diaries clearly depict the process. Despite his sharp powers of observation and his being unusually well informed, they nevertheless contain some incorrect information and continuing uncertainty and hopes. On the same day he wrote his reassuring thoughts on the need for workers, he also noted the fears of a forced worker in railway construction "that Jewish transports would be shot down on arrival."[198] When, after tough negotiations between the Nazi Party and Zeiss-Ikon, 20 forced workers were deported, Klemperer said he "also no longer feel[s] safe."[199] On March 1, 1942, he came to the conclusion that "concentration camp is now evidently identical with a death sentence. The death of the person transported is notified after a few days."[200] Two weeks later what has ever since symbolized the epitome of horror got its name: "In the last few days I heard Auschwitz (or something like it), near Königshütte in Upper Silesia, mentioned as the most dreadful concentration camp. Work in a mine[!], death within a few days."[201] Then in April 1942 a "driver for the military police" told Frau Klemperer about the mass murders of Jews in Kiev.[202] The staff of the Jewish Hospital in Hamburg heard about them in a similar way. A sobbing German soldier turned to them as "the only place . . . where he could let it all out" and reported that he had to shoot women and children.[203] Others heard of extermination plans in Berlin starting in early 1942 and heard through foreign radio stations of massacres of Jews.[204] Such reports still evoked skepticism: "In November 1942 we learned about the gassings and executions for the first time via the BBC. We could not and did

not want to believe it."[205] A Jewish underground group finally obtained "certainty" "through news passed on to [them] in July 1943 directly from the extermination camps."[206]

The first deportations had already fundamentally changed the situation of all Jews and further diminished their strength to cope with life under constant persecution. Whereas the job of the director of a Jewish orphanage had previously been to provide distraction from the worries, she was now so overwhelmed by them that she "could not get anything decent" done anymore.[207] On the other hand, people gradually got used to the situation, though fearful panic kept breaking through. Klemperer noted in October 1942 that

> with all of that, I myself have only the feeling, the sensation of increasing tension and, more strongly, the apprehension of mortal fear. . . . The strangest thing: it always only shakes me for a few minutes: then I enjoy food, reading, work, again; everything goes on *comme si de rien n'était.* But the weight on one's soul is always there.[208]

Perhaps some people felt the way young Gerhard Beck did, when his friends received their deportation notices: "The first reaction was always to give them courage. Then you'd repress in your mind the question of if and when your turn would come."[209] In the end every new loss of friends intensified the waiting for one's own deportation: "It was a constant state of saying goodbye and every parting was final. Everyone we were attached to went away and we suffered terribly. Besides, you always saw your own fate vividly, since the Gestapo reminded us from time to time that they had not forgotten us."[210] Some remaining Jews had to decide about the fate of other Jews. Doctors at the Jewish Hospital, for example, first examined elderly, sick, and weak Jews to see if they were fit for "transport." They could issue temporary deferments, but since a total was set for each deportation, someone had to replace every deferment.[211] It was such a terrible burden for those involved that one doctor who was working as a nurse, for example, could later not remember if she had had the final word.[212]

At the same time, various "hospital wards were 'combed through' by the Gestapo to see if anyone tried to avoid deportation to the East by being admitted into a hospital." Finally, Nazi authorities virtually searched for pretexts for the "migration":

> If someone crossed the street at an angle rather than perpendicular, had not darkened their windows properly, had referred to the profession of "doctor" rather than "practitioner," had forgotten "Israel" or "Sara" or the supplement "Jew" in their signatures, had violated the curfew, had gone outside without the Jewish Star, or had even attempted suicide![213]

This suggests another reaction to the persecution: the determination of one's own form and (within a very small latitude) time of death. Nevertheless, this step gained a new quality, since it was a way of escaping the persecutors. In the Weimar Republic, Jewish suicides had increased significantly,[214] but this occurred with more and more frequency in 1933.[215] It continued in the subsequent

years, often after a long personal struggle.[216] In November 1938 Walter Tausk even said that "most [German Jews] would kill themselves with morphine or cyanide if only they had it or could get it." Since he had no prospects of emigration after the November Pogrom, taking his own life seemed to him the best alternative. When summoned by the Gestapo in January 1939, he put two razor blades in his shoe so that in the worst case he could "put an end to it."[217] During the deportations, some Jews always had enough pills with them to be able to commit suicide at any moment, and this gave them great comfort. At the time Jews were willing to pay 1,000 Reichsmarks for 30 Veronal barbiturate tablets.[218]

The number of suicides corresponds closely to the most radical measures in the persecution of the Jews. An abrupt rise in suicides occurred during the boycott in 1933, the annexation of Austria, and after the November Pogrom. There was an unprecedented high during the deportations.[219] In Berlin this led to waits as long as two weeks for funerals in the Weissensee cemetery.[220] From 1941 to 1943, 1,279 Jews who had committed suicide were buried there. In all, the number of Berlin Jews who killed themselves during the time of the deportations is estimated at 2,000 to 3,000.[221]

There was a growing acceptance of suicide at this time, fostered by the increasing deadening of emotions. In the Jewish Hospital in Hamburg, three staff members ate their dinner together and were aware that one of them, about to be deported the next day, would take her life that evening. It was respected that these people wanted to end their lives, yet there was also nothing available with which to save them.[222] A young woman living illegally later reported that one of her "coworkers" at her forced labor job "sold her Persian carpet and bought sleeping pills with the money. When she received her [deportation] list, she was not agitated at all. . . . When she did not appear the next day in the factory, we all knew that she had found her own solution."[223] Some people took this step deliberately, with dignity and composure.[224] Others got scared at the last moment. The Neumanns had resolved several times to commit suicide, and then the husband decided against it. His wife wandered "despairingly" through the streets after he had already been picked up, "but something inexplicable in me refused to let me take my own life."[225]

Others freely accompanied the deportees. Gerhard Beck, disguised as a member of the Hitler Youth, rescued his friend from the predeportation assembly camp, but the friend returned because he did not want to abandon his family.[226] In some cases the Gestapo allowed people to join deportees; in other cases they refused.[227]

The Zionist youth movement held various positions with respect to deportation. The leadership of the German pioneer organization felt that especially the *halutzim* (pioneers) had the "sacred duty" to accompany the elderly, sick, and weak. Edith Wolff, on the other hand, actively supported others in assuming an "illegal" existence, though she herself could hardly manage the necessary disguising actions such as the Nazi salute. Wolff reported to the Gestapo when summoned and ended up spending two years suffering her way through 17 prisons and camps. Her stance was that Zionist Jews especially had to survive for the sake of Israel.[228]

Yet even with this goal in mind, some people could not imagine going underground: "At first I decidedly rejected this idea, since it was absolutely incomprehensible for me—a Jew raised according to Prussian principles—to walk around with false papers and hide myself, living lies and deception." Jizchak Schwersenz started getting used to the idea of taking on an illegal existence after his father received his deportation notice and was rescued from the predeportation assembly camp at the last minute by his boss at the forced labor job; but he did not decide for certain until he had received the deportation notice himself.[229] Many Jews did not resolve to give up their "'legal' existence"[230] until they had received hints, warnings, or actual reports that the deportations were not to work camps; until they faced imminent "transport"; and mostly not until they were the last in their family and no longer had to consider anyone else. In Dortmund, for example, a policeman's warning about the gas vans that he had personally seen in Poland persuaded the Spiegel family to prepare to assume an "illegal" existence in 1942.[231] Some were even encouraged to take the step at their forced labor job.[232] The decision was easier for some Jews since acquaintances offered their assistance, and most of them also decided based on knowledge or suspicions about the true purpose of the deportations.[233]

To the extent that Jews living "illegally" did not spend all their time in hiding but sometimes dared to go onto the streets or even led open lives as "Aryans," they had to take care not to be recognized. Thus they had to avoid areas where they used to live.[234] Some felt a disguise was advisable. Schwersenz went to a Berlin suburb on the day he took on an illegal identity, took off the yellow star, and put on a German Labor Front pin. After dark he returned to Berlin and took his "first trial stroll through the city streets to get used to the 'role' of a free, average citizen without the Jewish star." He also grew a moustache and wore different glasses. He cut his "revealing black hair" very short and always had his head covered on the street. He even bought himself a tie, which he had never worn as a member of the youth movement. He complemented his appearance with a Nazi newspaper he carried, the Nazi salute, and upright posture. Later he even started limping, on recommendation of a non-Jew, to appear as a disabled veteran during raids to find deserters.[235] Some women dyed their hair blond.[236]

In addition to the constant danger of being recognized and possibly denounced, food and housing were the most urgent problems. After going underground, Jews were usually dependent on what they could get on the black market or whatever their helpers gave them.[237] If they did not live totally in hiding, they could take on work for food or payment in kind.[238] Others sought jobs in order to support themselves and so keep off the streets during the day.[239]

Perhaps the most difficult problem was finding housing. Hardly anyone living "illegally" could stay in one place until the war ended. Most had to change quarters regularly.[240] Inge Deutschkron and her mother had to leave the lodgings someone offered them after only a month because of their host's curious neighbors. Then they slept in a tiny room behind the storefront of the

lending library where she later worked. After that they found quarters with a non-Jew whose Jewish husband had been killed in a concentration camp. After having lost a variety of other hiding places due to bombings, one of her last quarters was a small, unheated stone hut outside of Potsdam that had once served as a goat shed. A young teacher, who first hid as a charwoman in Mecklenburg but then had to return to Berlin after her host had been denounced, evidently had several cleaning jobs and places where she could take turns staying.[241] The last refuge for some "illegals" was the Jewish cemetery in Berlin-Weissensee, where a mausoleum could provide a roof over their heads.[242]

Married couples and families generally lived separately. Herta Pineas could stay only ten days in the Berlin quarters that were supposed to be permanent; in the next quarters, only eight; and after that she changed lodgings every three days before finally finding a place in southern German parish houses. Her husband accepted an offer from a former patient in Vienna; after conditions there proved too problematic, he spent several weeks in hotels in Linz and St. Pölten, and then also found lodgings with various hosts of the Confessing Church. For a time the couple even managed to live together.[243]

Frau Spiegel assumed a false identity and lived openly on a farm with her five-year-old daughter in Westphalia: "My husband wanted to go totally into hiding and become invisible, but me? I had a small child! You can't hide a child for years without it making itself known." She repeatedly had to move into alternative lodgings for several weeks at a time. Her husband had to abandon his first quarters after only two weeks because the hosts got frightened. In the next one, where he spent about seven months, a boy doing his compulsory year's service on the farm discovered him. He was able to stay in his third accommodations for more than a year.[244]

Like the Deutschkrons, other "illegals" and their hosts in large cities lost their lodgings through Allied bombing. The number of places available even just for a single night continued to decline due to bombings, curious neighbors, or informers, leaving many to occasionally spend a night in the open. Whereas young men could spend summer nights in the forests around Berlin, in winter they had to deal not only with the rigors of bad weather but especially the danger of being discovered. Between 1 A.M. and 5 A.M., when Berlin's public transportation shut down, it was possible to get warmed up on the trains set up for workers in businesses deemed necessary for the war effort. Some spent nights in front of the box offices of the State Opera House; since tickets for the entire week went on sale on Sunday mornings, the "illegal" Jews could join the lines that started on Saturday evening and feel inconspicuously "safe."[245]

When checked for identification, at first young people could show their work identity cards from the companies where they were doing forced labor; others had photo IDs from other people, used at the post office; some even showed monthly passes for the public transportation system. But it soon became necessary to show a state-issued identity card and a work certificate.[246] A few obtained papers by taking them from people on the streets who had died in the bombing.[247] More frequently Jews used the services of forgers. This was

not only expensive but also risky, since there were swindlers working in the "business." The Rewald couple lost all their money to a con man, so they finally turned to the husband's former boss. He took their photographs and obtained two German Railway IDs for them at no charge. Herr Rewald had now become "Erich Treptow . . . in the service of the German State Railway," and Frau Rewald got all the information she needed about Frau Treptow by visiting her and saying she was from the employment office.[248]

Men soon faced another problem: the search for deserters. If they were of military age they needed military papers in addition to their regular identity card.[249] When Schwersenz was preparing his escape to Switzerland, he paid 4,000 Reichsmarks for a military ID to help him on the long journey to the German border. It had been forged by a noncommissioned Wehrmacht officer who issued such service papers officially as well as for illegal purposes. At least these papers identified real, existing officers, which promised "great security" in case questions arose. He justified the price "quite convincingly," saying that he had to make sure his family would be taken care of should he be arrested.[250] Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, who took the same trip with the forged service identity card of a Reich ministry, even "ordered" the police officer who checked his identification to "show him to an officer's compartment."[251] Ehrlich's presence of mind in slipping into the role of his new identity strengthened the impact of the ID card and thus increased his security.

Some Jews took advantage of the destruction of documents in the Hamburg district office of the Central Association of Jews in Germany (RVe) to go underground.[252] In the same way, a woman claimed to have been bombed out in a district of Berlin where both the police and food ration offices had been destroyed. She obtained a "bomb victim certificate," including a residence permit for another location and food ration coupons.[253] Others claimed during the final months of the war to be refugees from the areas already occupied by Allied forces. Inge Deutschkron and her mother rode two hours eastward from Berlin and then returned as refugees "from Guben," which was already Soviet occupied. Along with their "suitcase," their identity papers were also "lost" while fleeing.[254]

In addition to these active "illegals," who worked and constantly moved about in public, there were others who remained in hiding for two or two and a half years. When Siegmund Spiegel resurfaced after 27 months, during which he heard only whispers, he could not stand any loud voices and could hardly move normally. A young couple used the money left by the father to hide at a lathe operator's home in a Berlin suburb. They spent 27 months in a small basement room behind covered windows, where they had to remain still to prevent being noticed by the few neighbors. They went up to the apartment only in the evenings to eat together with their host, and at most they grabbed some fresh air late in the evening.[255]

On top of the effort not to be discovered came the psychological burden: "Living underground—that is to say, illegally—means being condemned to solitude."[256] And yet the days had to be filled: Frau Besser knitted a dress "very, very slowly" only to later undo it and start all over again. Her husband helped

her roll the yarn into balls. He also read aloud: newspapers, "schmaltzy books," and "a couple of crime novels." They also tried to imagine what they would do after they survived, and they kept on talking about how they had met, which reinforced their will to hold out.[257] Although they kept busy killing time, Joel König felt the "need to fill out his day with set activity." First came the housework for himself and his two siblings doing forced labor, and then he read. He laid out a firm plan, and with the help of commentaries and dictionaries he read the Bible in the original Hebrew. His brother thought he was crazy and admonished him to think more about his survival. But a few months later he also went underground and started studying Hebrew.[258]

Joel König and his sister finally moved in with a shoemaker who had offered his help while their parents were still alive and took them in warmly. But after König had done all the small repairs he could find in the house, his idleness depressed him, as did the increasing dissatisfaction of the shoemaker. The relationship between the host and his guest in hiding got worse during the military leave of the shoemaker's sons. Sometimes König avoided them during the day by going to the zoo, and later he was able to find work with a Hungarian Jew, with whom he could also live temporarily. With the help of another, non-Jewish employer he was ultimately able to escape to Hungary, where he survived the German invasion as an "ethnic German gardener." The shoemaker parted with him on good terms but thought Joel took too much with him. The shoemaker evidently felt entitled to the property saved from König's parents' home.[259]

Just as typical as König's positive experiences with many helpers while he was living "illegally" and during his escape[260] were depressing experiences: even if the helpers—such as the Deutschkrons' first host—did not openly demand that they change quarters, the "illegals" felt backed into a corner, again and again, with no way out. Sometimes someone, like the old Social Democrat who had already been in jail once shortly after the Nazis took power, might explicitly express his priorities. He found the suggestion to become an "illegal" "a great idea" and supported those underground as an expression of his opposition to the Nazis. But he also clearly marked the limits of his involvement: " 'if something were to go wrong, you'd have to find another place. I have to survive. I have plans for the future.' " Inge Deutschkron noted he was convinced that he "was destined to play a role in a democratic post-Hitler Germany." This is why Deutschkron also had to give up her job in his girlfriend's store. When all women under 55 years of age had to work in munitions factories, Deutschkron's presence at the store could call attention to him, and the risk seemed too great.[261] Compared to such experiences, helpers who did not even want to accept favors, insisting instead upon paying their charges for the smallest of courier services, really stand out.[262]

The helpers who offered housing, donated meals, gave or sold food ration cards (or at least some coupons), or supported those underground financially[263] were not only non-Jews. Especially in the beginning, many "illegals" seem to have been supported by mixed-marriage families or families made up of the remaining so-called *Mischlinge* and non-Jews. Later, however, the

Gestapo looked for "illegals" precisely among such mixed families.[264] The ability to help was pushed to the limit if more was needed than just room and board: "you couldn't get sick! There was no way to call a doctor."[265]

Most "illegals" were left to their own resources, and some thought they were the last remaining Jews in their city. It seems all the more remarkable that a group formed in the spring of 1943 maintained a modicum of community life despite the daily changes of lodgings for some members. The Chug Chaluzi (Circle of Pioneers)[266] was led by Jizchak Schwersenz. He first received a monthly stipend from the *Hehalutz* and later went underground with its approval. The group was initially made up of six "illegals" and five who were "treated as Jews," or *Mischlinge*, and grew to about 20, at times as many as 40, members. It had a regular weekly program: except for Friday, they met at least once daily. They organized Sabbath celebrations and Sunday outings, which would not be conspicuous among the normal weekend travel and by taking certain security measures. Even after going underground, Schwersenz, a former teacher in the school of the Youth Aliyah, continued Jewish educational work. When meeting in a private apartment they practiced extreme caution, arriving only in twos, at 15-minute intervals, and humming Hebrew songs without lyrics. Also, the young people disguised the covers of the Hebrew books that could have given them away so easily. They went to the theater and opera and prepared by reading the pieces together. After Schwersenz's escape to Switzerland in early 1944, Gerhard Beck took over leadership of the Chug until he was arrested in early March 1945. But at that time the educational and religious activities had been shifted to the background in favor of helping people escape.[267]

Those who lived "illegally" had to be on guard constantly, not only when visiting other Jews, to hide the lack of the star rather than its presence,[268] or because the doormen in large apartment buildings in Berlin watched over everything and often also served as "block wardens."[269] In addition to being discovered by chance, there was also a fear of informers. When Lotte Strauss visited relatives, their (Jewish) friends and landlord threatened to report her to the Jewish Community if she did not leave the apartment immediately. The non-Jewish administrator of her uncle's "Aryanized" company (an old girlfriend of her mother) threatened her, saying she did not have a chance anyway and should turn herself in. Finally, a woman who had helped her and two other Jews tried to denounce her fiancé for irrational, personal reasons.[270] These examples, even more than the constant danger of being denounced by strangers or fleeting contacts, clearly show how uncertain daily life was for every "illegal."

On top of this, there were also Jewish "snatchers" who were hired or blackmailed by the Gestapo. Promising to save them or their families from deportation, the Gestapo got them to inform on Jews living "illegally." The most notorious and feared of them was the blond Stella, who had herself been living "illegally" and was caught by a Jewish informer. On a single weekend, Stella told the Gestapo about 62 "illegal" Jews. She carried out her searches in theaters and the opera; the security that members of the Chug Chaluzi felt in such

places was, in fact, deceptive. A resistance group of Jews and non-Jews even planned to murder Stella. They sent her a "death sentence" as a warning but then were unable to carry out their plan.[271]

Life in "illegality" revealed a new gender disparity. Whereas more men than women could be saved through emigration and more women thus suffered deportation, female "illegals" had better chances of survival. Perhaps this had something to do with their individual relationships with the helpers. The same shoemaker who observed Joel König suspiciously and finally kicked him out willingly continued to house his sister, since she ran the household. More significantly, only men were subject to constant searches for war deserters and, as soon as they were arrested, could be identified as Jews by the fact that they had been circumcised. Many "illegals" were found; some died of undernourishment or in Allied bombing; and isolated individuals who could not stand the hunger and extreme stress turned themselves in to the Gestapo in hopes of ending up in a work camp.[272]

Conclusion

Starting in 1933, Jews were deliberately terrorized. As of summer 1938 more extreme persecutions peaked in the pogrom of November 9–10 and the arrest and internment of about 30,000 men in concentration camps. This made the defenselessness and isolation of the Jews clear-cut. Even at that time they received little help from non-Jews. Emigration seemed the only remaining option. But this option became virtually impossible once the war started and was finally prohibited entirely in October 1941. At the same time, forced labor and the withdrawal of almost all food stripped Jews of the material basis for survival and all psychological strength. Still, they became accustomed to each stage to a certain extent, without which it would have been impossible to survive. Of the few who dared to resist deportation once individual reports of murder trickled in, only about one in four survived. In Berlin, the center of Jewish life, where 160,564 Jews still lived in the summer of 1933, 1,402 Jews resurfaced from "illegality" after liberation.[273]

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Conclusion

1703: "The Purchase of Houses and Other Real Estate by Jews," a Prussian document, stated that a Jew who bought a house from a Christian had to sell his previous house to another Christian, "so that in this way, the number of Jewish houses [*Juden-Häuser*] would not be increased."[1]

1803: "On May 9, 1803, all of us *Schutzjuden* [Protected Jews] here and in Nenndorf were summoned at the behest of the local merchants and . . . towns. . . . That is, the merchants had petitioned the court to the effect that we should not engage in commerce, sell from door to door, or employ many . . . clerks. We then presented a document of protest. . . . [After their success] we heard no more of the matter. May God continue to grant peace to us and all Israel."[2]

1905: "We moved to Stettin. There a delightful time began for all of us. The schools were excellent and we felt happy there. Stettin was a very liberal city, friendly to the Jews. . . . There was a lively spirit in the Jewish community. . . . Lectures were presented regularly in the Literary Society . . . [and] . . . the Jewish Gymnastics Club was founded."[3]

Late 1930s to early 1940s: A man from a Jewish family who had been baptized at birth and was married to a non-Jew went for a walk with his son, who had been drafted into the army. "Both of them were tired and wanted to rest in a park. But . . . the father was allowed to sit only on one of the benches for Jews, which the son in uniform of course was not allowed to touch."[4]

The daily lives of Jews in the German lands and, later, in Germany, present us with multiple and often contradictory impressions. As the opening quotations

show, limitations on Jewish rights—set by rulers and communities in the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—were gradually rescinded as a result of the ideals of the Enlightenment, the practical necessities of the Industrial Revolution, and Jewish protest and petition. Bigotry encoded in law, such as that facing the Jews mentioned in the foregoing examples from 1703 and 1803, no longer held power over newly enfranchised Jews in the German Empire (1871–1918). By 1905, the Jews of Stettin were hardly exceptional. German Jews had found a haven. To understand their good fortune, they had only to look outside of Germany, westward toward France, where the Dreyfus Affair was unfolding, eastward toward the lands of pogroms, or even backward, only a few decades, to the plight of grandparents, subject to exclusionary German laws. In liberal cities, like Stettin, but also in remote rural areas, most of the Jewish population had attained middle-class comfort, the *Bildung* that they craved as entrée into the German bourgeoisie, political citizenship, and a substantial degree of integration into non-Jewish society. Tragically, less than 30 years later, Jewish political, economic, and social successes lay shattered. A soldier could no longer sit on the same park bench as his "racially" Jewish father.

These snippets from the preceding chapters offer glimpses into the changing circumstances Jewish people faced in their daily successes and struggles. Yet the history of Jewish daily life, a "history from below," does much more than provide static snapshots of the past. It opens up new vistas and shows that German-Jewish history is not merely a simple, linear story that takes us from the limitations and insecurities of the seventeenth century to the successful achievement of emancipation in the nineteenth, back down to the dark days of the Nazi era. Although this book has been organized chronologically, the history of Jewish daily life illustrates that many eras were not sharply demarcated for their contemporaries. For example, legal emancipation did not immediately affect housing, education, or jobs, although it may have had an impact on these areas in the long run.

The history of daily life also provides a three-dimensional perspective that illuminates gender relations, the interactions among generations, and those between Jews and non-Jews. We have noted important shifts in the roles of women and men over time in how they negotiated love, marriage, and power within the family. Women's changing relationship to the economy and increasing engagement in public activities, culminating in their extraordinary efforts during the Nazi era, emerge from these pages. Similarly, we have observed transformations over the years in the expectations that parents held for their sons and daughters—from modifications in child-rearing practices to adjustments in their (still gendered) hopes for children's educations and careers. Relationships between grandparents, parents, and children also evolved from close-knit, daily interactions to more distant, less frequent connections as younger Jews moved to cities, leaving their elders behind. Moreover, a history of daily life has helped us clear a path through the thicket of mixed signals and contradictory expectations regarding relationships between Jews and non-Jews.

Basic Commonalities among Jews

Our study has moved between the big picture and the minute story, focusing on the quotidian lives of Jews. Studying everyday life demonstrates how hard it is to generalize. There were as many Jewish "stories" as there were Jews, as many regional variations as there were national resemblances, and many exceptions to every "rule." Such variety notwithstanding, this kind of history also sheds light on basic commonalities: how individuals striving for citizenship and equality experienced critical issues such as sheltering, nurturing, and educating their families, making a living, and interacting with non-Jews.

One of the most fundamental issues confronting all Jews, for example, had to do with living conditions. Early on, Jews aspired to decent housing often within distinct parts of town. These neighborhoods, not entirely cut off from the Christian population, reflected both the desire of Jews to live near each other and their awareness of Christians' aversion toward them. By the mid- to late nineteenth century, Jews acquired newer, larger domiciles in wealthier neighborhoods, though usually still within reach of other Jews. While the new Eastern European immigrants congregated in the poorest sections of some cities, their more comfortable German coreligionists acquired roomier apartments and modern conveniences. Some even built grand villas where they lived until the Nazis placed them in cramped, cold "Jews' houses," from which they would be deported to situations beyond their worst nightmares.

Family life, too, was central to Jews' everyday world of activity, thought, and feeling. Families continued to be crucial sources of support—physical, financial, and emotional. They could also be sources of tension and anxiety, however. Parents struggled financially and emotionally to sustain their offspring, and sometimes vice versa. Gendered hierarchies, for the most part rigidly defined, persisted, just as in other German families. And, as was the case for other middle-class Germans, the family was also the location in which the Jewish middle class acquired and displayed its German *Bildung*.

The state of the family furthermore signified the "health" of the Jewish people to Jews and non-Jews alike. Only during the Weimar Republic would family ties loosen somewhat, with some Jews alluding to "much more freedom"[5] from family mores and ties. It was then that arranged marriages gave way to companionate relationships, and the family faced new challenges brought on by increasing intermarriage and conversion, trends that had started during the Empire. The "racially" Jewish father whose son could no longer sit next to him on a park bench during the Nazi era had been baptized during the Empire. Confronting the Nazi onslaught, families provided islands of refuge, despite internal tensions. Moreover, Jews frantically drew on family connections and family strategies (not always successfully) in their attempts to avoid or escape Nazi brutality.

Education was also fundamental to the basic issues of daily life. Jewish tradition placed a huge emphasis on educating males. Boys first learned to read

Hebrew and religious texts. Starting in the later eighteenth century and accelerating in the nineteenth, public education, Enlightenment values, and the Jewish desire to acculturate caused Jews increasingly to choose secular schools and the German classics over religious learning. Yet gendered expectations continued in secular education. Jewish boys attended high schools and universities in growing numbers, their sisters slowly joining them only at the turn of the century when universities opened to women. Jews took part in intellectual and artistic circles—both Jewish and non-Jewish—and attained *Bildung*, the imprimatur of the educated middle class. Despite the fact that *Bildung* remained gendered and religiously inflected, at least at the top, representing a Protestant male elite, Jews, male and female, saw it as addressing all of humanity and fundamentally inclusive. Even during the Nazi era, when *Bildung* had become nationalized and racialized, German Jews still took solace in their interpretation of it, harking back to the Enlightenment. They attended lectures, theater, and concerts sponsored by their own organizations. Teenagers readying themselves for emigration at agricultural-training farms participated in classical music quartets.[6] Bourgeois Jews saw *Bildung* as synonymous with their Germanness.

Similarly, *Bildung* had become "synonymous with their Jewishness."[7] This turn toward *Bildung* in the nineteenth century presented a major challenge to traditional Judaism. In 1650 Jews lived in a Jewish world, even if they interacted with non-Jews in commerce or in their neighborhoods: "Judaism was a way of life that one followed without much questioning."[8] Life circled around Jewish holy days, and Jews spoke, dressed, and ate differently from their neighbors, even if Jewish practice often deviated regionally from the official Judaism proclaimed by rabbis and holy texts. Increasing involvement in the secular world and in secular education led a growing number of Jews to "reform" their religion. In the nineteenth century, Judaism entered the era of reform, as some local communities turned to German sermons or removed some Hebrew prayers or allowed an organ or other wide-ranging reforms in the synagogue. Such innovation, although uneven in practice, became widespread. It also caused a reaction: by 1900, about 15 percent of German Jewry could be counted as adherents of modern Orthodoxy. In addition, Eastern European Jews, entering Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, brought their own brands of Orthodoxy with them. An increasingly secular society further permitted the emergence of a whole new group of Jews, of both German and Eastern European origin, who were no longer observant but remained connected to their Jewish families and communities. And some Jews lost interest in religion and community altogether. What emerged may be called an era of "pluralization, privatization and familialization."[9]

Alongside daily concerns about housing, family, education, and religion, Jews lived their lives amid non-Jews, whether neighbors, business associates, classmates, colleagues, or friends. Our study shows that Jews were never completely isolated. The story of Jewish social interactions with non-Jews is only

slowly becoming a subject of research. We need to know more about how Jews negotiated relationships with non-Jews and how class, ethnicity, gender, and locality affected their efforts. The reverse is also important: far more work is needed to illuminate non-Jews' negotiation of their connections with Jews, that is, the great variety of relationships they had with Jews apart from straightforward antisemitism. This research will offer us the all-important vantage point from which to see the place of Jews in shaping Germans' sense of themselves and their nation.

Each part of this book contains a chapter that addresses social life, and each of these chapters has a section that discusses Jews' relations with non-Jews. The successive titles of these sections offer a bird's-eye view of this ongoing and changing relationship: "Jews and Christians: Relations and Tensions"; "Jewish-Gentile Relationships: Hostility and Friendships"; "Reaching Out: Social Life with Other Germans"; and "Social Ostracism." But more lies beneath these titles. Seventeenth-century Jews—men and women—had long-term business relationships with non-Jews, served non-Jews as merchants and bankers, and lived among non-Jews. Jews lived and worked in *and* outside of Jewish neighborhoods. Interactions increased in the early nineteenth century, even though Jews might find signs, such as one over the entrance to a spa, proclaiming: "No admission to Jews and pigs."[10] Still, "many Jews who reported anti-Jewish insults after the 1830s treated them as annoyances rather than as seriously menacing."[11]

Although violence against Jews who had overstepped social boundaries occurred occasionally, Jewish-Christian relations seem to have been more amicable than ever before between the 1840s and the 1870s.[12] A Jewish villager described organizations that included all faiths and provided an arena for many friendships among Jews and non-Jews in the 1840s.[13] Even before legal emancipation, Jews could be on the board of associations or share in "often friendly and close relations with their Christian fellow citizens."[14] Jews in the 1750s could not even have imagined the extent of integration that was possible less than 100 years later.

Similarly, Imperial Germany provided previously unknown social opportunities for mixing and mingling. On a daily level, an immense variety of social interactions took place between Jews and other Germans. Jews participated avidly in high culture and entered associations that had been restricted to them before legal emancipation. Even though a few associations stubbornly refused to admit them, charities, professional organizations, women's associations, and veterans' organizations became meeting places for Jews and non-Jews. These experiences of success persisted (even as they faced renewed challenges) in the Weimar years, and it was the expectation of continued friendship and collegiality that led to such dismay among Jews when colleagues and friends turned away in the Nazi era. But even then, when most Germans repudiated or vilified their Jewish friends, some continued to visit them under cover of night, and a tiny minority remained loyal until the end, offering hiding places and food to the hunted Jews.

Remaining "Other"

Did Jews seamlessly fuse with other Germans? No. Nor did most ever want to do so. The latter is a major finding of our research. Jews bridged two worlds in the modern era. They reached out, finding frequent—if not total—acceptance, and also maintained intense networks of their own. Even as we found strong evidence of integration, we found equally striking evidence that Jews maintained the richness of their "otherness." They succeeded in establishing a delicate balance between integration and identity.

Further, although the history of acculturation has shown many similarities between Jews and other Germans, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, distinct differences remained. Nowhere was this clearer than in their occupations. Forbidden in most cases to own land and excluded from professions and crafts monopolized by the guilds, medieval Jews focused on moneylending as their primary source of income. In early modern German lands, Jews diversified, pursuing a variety of commercial activities. Still, before the mid–nineteenth century, severe governmental restrictions limited Jewish economic life, mostly to petty trading. When they were finally permitted to choose their residency and work, most Jews sought economic niches not occupied by Christians. Hence they engaged in peddling, usually on credit, and some also became commercial employees, clerks in the small businesses that successful peddlers managed to set up. Their relegation to commerce taught Jews how to invest, how to take risks in new businesses, and, ultimately, how to achieve comfortable, sometimes grand, incomes.

By the Imperial era, most careers had opened to Jewish men. They could aspire to good jobs and good incomes, especially if they chose commerce or the professions. This was no guarantee, however; while many businesses succeeded, others failed. Moreover, immigrant Jews from Eastern Europe formed a Jewish working class, while some rural Jews managed only to eke out an existence. Still, in these years most German Jews had joined the middle classes, a sign that their businesses had achieved a modicum of stability. In 1895, 56 percent of Jewish men worked in commerce, compared to 10 percent of the general population. Even in later years, this "imbalance," which antisemites used to denounce Jews as lazy, dishonest, and "unproductive" and which some Jews themselves tried to rectify, remained intact. A similar "imbalance" occurred in the legal and medical professions, where, in 1907, Jews made up about 15 percent of lawyers and about 6 percent of doctors. The Nazis put an end to Jewish business and professional success, using a "strategy of fighting a war on many fronts" against Jewish businesses.[15]

Occupational profiles, however, were not the only distinctive and lasting patterns for Jews. The family, an important site for acculturation to German norms, was a crucial site for maintaining Jewish culture and traditions in the diaspora. Juggling this double assignment of maintaining Jewishness and self-consciously becoming bourgeois set the Jewish middle class apart from other Germans. In addition, ties within extended Jewish families enhanced Jewish business, marriage, and kinship networks, providing business and social

support as they further separated Jews from other Germans. Much like other middle-class Germans, but probably even more so, most of their leisure time was also spent among their families. Jews supported family and community networks, even as, or *because*, integration became a reality. Most did not desire complete assimilation, that is, to give up all aspects of their Jewish identities. Even as fertility declined in the later nineteenth century and families shrank, family networks, commitments, and demands played an indelible role in the lives of individual Jews.

Similarly, Jewish communal networks, intense and ubiquitous in the early modern era, continued to flourish after Emancipation. Jews created hundreds and then thousands of Jewish organizations from the mid–nineteenth through the first half of the twentieth centuries. Even those Jews who founded or belonged to non-Jewish groups generally also belonged to Jewish ones.

Moreover, religion continued to distinguish Jews from other Germans. The Reform movement, in fact, revitalized nineteenth-century religious adherence, as did neo-Orthodoxy. And even though many Jews became secular, religion—or ethnic-religious identities—remained part of a larger "interpretive culture which constitute[d] the entire reality of lived experience . . ." for many Jews, as well as for many Christians.[16] For most, Judaism, defined as the belief in and practice of the religion, evolved into Jewishness, the unique culture and community of the Jews. At the end of the nineteenth century, Jews no longer attended synagogue in the numbers they had before, but most—sometimes even converts—participated in a dense cultural system of shared values, networks, organizations, and institutions even as they also attained membership in non-Jewish circles.

Even if practice did not look the same in 1915 as it had in 1815, the way Jews *as Jews* approached philanthropy, self-help, and Jewish educational and cultural associations—especially in the 1930s—was informed by religion and religious sensibilities. Schiller and Goethe may have replaced piety for most, but Jewishness had hardly lost its hold on them. Moreover, here, too, gender mattered. As boys attended the Gymnasium and men tended to their shops on the Sabbath, Judaism shifted its focus (though not its theology) to women's domestic practice and family celebrations. Despite continuing acculturation, the "decisive turn to Jewishness"[17] of many Weimar Jews, in the form of interest in Jewish organizations, history, Zionism, and religion, had roots in the continuing traditions of the earlier era and should not be perceived as a sudden reversal. The Nazi era further accelerated this tendency in many Jews and freshly provoked it in some, as Jews turned toward each other and toward their houses of prayer for solace.

Constructed Identities

The people we have studied began as *Jews in Germany* and struggled to become, as the Centralverein[18] labeled itself, *German Citizens of the Jewish Faith.* During the 1920s, they integrated into general society so rapidly that some Jew-

ish spokespersons expressed alarm about Jewish continuity. Still, they held fast to an intricate network of Jewish families, friends, and colleagues. They had succeeded in redefining their "Jewishness" as individuals and as communities.

They had also succeeded in living as "hybrids"[19]—both Germans and Jews—with all the exhilaration and frustration that involved. State-sponsored antisemitic terror in the 1930s and 1940s challenged this fragile balance, forcing Jews out of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the German "racial" collective. These internal and external transformations indicate just how unstable and constructed Jewish identity was. By the nineteenth century, individual Jews could determine what they themselves meant by "Jewish" in relationship to other Jews. Yet the German political context changed the definition of "Jew" throughout our study, essentializing it in the early era as a religion of "others," Germanizing it in the era of Emancipation, and racializing it in the end. Still, a history of daily life does more than highlight the fragility and instability of Jewish identity. It goes beyond political definitions to see how these identities were negotiated at the grassroots, how Jews experienced their otherness as well as how they challenged and redefined their subjectivity vis-à-vis those holding legal, economic, or social power.

Whether Jews were reviled for failing or refusing to become Christians in early modern times, or whether Germans resorted to modern clichés[20] later on, antisemitism remained a potent factor with which Jews had to contend when formulating their social and political identities. It has been a leitmotif in this summary, the frame for Jewish successes and Jewish disappointments, and the force behind the othering, ghettoization, and final destruction of Jews in Germany.

Jews reacted in various ways to antisemitism over the years. One man recalled that his father admonished him for expressing delight at Prussia's victory in 1871: "In their eyes you will always remain the Jew. . . . I fear that you will see for yourself someday that in Germany *rischus* [hostility toward Jews] is ineradicable."[21] Yet other Jews believed that the general population was not antisemitic and that hatred against Jews was stirred up from "above."[22] World War I, perhaps their biggest disappointment before 1933, laid bare these contradictions. On the one hand, intermarriage rates rose before and during the war, and Jews rushed to the colors and fought in the trenches. On the other, the government implied that Jews had shirked their duties, and Jews faced renewed and reenergized antisemitism: "Surrounded by comrades whose plight one shares, to whom one had taken a liking, with whom one marches for the common goal," Jewish soldiers faced those "old, despicable expressions again. And, suddenly one is all alone."[23]

In spite of endemic and, sometimes, epidemic antisemitism across the class spectrum and over three hundred years, Jewish economic, political, and social successes continued, facing few significant setbacks. Overcoming Christian prejudices, Liberal hesitancy, and government vacillations, Jewish emancipation proceeded throughout the nineteenth century. Against the economic downturn of the 1870s, the political successes of new, racist, antisemitic parties in the 1880s, and the bigotry of German intellectuals from Wagner through

Treitschke, Jews continued to integrate. When World War I broke out and the kaiser declared all of his subjects "Germans," German Jews believed that meant them. In the Weimar era Jews encountered intolerance, understood that "step-children must be doubly good,"[24] *and* made a place for themselves in Germany. Even as their opponents became more radical, more widespread, and more poisonous, Jews remained hopeful. Sadly, as Peter Gay has written, German Jews "were wrong. But they had good reason to believe that they were right."[25]

Jews, oppressed or castigated for a variety of "sins" throughout German history, became the crucial "other" in Nazi Germany. That Nazi antisemitism was radically different from any previous incarnation was frighteningly apparent to some, but to others, accustomed to racist slanders, it seemed like more of the same. This time, however, a criminal German government, no longer satisfied with destroying Jewish emancipation, ruthlessly destroyed the Jewish people. Our study shows how Jewish people fought—as they had for close to three hundred years—to maintain their families, their schools, their religious institutions, their livelihoods, and their communities. In the face of unimagined state and popular persecution, they lost everything they had built. Over half narrowly managed to escape Germany, despite the obstacles put in their paths by the Nazi regime and the closed doors of most nations. A tiny remnant hid with the aid of "Aryans," and the rest faced the worst of Nazi savagery.

Concluding Questions

Conclusions are supposed to "conclude," but this conclusion raises many new questions, as indeed the book itself has.

1. How do traditional histories, particularly those emphasizing politics, mesh with a history of daily life? The latter has allowed us to write a history "from within," one that offers a glimpse into Jewish perceptions, Jewish sensibilities, and Jewish strategies. In the future, it would be illuminating to combine such a history with "high" politics: how did rulers and governments interact with ordinary Jews and how did ordinary Jews experience their political subjectivity and see their own actions vis-à-vis the state? How did these experiences get played out? In other words, how did ordinary Jews assign meaning to state practices and laws that restricted them, and what kinds of claims did they make upon the state, first as subjects and then as citizens, and even in the 1930s when they faced subjugation and dishonor?

Further, over time, how did Jews balance their demands for equality before the law with the need to preserve their uniqueness? How did they articulate their claims to be part of a German polity, nation, or culture and still remain different? What languages did Jews invoke to assert their vision of a balance between German universalism and Jewish particular interests? How did they negotiate belonging but not belonging entirely?[26]

2. What is the most helpful way to approach the issue of Jewish identities? We have noted, for example, the definitional instability of "Jews," how govern-

ments and non-Jews redefined them. Moreover, we have shown how fluid and changing "identities" were, how Jews defined and redefined themselves, and how modern identities could overlap or trump each other, depending on the situation. At many points in their lives, a Jewish man or woman might feel a stronger connection to religion and heritage, at other points to region or nation, at many times to several identities at once. Further, at times Jews related not only to the German nation but also to their diasporic community by visiting relatives abroad, by supporting charities for needy Jews in distant lands, and, in the Nazi era, by appealing to Jews all over the world for help. Diasporic and national identities could live within the very same person at the very same time.

3. What is the role of historical contingency in German-Jewish history? Our study has underlined the unpredictable relationship between Jewish intentions and historical events. Sometimes they worked hand in hand, as during the nineteenth-century struggle for Emancipation, when industrialization and liberalism helped advance Jewish aspirations. And other times they were at odds, as during World War I when Jews demonstrated their patriotism and faced antisemitism nevertheless. Often Jewish accomplishments and failures occurred simultaneously: for example, their final, legal emancipation in the 1870s coincided with an economic downturn and renewed antisemitism.

4. How stable is "success?" This history addresses issues pertinent to the study of any minority: does acceptance by some mean rejection by others? German-Jewish history teaches us about the fragility of success, but we need to go deeper, to understand how social ties were made and unmade, how neighborliness worked and how it broke down, how intimacy was accomplished and how it failed. State edicts and, later, laws can explain some of these interactions, but the state did not act in a vacuum. We need to understand more about social prejudice and acceptance, about inclusive and exclusive behaviors of Jews and non-Jews.

5. More comprehensively, can one study such a diverse minority without spending as much attention on the variety of people who made up the majority? Although we have examined how Jews reached out to their neighbors and were accepted—willingly by many, with reservations by others, and not at all by some—we can only catch glimpses of non-Jews in the neighborhoods, shops, and clubs in which Jews lived, worked, and socialized. We still need a history of interactions between Jews and non-Jews at the grassroots, one that goes beyond the histories of antisemitism that we already know and focuses on non-Jewish Germans in their own diversity as Bavarians or Prussians, urbanites or peasants, workers or bourgeoisie, Catholics or Protestants, reaching out to or turning their backs on Jews.

That is, we still need to envision the "Germans"—the public sphere, the state, and the nation—as less static and less homogeneous than we have to date. Thus, even as we keep the political power of the Protestant elites in mind, we need to examine the normal, everyday practices of diverse Germans, not as a simple "majority" but as negotiations among many minorities.[27] And we need to recall, as Till van Rahden has reminded us, that this German "nor-

mality" was "not just a moving, but also a contested target" in which Jews had some sort of say about its meaning.

6. Our history underlines the great variety of Jewish perceptions of their situation in Germany, while leaving wide open the question: whose or which perceptions were accurate? Gershom Scholem wrote:

> There is no question that Jews tried to enter into a dialogue with Germans and from all possible perspectives and stand points. . . . No one responded to this cry. . . . To whom, then, did the Jews speak in this famous German-Jewish dialogue? They spoke only to themselves.[28]

Three hundred years of Jewish daily life argue against Scholem's conclusion. They show that Jews spoke to themselves *and* to other Germans. Sometimes Germans responded, and sometimes they did not. Moreover, the dialogue—or lack of it—does not explain the tragic end of Jewish life in Germany. As Michael Marrus has pointed out, "historians have generally not discovered a close connection between widespread, intense popular antisemitism and the destruction process."[29] These are areas that require far more research. We will need not only to analyze the multilayered processes of social interactions but what these meant, subjectively, to the parties involved. Social history, carefully combined with the new focus on culture and language, may help us to analyze the interplay of ideas and actions: how did antisemitism affect social relations, and in turn, how did social relations affect antisemitic behaviors or feelings?

Did Jews, as Scholem asserts, really try to fit in "from all possible perspectives?" Or was their ongoing distinctiveness also a sign of their positive valuation of Jewish identity and the tenacity of religion, community, and heritage? Further, Scholem and others have criticized Jewish aspirations to a German-Jewish "dialogue" as illogical and deluded.[30] Yet we have noted many possible explanations for their desires and for their frustrations. Illogical? Perhaps Jews responded pragmatically to an untenable situation between 1650 and 1870. Deluded? From the mid–nineteenth century onward there were real openings for friendship, collegiality, and even love.

7. Finally, are the civic and social advances from around 1850 to 1933 the exception to the rule of sometimes waxing, sometimes waning antisemitic hostility? Or are the twelve years of National Socialism (which Scholem assumes to be the proof of his assertion) the exception to the rule of an always complicated, often ambivalent coexistence? When we survey the three hundred years encompassed in this study, did Jews go from being degraded aliens in a Christian society to being *Untermenschen* (subhumans) in Nazi Germany with an all-too-brief period of equality and well-being in the middle? Or should we look at Jewish daily life as ending in 12 years of horrific exception to what appeared to be, and actually was for many, the increasing success of Jewish integration into German society? That there are no easy answers to any of these questions is what makes the conceptualization and writing of German-Jewish history an ongoing project.

Notes

Introduction

1. The literature is enormous. For an introduction, see Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

2. On emancipation, see Reinhard Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus: Studien zur "Judenfrage" in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Göttingen, 1975); Jacob Toury, *Die politische Orientierungen der Juden in Deutschland. Von Jena bis Weimar* (Tübingen, 1966).

3. The following are a few examples out of a rich literature. For religion, see Robert Liberles, *Religious Conflict in Social Context*; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*. For social and cultural changes, see Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, and Brenner, *Renaissance of Jewish Culture*. For Jewish political actions, see Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions*; Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers*. For local and regional studies, see Shulamit Magnus, *Jewish Emancipation in a German City: Cologne, 1798–1871* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); van Rahden, *Breslauer*; Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*; Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*. An excellent family history is Kraus, *Mosse*. For women's history, see Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*; Hertz, *High Society*; Kaplan, *Making*.

4. Henry Wassermann, "The Fliegende Blätter as a Source of the Social History of German Jewry," *LBIYB* 28 (1983), 96.

5. In Germany, this kind of history is known as Alltagsgeschichte, or the history of everyday life. Alltagsgeschichte connotes history from "below." In Britain this grew from labor history with Marxist influence and in the United States from non-Marxist sociology and the New Left. Although we have not done so in this volume, Alltagsgeschichte often focuses on microhistorical studies; for an excellent example, see David Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1990) and his *Kinship in Neckarhausen 1700–1870* (Cambridge, 1998).

6. Geoff Eley offers an analysis of how Alltagsgeschichte differs from social history in his "Labor History, Social History," 297–343 (especially 314–315, 340–343).

7. Geoff Eley (about Lüdtke), "Labor History, Social History," 297–343. *Eigensinn* has been defined as a "creative reappropriation of the conditions of daily life" and helps us to see individual agency. Luedtke, "Organizational Order or Eigensinn? Workers' Privacy and Workers' Politics in Imperial Germany," in *Rites of Power, Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, edited by Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia, 1985), 303–333.

8. Wolfgang Kaschuba, referring to the working classes in "Popular Culture and Workers' Culture as Symbolic Orders," in Lüdtke, *Everyday Life*, 191.

9. Friedrich Niewöhner, "Reizbare Volksseele. Warum ein Jude den Begriff 'antisemitisch' prägte," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 21, 2002, 3; Moshe Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1986).

10. A differentiated analysis like that of Helmut Walser Smith, "Religion and Conflict," would help us to break down these categories.

11. Till van Rahden uses the term "situative ethnicity" to explain the fluidity with which Jews claimed their ethnic or their German heritage, depending on the situation. *Breslauer*, 19–21.

12. Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, 4 (1991).

13. See an earlier study with similar conclusions: Hsia and Lehmann, *In and Out of the Ghetto*.

14. The cities with the greatest number of Jews between 1871 and 1933 were Berlin, Frankfurt/Main, Breslau, and Hamburg.

15. For Jews in politics, see Ernest Hamburger, *Juden im öffentlichen Leben Deutschlands* (Tübingen, 1968), and Peter Pulzer, *Jews in the German State* (Oxford, 1992). For Jewish organizations, see Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions*; Barbara Suchy, "The Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus," *LBIYB* 28 (1983), and *LBIYB* 30 (1985).

16. Stefi Jersch-Wenzel and Reinhard Rürup, eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in den Archiven der neuen Bundesländer* (Munich, 1996), supported by the Leo Baeck Institute, provides valuable guides to newly available sources.

17. For a discussion of these issues, see Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenace Edwall, eds., *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience* (Lanham, Md., 1994), especially essays by Paul Thompson, Marigold Linton, and Karen Fields. For an example of this problem, see Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, "Denken, Wirken, Schaffen: Das erfolgreiche Leben des Aron Liebeck," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and van Rahden, *Juden, Bürger, Deutsche*, 369–393. For an eloquent plea to use memoirs also as an examination of the writer's self-conscious expression, see Guy Miron, "Autobiography as a Source for Writing Social History—German Jews in Palestine/Israel as a Case Study," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte* 24 (2000).

18. New York, 1996–97.

19. See Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland*.

1. The Environment of Jewish Life

1. Rudolf Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (New York, 1988), vii. As George Rudé put it, "Germany (or the 'Empire') still had no national identity whatsoever and was splintered into more than 360 principalities and (largely) petty states." *Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 8.

2. Jacob Katz estimated 175,000 Jews in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century, a figure that includes Jews from Prussian Poland. Jonathan Israel stated 60,000 Jews already for the end of the seventeenth century; while, as stated, Azriel Shohet arrived at the same figure for the middle of the eighteenth. Breuer stated 25,000 for 1700

and 60,000–70,000 for 1750. Katz, *Out of the Ghetto*, 9; Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism*, 170; Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 151.

3. Shulvass, *From East to West*; on the role of immigrants in religious and educational functions, see for example 43 and 64.

4. Herman Pollack paved the way for my interest in this subject with his inspiration at an early stage and with his study *Jewish Folkways in Germanic Lands (1648–1806)*. This study differs from most previous inquiries into Jewish daily life of the times by seeking to combine autobiographical, rabbinic, and archival sources.

5. Rublack, *Crimes of Women*, 1. Claudia Ulbrich also posed this question near the beginning of her penetrating study of women in a small Alsatian village. Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 35.

6. Putik, "Prague Jewish Community," 8.

7. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 3.

8. Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, 2:230–232. The quotation is based on the English edition, Freimann and Kracauer, *Frankfort*, 149–150. The 1747 date for this citation in the English edition is incorrect.

9. This passage from "Dichtung und Wahrheit," pt. 1, bk. 4, can be found in Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Werke* (Hamburg, 1956), 2:244–245.

10. Börne is cited in Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, 2:231.

11. On the question of whether ghettos resulted from Jewish initiative or governmental action, see Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 1–3, and Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 181.

12. *Nodah b'Yehudah*, Orach Hayim, no. 39.

13. Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 355–357.

14. Schmölz-Häberlein, "Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung," 372–374.

15. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 3, sec. 2, 2:1366–1367.

16. The Halle case is discussed in Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 1, sec. 2, 358. On Berlin, the document is in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), 1 Rep. 21, Nr. 207 b2a Fasz. 9, p. 424, petition from 1704.

17. Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 181.

18. Levy, a merchant with a strong background in rabbinic learning, composed a memoir that covered the years 1598–1634. Levy, *Memoiren*, 26–28.

19. *Shvut Yaakov*, chelek aleph, no. 85.

20. On Worms, see *R. Juspa*, 98–99.

21. Quoted in Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 2.

22. Quoted in Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 204 n. 24. Tax and legacy documents in various archives would enable a full study of house interiors. Primary materials of this kind are available for Darmstadt in the Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem and for Frankfurt in the *Protokolle des Rabbinatsgerichts der jüdischen Gemeinde Frankfurt, 1768–1792*, located in the Jewish Museum, Frankfurt am Main. My thanks to Dr. Edward Fram and Ms. Rivka Sendik for making their transcription of this manuscript available to me.

23. *Havvat Yair*, no. 94.

24. *Shvut Yaakov*, pt. 2, no. 149.

25. *R. Juspa*, 98–99, 104. On a mikveh in a cellar, see Reyer, "Juden in Jemgum," 94.

26. For an outside wine cellar, see *Havvat Yair*, no. 77.

27. Levy, *Memoiren*, 32.

28. Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 215–216.

29. On Aurich, see Eggersgluess, "Hofjuden und Landrabbiner in Aurich," 114–120. On Braunschweig, see Ebeling, *Die Juden in Braunschweig*, 208.

30. Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, 198.

31. On Höchst, see Johann, *Unsere jüdischen Nachbarn*, 193.

32. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), 1, Rep. 21, Nr. 207 b2a Fasz. 9, "Erwerb von Häusern und Anderen Immobilien durch Juden, 1703–1737," communication of July 25, 1703.

33. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (Potsdam), Pr. Br. Rep. 30 Berlin A Nr. 220; "Die Gewohnheit der Juden in Berlin, die von jüdischen Familien verlassenen Wohnungen innerhalf mehrerer Jahre nicht wieder zu beziehen, 1749–1763."

34. Schmölz-Häberlein, "Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung," 373.

35. Jakob, *Harburg*, 113–116.

36. Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 192–193.

37. Reyer, "Juden in Jemgum," 84, 90.

38. Jakob continues with a table of the economic class of those Jews who owned their own houses. The table indicates that in 1750 a majority of such houses were owned by the lower class, followed by the middle class, and a small number by the upper class. There is no indication in this context of the percentage or numbers of Jewish population in each class. Thus, for example, it is impossible to conclude how much of the increase shown toward the end of the century came from different habits or from changes in class distribution. See Jakob, *Harburg*, 114.

39. Jakob, *Harburg*, 16–22.

40. For Glikl's memoirs, see Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*. On Glikl, see Davis, *Women on the Margins*, and Monika Richarz, ed., *Die Hamburger Kauffrau Glikl: Jüdische Existenz in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Hamburg, 2001). On Glikl's name, see the discussion in Davis, *Women on the Margins*, 8–9. In the text, I have followed Davis's spelling of Glikl. Jews during this period were just beginning to adopt family names. Editors of the various memoirs used in this study often gave last names to the original authors in order to identify them more easily. In general, I have followed these names such as Asher Levy and Aaron Isaak. "Glikl of Hameln" does not seem appropriate, since she actually came from Altona-Hamburg, and so I have adopted the formulation of "Glikl the daughter of Leib."

41. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 14.

42. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 129.

43. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 135. Taverns were often used as a landmark to indicate how far one could walk on the Sabbath beyond the town limits. The economic and social significance of the tavern for Jewish daily life warrants more detailed study.

44. Schmölz-Häberlein, "Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung," 365; Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 446–447. Ullmann left as a question whether Jews and Christians actually drank together on these occasions, but the evidence seems clear that they did. Jewish prohibitions against drinking wine with non-Jews did not apply to most other drinks, including beer for example.

45. For another example implying that it was common for males to accompany women during travel, see Katzenelenbogen, *Yesh Manchilin*, 236.

46. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 55–59. For an account of a much longer journey of some 12 weeks, see 135–142.

47. Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:50–51.

48. Isaak was born in 1730 in a small town near Berlin. In 1751, he left home following his father's death and made his way to Mecklenburg, where he married and entered commerce. He was one of the founders of the Jewish community in Sweden. Isaak, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 94. On Isaak, see the very helpful introduction by the editor, Bettina Simon. For Emden, see Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, 134–135.

49. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 95–96.

50. Schubert, "Daily Life, Consumption, and Material Culture," 357. Arthur Imhof both concretizes and yet with a subtle argument brilliantly contradicts this notion of limited space. "With regard to this circle of people in Leimbach, one must also realize that the six families living here could hardly have composed their own marriage market. By virtual necessity farmholders had to find wives from outside the village. . . . All of the places [where this generation of Leimbach farmers discussed found their wives] that have been named were not more than a dozen kilometers from Leimbach, the center of our world." I would have emphasized the proximity of these outside sources for wives, but Imhof emphasizes that despite their proximity some of these places had distinctly different characteristics from Leimbach. "But marriage presented itself at the same time as an opportunity to extend the boundaries of the little world of Leimbach a bit, to let a steady, fresh breeze into the air that otherwise threatened to become torpid and stale." Imhof, *Lost Worlds*, 27–28.

2. Family Life

1. The rabbinic scholar David Kraemer offered this summary of the nostalgic conception of the Jewish family in David Kraemer, ed., *The Jewish Family, Metaphor and Memory* (New York, 1989), 5. Jacob Katz's various writings on the Jewish family did discuss divergences from normative ideals; nevertheless, he relied heavily on prescriptive sources so that the bulk of empirical evidence remained utopian. See Katz, "Marriage and Sexual Life Among the Jews at the Close of the Middle Ages," (Hebrew), *Zion* 10 (1944–45).

2. See chapter 3 for teachers' salaries and chapter 4 for distribution of wealth within the community in general.

3. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 15–17, 31.

4. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 77–78, dowry corrected in accordance with earlier editions.

5. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 85–86.

6. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 98–99, 114, 116.

7. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 117.

8. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 95; corrected to "mother-in-law," based on earlier editions.

9. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 116.

10. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 142–145. Glikl referred to Liebmann as Judah Berlin.

11. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 137–139.

12. Katzenelenbogen, *Yesh Manchilin*, 181–182 and 207.

13. Isaak, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 50–51.

14. Isaak, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 111–112.

15. Isaak, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 149–150.

16. Isaak, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 176–181.

17. Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, 85–86; translation based on Jacob Joseph Schacter, "Rabbi Jacob Emden: Life and Major Works" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1988), 32–34.

18. Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, 86.

19. On Emden's attitudes toward his three wives, see below.

20. *Shvut Yaakov*, pt. 3, no. 109.

21. *Havvat Yair*, no. 138.

22. *Protokolle des Rabbinatsgerichts der jüdischen Gemeinde Frankfurt, 1768–1792*, 208b—209a.

23. Benz, "Population Change and the Economy," 51–52.

24. Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 174.

25. Lowenstein, "Ashkenazic Jewry and the European Marriage Pattern," 155–175, especially 157 and the notes. Lowenstein's calculations were based on Jacob Jacobson's study of Jewish marriages in Berlin, *Jüdische Trauungen in Berlin, 1759–1813* (Berlin, 1968). Unfortunately, Jacobson's earlier book on the same subject, but for the years 1723–59, is cumbersome and lacks basic information, such as dates of birth of the newly married.

26. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*; Biesenthal and Straussberg are in pt. 2, sec. 2, 128–142; Wesel is from pt. 3, sec. 2, 1:698–703; Magdeburg is from pt. 3, sec. 2, 2:836–851; see also pt. 3, sec. 2, 2:1010–1027.

27. Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 195–196. Ulbrich also cautioned that prescriptive literature should not be overly emphasized in determining age at marriage.

28. After her husband's death, Glikl's mother lived with Glikl and Haim, and after the death of her second husband, Glikl herself lived with one of her daughters. But in contrast, Glikl did not even see Haim's parents for years.

29. Imhof, *Lost Worlds*, 24.

30. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 1, sec. 2, 528. I have excluded the town of Zehdenick from this count, because its figures seemed irregular: two males and eight servants!

31. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 1, sec. 2, 531–535. The Oberbarnim-Lebus and Beskowischen areas provide similar evidence for 32 households, with 3.1 children per household, including children no longer living at home, 7 male servants, and only 1 female servant. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 2, sec. 2, 128–142.

32. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 3, sec. 2, 2:1457–1481.

33. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 2, sec. 2, 128–142; Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 196–198. About 80 percent of eighteenth-century European country girls left home by the age of 12, two years younger than boys, for three main reasons: to spare the family the cost of feeding the girl, to learn working skills, and to accumulate a dowry. Olwen Hufton, "Women, Work, and Family," in *A History of Women*, edited by Natalie Davis and Arlette Farge (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 17.

In Harburg in southern Germany (part of Bavaria since 1806), most Jewish petitions for admission came from intended male spouses for Harburg residents. It was more common for men to come from outside to marry the local daughters than for women to migrate into Harburg to marry its men. But these figures give no indication of how many females moved out of Harburg for employment or in order to marry. Between 1671 and 1740, 21 out of 25 petitions by Jews for admission came from spouses or potential spouses for children of Harburg residents. Between 1741 and 1806, there were 101 petitions for admission, and some 70 percent of these petitions were from males. Jakob, *Harburg*, 48–53.

34. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 109–110.

35. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 160.

36. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 161.

37. Katzenelenbogen, *Yesh Manchilin*, 155.

38. Schacter, "Rabbi Jacob Emden," 179.

39. Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, 225.

40. *Nodah B'Yehudah*, no. 89.

41. *Emunat Shemuel*, no. 8. *Havvat Yair*, no. 31. The doctor involved in the abortion case asked Jair Hayyim Bacharach if under such circumstances, the pregnancy could be aborted. Bacharach's response was negative. Premarital sexual relations are also reflected in the sources, both in rabbinic *responsa* and in the public archives.

42. *Shvut Yaakov*, pt. 1, no. 113; see also *Nodah B'Yehudah*, no. 92. For a compilation of Jewish attitudes toward wife beating, see Naomi Graetz, *Silence Is Deadly* (Northvale, N.J., 1998).

43. Centrum Judaicum Archiv, 1, AHA 2, nr. 2, Privatbrief persönlichen Inhalts, Enth. u.a. Privatbriefe und Liebesbriefe. To the best of my knowledge, this letter is published here for the first time. I wish to thank Mrs. Paula Rubinik for her transcription and my wife, Adina Liberles, for the translation into English. Professor Chava Turniansky kindly shared her expertise in Yiddish manuscripts and provided me with a close examination of the text and a translation into Hebrew. References to the "Holy One, Blessed Be He" were abbreviated in the original.

44. *Nodah B'Yehudah*, 1781 ed., Even HaEzer, no. 11. Teachers arranged divorces at times in areas that lacked rabbinical leadership. See chapter 5 and the references in Ascher Levy, *Memoiren*, 40.

45. *Panim Meirot*, 2, no. 131.

46. Rowlands, "The Conditions of Life for the Masses," 40.

47. On Esther Liebmann, see Deborah Hertz, "The Despised Queen of Berlin Jewry or The Life and Times of Esther Liebmann," in *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, edited by Vivian Mann and Richard Cohen (New York, 1996), 67–77. For other examples, see Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 186–187.

48. Hertz, "The Despised Queen," 74. On other trades, see Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 213 and the references there.

49. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 110–111, continued on 114.

50. See, for example, *Nodah B'yhudah*, Hoshen Mishpot, no. 9. A Prussian memo from 1794 raised the question of whether an inheritance should be shared between widow and children on the basis of Jewish law or that of the state. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), "Acta auf die Anfrage der Breslauschen Oberlands Regierung," I rep. 84, abt. IX, II, 1794, mr. 14.

51. *Havaat Yair*, no. 134.

3. Childhood and Education

1. For a summary of traditional teachings, see Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 50–56.

2. The most striking description of what actually went on in the Jewish classroom of the eighteenth century comes from Solomon Maimon, who excelled at sarcastic hyperbole as he described conditions in his native Poland. Maimon, *Autobiography*, 12.

3. Translation based on Marx, "A Seventeenth-Century Autobiography," 187. The father chose as the lad's first text an inappropriate tractate for a young boy that deals with a wife suspected of infidelity.

4. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 32.

5. Cohen, *Emden*, 28–29; also in Schacter, "Emden," 25–26.

6. Adapted from translation in Schacter, "Emden," 26–28.

7. Asher Levy began his memoir with the sentence that he was born in 1598 "into this bitter world." Levy, *Memoiren*, 3. For a psychological analysis of Emden's writings, see Cohen, *Emden*.

8. Katzenelenbogen, *Yesh Manchilin*, 177–178.

9. Marx, "A Seventeenth-Century Autobiography," 187–190.

10. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 20–21.

11. Quoted in Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 51. For a similar appreciation, see the praise of his mother by R. Aharon Birkiya from Modena, 1624, quoted in Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:54.

12. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 52.

13. Marx, "Seventeenth-Century Autobiography," 186.

14. *Emunat Shmuel*, no. 26; *Havvat Yair*, nos. 166 and 178; Shohet, *Im Hilufei Tekufot*, hereafter *Beginnings of the Haskalah*, 128.

15. See the excellent summary of this discussion in Morris Faierstein's introduction to Wetzlar, *Libes Briv*, 16–21.

16. Kirchan was cited in Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:103. For a similar critique by Rabbi Joseph Stadthagen, see Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 1:169–173.

17. Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 184–187; quotation from 184.

18. Adler, "Schulwesens," 147.

19. Fishman, *Jewish Education*, 15–22.

20. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 56–57; Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:94–96. The Hamburg rules date from 1652. For other variations of the school calendar, see Fishman, *Jewish Education*, 79.

21. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 54–59; Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:8–9 (Arabic numbers).

22. "Yiddish" in this discussion refers to the language used by German Jews at this time. Some scholars use more specific terms, such as Old or Western Yiddish, and Jewish-German.

23. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 19–20; Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 63. See also Davis, *Women on the Margins*, 23 and 233 n. 67.

24. Adler, "Schulwesens," 167–168, 266–267.

25. Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:89, 98.

26. Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:99–100; also on the problem of transient teachers, see Adler, "Schulwesens," 151.

27. *Havvat Yair*, nos. 178, 185, 186; Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:169.

28. Fishman, *Jewish Education*, 20.

29. *Sheelat Yavetz*, pt. 2, no. 196; Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:188–189; 4:71.

30. Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:96. Salaries ranged from 200 to 425 Marks per year.

31. Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:62–63. Adler made very different assumptions about these calculations but also arrived at impossible conclusions, such as an annual salary of 900 taler per year. Adler, "Schulwesens," 150–151.

32. This discussion is based on James Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge, 1988), 179–183.

33. These fascinating documents from the years 1724–31 are brought in Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:88–93.

34. Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 209–214. See especially the map of significant yeshivot on 210.

35. Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 213; Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 136–137.

36. Greyerz, "Confession as a Social and Economic Factor," 326–329.

37. Adler, "Schulwesens," 237–238.

38. Emden, *Megilat Sefer*, 125–126, translation based on Schacter, "Emden," 507–511. See also Solomon Maimon's apochryphal account of how he learned to read Latin letters, *Autobiography*, 34–36.

39. For other exceptions, especially doctors, and autodidacts, see Adler, "Schulwesens," 238–252.

40. Wetzlar, *Libes Briv*, 17–21. For other examples of education critics from within traditional circles, see Adler, "Schulwesens," 168–172.

4. Economic Life

1. Based on *Havvat Yair*, no. 198.

2. Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 128.

3. Israel, *European Jewry*, 94.

4. Lokers, *Juden in Emden*, 82–86.

5. Levy, *Memoiren*. The following references to the war are from 11, 17, and 22. Be-

cause of his active involvement in wine trade, his memoir also commented on the effects of war and weather on commodity prices and money exchange.

6. Bloch, "Juda Mehler Reutlingen" (in Hebrew and German), citation from 116.

7. Israel, *European Jewry*, especially 96–97.

8. This analysis did not consider the question of changes over time, despite the spread of close to two centuries. Lokers, *Juden in Emden*, 138–139.

9. *R. Juspa*, Hebrew section, 92.

10. Lokers, *Juden in Emden*, 140–143.

11. Jakob, *Harburg*, 144; Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 2, sec. 2, 64.

12. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 1, sec. 2, 186–187.

13. Jakob, *Harburg*, 145.

14. Baron, *Jewish Community*, 1:181; for Hammerschlag, see Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 1:79.

15. Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 1:162–163.

16. Lokers, *Emden*, 186–187; Jersch-Wenzel, "Jewish Economic Activity in Early Modern Times," 91–101, especially 98–100.

17. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 1, sec. 1, 124.

18. Reyer, "Juden in Jemgum," 86–88.

19. Jakob, *Harburg*; references are to 46, 123, and 147.

20. Ebeling, *Die Juden in Braunschweig*, 178–179.

21. *R. Juspa*, 98.

22. Jakob, *Harburg*, 123–125.

23. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 75–77.

24. *R. Juspa*, 35–36, and 92–95 in Hebrew section.

25. Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 211; Mörke, "Social Structure," 156–157. Azriel Shohet asserted that Jewish women in Germany were not as involved in business as those in Poland, but German-Jewish women certainly were intensely involved in various occupations, most especially commerce. Shohet, *Beginnings of the Haskalah*, 90.

26. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 17, 125–126, 150; monthly business of 500–600 taler in accordance with earlier editions.

27. Emden, *Megilat Sefer*, 202.

28. *Protokolle des Rabbinatsgerichts der jüdischen Gemeinde Frankfurt, 1768–1792*, 201a.

29. Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 211–212; Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 13. See also *Havvat Yair*, 198.

30. *Protokolle des Rabbinatsgerichts der jüdischen Gemeinde Frankfurt, 1768–1792*; for hospitality, see 140a, 143b; matchmaking, 47b.

31. *Havvat Yair*, no. 108.

32. *Havvat Yair*, nos. 66 and 73. Additional indications of women in business and as shopkeepers can be found in *R. Juspa*, 96, Hebrew text.

33. Selma Stern argued that it was only in Berlin and other large cities that Jews specialized in making a living. Actually, if we recall the 1749 reference to multiple occupations, this would not even be true in Berlin. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 2, sec. 1, 85; see n. 16 herein.

34. This discussion of markets and fairs derives considerably from Kriedte, "Trade," 105–111, and Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, 26–80.

35. This discussion is based on Fontaine, *Pedlars*, especially 1–3, 8–49, 73–79, 165–178. This is a fascinating and far-reaching study. The fact that it could be written with barely a reference to Jews reminds us that Jews contributed just a part of the story. This still hardly excuses the author from omitting Jews from his account.

36. Quoted in Fontaine, *Pedlars*, 1.

37. Awerbuch, "Alltagsleben," 9.

38. See the discussion in Stern, *Der Preussische Staat*, pt. 1, sec. 1, 135–138, and the documents in pt. 1, sec. 2, 125–148.

39. Jakob, *Harburg*, 134–136.

40. Shulvass, *From East to West*, especially 43, 64–65, 118–119.

41. Jersch-Wenzel, "Jewish Economic Activity," 98–100.

42. Baron, *Jewish Community*, 2:117.

43. Baron, *Jewish Community*, 2:80–84.

44. Schmidt, *Juden in Karlsruhe*, 50–57. For Thias Weil's 1769 contract, see 531–533.

45. Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete*, 199–201.

46. Ebeling, *Braunschweig*, 209–211. There are several discrepancies here between the text and the accompanying table.

47. Lokers, *Emden*, 181–183.

48. Jakob, *Harburg*, 65–72. The florin at this time in southern Germany was worth a little less than half a taler.

49. Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 245–247.

50. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 85, 104, 136–137.

51. Isaak, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 41–43, 124–125.

52. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 117.

53. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 44–45.

54. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 43, 66–67.

55. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 40, 68.

56. A study of Jews in domestic service in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is currently being written by Tami Licht, a doctoral student at Ben Gurion University. This subject has wide implications for the study of the social history of the period.

57. This discussion is based primarily on the classic and pioneering study of Jewish crime during this period by Glanz, *Niederen jüdischen Volkes*. For a valuable and more recent discussion, see Ulbricht, "Criminality and Punishment," 49–70. For a brief discussion of estimated crime rates, see 51–52. Joachim Eibach provided a revision of some older positions on Jewish criminality in the course of a discussion on stereotypes of Jewish crime in the Frankfurt ghetto: Eibach, "Stigma Betrug, Delinquenz and Öekonomie im jüdischen Ghetto," in *Kriminalität und abweichendes Verhalten*, edited by Helmut Berding, Diethelm Klippel, and Günther Lottes (Göttingen, 1999), 15–38.

58. On traditional and communal elements in Jewish gang life, see Glanz, *Niederen jüdischen Volkes*, 113–115, and Ulbricht, "Criminality and Punishment," 57–60.

59. Glanz, *Niederen jüdischen Volkes*, 98.

60. One such polemical work can be found in the Jewish Theological Seminary, Rare Book Room: *Acten—maessige Designation derer von einer Diebischen Juden-Bande*, Historical Documents from German Communities, 1, p. 83. After a first edition published in 1734, this second, enlarged edition appeared in 1735.

61. Glanz, *Niederen jüdischen Volkes*, 96–97.

5. Religious and Communal Life

1. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 147.

2. Wischnitzer, *Architecture of the European Synagogue*, 105–106; also 76, 81. The Sephardi synagogue in Altona apparently included a women's section earlier than Amsterdam. A new *Ashkenazi* synagogue was completed in the 1680s. For additional architectural information and more detailed descriptions with pictures of a number of eighteenth-century synagogues, see the useful essay by Gerhard W. Mühlinghaus, "Der

Synagogenbau des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Architektur der Synagoge*, edited by Hans-Peter Schwarz (Frankfurt, 1988), 115–156.

3. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 148.

4. *Havvat Yair*, no. 186.

5. Johann, *Unsere jüdischen Nachbarn*, 189. Unfortunately, the huts were burned down rather quickly.

6. See Wetzlar, *Libes Briv*, 79 and n. 46, for Faierstein's identification of the priest.

7. *Shvut Yaakov*, pt. 3, sec. 54.

8. Reyer, "Juden in Jemgum," 94–95.

9. Wetzlar, *Libes Briv*, 110. A more caustic description of behavior during worship, including men scratching their crotches and others distributing snuff, is on 79–80.

10. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 150–151; Wetzlar, *Libes Briv*, 30, 110.

11. *Havvat Yair*, nos. 185 and 186.

12. Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe i.b. Baden-Generalia G.L.A. 74/H.R.N. 4108, 28 July 1769.

13. Thias Weil's 1769 contract as rabbi of the Karlsruhe community specified rabbinical functions and the corresponding income he would receive. Schmidt, *Juden in Karlsruhe*, 531–533.

14. Levy, *Memoiren*, 29, 40.

15. Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 116–119.

16. See Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 7–8, for the libraries of Marx Lion Gomperz and Samuel Oppenheimer; Wetzlar, *Libes Briv*, 129–133, for a list of books cited by Wetzlar; and a discussion of the library of Pinchas Katzenelenbogen in Gries, *Agent of Culture*, 65–72.

17. As Zeev Gries observed, the impact of this development has not been fully appreciated. Gries, *Agent of Culture*, 26–27.

18. On bilingual books, see Gries, *Agent of Culture*, 60–61.

19. On societies and their place within communal structure, see Baron, *Jewish Community*, 1:348–374.

20. Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 255; David Ruderman, "The Founding of a *Gemilut Hasadim* Society in Ferrara in 1515," *AJS Review* 1 (1976).

21. Scholars still debate to what extent the appearance of these multipurpose social constructions derived from ancient Jewish traditions or from the more contemporary influence of Christian guilds. See Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, and Sylvie Anne Goldberg, *Crossing the Jabbok*. Goldberg's book focuses on the society in Prague but is wide-ranging in covering the *Ashkenazi* world. On the origins of the Prague society, see Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 55–94, and Goldberg, *Crossing the Jabbok*, 75–98.

22. Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 135–139.

23. See a detailed description of the preparations for death in Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 261–271.

24. Quoted in Goldberg, *Crossing the Jabbok*, 106.

25. Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care*, 120–134. On sick care societies for women, see 138–141.

26. On the new death rituals and ritual creativity in general during this period, see Avriel Bar-Levav, "The Concept of Death in *Sefer ha-Hayyim* (The Book of Life) by Rabbi Shimon Frankfurt" (doctoral diss., Hebrew University, 1997). Bar-Levav sees Kabbalah as only one of the factors that paved the way for a wave of religious creativity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

27. Schudt, *Franckfurter Juden Vergangenheit*, 54–55.

28. Quoted in Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 41, slightly adapted here.

29. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, especially xvii—75.

30. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 67.

31. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs*, 34–35.

32. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, xiii.

33. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 174–177. The term "grooms" refers to special honors that were given to two respected members of the community. The first groom, referred to as "the groom of the Torah," received the honor of pronouncing the blessings over the Torah at the end of the annual cycle of reading the entire Torah. Immediately thereafter, the second groom, known as "the groom of the Beginning," received the first honor of the new cycle.

34. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 183–184.

35. See Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 96–100, for food customs, and 153–169, for Sabbath customs.

36. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 125.

37. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 46. The popular appeal of the Sabbatian movement in Germany has not yet been adequately studied. The classic study of the movement is Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi, The Mystical Messiah* (Princeton, 1973). Forms of Sabbatian belief survived in Germany in the eighteenth century, long after Zevi's apostasy to Islam and his death. Several very bitter related controversies broke out in Germany involving some of the leading rabbinical personalities of the time. In the most famous of these disputes, Jacob Emden accused Jonathan Eybeschutz of maintaining Sabbatian beliefs and spreading amulets that reflected those beliefs. On eighteenth century Sabbatianism, see Elisheva Carlebach, *The Pursuit of Heresy* (New York, 1990).

38. Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, 275–276.

6. Social Relations

1. Katzenelenbogen, *Yesh Manchilin*, 202–203.

2. Marx, "A Seventeenth-Century Autobiography," 195–196.

3. This passage stands almost at the conclusion of this memoir of youth. Writing later in life, he blamed his misfortunes on others, mostly his father. But he was also tormented with guilt over the course his life had taken. In the last lines of the text, he prayed to God to send him a wife and children who as a family would help him change his ways. In other notes written in the manuscript, he regretted much of his previous life, began to study more seriously, and resolved to improve his behavior. Alexander Marx, who published this manuscript, commented that scattered notes in the manuscript revealed that in later years the writer moved on to Poland and then to Italy, and eventually did marry. For years, he had great difficulty earning a living; later, he apparently became a Hebrew scribe and married several years after completing the autobiography of his youth. Marx, "Seventeenth-Century Autobiography," 196–197.

4. Asaf, *Hahinuch*, 4:50.

5. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 181–184.

6. Levy, *Memoiren*, 28–31.

7. *Protokolle des Rabbinatsgerichts der jüdischen Gemeinde Frankfurt 1768–1792*, 144a—b.

8. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 39–40.

9. Glückel of Hameln, *Glückel*, 65, 76–77; Isaak, 67–69, 149–150, 178–181. Private correspondence may well contain considerable information on the themes of leisure activity, friendship, and family bonds, but few such letters are now available for use by scholars.

10. Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 81–94, especially the discussion on Frankfurt am Main.

11. Contrast Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, 131–142. For diversified examples of continuing contacts, see the fascinating Hsia and Lehmann, *In and Out of the Ghetto*. For an extensive discussion of Katz's approach, see David Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, 1995), especially 60–65.

12. For additional examples, see Shohet, *Beginnings of the Haskalah*, 51 and the notes on 280.

13. *Admat Kodesh*, 1, Orah Hayim, no. 4. The author lived in Israel in the early eighteenth century, but the question was asked by a religious traveler who had come from Europe.

14. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 12.

15. One Jewish man in Altona who owned a linen factory together with a Christian sought permission to run the factory on the Sabbath. Jacob Emden opposed the permission granted by the communal rabbi Ezekiel Katzenelenbogen and found satisfaction when the factory subsequently burned down. *Sheelat Yavetz*, pt. 2, no. 60.

16. *R. Juspa*, 104.

17. In her masterly study of Jews and Christians in a group of villages in Swaben, Sabine Ullmann has delineated certain main sources of conflict. Most of these themes of tension appeared in other communities as well. Ullmann's work provides a valuable regional study of many of the aspects of daily life considered here. Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*. See also the collection of essays edited by Kiessling and Ullmann, *Landjudentum im deutschen Südwesten*.

18. Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 390–391.

19. Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 91–92; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 80–84; Awerbuch, "Alltagsleben in der Frankfurter Judengasse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," 8–9.

20. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 71–72.

21. Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 393–402. See also Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 127–129.

22. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 114–116.

23. Elisheva Carlebach has delineated the conversion process in her valuable study *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven, 2001). For the economic and social dimensions of conversion, see B. Z. Kedar, "Continuity and Change in Jewish Conversion to Christianity in Eighteenth-Century Germany" (Hebrew), in *Studies in the History of Jewish Society*, edited by E. Etkes and Y. Salmon (Jerusalem, 1980), 154–170, especially 161–164. An important byproduct of Carlebach's contribution is the attention she has drawn to the vast biographical literature that pertains in part to the earlier life of the converts while still Jewish. As Carlebach noted, this literature could prove of extreme value to the study of Jewish life but must also be used with even greater care than most memoirs. For example, priests often rewrote these works in order to establish the life story of the Jewish convert as a model to be emulated by other Jews.

24. Shohet, *Beginnings of the Haskalah*, 67–71; Breuer, "Early Modern Period," 161–162.

25. See, for example, Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 400.

26. Sieglerschmidt, "Social and Economic Landscapes," 30.

27. Jakob, *Harburg*, 48–51.

28. Schubert, "Daily Life," 357.

29. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis*; Shohet, *Beginnings of the Haskalah*; Katz reiterated his approach with some changes in *Out of the Ghetto*.

30. Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830* (Philadelphia, 1979),

especially 3–11. David Ruderman has provided some revision of this picture by demonstrating a much more vital intellectual movement within English Jewry during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century than has been previously maintained, but Ruderman did not argue that this stream actually represented a movement of cultural significance, and not a movement of social importance. Indeed, Ruderman discussed a period that essentially followed and certainly did not form the process of Jewish social change in England. David Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key* (Princeton, 2000), 3–22.

7. Jewish Residential Patterns

1. On the greater size of Jewish communities in Swabia compared to Franconia and the Rhineland, see Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:361.

2. The largest urban Jewish communities around 1815 were Hamburg (6,300), Frankfurt (4,530), Breslau (4,409), Berlin (3,699), Danzig (2,148), Königsberg (1,027), Dresden (611 in 1832), and Hannover (537 in 1833). The 515 Jewish inhabitants listed in Silbergleit, *Bevölkerungs- und Berufverhältnisse*, I, 9*, and Blau, *Entwicklung der jüdischen Bevölkerung* (Leo Baeck Institute Archives), 34, for Cologne include the Jews living in Deutz, who outnumbered the Jews of Cologne.

3. Heidingsfeld outside Würzburg; Steppach, Pfersee, and Kriegshaber outside Augsburg; Deutz outside Cologne; and Fürth outside Nuremberg.

4. Eighteenth-century cities with walled ghettos included Frankfurt, Bonn, Koblenz, and Mainz.

5. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 32–34, 41–51; Rapp, *Fellheim*, 204. Other large rural communities with these patterns were Illereichen-Altenstadt and Hechingen, where the Jewish neighborhood was called the Haag.

6. Jeggle, *Judendörfer in Württemberg*, 23–24, 46–47.

7. *Geschichte der Jüdischen Gemeinde Schenklengsfeld* (hereafter *Schenklengsfeld*), 67, 70–71, 251–268, and map after 264.

8. Discussion of the degree of ghettoization in various towns in Posen are found in Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 191, 498, 529, 571, 600, 607, 636, 664, 667, 684, 787, and 794. See also Kemlein, *Posener Juden*, 29, 30, 260–261.

9. Ellermeyer, "Schranken der Freien Reichstadt," 174, 194.

10. Ehrenberg, memoir, Leo Baeck Institute Archives (hereafter LBI), 27.

11. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:422.

12. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 208–209, 350–351; Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 16, 87.

13. Rapp, *Fellheim*, 204–238.

14. Staatsarchiv Bamberg, K 232 Nr. 60. Grundsteuer Kataster Demmelsdorf.

15. Schlomer, *Moisling*, 37.

16. *Schenklengsfeld*, 67, 70–71, 251–268, including the map after 264.

17. Jakob, *Harburg*, 113–115.

18. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 50–53, 63–64.

19. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 32–34, 43–44, 151 illus. 9, 682–683.

20. Jakob, *Harburg*, 113–122 ("elende Hütten").

21. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:317–318.

22. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 154.

23. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 17.

24. Numerous disastrous fires in Posen towns are described in Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 299–300, 381–382, 408, 436, 499, 600–601, 646, 691, 791–792, 926.

25. Wood with cement between the beams.

26. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:84, 91.

27. Blau, *Entwicklung der jüdischen Bevölkerung*, 231.

28. *Pinkas Hakehillot, Germania, Bavaria*, 7; Blau, *Entwicklung der jüdischen Bevölkerung*, 68–69; Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte*, 12.

29. Toury, "Jewish Manual Labour and Emigration," 45–62; Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte*, 44–45.

30. Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte*, 45 quoting *AZJ* (1853), 448.

31. Rose, *Portraits of Our Past*, 216–226.

32. Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte*, 43.

33. See, for instance, Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:78–79.

34. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 53–54.

35. Rapp, *Fellheim*, 204–239.

36. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 204–206.

37. Lowenstein, *The Mechanics of Change*, 158–159.

38. Lowenstein, *The Mechanics of Change*, 161–167, 172–173.

39. See, for instance, Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:198; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 20.

40. Apparently they observed the Jewish "family purity" laws which required separate marital beds. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:444.

41. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:198.

42. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 3.

43. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:292.

44. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:320.

45. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 32, 83–84, 142.

46. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:437.

47. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:203–205.

48. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:21–22, 25–26.

49. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:141–142.

50. Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 6, 15–16, 27–28, 30–33.

51. Maas, memoir, LBI, 1, 19, 27–28; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 27–28.

52. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:324, 477; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 65.

53. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 11–13, 27; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 247; Jakob, *Harburg*, 104.

54. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 46–47.

55. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:199, 205, 320, 322.

56. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 3.

57. Pollack, *Jewish Folkways*, 4.

58. Pankoke, *Hinterlassenschaften*, 74–76.

59. In Pankoke's collection of Jewish inventories, three of the houses had at least one room with two beds in it. Pankoke, *Hinterlassenschaften*, 30, 53, 90.

60. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:88, 2:21–22.

61. Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 41.

62. Hirschel, memoir, LBI, 1; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 1–2.

63. Eduard Silbermann called parlors an "improper custom of the times" (memoir, LBI, 53–54).

8. Family Life

1. Recent scholarship on non-Jewish German bourgeois families shows that these characteristics developed slowly and were not yet dominant in the early nineteenth century. Bourgeois husbands often continued to work at home, and the nuclear family, far from being a closed private sphere, remained open to sociability. Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 174–175, 184–188, 372–375, 396.

2. Guth and Groiss-Lau, *Jüdisches Leben auf dem Dorf*, 255–261 (from the Judenmatrikel StAB K 3 H Nr 566).

3. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 207–208.

4. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 28–29.

5. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 264–265; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 3.

6. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 2–4.

7. Eschelbacher, *Benario*, LBI, 2; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:23.

8. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:115–116.

9. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 88–90.

10. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 345–346; Raff, memoir, LBI, 4.

11. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 6–7.

12. Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 28–29.

13. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 7.

14. Bernstein, memoir, LBI, 2–3; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 7; Lehmann, memoir, LBI, 2; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:83.

15. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:177–178, 321–322, 324; Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 26; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 26.

16. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 26.

17. I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 11, 23, 24.

18. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 29, 88–89.

19. Probst memoir, LBI, 2–45; Raff, memoir, LBI, 18–24; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:12–13; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:477–478, 187–193, 242.

20. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:101, 145–146, 214–215, 309. Around 1818 a day laborer earned between 75 and 150 Taler annually.

21. Lowenstein, "Ashkenazic Jewry and the European Marriage Pattern," 155–175, especially 156, and Biale, *Eros and the Jews*, 64, 127–128, 153, 278 n. 13.

22. In Berlin between 1759 and 1813 only 21 of 519 grooms married before age 20. Although 117 of 523 brides were below 20, only 47 were below the age of 18 (Lowenstein, "Ashkenazic Jewry and the European Marriage Pattern," 157). On Jewish marriage age in the Saar-Mosel district between 1798 and 1815, see Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 430.

23. Lowenstein, "Ashkenazic Jewry and the European Marriage Pattern," 166–167 nn. 10–12. Median marriage age in Berlin was 23 for male taxpayers paying over 4 Taler in taxes but 32 for those who paid less than 1 Taler. Marriage age for grooms with the very desirable legal status of "general privilege" was 27 and for brides was 22. Grooms with the much less desirable "extraordinarii" status married at 36, and brides at 27.

24. Even bachelors married at an average age of 34.8 in 1836–45 and their brides at 31.1. Lowenstein, *The Mechanics of Change*, 71; Goldstein, "Nonnenweier," 112–143, especially 123.

25. Lowenstein, "Ashkenazic Jewry and the European Marriage Pattern," 159, 170.

26. Calculations based on the list of Berlin Jews in 1812 (Jacob Jacobson Collection, LBI, I 82).

27. Not surprisingly, memoirs say relatively little about premarital sexual activity. Samuel Ehrenberg's memoirs speak censoriously about the young Jews in Peine in the 1790s: "Their meetings consisted of both sexes without distinction and the conversations were uncontrolled, even lascivious" (Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 24–25). On the other hand, Jacob Epstein reports that his father, who had traveled widely as a craftsman, nevertheless married, in 1837, at age 28 still a virgin (*keuscher Mann*). Jacob heard this from one of his father's brothers-in-law, who told this in a mocking tone (implying that he himself had acted differently) (Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:15). The ideal of the

"*keuscher Mann*" was also found in Christian bourgeois families. Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 79–82.

28. Wunder, "*Er ist die Sonn*,'" 168–169, documents the rise in illegitimacy rates. In 1778–82 they reached 8 percent in Hamburg, 14 percent in Leipzig, Jena, and Göttingen, and 25 percent in Munich.

29. Lowenstein, "Voluntary and Involuntary Fertility Limitation," 83, including nn. 24–25; Goldstein, "Nonnenweier," 134–135. Not all these children were conceived before the wedding. Some may have been premature births.

30. Rose, *Portraits of Our Past*, 125, describes one such accusation—a complaint by the pastor of Michelbach, Württemberg, in 1811.

31. Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 113–119, 239–244.

32. See the many discussions in Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*.

33. Bourgeois Christian families also tried to limit physical contact by their unmarried children, but they seem not to have been quite as strict as Jews. There was no Jewish equivalent of German courting customs like "*fenstern*" (coming in the window) or "night courting." Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 52–64, 76–78, and Wunder, "*Er ist die Sonn*,'" 85–86.

34. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 59, 99–101.

35. Graetz, *Tagebuch*, 3, 4, 7–8, 11.

36. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 2:34.

37. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 11.

38. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 297–298; Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 429; Schlomer, *Moisling*, 17.

39. For the post-1870 period, see Kaplan, *Making*, especially 85–116, and chap. 14 in this volume.

40. If Trepp is correct in her claim that most German bourgeois marriages between 1770 and 1840 were love matches more than arranged marriages, this would be quite different from Jewish marriages, in which the role of arrangement seems much stronger. *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 40–45, 83–92, 98, 125–138. See also Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 283–284, 290–291, 300–301.

41. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 182–185, 189–192.

42. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 194–197; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:222. In Heinrich Graetz's engagement to Marie Monasch too, after the marriage was arranged, the groom expressed deeply romantic feelings in his diaries: "My Mariechen, my sensible girl, loves me inexpressibly and my life too pulsates only for her." *Tagebuch*, 141–149.

43. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 216–217.

44. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 14–15. See also Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:471.

45. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 31–32; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:337–338, 442–443.

46. Baerwald, memoir, LBI, 5; Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 10–11; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:364.

47. Maas, memoir, LBI, 36.

48. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 113–114. See also Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:110; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 30.

49. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 2:39, 42–43; Maas, memoir, LBI, 5, 36–37; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:138; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 86; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 366–367. Most of these "love matches" occurred after 1840.

50. Jakob, *Harburg*, 62–63; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:87–88; Graetz, *Tagebuch*, 141–142, 143, 146, 180–181, 196, 200, 201–202; Fraenkel, "Memoir of B. L. Monasch," 213, 216, 217.

51. Steinschneider, *Briefwechsel*; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 194–197.

52. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 197–199; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 128; Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 15–17; Graetz, *Tagebuch*, 163, 167, 172–174, 180–181.

53. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 197–199.

54. Graetz, *Tagebuch*, 148, 149, 162, 163, 173–174.

55. Hirschel, memoir, LBI, 2, 20.

56. Lehmann, memoir, LBI, 1–2.

57. Bernstein, memoir, LBI, 8.

58. Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 142–143, 164, 240, argues that in Christian bourgeois families too, women were expected to express their opinions to their husbands.

59. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 3–4.

60. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 2:26–27; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:206; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 77.

61. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 80–81. See also Kaliphari, memoir, LBI, 36–37.

62. Hirschel, memoir, LBI, 19; Raff, memoir, LBI, 8, 6 [*sic*]; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 25; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:5, 18; Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 17; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 244; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 132. The one notable exception is Isak Mirabeau's report that his mother had much more love and respect for her father than for her mother; Mirabeau, memoir, LBI, 1.

63. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 215–216, 219.

64. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 53–54.

65. Marcus Mosse Papers, LBI; Kraus, *Mosse*, 49–50, 81–86. In the very warm correspondence between Marcus and his children, Ulrike rarely participates, except to add a short note to his effusive letters.

66. See, for instance, Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 264–266.

67. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 17–18, 135; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 63; Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 5; Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 13–15.

68. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 16; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 219–221; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 58; Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 21; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:24. On nursing by bourgeois Christian women, see Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 328–337; Wunder, "*Er ist die Sonn*'," 37–38, 188–189.

69. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 29–30, 37, 222–223; Eschelbacher, *Benario*, LBI, 2; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 57; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 16.

70. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:24.

71. The original theory was set forth in Shorter, *Making of the Modern Family*, especially chap. 5 (168–204). Much contrary evidence is found in Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 316–318, 338–347, 349, 364–366, and Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 264–265, 320.

72. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 54, 58; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 26.

73. Hirschel, memoir, LBI, 18. See also Probst, memoir, LBI, 6, 16–17; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:136, 478.

74. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 18, 77, 132; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 251–252. Compare Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 338–343.

75. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 27–29. See also Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 3; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 18; Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 19; Baerwald, memoir, LBI, 12; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 26.

76. Hirschel, memoir, LBI, 11. See also Maas, memoir, LBI, 16–17; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 77; Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 15; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:188.

77. Raff, memoir, LBI, 16, 47–50. But Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 1, reports special attention because of his sickliness.

78. Raff, memoir, LBI, 15.

79. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:215–217.

80. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 62. Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 350–352, claims, with rather limited evidence, that corporal punishment was not the rule in early nineteenth-century bourgeois German families.

81. Eschelbacher, *Benario*, LBI, 4; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:5, 11, 25, 2:36.

82. Raff, memoir, LBI, 4–5.

83. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 45; Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 1. See also Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:39–40.

84. Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 59–60.

85. Maas, memoir, LBI, 16–17, 26; G. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 53–59.

86. Kober, memoir, LBI, 2; Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 5–6; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 16, 77. Salomon Mirabeau is criticized in his grandson's memoir for *not* remarrying but instead trusting the children to dishonest servants. Mirabeau, memoir, LBI, 6–7.

87. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 4; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 19, 54; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 1–2; Weigert, memoir, LBI, 21; Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 9; Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 6, 7, 17; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:319.

88. Weigert, memoir, LBI, 19, 20; Probst, memoir, LBI, 6; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:304–305, 326–327, 330.

9. Education

1. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 38; Raff, memoir, LBI, 4; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:318.

2. Boys and girls studied together in Reb Meier's *heder* in Samotschin Posen in the 1830s. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 79–80.

3. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 357–359; Blinn, *Juden in Homburg*, 68–69.

4. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 279–280, 459. Kemlein, *Posener Juden*, 244 n. 219, counts 170 female Jewish illiterates for every 100 illiterate Jewish males.

5. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 10, 38; *Dokumentation Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland*, vol. 4, *Aufklärung, Reform und Selbstbesinnung*, 237–239. In Aurich (Ostfriesland) a kosher butcher also taught Jewish students (Habben, "Die Auricher Juden," 156).

6. Bäcker, "Juden in Schwedisch-Vorpommern," 92–94.

7. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 79–80.

8. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 831–32. See also Fehrs, "Situation jüdischer Lehrer," 318–319.

9. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 80; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:357–358.

10. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 22–23; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 7; *Schenklengsfeld*, 104–206.

11. Richarz, *Eintritt der Juden in die akademischen Berufe*, 148 n. 61.

12. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 11–16; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:343–344.

13. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 37; I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 11; Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 34 and thereafter (pages after 34 are unnumbered); Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 391; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 95 n. 249; Makower, memoir, LBI, 2–3; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:177, 307, 323, 420, 422, 444–445, 475; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 26; Mirabeau, memoir, LBI, 7; Maas, memoir, LBI, 9, 12.

14. Maas, memoir, LBI, 9; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:436.

15. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:8–10; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:404, 405–406, 444–445.

16. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 212–213.

17. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 20. See also Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 29.

18. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 141–142; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:219–220.

19. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:25, 47, 6.

20. Hirschel, memoir, LBI, 9.

21. Mirabeau, memoir, LBI, 7; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:170, 242, 401.

22. Raff, memoir, LBI, 18; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:348–349.

23. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 6 n, 31–32.

24. I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 23–24, 36.

25. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 230; Jakob, *Harburg*, 102–103; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 364; Salinger, "Jüdische Gemeinde in Stolp," 165; Fehrs, "Situation jüdischer Lehrer," 338–339; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 830–831.

26. Jacob Epstein's mother, born in 1813, attended the Philanthropin. Her older sisters, born in 1801, 1802, and 1806, could barely write. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:20.

27. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 13–14, 19.

28. Baumbach, "Israelitische Freischule," 217; Blinn, *Juden in Homburg*, 97; *Schenklengsfeld*, 103; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 243–244; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 181–182; Wilhelmus, "Juden in Vorpommern im 19. Jahrhundert," 111; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 221–223; Habben, "Auricher Juden," in Reyer and Tielke, *Frisia Judaica*, 156.

29. See, for instance, Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 826–827, 830, 925, 803–804, 805–806.

30. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 826–828.

31. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 319, 359, 368, 378, 391–392, 403, 504, 534, 553, 582, 637, 642–643, 649, 656, 670, 826–832, 900–901, 903, 914, 961–962, 970–971, 982–983, 1006, 1012; Kemlein, *Posener Juden*, 132–133.

32. Jakob, *Harburg*, 65, 102, 106; Fehrs, "Situation jüdischer Lehrer," 165; Salinger, "Die jüdische Gemeinde in Stolp," 326–328; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 200–202, 241–242; Killian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 149–151.

33. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 184; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:208; *Schenklengsfeld*, 106–107; Jakob, *Harburg*, 104, 106.

34. Salinger, "Jüdische Gemeinde in Stolp," 165; Habben, "Auricher Juden," 158–161; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 283, 318.

35. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 391–392, 582, 603, 670–671, 830.

36. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 186–187; Habben, "Auricher Juden," 158–161; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 364; Jakob, *Harburg*, 102–103.

37. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 51–56, 58; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:71–77; Baumbach, "Israelitische Freischule," 214, 217–218, 223–226, 232–233; Weigert, memoir, LBI, 9; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:264–265, 346.

38. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 66–68, 79. Isaac Thannhäuser, writing a generation earlier, also calls his schoolmaster in the "German" schools "very limited." Quoted in Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:100.

39. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:44–45, 46, 47, 48, 68; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:259–260.

40. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 225 and nn. 155–156.

41. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 244; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 464–466. In 1862 the Inowrazlaw school offered to eliminate the unequal tuition if the Jewish community would contribute 1,600 Taler over a four-year period.

42. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 833–834; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:418–419.

43. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 391, 705.

44. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:389.

45. Cases in Nienburg, Ermsleben, and Wunstorf are described in Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 97, 194–197, and Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:207, 438–439.

46. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 131–132.

47. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 364–366; *Schenklengsfeld*, 101–102.

48. See Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:85–86, 108; Lehmann, memoir, LBI, 7–8, 18, 20.

49. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 61, 63–65, 84–85.

50. Bemowsky and Wilhelmus, "Jüdisches Leben in Anklam," 185–186, and Fehrs, "Situation jüdischer Lehrer," 321. See also Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:350–351, 358–359.

51. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 5–9; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:353–356.

52. Fehrs, "Situation jüdischer Lehrer," 337; Bernstein, memoir, LBI, 4; *Schenklengsfeld*, 106–107.

53. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 10–14, 18, 27; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:354.

54. Toury, *Soziale und Politische Geschichte*, 173, quoting *AZJ* (1869), 843, 174. Although Jewish students in secondary education increased to 8.4 percent of the total student body by 1866, they still numbered only 5,554 individuals. Only in Berlin did the majority of Jewish boys and girls get a secondary education by 1869.

55. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 833–834.

56. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 253 n. 111, 254–255.

57. Hirschel, memoir, 5–8, 18–20; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:420–422.

58. Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 12–13, 16–17; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 49, 62–66, 68–69, 71–73; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:322–25, 439.

59. See Richarz, *Eintritt der Juden in die akademischen Berufen.*

60. Killian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 261 nn. 44–45.

61. Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn*, 377–378.

62. The last known Yiddish edition of *Tze'ena Ure'ena* to appear in Germany was published in Sulzbach, Bavaria, in 1836. Lowenstein, "Yiddish Written Word," 179–192, especially 184–185, 191.

63. Ferguson, *House of Rothschild*, vol. 1, *Money's Prophet, 1798–1848*, 29.

64. Baumbach, "Israelitische Freischule," 232–233 n. 51. See also Lowenstein, "Yiddish Written Word," 188–190.

65. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 247–249; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:224–226.

66. "Aus den Jugenderinnerungen Steinthals," in Belke, *Lazarus und Steinthal in ihren Briefen*, 375, 380. See also the memoir of Caesar Seligmann in Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:379, 384, 386, as well as the translator's remarks in I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 1.

67. Toury, *Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum*, 312–313.

68. Jakob, *Harburg*, 185; *Dokumentation Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland*, vol. 4, *Aufklärung, Reform und Selbstbesinnung*, 214–215, 230.

69. Lowenstein, "Yiddish Written Word," 185–188.

70. Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 49–50.

71. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:168–169, 261, 307, 457; Maas, memoir, LBI, 32.

72. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:21, 2:21.

73. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:170.

74. "*Galchisch*," literally: written in Christian priests' language.

75. Schlomer, *Moisling*, 10.

10. Economic Life

1. The best known regulations on Jews were in Frederick the Great of Prussia's decree of 1750 (excerpted in Marcus, *Jew in Medieval World*, 84–97).

2. See, for instance, Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:275–281.

3. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 178–180.

4. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 153–154.

5. Habben, "Auricher Juden," 141, 145.

6. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:270–271.

7. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 194–195, 515 n. 3, 570–571, 585, 898, 976.

8. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 631.

9. *Schenklengsfeld*, 72; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 169–171; Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im*

Aufbruch, 354. In the southern Rhineland in 1808–9, 70–87 percent of trading licenses for Jews went for cattle, meat, leather and hide dealing.

10. In Harburg, Jews were buyers and sellers in only 8 of the 133 real estate deals involving Jews in 1813. Jakob, *Harburg*, 124–125, 149.

11. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 154–156, 156–157 n. 51, 161–167; Habben, "Auricher Juden," 134–135, 144–145; Lokers, *Juden in Emden*, 128–30, 221; Reyer, *Juden in Aurich*, 25.

12. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 60; Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 15, 60–61, 63; Richter, "Das jüdische Armenwesen in Hamburg," 236; Herzig, "Emanzipationspolitik Hamburgs und Preussens im Vergleich," 266–267; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 305–308.

13. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 178–186, 194, 195, 316–319.

14. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:123.

15. *950 Jahre Ermershausen*, 139.

16. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:352.

17. On the importance of the *Gäu*, see Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:107, 108, 110, 111, and Jeggle, *Judendörfer in Württemberg*, 209.

18. Jakob, *Harburg*, 132–133, 138–139, 143.

19. Toury, *Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum*, 228–229; Richter, "Das jüdische Armenwesen in Hamburg," 236.

20. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:293–295.

21. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:291.

22. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 194–195.

23. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 134–136, 145; I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 19; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:214–215.

24. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 314–315.

25. I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 20, 32–33; Raff, memoir, LBI, 40.

26. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:91.

27. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 66, 68, 71. See Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:89, 218–219, on packing and unpacking skins and cloth.

28. Much higher salaries for commercial employees are recorded in Braunschweig and Hamburg. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 314–315; I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 29.

29. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 74, 75, 78–80, 81–82.

30. Habben, "Die Auricher Juden," 134; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 134–135.

31. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 168.

32. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 217–218; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 225.

33. Heyman, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 286, 324.

34. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 363.

35. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 56; *Schenklengsfeld*, 47, 51–52; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 214–215.

36. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:6.

37. Twenty-six Jewish families of the small Franconian community of Gochsheim gave an annual total of 1,500–1,900 free meals to Jewish beggars. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 117 n. 468; Jakob, *Harburg*, 108.

38. The Trier consistory in 1810 sent a circular letter saying: "Oh blind ones! Can you only recognize the true Israelite by observance of some ceremonial laws? What is decisive for a Jew is morality and virtue, subjection under the law and furthering of the common good. Those Jews who live off others are lazy and not worthy of being considered Israelites. They must be removed by all means both to fulfil our duties as good citizens, and to restore the honor of our holy religion." Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 401–402.

39. Toury, *Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum*, 151–152.

40. This is a euphemism for *Schabesgoye*, a gentile woman who did certain kinds of work, like light or put out a fire, that religious law forbade Jews to do themselves.

41. Toury, *Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum*, 154–155.

42. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 362, 367; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 203–204.

43. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 95–102; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:122–227.

44. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:91–93.

45. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 47–48, 102–109, 111.

46. Mirabeau, memoir, LBI, 2.

47. Jakob, *Harburg*, 146.

48. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 122–123.

49. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 65–68, 73.

50. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 16, 34 and thereafter. See also Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:21.

51. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:215.

52. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 22.

53. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 10–11.

54. Baerwald, memoir, LBI, 6, 7–8.

55. Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 8.

56. Kaliphari, memoir, LBI, 26, 30; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:89.

57. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 53, 79, 84, 131.

58. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 341–342.

59. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:342. See also Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:4.

60. Kober, memoir, LBI, 4–5.

61. Tielke, "Judeninsel Norderney," 189–190 n. 4.

62. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 32, 33, 49.

63. Also the most common craft fields among Christians. Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 84.

64. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 183–184, 191.

65. *Schenklengsfeld*, 117–118; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 172–189.

66. Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 92–93; Richter, "Das jüdische Armenwesen in Hamburg," 242–244.

67. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:258.

68. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:78, 79. See also Probst, memoir, LBI, 6–45, and Raff, memoir, LBI, 18–21.

69. Jeggle, *Judendörfer in Württemberg*, 145–146; Toury, *Soziale und Politische Geschichte*, 363; Toury, "Jewish Manual Labour," 45–62.

70. Toury, "Jewish Manual Labour," 45–62.

71. Toury, *Soziale und Politische Geschichte*, 81 n. 29; Kemlein, *Posener Juden*, 171–173, shows a decline in craftsmen among employed Posen Jews from 34.0 percent in 1816 to 27.9 percent in 1852.

72. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 181–184.

73. I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 18.

74. Toury, *Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum*, 211.

75. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:336–338.

76. Raff, memoir, LBI, 27, 33–34. See also Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 21, 50–51; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:215.

77. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:478.

78. Weigert, memoir, LBI, 15–16; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:304, 311, 328–329.

79. Raff, memoir, LBI, 36, 43–45; Weigert, memoir, LBI, 17; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:282, 284–287, 304, 307–314, 328; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 22–23, 71. Some Jewish busi-

nesses, like the Frankenstein firm in Landeshut, failed because they did not keep up with technical innovations. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:335–336.

80. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:282.

81. *Schenklengsfeld*, 74, 83.

82. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 211–213, 258–260. See also Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 214 n. 8.

83. Richter, "Das jüdische Armenwesen in Hamburg," 244, 248 n. 31, 252–254. See also Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 339; Habben, "Auricher Juden," 135, 137, 150.

84. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:231–233.

85. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 259, 700.

86. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 100–101, 104–105, 108–111; Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 59–60.

87. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 204–207.

88. Baerwald, memoir, LBI, 5–13.

89. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 8–14, 33–35, 51–54, 71.

90. Weigert, memoir, LBI, 6–22; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:320, 327–333.

91. Raff, memoir, LBI, 5, 10–13, 14, 18, 28–43; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:146–148, 283–287.

92. Bernstein, memoir, LBI, 4–15; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:471–73. See also Epstein, memoir, LBI, 2:5–8.

93. Rose, *Portraits of Our Past*, 37–42, 57–63, 79–80, 83, 86, 164–166, 216–225.

11. Religious Practice and Mentality

1. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 158; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 82–84; Marcus, *Jew in Medieval World*, 212–221.

2. Toury, *Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum*, 305–307.

3. Georg Eggersglüss, "Hofjuden und Landrabbiner in Aurich," 120–21; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 733, 785–787.

4. For detailed information on women's *hevrot*, see Baader, *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 292–293, 302–344, and chapter 12 herein.

5. The Allersheim cemetery contained graves from at least 24 separate communities, and the Kleinbardorf cemetery served 37 communities. *Pinkas Hakehillot, Germania, Bavaria*, 338, 404, 552–553.

6. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 54–55, 186, 398–399.

7. Bäcker, "Juden in Schwedisch-Vorpommern," 95–96; Reyer, "Juden in Jemgum," 94–95.

8. Blinn, *Juden in Homburg*, 116–118; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 427–428. Eberhard Wolff has written a number of important articles about medical opinion critical of Jewish rituals and attacking the supposed lack of cleanliness of Jews, including "Medizinische Kompetenz und talmudische Autorität. Jüdische Ärzte und Rabbiner als ungleiche Partner in der Debatte um die Beschneidungsreform zwischen 1830 und 1850," in *Judentum und Aufklärung. Jüdisches Selbstverständnis in der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit*, edited by Arno Herzig, Hans Otto Horch, and Robert Juette (Goettingen, 2002), 119–149. Wolff cites Thomas Schlich, "Medicalization and Secularization: The Jewish Ritual Bath as a Problem of Hygiene (Germany, 1820s—1840s)," *Social History of Medicine* 8 (1995).

9. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 234–236.

10. *Schenklengsfeld*, 54–55; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 241–242; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 293, 660–661, 898; Michalski, "Hamburger Presse und die 'Judenfrage,'" 168.

11. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 364–366; Jakob, *Harburg*, 92.

12. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 369, 524 n. 7, 531, 540, 586, 637–638, 643–644, 656, 660, 675–677, 952–953, 1017, 1025, 524 n. 7.

13. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 369, 531, 540, 594, 643–644, 661–662, 675–677, 382–383, 882–883, 897, 924, 942–943, 1025–1026. Kemlein, *Posener Juden*, 218–222, lists 34 communities with a *Beth Hamidrash*.

14. Schlomer, *Moisling*, 29–30.

15. Jakob, *Harburg*, 64–65; Toury, *Eintritt der Juden ins deutsche Bürgertum*, 326–327.

16. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 105–113; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 118; Schlomer, *Moisling*, 17–20.

17. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 412.

18. Fehrs, "Situation jüdischer Lehrer," 317.

19. Salinger, "Jüdische Gemeinden in Hinterpommern," 37; Genz, "Jüdische Gemeinde in Stralsund," 125; Salinger, "Jüdische Gemeinde in Stolp," 164; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 159–161; *Schenklengsfeld*, 91–97; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 321–22. Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 31, 34, 35, 46, 68, contains numerous references to government requirements that the synagogue not be built on a conspicuous site or be visible from the street.

20. Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 1:17–29; Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 59, 78; Pankoke, *Hinterlassenschaften*, 86–96; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 224–225.

21. *Pinkas Hakehillot, Germania, Bavaria*, 600–601, 606, 613–614, 618; Jakob, *Harburg*, 93–98; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 24–28, 29.

22. In eighteenth-century Berlin there were 22 *minyanim* and in Breslau over 20 prayer halls and small synagogues. Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 15; Jacobson Collection, LBI, I 49, 107a; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 56.

23. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 857–858.

24. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 590, 390, 458, 372, 974; *Schenklengsfeld*, 91–97; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 96–99; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 20–21, 32, 166–169; Guth and Groiss-Lau, *Jüdisches Leben auf dem Dorf*, 43–49.

25. Marcus, *Jew in Medieval World*, 216.

26. Baader, *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 231, 235–237, 269, 273; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 30, 36, 48, and illus. 30, 51, 54, and 76.

27. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 458.

28. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 156–162. According to some interpretations of *halachah*, milk is permissible only if a Jew was present at its milking, lest a gentile use impermissible milk sources like pigs or horses. Rabbinic interpretation of Leviticus 19:27 and 21:5 forbid the shaving of the beard by using a single blade, as in a razor. Eighteenth-century German Jewish practice permitted the trimming or even removal of the beard with clippers or depilatories since these did not use a single blade.

29. Shohet, *Beginnings of the Haskalah*, 39, 56, 139–141, 162–163, 163–164.

30. Shohet, *Beginnings of the Haskalah*, claims that the practices mentioned earlier *are* a sign of the beginning of a decline in traditional Jewish religion even before the mid—eighteenth century. One could respond that most of the instances cited occurred in rural communities rather than in cities like Berlin, where the first overt break with tradition took place.

31. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 18–20, 42–43, 130–131.

32. Lowenstein, "The 1840s and the Reform Movement," in Lowenstein, *The Mechanics of Change*, 120–121; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:143, 165, 385, 388.

33. On the ceremony, see Weinreich, "Holekrash." See also Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:164.

34. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 105–113. See also Rosenthal, *Die Hochzeit zu Grobsdorf*, Max Weinreich Collection, YIVO Archives.

35. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 105–113, 206–210; Schlomer, *Moisling*, 17–20; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 65. Rosenthal's 1822 Yiddish farce "Die Hochzeit zu Grobsdorf" (written in Hesse) makes fun of the fact that the *Possenmacher* and not the rabbi told the couple of the duties of wedded life. Lowenstein, "An Early Nineteenth-Century Western Yiddish Drama," 64.

36. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 105–113, 206–210. See also Schlomer, *Moisling*, 17–20, and Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 108.

37. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 3–4, 10–11, 18–20, 22–27, 99–100.

38. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 394, 761–762; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 79; I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 21.

39. Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, especially 45, 53, 100.

40. One indication of the way cultural innovation spread from Berlin is the founding of modern schools, for which see Eliav, *Hachinuch Hayehudi* (*Jewish education*), 71–141, 209–226.

41. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 20; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:4, 16. See also Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:84, 88.

42. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 811–812, 823–824.

43. Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 158, 174; Freimark, "Die Entwicklung des Rabbinats," 14–17; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 638.

44. Jakob, *Harburg*, 64; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 152.

45. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 12; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:64.

46. Probst, memoir, LBI, 15, 31.

47. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 126–127.

48. Salinger, "Jüdische Gemeinden in Hinterpommern," 37, 45, 50, 67–68; Wilhelmus, "Juden in Vorpommern," 107; Salinger, "Jüdische Gemeinde in Stolp"; and Vensky, "Juden im Kreis Demmin," 166, 196–197.

49. *Schenklengsfeld*, 91–97; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 162.

50. The replacement of movable stands by fixed pews in some Bavarian village communities was considered worthy of reporting in the Jewish press. *AZJ* (1839) 3/95, p. 550; (1840) 4/27, p. 391. See also *AZJ* (1844) 8/5, p. 66; (1848) 12/41, p. 588; (1855) 19/22, p. 268.

51. Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 145, 148, 154; Baader, *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 243, 267–269, 276.

52. Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 108–111. See also Heitmann, "Synagoge und freie christliche Gemeinde in Stettin," 226–227; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 189–190, 205, 214.

53. Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 265–270; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 116–117.

54. Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 78–88, 270–273, 276–279, 297–299, 310–313, 313–316, 325–329. Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, especially 166–309, contains many discussions of the use of Neoclassical, Romanesque, Gothic, and Moorish styles.

55. Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 270–273; Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 334.

56. Lowenstein, *The Mechanics of Change*, 120–131.

57. Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 113, 123–127, 275 n. 11.

58. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 179–180.

59. Raff, memoir, LBI, 20–21; Probst, memoir, LBI, 31, 35; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:188–189.

60. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:161, 165, 173–174, 452–460.

61. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 30–31.

62. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 77–78.

63. Graetz, *Tagebuch*, 53; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:139, 155. The wearing of wigs is described in 1848 in Bisserheim in the Palatinate, in Viernheim, Hesse (a woman who died in 1879), and in Hanover in the 1860s.

64. In *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, Baader gives a detailed and subtle discussion of the increased religious role of women despite only limited change in their inferior status in religious law.

65. The full title of Fanny Neuda's book was *Stunden der Andacht. Ein Gebet und Erbauungsbuch für Israels Frauen und Jungfrauen zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht, sowie alle Verhältnisse des weiblichen Lebens*. Baader, *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 160, 166–196, 434–437, lists many devotional works in addition to *Stunden der Andacht*.

66. Nostalgic descriptions of the Sabbath and holidays are found in Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 7–8, 24–26; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:168, 199–200, 319, 436, 452–453, 454, 456, 475–476.

67. Siegel, memoir, LBI (unpaginated); Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:272.

68. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:84, 286.

69. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:173–174.

70. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:33.

71. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:337.

72. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 23; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:206.

73. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 66.

74. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:199, 206.

75. Probst, memoir, LBI, 11–13; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:168, 251, 260, 368, 388; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 18.

76. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:163–164. On flirting with conversion, see Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:178–183, 458, 459–460; Raff, memoir, LBI, 20–21.

77. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:143. See also Hamburger, memoir, LBI, 6, 9; Siegel, memoir, LBI; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:271, 307.

78. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:249, 251–252.

79. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:60–62; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:259, 260, 262.

80. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 65.

81. Siegel, memoir, LBI (pages unnumbered).

82. Raff, memoir, LBI, 51–52; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:333, 398, 412–413. Raff says that he reached his radical religious views only when he was in his sixties.

12. German Jews and Their Social Relationships

1. Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 146–258; Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 183, 202, 208–209, 229, 235–237, 373–396.

2. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 29–31, 33–34.

3. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:173.

4. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 128.

5. See Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:172–173, 449; Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 13–15, on social exclusion or inclusion within the Jewish community.

6. Maas, memoir, LBI, 18, 31–32. See also Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:445.

7. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 36.

8. Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 14–15; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 51–52, 53; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:337.

9. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:304, 311; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:25.

10. Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 14, 23–26, 29, 34 and thereafter.

11. Baerwald, memoir, LBI, 12; Eschelbacher, *Benario*, LBI, 3; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:89, 2:19.

12. Graetz, *Tagebuch*, 336–337 (letter 129).

13. Tielke, "Judeninsel Norderney," 189–195. The nearby antisemitic island resort of Borkum prided itself on excluding Jewish guests who had "overrun" Norderney.

14. Shohet, *Beginnings of the Haskalah*, 37–38, 40–41, 51.

15. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 65; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:196–197, 205, 208.

16. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:173, 362.

17. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 16, 49, 67, 74–75; Probst, memoir, LBI, 9–10; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:141; Schlomer, *Moisling*, 24; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:43–44; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 23–24; Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 134–135.

18. Raff, memoir, LBI, 14; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 49; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:131.

19. Maas, memoir, LBI, 4–5.

20. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:71; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 90; Maas, memoir, LBI, 38, 40–42; Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 14–15. On wedding dancing, see chapter 11 herein.

21. Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 48–49; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 90; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 87; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 2:22; Maas, memoir, LBI, 20; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:88, 173.

22. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 23–24; Maas, memoir, LBI, 37–38.

23. Baader, *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 290–294, 296–298.

24. *Dokumentation Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland*, vol. 3, *Gemeindlichen und öffentlichen Leben*, 302–304, 324–328. See also Baader, *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 296–298, 302, 305.

25. Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 115, 117, 120.

26. Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 114–115; *Dokumentation Rheinland Pfalz und Saarland*, vol. 3, *Gemeindlichen und öffentlichen Leben*, 304–306.

27. *Schenklengsfeld*, 87; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 656, 675–677, 880–885, 983; Baader, *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 305.

28. Jakob, *Harburg*, 112; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 369; Vinkmann, "Das Israelitische Waisenhaus in Stettin," 369; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 348–349, 550, 554, 643–644, 675–677, 692, 707, 885. See also *Dokumentation Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland*, vol. 3, *Gemeindlichen und öffentlichen Leben*, 319–321. Baader argues that the decline in importance of Jewish law and Torah study led to a reduction in the difference between men's and women's organizations. *Inventing Bourgeois Judaism*, 313–319.

29. Lesser, *Chronik der Gesellschaft der Freunde*; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 304–308.

30. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 308–312; Sorkin, *Transformation of German Jewry*, 119–120, 121–122; Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 144–146.

31. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 2:15–18.

32. Raff, memoir, LBI, 14.

33. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 59; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:9, 368; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 381.

34. I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 45.

35. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 68; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 11, 28, 59; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 381.

36. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:136, 453.

37. Maas, memoir, LBI, 29; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:307, 368, 439. The memoirists were born in 1824, 1825, 1835, and 1855.

38. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 964; Lokers, *Juden in Emden*, 204–205; Hegenscheid, "Synagogengemeinde Neustadtgödens," 108–109.

39. Cases of expulsions are described in Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 56–57, 169 n. 93; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 180–188; and *Pinkas Hakehillot, Germania, Bavaria*, 546.

40. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 414; *Schenklengsfeld*, 116; Michalski, "Die Hamburger Presse und die 'Judenfrage,'" 159–162. In one town Jews were not even allowed to use the well outside the ghetto. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 49–50.

41. *Schenklengsfeld*, 116; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 74–75; Jakob, *Harburg*, 170–171; Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 81, 115, 210–213; Harris, "Bavarians and Jews in Conflict," 103–117.

42. Rohrbacher, *Gewalt im Biedermeier*; Harris, "Bavarians and Jews in Conflict," 103–117. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:134–136, 155, 187, 192–193, 198, 453, describes violent anti-Jewish episodes in 1822, 1830, 1834, and 1848.

43. Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 240–242, 354–355, 691, 1012, 1032, gives a lurid account of Polish atrocities. Markus Mosse and Hermann Seligsohn, on the other hand, supported Polish insurrectionists in 1848 and 1863. See Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:151–153; Kraus, *Mosse*, 63, 65–74, 112–117. Itzig Hamburger claimed that the Polish peasants were crude but could be easily assuaged with some money and a drink. He says that robbery, murder, atrocities, and cruelty were rare during the 1848 uprising because its Polish noble leaders kept strict discipline. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:296. For a balanced account, see Kemlein, *Posener Juden*, 303–321.

44. There was a voluminous literature on Jewish criminality in Germany, which antisemites continued to use long after the disappearance of widespread Jewish criminal activity. Glanz, *Geschichte*, is an attempt at a general history of Jewish criminality in Germany.

45. Friess, "Zur Lebenswelt jüdischer Räuberbanden," 307–308; Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 25.

46. Friess, "Zur Lebenswelt jüdischer Räuberbanden," 304; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 301–302.

47. German thieves' slang (*Rotwelsch*) has a considerable Hebrew and Yiddish element.

48. Friess, "Zur Lebenswelt jüdischer Räuberbanden," 301, 305–306, 311–312.

49. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 338–340.

50. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 290–291; Lehmann, memoir, LBI, 31; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:295–296; Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 875–876 n. 7; I. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 33–34; Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 49–50.

51. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 10; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 6; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:143, 319, 368, 377, 437, 456. The memoirists making these positive judgments were born in 1819, 1825, 1832, 1835, 1844, 1851, and 1860.

52. Adam, *Zeit zur Abreise*, 141–142.

53. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:208, 439. See also Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 8–9; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 23, 28.

54. Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 10. Meyer Spanier's mother interpreted people calling her husband Herr Leser (using his first name) as disrespectful and answered "Do I call your husband Herr Karl or Heinrich?" (Perhaps the villagers used first names because five Jewish families in Wunstorf were named Spanier.) Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:205.

55. Maas, memoir, LBI, 29; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 68, 78–79; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:209, 368, 390; Hirschel, memoir, LBI, 12–18.

56. Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 28; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:209.

57. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:452–453, 208; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 93; Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 16–17.

58. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:289–290. See also Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 10; Probst, memoir, LBI, 36–37; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:189, 362.

59. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:43.

60. Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 5; Silbermann, memoir, LBI, 39; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:131, 163, 205, 208, 209; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 102–103. For the later practice of attending funerals of people of the opposite faith, see Jeggle, *Judendörfer in Württemberg*, 219, 253–255.

61. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:130–133, 143; Maas, memoir, LBI, 4–5, 18, 35, 40–42; Weigert, memoir, LBI, 16.

62. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:418, 425.

63. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:131–132, 133, 141, 393, 425.

64. See Hertz, *Jewish High Society*, and Wilhelmy, *Berliner Salon*.

65. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 20 n.

66. Toury, *Soziale und Politische Geschichte*, 60, estimates the total number of Jewish conversions to Christianity as 1800–1846: 6,330 (ca. 135 per year); 1847–70: 4,750 (ca. 198 per year); 1871–1900: 11,700 (ca. 390 per year). Only a portion of these conversions was related to intermarriage. In Prussia in 1875–79 only 4.3 percent of Jewish grooms and 4.4 percent of Jewish brides married non-Jews. Kaplan, *Making*, 258 n. 117. See also Toury, *Soziale und Politische Geschichte*, 65–66.

67. Maas, memoir, LBI, 4–5; Probst, memoir, LBI, 25, 42.

68. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 261–262.

69. Kasper-Holtkotte, *Juden im Aufbruch*, 404; Kilian, *Jüdische Gemeinde München*, 171–173, 184; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 261–262, 264–265, 267; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 374–375, 457 nn. 659–666.

70. Ehrenberg, memoir, LBI, 54–55; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 260–261, 263–265.

71. Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:273, 337, 439; Jakob, *Harburg*, 175; Vensky, "Juden im Kreis Demmin," 200; Blinn, *Juden in Homburg*, 81–82. See also Rosenthal, memoir, LBI, 10; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 68.

72. See Toury, "Types of Jewish Municipal Rights," 55–80.

73. Blinn, *Juden in Homburg*, 74; *Schenklengsfeld*, 125; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 239–240; Eschelbacher, *Benario*, LBI, 1; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:55.

74. Lowenstein, *Berlin Jewish Community*, 92; Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 227–229; Ebeling, *Juden in Braunschweig*, 275, 290–291, 374; Habben, "Auricher Juden," 131.

75. For the dates of Jewish entrance into town councils of Posen towns, see Heppner-Herzberg, *Posener Landen*, 230, 231, 359–360, 419, 428, 532 n. 3, 633, 650, 850, 886, 911, 984, 1013, 1022, 1027; and Kemlein, *Posener Juden*, 268–277.

76. Michalski, "Die Hamburger Presse und die Judenfrage," 166–168; Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 3–4, 25; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:248–249.

77. Harries-Schumann, "Orthodoxy and Reform, Revolution and Reaction, 1813–61," 29–48; Jakob, *Harburg*, 180–181. See also Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:147–148, 105, 339–340; G. Behrend, memoir, LBI, 49–50; Seligsohn, memoir, LBI, 40–41; Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:53–56, 60–62.

78. One must bear in mind that Seligmann's memoir recording these words was written between 1934 and 1941. See Maas, memoir, LBI, 34–35; Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben*, 1:208, 340, 389–390, 428, 463–464; Weigert, memoir, LBI, 16.

Part III. As Germans and as Jews in Imperial Germany

1. The North German Confederation passed a law (1869) declaring the equality of citizens "independent of religious denomination."

2. Richard Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Parties in Imperial Germany* (New Haven, 1975); Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); and Shulamit Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code," *LBIYB* (1978).

13. Surroundings

1. Richarz, "Demographic Developments," *GJH*, 7.

2. By 1910, 78,746 East European Jews made up 13 percent of Jews in the Reich. Adler-Rudel, *Ostjuden in Deutschland*, 164.

3. In Prussia, where most Jews lived, 1900 saw about 50 percent of Prussian Jews living in cities of 100,000 or more and 23 percent of all Prussian Jews living in Berlin. Ruppin, *Juden*, 42, 44. See also Lowenstein, "Rural Community," 218–236. Other states lagged behind Prussia. Thon, *Jüdischen Gemeinden*, 73.

4. In 1828, two-thirds of Hessian Jews had lived in communities of under two thousand inhabitants. By 1905, only one-third did so. Toury, *Geschichte der Juden*, 27–51; Ottenheimer, "Disappearance," 189–206. For Germans, see Volker Berghahn, *Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1982), 3.

5. Marx, *Werdegang*, 16.

6. The Jewish population dropped from 16 percent in 1867 to 11 percent in 1910. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 261.

7. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 253.

8. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 337.

9. Richarz, *Life*, 230–231.

10. Alexander Granach, *Da geht ein Mensch. Autobiographischer Roman* (Munich, 1994). Due to Prussian expulsions, Eastern Jews scattered to several German cities rather than clustering in one major locale as they did in New York, London, or Paris.

11. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*; Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers.*

12. Paepcke, *Ein kleiner Händler*, 15.

13. Cahnmann, "Village and Small-Town Jews," 126. He also notes that rural Jews brought some rural elements to the cities as well.

14. For Breslau, see van Rahden, "Mingling, Marrying," 203; for Hamburg, see Knappe, "Frauenorganisationen," 99.

15. For Königsberg: Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 57–58.

16. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 218.

17. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 222, 226.

18. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 219, 226–227.

19. Marx, *Werdegang*, 11–14.

20. Gay, *Jews of Germany*, 178–179.

21. Klapheck, *Rabbiner Jonas*, 16.

22. Landau, *Kindheitserinnerungen*, 49.

23. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 229. Similarly in America, see Richard Bushman, *Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 264.

24. Eyck, diary, LBI, 24.

25. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 6. For Worms (1870s), see Landau, *Kindheitserinnerungen*, 49.

26. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 191. See also Mehler, "Landjuden."

27. Ottenheimer, memoir, LBI, 1–3.

28. Karl Heinrich Höfele, *Geist und Gesellschaft der Bismarckzeit* (Göttingen, 1967), 15ff.

29. Kukatzki, "*Hotel*," 9.

30. Meyer-Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 41.

31. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 26.

32. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 43.

33. Marx, *Werdegang*, 38.

34. Bein, *Hier*, 66.

35. For Poznan, see Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 374–376; for West Prussia, see Toller, *I Was a German*, 11, 22.

36. Dienemann, memoir, LBI, 1, and Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 232.

37. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 59 (for the 1890s), and myriad photos of children in sailor suits in LBI.

38. Eyck, diary, LBI, 66 (1895).

39. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 367–368.

40. For the medical responses to Jews' urban lifestyle, see Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, chap. 4.

14. Family

1. Gay, *Education of the Senses*, 34.

2. Toury, *Geschichte der Juden*, 115.

3. For general examples, see social theorists like Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe des Reinen Soziologie*, 8th ed. (Leipzig, 1935); Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *On Individuality and Social Forms*, edited by Donald Levine (Chicago, 1971), 324–328. For a Jewish example, see Theilhaber, *Untergang der Juden.*

4. Gay, *Pleasure Wars*, 240–241. See also Kocka, "Bürgertum und bürgerliche Gesellschaft"; Blackbourn, introduction to Blackbourn and Evans, *The German Bourgeoisie.*

5. Hyman, "Image and Reality."

6. It was first published in 1882. Schorsch, "Art as Social History," 31.

7. Hyman, "Image and Reality," 186.

8. Hyman, introduction to *The Jewish Family*, 3–4.

9. For Jewish culture, see chapter 17 herein.

10. In 1871 only 4.8 percent of Germans lived in cities of over 100,000 people, but by 1910 over 21 percent lived in such cities. Luedtke, "Lebenswelten," 65. Barkai, "German-Jewish Migrations," and Schmelz, "Die demographische Entwicklung," 51.

11. Gay, *Pleasure Wars*, 50.

12. Freudenthal, *Gestaltwandel*, 100, 145–146.

13. Jacob Toury estimated about 60 percent to be middle or upper middle class and another 25 percent to be lower middle class. *Geschichte der Juden*, 114.

14. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, chap. 1, especially tables 4–11. See also van Rahden, "Mingling, Marrying," 202; Barkai, *Jüdische Minderheit*, chap. 4; Niemann and Hülskemper-Niemann, *Steele*, 45. In Steele (1904), one-third of Jews were in the uppermost tax bracket, and one-third were in the lowest.

15. Kraus, "Jüdische Stiftungstätigkeit," 103. See also Richarz, "Occupational Distribution," in Meyer, *GJH*, 61–63.

16. Gay, *Schnitzler's Century*, 32.

17. Gay, *Pleasure Wars*, 6–7.

18. Budde, "Das Dienstmädchen," in Frevert and Haupt, *Mensch*, 149.
19. Eyck, diary, LBI, 81.
20. Eyck, diary, LBI, 79, 81–82.
21. Eyck, diary, LBI, 82.
22. See also Hirschberg, memoir (long version), LBI, 7.
23. Breuer, *Modernity*, 7.
24. In Prussia in 1900, for example, Jews had 19 births per 1,000 persons, compared to 36 births for other religions. Ruppin, *Juden*, 45. See also Knodel, *Decline of Fertility*; Lowenstein, "Voluntary," 65–85.
25. Eyck family tree in Eyck diary, LBI.
26. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:25.
27. Jeggle, *Judendörfer*, 226–227.
28. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 10.
29. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 10.
30. Kukatzki, "*Hotel*," 22.
31. Kukatzki, "*Hotel*," 22.
32. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 173. For the top 13 popular books, see Budde, *Bürgerleben*, 129.
33. Gay, *Schnitzler's Century*, 42. See also Michelle Perrot, ed., *A History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War* (London, 1990), 203–204, 211–213.
34. Carol Dyhouse, "Mothers and Daughters in the Middle-Class Home, 1870–1914," in *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850–1940*, edited by Jane Lewis (London, 1986), 27.
35. Jonas became Germany's first woman rabbi in 1935, well before the first officially ordained woman in the United States, in 1972. Klapheck, *Jonas*.
36. Bamberger, *Leitfaden*.
37. Eyck, diary, LBI, 41 (in 1889).
38. Eyck, diary, LBI, 6.
39. Eyck, diary, LBI, 39.
40. Eyck, diary, LBI, 6.
41. Frykman and Löfgren, *Culture Builders*.
42. Salomon, *Charakter*, 22.
43. Eyck, diary, LBI, 31.
44. Eyck, diary, LBI, 22, 58.
45. Eyck, diary, LBI, 84.
46. Trepp, *Männlichkeit*, 350–352.
47. Holthausen, *Frauen-Brevier*, 43.
48. Frykman and Löfgren, *Culture Builders*, 140–141.
49. Kaden in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 332; Oppel, *Buch der Eltern*, 40.
50. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 330.
51. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 331–332.
52. Hirschberg, memoir (short version), LBI, 1.
53. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:110.
54. Andreas Heller, "'Du kommst in die Hölle . . .' Katholizismus als Weltanschauung in lebensgeschichtlichen Aufzeichnungen," in Heller, Weber, and Wiebel-Fanderl, *Religion und Alltag*, 37. Heller quotes Alice Miller, *For Your Own Good: Hidden Cruelty in Child-Rearing and the Roots of Violence* (New York, 1983), especially the chapter "Poisonous Pedagogy." Adage in Petr Bohaumilitzky and Isolde Nägl, "Anleitung zu ritualisierter 'Selbstanklage,'" in Heller, Weber, and Wiebel-Fanderl, *Religion und Alltag*, 92.
55. Bein, *Hier*, 43.
56. Gay, *Schnitzler's Century*, 105.

57. Baer-Oppenheimer, memoir, LBI, 24; Marx, *Werdegang*, 6; Eyck, diary, LBI, 12. Rieker, *Kindheiten*, 49–51, suggests more corporal punishment than I have found. I suspect that mention of corporal punishment may still have indicated an exception to the rule.

58. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 6–8.

59. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI (entry of April 27, 1916).

60. Bein, *Hier*, 43.

61. Hirschberg, memoir (long version), LBI, 9.

62. See also Baer-Oppenheimer, memoir, LBI, 24.

63. Eyck, diary, LBI, 10, 15.

64. Eyck, diary, LBI, 62.

65. See also Trepp, *Männlichkeit*, 363.

66. Eyck, diary, LBI, 60.

67. Kaplan, *Making*, chaps. 1 and 3.

68. Budde, *Bürgerleben*, 407, and Kaplan, *Making*, 51–63.

69. Scholem, *From Berlin*, 17.

70. Marx, *Werdegang*, 6 (b. 1892).

71. Eyck, diary, LBI, 59.

72. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 13.

73. Eyck, diary, LBI, 7, 16.

74. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 5; Sallis, memoir, LBI, 8.

75. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:133.

76. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 25. See also Eyck, diary, LBI, 33.

77. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 31.

78. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 231. See also Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 334; "Dienstmädchen," in Frevert and Haupt, *Mensch*, 168.

79. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 154, quoting *AZJ*, 2 (January 9, 1914), 17.

80. Kaplan, *Making*, 117–119.

81. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 334.

82. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 6.

83. Eyck, diary, LBI, 4, 7, 9, 18.

84. Eyck, diary, LBI, 22, 27, 30.

85. Rieker, *Kindheiten*, 38.

86. Rieker, *Kindheiten*, 38, quoting Peter Weiss, *Abschied von den Eltern* (Frankfurt/Main, 1961), 5.

87. Eyck, diary, LBI, 5.

88. Eyck, diary, LBI, 11.

89. Eyck, diary, LBI, 48 (1891).

90. Eyck, diary, LBI, 46.

91. Wieruszowski, diary, LBI, 65, 77. Her husband later became president of the Senate of the Oberlandesgericht in Cologne.

92. Wieruszowski, diary, LBI, 77 (January 28, 1897). Similarly in Eyck, diary, LBI, 45. The parents ate with the older three children (1891) but not with the little ones.

93. Wieruszowski, diary, LBI (March 16, 1902). Kaden was born in 1894.

94. Wieruszowski, diary, LBI, 131.

95. Wieruszowski, diary, LBI (July 30, 1910). By then she may have read Ellen Key's warning against turning children into mindless, obedient robots in her popular book *The Century of the Child* (translated into German in 1902).

96. Wolff, *Augenblicke*, 18.

97. Richarz, *Life*, 269.
98. Prinz, diary, LBI, 83–84 (1915).
99. Prinz, diary, LBI, 3:85 (1915).
100. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI (entry of January 9, 1917).
101. Similarly, husbands do not take center stage in wives' diaries. Eyck, diary, LBI, 6.
102. Eyck, diary, LBI, 6.
103. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 191.
104. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 8 (b. 1887).
105. Elias, *Norbert Elias*, 14.
106. Marx, *Werdegang*, 23 (b. 1892).
107. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 8 (b. 1887).
108. Rieker, *Kindheiten*, 32. See also Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 191.
109. Eyck, memoir, LBI, 85 (1898). See also Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 12–13.
110. Frevert, *Mann und Weib*, 163. See also Yvonne Schütze, "Mutterliebe-Vaterliebe," in Frevert, *Bürgerinnen*.
111. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 171, and Budde, *Bürgerleben*, 153ff.
112. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 6–8.
113. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:83.
114. Fischer, *Poesiealbum*, 52.
115. Baer-Oppenheimer, memoir, LBI, 25–29, 31.
116. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 84; Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:65; Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 170–171.
117. Eyck, diary, LBI, 3, also 14, 19 (1881).
118. Eyck, diary, LBI, 28.
119. Eyck, diary, LBI, 68.
120. Freund, *Hanna*, 201.
121. Wieruszowski, diary, LBI, 30.
122. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 285.
123. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:23.
124. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 53.
125. Ulrich Herrmann, "Pädagogisches Denken und Anfänge der Reformpädagogik," in Berg, *Bildungsgeschichte*, 155–156.
126. See Shavit, *Kinder-und Jugendliteratur*; Schoeps, "Bilder aus dem Ghetto: Aron Bernsteins Novellen," in Horch, *Conditio Judaica*, 2:234–246.
127. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 60.
128. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 15.
129. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:95–96 (around 1900).
130. Bein, *Hier*, 81, 100 (around 1914).
131. See "Abhärtung," in Oppel, *Buch der Eltern*, 18–24, 48–57.
132. Eyck, diary, LBI, 11, 23, 56, 72. See also Elbogen, memoir, LBI, 11.
133. Freudenthal (b. 1873), in Sallis, memoir, LBI, 84.
134. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 24.
135. Marx, *Werdegang*, 32.
136. Marx, *Werdegang*, 32.
137. Mandelbaum, *Jewish Life*, 26, 33.
138. Christa Berg, "Families, Kindheit, Jugend," in Berg, *Bildungsgeschichte*, 128.
139. Lowenstein, "Community," 150; Herbert Strauss, "The Jugendverband," *LBIYB* 6 (1961). See also Friedrich Brodnitz, ed., *Gemeinschaftsarbeit der jüdischen Jugend* (Berlin, 1937), 65.

140. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 235.

141. Although individual Zionist clubs started earlier, Zionists established the Blau-Weiss in 1912.

142. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI (entry of January 9, 1917).

143. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 14, 30.

144. Salomon, *Charakter* (b. 1872), and Sallis, memoir, LBI.

145. Karl Adolf Scherer, *Sport: Geschichte, Leistung und Rekorde* (Bremen, 1967).

146. The DT, founded in 1860, had female branches as of 1890, but women remained under 5 percent of the membership until after World War I. German workers founded their own gymnastics organization in 1893.

147. The proportion is probably higher, figuring 15,000 Jewish men out of a population of 600,000 Jews—under half of whom were male and even fewer of the right ages. This figure would need to be compared to that of non-Jewish bourgeois men.

148. Willy Meisl and Felix Pinszower, "Sport," in *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich*, edited by Siegmund Kaznelson (Berlin, 1959).

149. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 79. The DT allowed its locals to bar Jews unobtrusively. Friedler, *Makkabi Chai*, 10–14.

150. Friedler, *Makkabi Chai*, 7. See also Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture*, chap. 4.

151. Friedler, *Makkabi Chai*, 16, 24, 28.

152. Kaplan, *Making*, chap. 3, and Maurer, "Partnersuche und Lebensplanung," 344–374.

153. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, chap. 6, sec. 3; Foster, "Jewish Entrepreneur," 21–22; Morten Reitmayer, "Jüdische Grossbankiers," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and Rahden, *Juden, Bürger, Deutsche*, 151–152.

154. On Orthodox, see also Liebermann, *Aus dem Ghetto*, 8, 27–31.

155. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI, 2:133–135.

156. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 100–101.

157. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 81–82.

158. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 104

159. Foster, "The Jewish Entrepreneur."

160. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 99.

161. Trepp argues that in earlier nineteenth-century Hamburg arranged marriages (at least for Christians) were not as arranged as they looked and that women had more choice than it appeared. She modifies her position slightly with regard to "business circles." *Männlichkeit*, 89, 129.

162. For bankers, see Ingo Köhler, "Wirtschaftsbürger und Unternehmer," in Ziegler, *Grossbürger und Unternehmer*, 133–137.

163. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 2 (1901).

164. Baer-Oppenheim, memoir, LBI, 37. See also Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 15.

165. Lilli Sussmann Collection, LBI, letters of January 4 and January 9, 1894. Pflaumloch is in Swabia. For more passionate letters from a groom, see Hamburger-Liepmann, memoir, LBI, 93, 102–103.

166. Lilli Sussmann Collection, LBI, letter of April 26, 1894.

167. Lilli Sussmann Collection, LBI, letter of April 26, 1894.

168. If one analyzes intermarriages, surely a situation in which arranged marriages did not take place, one finds more working-class Jewish women. Till van Rahden, "Intermarriages, the 'New Woman,' and the Situational Ethnicity of Breslau Jews from the 1870s to the 1920s," *LBIYB* 46 (2001), 131–133.

169. A good number preferred civil to religious weddings, even when they married other Jews. See Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated*, chap. 5.

170. Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated*, table 10.
171. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 30.
172. Sallis-Freudenthal, *Ich habe mein Land gefunden*, 36.
173. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 52–53.
174. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 75.
175. After her husband's death, she earned a Ph.D. Sallis-Freudenthal, *Ich habe mein Land gefunden*.
176. This refers to the *Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch* of 1900, and the manual is Holthausen, *Frauen-Brevier*, 5–7.
177. Kaplan, *Making*, 52–53. The literature on non-Jewish German couples suggests greater inequality between husband and wife, with the exception of Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, pt. 3 (for an earlier era).
178. Elias, *Reflections*, 8.
179. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 64, 74–75.
180. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:24–25.
181. Abrams, "Companionship," 105, 108. See also Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985).
182. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 290.
183. Eyck diary, LBI, 49 (also p. 7).
184. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 11.
185. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:24–25.
186. Pincus, *Verloren*, 8–9.
187. In 1905, for example, compared to 1,000 newly sealed marriages in Prussia, 47 Jewish marriages, 41 Protestant, and 24 Catholic marriages ended in divorces. Here one has to keep in mind that urban Jews are being compared to urban and rural marriage data. *ZDSJ* (December 1907), 187. See also *ZDSJ* (May 1905), 9–10; (May 1908), 86–87; (October 1911), 150. Prayerbook, see Fanny Neuda, *Stunden der Andacht* (Prague, Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main), which sold 24 editions between 1855 and 1915.
188. *ZDSJ* (June 1908), 87.
189. Jewish divorce rates did not diverge much from other religions *within cities*. In fact, statistics on Berlin from 1890–1902 (where over half of Jewish divorces occurred) indicate that marriages between Jews ended in divorce slightly *less* often than marriages between Christians. *ZDSJ* (May 1905), 9–10.
190. Bruno Blau, "Zur Statistik der Ehescheidungen in Berlin," *ZDSJ* (June 1908), 87.
191. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 129.
192. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:104–5.
193. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI (entries for January 27, 1917; March 15, 1917; March 23, 1917; February 26, 1941; March 30, 1941).

15. Education

1. See Albisetti, *Secondary School*, for citations to other such histories.
2. Wassermann, *Engelhart*, 92; Winch, *Notes on German Schools*, 63–64.
3. Albisetti, *Secondary School*, 47, 51–52.
4. Marx, *Werdegang*, 26–27.
5. See, for example, the treatment of children at the orphanage in Esslingen, in Joachim Hahn, *Jüdisches Leben in Esslingen* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 173–176.
6. It went through seven editions by 1905.
7. Kaplan, *Making*, 172, 207. In Leipzig, for example, Henriette Goldschmidt founded kindergartens and the Society for Familial and Popular Education to further Fröbel's ideas.

8. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 129–130; Adele Schreiber, ed., *Buch vom Kinde: Ein Sammelwerk für die wichtigsten Fragen der Kindheit, unter Mitarbeit zahlreicher Fachleute* (Leipzig, 1906).

9. In Prussia more Jews and fewer non-Jews (proportional to their residence in cities, not to their income) went to upper schools. Ruppin, *Juden*, 44, 163.

10. The non-Jewish comparative statistics were 2.7 percent in 1886 and 2.9 percent in 1901. Bureau für Statistik, *Unterrichtswesen*, 24; Ruppin, *Juden*, 164.

11. Albisetti, *Secondary School*, 147 (1890).

12. Lundgreen, "Schulsystem," 310.

13. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 188.

14. William Learned, "An American Teacher's Year in a Prussian Gymnasium," *Educational Review* (April 1911), 362.

15. Albisetti, *Secondary School*, 140, 175, 211.

16. Hirschberg, memoir (long version), LBI, 7.

17. Albisetti, *Secondary School*, 306. See also Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (New York, 1965).

18. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 369.

19. Van Rahden, "Unity, Diversity, and Difference," 224, 229, 231–234.

20. In 1885, 7 percent completed it, and in 1899 6 percent did so. Bureau für Statistik, *Unterrichtswesen*, 39.

21. Hirschberg, memoir (long version), LBI, 9. Specifically, it signified a mid-level education, as opposed to the Abitur, which carried even more prestige. Romberg, *Staat und Höhere Schule*, 651–653.

22. Richarz, *Life*, 248–249.

23. By 1899, some schools, such as the Israelitisches Mädchenschule in Hamburg, with over four hundred students, offered courses in stenography and sewing machines. Knappe, "Frauenorganisationen," 103.

24. Eyck diary, LBI, 77–79.

25. Hirschberg, memoir (long version), LBI, 11.

26. Knappe, "Frauenorganisationen," 102, quoting the director of a *Mädchenschule* in Hamburg in 1913.

27. This is a comparison by population, not by economic class. Bureau für Statistik, *Unterrichtswesen*, 24.

28. Richarz, *Life*, 249. See also Toni Ehrlich (1893), memoir, LBI, 52; Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 162–163; Sallis-Freudenthal, *Ich habe mein Land gefunden*, 20–21.

29. Not all girls accepted their lot silently or gratefully. See Sender, *Rebel*, 9 (b. 1888).

30. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 89, quoting *AZJ* (September 6, 1888).

31. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 39. See also Schatzker, *Jugend*, 60, quoting *AZJ* (July 18, 1876), 463, and 62, quoting *AZJ* (March 4, 1892), 110.

32. Jacoby, *Königsberg*, 28–29, 35, 144.

33. "Etwas bewundert und sicherlich auch beneidet," in Bein, *Hier*, 82.

34. Bein, *Hier*, 73, 80.

35. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 199.

36. Straus, in Menken, *Stachel*, 138.

37. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 58 (see also 30).

38. Marx, *Werdegang*, 25 (b. 1892 in Heidelberg).

39. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 366.

40. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 16.

41. Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 22.

42. Ehrenberg, *Sehnsucht*, 31. See also Toni Stern-Lenel, unpublished manuscript, cited in Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 154.

43. Bein, *Hier*, 81.

44. Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 21.

45. Marx, *Werdegang*, 28.

46. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 46, quoting *AZJ* (April 1884), 285.

47. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 44, quoting *AZJ* (November 4, 1910), 525.

48. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 140. For similar situations in Posen, see Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 229.

49. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 87, quoting Rosenberg, memoir, LBI, 90.

50. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:247.

51. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 166.

52. Richarz, *Life*, 255.

53. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 287.

54. Richarz, *Life*, 207.

55. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 393.

56. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 181.

57. Marx, *Werdegang*, 33.

58. Marx, *Werdegang*, 40.

59. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:141, 252–253.

60. Between 1886 and 1891, for example, the number of Jewish schools in Prussia declined from 318 to 244. *AZJ* (June 16, 1905), 277–278.

61. About 64 percent of Jews lived in Prussia in 1871. By 1925 almost 72 percent lived there. Bureau für Statistik, *Unterrichtswesen*, 29. Interestingly, the highly acculturated Jews of Hamburg, whose intermarriage rates were among the highest in the nation, sent 52 percent of their children to Jewish schools as late as 1903. Krohn, *Hamburg*, 157.

62. Bureau für Statistik, *Unterrichtswesen*, 29. See also *ZDSJ* 5, 9 (September 1909), 142.

63. *ZDSJ* 5, 8 (August 1909), 119–120.

64. Even in Bavaria, with its more traditional religiosity, the number of schools shrank from 150 in 1850 to 65 in 1920. Breuer, *Modernity*, 95.

65. *AZJ* (June 16, 1905), 277–278. However, some new Orthodox schools opened after 1870. Breuer, *Modernity*, 107–109.

66. Bein, *Hier*, 47.

67. Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 18.

68. Bein, *Hier*, 52–53, 63.

69. In Prussia in 1901, only 3,530 out of 17,085 children received Jewish instruction in non-Jewish elementary schools. Breuer, *Modernity*, 98.

70. For example, only 2 percent of Jewish boys in Berlin Gymnasia and only 1.3 percent of Jewish girls in the *Höhere Mädchenschulen* did not take religion in 1899/1900. *AZJ* (April 27, 1900), 196–197.

71. Freidenreich, "Gender, Identity," 162.

72. "Mittheilungen vom Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebunde," (Berlin), no. 40 (May 1895), in Stiftung "Neue Synagoge Berlin-Centrum Judaicum," Archiv (hereafter CJA), 1 (Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden), 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 13, no. 23 (film 23, frame 135).

73. "*Wanderunterricht* and *Wanderunterrichts-Einrichtungen*," in Thon, *Jüdischen Gemeinden*, 19–21. See also "Vierte Religionslehrer-Conferenz zu Königsberg in Pr., 1890," agenda, CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 17, no. 27 (film 26, frame 117).

74. Breuer, *Modernity*, 93, 105.

75. Wasserman, in Menken, *Stachel*, 118. For an exception to the rule, a good teacher, see Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 251. For a negative impression, see Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 429.

76. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 131–132 (for 1870s—1916).

77. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 178 (see also 207–208).

78. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 393.

79. Marx, *Werdegang*, 40.

80. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 11.

81. "Conferenz der jüdischen Religionslehrer Ostpreussens, January 2–3, 1898," in CJA, 1, 75 A Al, 1 (Allenstein), nr. 13, no. 23 (film 23, frame 329).

82. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 121, quoting "Der Gemeindebote," *AZJ* (August 1905), 1.

83. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 163, quoting *AZJ* (March 28, 1902), 148–149, and *AZJ* (October 14, 1904), 497–498.

84. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 113–114 (1880s).

85. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 115, quoting *AZJ* (March 8, 1901), 13.

86. Richarz, "Jüdische Lehrer."

87. Statistics in Thon, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden*, 7.

88. "Mittheilungen vom Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebunde," (Berlin), no. 40 (May 1895), p. 25, CJA, 1, 75 A Al (Allenstein), nr. 13, no. 23.

89. Freudenthal, *Gestaltwandel*, 120, 125.

90. "Mittheilungen vom Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebunde," (Berlin), no. 40 (May 1895), p. 25, CJA, 1, 75 A Al (Allenstein), nr. 13, no. 23. See also Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 11; Mandelbaum, *Jewish Life*, 28–29.

91. Mandelbaum, *Jewish Life*, 28.

92. The community of Neumark's appeal, dated 1876 in CJA, 1, 75 A Al (Allenstein), nr. 14, no. 24 (film 7, frame 48).

93. "Achawa, Verein zur Unterstützung hilfsbedürftiger israelitischer Lehrer, Lehrer-Witwen, und Waisen in Deutschland, Dreissigster Rechenschaftsbericht" (for 1894), CJA, 1, 75 A Al (Allenstein), nr. 13, no. 23 (film 23, frames 167–169).

94. See letter about the Verein jüdischer Religionslehrer Ostpreussens, Königsberg, October 12, 1900, in "Pensionskasse für jüdische Religionslehrer" (1900), CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 16, no. 26 (film 26, frame 27).

95. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 295, 303–305.

96. "Bericht über die Herxheimer-Stiftung" (1886), CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 2, no. 11 (film 4, frame 262).

97. CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 13, no. 23 (film 23, frame 103).

98. Deutsch-Israelitisches Gemeindebund (1888), CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 2, no. 11 (film 4, frame 180).

99. Richarz, *Life*, 268.

100. Lundgreen, "Schulsystem," 310.

101. However, see van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 188.

102. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 230.

103. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:599–600.

104. Marx, *Werdegang*, 54, 57.

105. Richarz, *Life*, 199; Jeggle, *Judendörfer*, 125.

106. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 327.

107. Next in line were Bonn, Königsberg, and Marburg. *AZJ* (June 16, 1905), 277–278.

108. Ruppin, *Juden*, 125.

109. Ruppin, *Juden*, 127; Barkai, *Jüdische Minderheit*, 134; Richarz, "Occupational Distribution," in *GJH*, 56–57.

110. There were only 168 Jewish women in attendance and 1,356 Jewish men. Kaplan, *Making*, 138, and Huerkamp, *Bildungsbürgerinnen*, 25, 30.

111. Kaplan, *Making*, 142.

112. Kaplan, *Making*, 144.

113. McAleer, *Dueling*, 155.

114. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 35.

115. Freidenreich, "Gender, Identity," 157.

116. Frankenthal, *Der dreifache Fluch*, 8, 110.

117. University women reported that they were not allowed to have men in their rooms. Glaser, *Hindernisse*, 208–209.

118. Kaplan, *Making*, 141, 147–148. See also Glaser, *Hindernisse*, 242.

119. Glaser, *Hindernisse*, 246.

120. Marx, *Werdegang*, 56.

121. Frankenthal, *Der dreifache Fluch*, 110.

122. Pickus, *Identities*, 138, quoting Czellitzer, memoir, LBI, 45–46.

123. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 193.

124. There were some short-lived attempts at creating liberal student organizations. Pickus, *Identities*, 71, 76–77.

125. Konrad H. Jarausch, "Universität und Hochschule," in Berg, *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 4:334.

126. Jarausch, *Students, Society*, 355.

127. Kampe, "Jews and Antisemites," 389; Jack Wertheimer, "The *Ausländerfrage* at Institutions of Higher Learning: A Controversy over Russian-Jewish Students in Germany," *LBIYB* 27 (1982).

128. Jarausch, *Students, Society*, 65.

129. Between 1831 and 1879, few Jews joined the German fraternities, although in theory these organizations stood open to them. Pickus, *Identities*, 49,

130. Pickus, *Identities*, 118. See also Schatzker, *Jugend*, 196, quoting *AZJ* (January 18, 1881), 35.

131. Manifesto of Breslau Jewish students, 1886, in Asch and Philippson, "Self-Defence," 122 and 129.

132. Pickus, *Identities*, 130.

133. The nonsectarian group, founded in 1881, was the Freie Wissenschaftliche Vereinigung. Pickus, *Identities*, 78 and chap. 4.

134. Asch and Philippson, "Self-Defence," 134.

135. Pickus, *Identities*, 104.

136. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 197, quoting *AZJ* (September 8, 1885), 590–591.

137. Hirschberg memoir (long version), LBI, 14.

138. "Training for Manhood," in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 436. In 1896 several of these fraternities coalesced into the Kartell-Convent der Verbindung Deutscher Studenten Jüdischen Glaubens (Convention of German Students of the Jewish Faith), which ultimately grew to 24 member organizations. See also Gay, *Hatred*, 26.

139. McAleer, *Dueling*, 155, quoting a Social Democratic Reichstag representative in 1914.

140. Elias, *Germans*, 72; see also Gay, *Hatred*, 26.

141. Asch, "Self-Defence," 134–135.

142. Jarausch, *Students, Society*, 272.

143. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 196–197.

144. There may be one small exception, Beruria, an Orthodox women's group that

organized in the winter of 1916–17. Breuer, *Modernity*, 379. See also Kaplan, *Making*, 138–143.

145. Kaplan, *Making*, 148–149.

16. Work

1. David Landes, "The Merchant," *LBIYB* 19 (1974), 16. See also Herzig, *Judentum und Emanzipation in Westfalen* 70; for the small town of Witten in the Ruhr region, see Ahland, "Wittener Juden," 329.

2. See Wilhelm Riehl, *Die Deutsche Arbeit* (Stuttgart, 1883), 53–54 (first published 1861 and into its 4th edition by 1884).

3. Raabe's book had sold 214,000 copies by 1921, and Freytag's had sold 374,000 by 1920. Silz, "Freytag's *Soll und Haben* and Raabe's *Der Hungerpastor*," 10.

4. Blumenfeld, *Erlebte Judenfrage*, 31.

5. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 202.

6. Richarz, "Die soziale Stellung," 274–275.

7. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 204.

8. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 209, quoting *AZJ* (April 7, 1897), 2.

9. Estimates run to 2,000 to 2,500 boys in the Imperial era. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 209.

10. Jack Wertheimer, "East European Jews in Germany," *LBIYB* 26 (1981), 33. This may have varied in time and locale: see Till van Rahden, "Rethinking German Antisemitism, Breslau, 1870–1914," *German History* 18, 4 (2000), 423.

11. Mosse, *Jews in the German Economy*, 382, 403.

12. See, for example, Jürgen Kocka, ed., *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich* (Munich, 1988), vol. 2, sec. 3.

13. Manfred Horlebein, "Kaufmännische Berufsbildung," in Berg, *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 404.

14. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 26–27.

15. Ahland, "Wittener Juden," 329.

16. These statistics are for the years between 1893 and 1917: Knöppel, "Jüdisches Gewerbeleben in Naumberg," 59. Similarly, in southwest German villages, about 92 percent of Jews engaged in commerce in 1900. Richarz, "Die soziale Stellung," 275.

17. Rosenbaum, *Formen der Familie*, 290 (family helper: *mithelfende Familienangehörige*; gift of love: *Liebesgabe*).

18. Klaus Tenfelde, "Dienstmädchengeschichte. Strukturelle Aspekte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in Pohl and Treue, *Frau in der deutschen Wirtschaft*, 111.

19. J. K. Galbraith, "Consumption and the Concept of the Household," in *Economics and the Public Purpose*, edited by J. K. Galbraith (Boston, 1973), 32–33.

20. Hachenburg (b. 1860 in Mannheim), *Rechtsanwalts* (1978 ed.), 22. See also Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 163–164.

21. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 119.

22. Foster, "Jewish Entrepreneur," 17.

23. Budde, *Bürgerleben*, 409.

24. Paepcke, *Ein kleiner Händler*, 14. See also Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 58–59, for another example of a son who had to go into the family business.

25. Zimmermann and Konieczek, *Essen*, 13.

26. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 174.

27. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 13.

28. Kukatzki, "*Hotel*," 12–13.

29. Kukatzki, "*Hotel*," 14.

30. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:142.

31. Horlebein, "Kaufmännische Berufsbildung," in Berg, *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 405.

32. Marx, *Werdegang*, 48.

33. Marx, *Werdegang*, 53.

34. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 251–253.

35. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:134.

36. Gay, *Schnitzler's Century*, 195.

37. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:150.

38. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:147.

39. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:141.

40. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 251–253.

41. Riesenfeld diary, LBI (November 1, 1917).

42. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:158–159.

43. Prinz, *Juden im Deutschen Wirtschaftsleben*, 9–10.

44. Foster, "Jewish Entrepreneur," 22.

45. Richarz, "Viehhandel und Landjuden."

46. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 53.

47. For examples, see Knöppel, "Jüdisches Gewerbeleben in Naumberg," 59.

48. Maurer, "Partnersuche und Lebensplanung," 359.

49. Kaufmann, "Behejmeshändler," 16.

50. Richarz, "Viehhandel und Landjuden," 72, 78.

51. Richarz, "Die soziale Stellung," 279.

52. Richarz, "Viehhandel und Landjudentum," 73. For Westphalia, see Herzig, "Landjuden—Stadtjuden," 91–109.

53. Silesia may be the exception, where livestock and grain dealing were of little importance and Jews ran inns, taverns, and breweries. Herzig, "Landjuden—Stadtjuden," 105–106.

54. In West Prussia and Pomerania, Jewish dealers (in agrarian products and consumer items) also served as creditors. Hoffmann, "Politische Kultur und Gewalt gegen Minderheiten," 96.

55. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 263.

56. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 265.

57. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 263.

58. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 265.

59. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 81.

60. "Deutsch-Israelitische Darlehnskasse für Frauen u. Jungfrauen," in *Mittheilungen vom Deutsche Israelitischen Gemeindebunde* (August 1, 1886), 17–18, CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 2, no. 11 (film 4, frames 263–264).

61. Baumann, "Sozialen Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden," 89.

62. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 61.

63. See Baumann, "Gell," 208; Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 35.

64. Baumann, "Gell," 207.

65. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 166.

66. Kaufmann, "Behejmeshändler," 16.

67. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 85–87.

68. Helmut Walser Smith, "The Discourse of Usury: Relations between Christians and Jews in the German Countryside, 1880–1914," *Central European History* 32, 3 (1999); Jacob Picard, "Childhood in the Village: Fragments of an Autobiography," *LBIYB* 4 (1959).

69. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 18.

70. Baumann, "Gell," 211, and *Nachbarschaften*, 90. See also Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 314.

71. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 39.

72. Richarz, *Life*, 218.

73. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 66.

74. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 95. See also Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 36.

75. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 128.

76. Richarz, "Viehhandel und Landjuden," 80.

77. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 19, 37.

78. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 219, quoting *AZJ* (January 6, 1905), 1–2.

79. Richarz, *Life*, 253–254.

80. Elias, *Reflections on a Life*, 12.

81. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 380; Barkai, *Jüdische Minderheit*, 40–44.

82. Shulamit Volkov, "Juden als wissenschaftliche 'Mandarine' im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 37 (1997).

83. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 32.

84. In 1861–62, for example, Jews made up 16 percent of the commercial (*Handel*) population in Cologne, 25 percent in Königsberg, 33 percent in Berlin, and 48 percent in Breslau. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 45.

85. Frevert, *Mann und Weib*, 145.

86. Fischer, *Poesiealbum*, 43.

87. Fischer, *Poesiealbum*, 49.

88. Fischer, *Poesiealbum*, 50.

89. Wassermann, *Engelhart*, 51. See also Wassermann-Speyer, *Wassermann*, 11.

90. Wassermann, *Engelhart*, 103.

91. Wassermann quoted by Wassermann-Speyer, *Wassermann*, 12.

92. Fröhlich, "Adolf Fröhlich," 162–165.

93. Freudenthal, *Gestaltwandel*, 114.

94. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 246.

95. See also Foster, "Jewish Entrepreneur," 25.

96. See *Mittheilungen aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*, Berlin (December 20, 1891), 1, CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 17, no. 27 (film 26, frame 173).

97. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 32.

98. Richarz, "Occupational Distribution," in *GJH*, 45.

99. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 288. See also Ingo Köhler, "Wirtschaftsbürger und Unternehmer—Zum Heiratsverhalten deutscher Privatbankiers im Übergang zum 20. Jahrhundert," and Dieter Ziegler, "Die wirtschaftsbürgerliche Elite im 20. Jahrhundert: eine Bilanz," both in Ziegler, *Grossbürger und Unternehmer*; Morten Reitmayer, "Jüdische Grossbankiers und der Antisemitismus," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and Rahden, *Juden, Bürger*.

100. Between 1895 and 1907, the number of all female shop helpers increased from 81,483 to 173,420 and of office assistants from 13,763 to 110, 220. Schulz, "Angestellten," 186.

101. Schulz, "Angestellten," 192.

102. Verein für weibliche Angestellte, in Carole Elizabeth Adams, *Women Clerks in Wilhelmine Germany* (Cambridge, 1988).

103. Kaplan, *Making*, 160.

104. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 27, 30. At the local level, in Essen, for example, "there were almost no Jews in the civil service, in the judiciary, or in higher echelons of teaching."

Zimmermann and Konieczek, *Essen*, 12. Further, businessmen and professionals could earn more than civil servants. Cohn, *Verwehte Spuren*, 172.

105. Eyck, diary, LBI, 79.

106. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 86. See also Sieg, "Preis des Bildungsstreben."

107. Kampe, "Jüdische Professoren," 193.

108. Fuhrmann, *"Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen,"* 106. See also Kampe, "Jüdische Professoren."

109. Volkov, "Juden als wissenschaftliche 'Mandarine,'" 1–8.

110. *ZDSJ* 1–4 (January/February/March 1919).

111. Prussian middle schools hired 19 Jewish teachers in 1896. That year the Royal Provincial School Board of Berlin ruled that a school could only hire a Jewish teacher when a large proportion of its students were Jewish and that no non-Jewish child should have to be taught by more than one Jewish teacher. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 53–55.

112. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 52.

113. Huerkamp, "Die Lehrerin," 196.

114. Stephanie Habeth, "Die Freiberuflerin und Beamtin," in Pohl and Treue, *Frau in der deutschen Wirtschaft*, 164.

115. Huerkamp, "Die Lehrerin," 196.

116. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 60, 62.

117. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 75.

118. Jarausch, "Jewish Lawyers in Germany," 174. See also Peter Pulzer, "Religion and Judicial Appointments in Germany, 1869–1918," *LBIYB* 28 (1983).

119. Kraus, *Mosse*, 240.

120. Jarausch, *Unfree Professions*, 217. There were some Jewish judges but not at the highest level. In 1907, 906 Jewish (lower level) judges presided in Germany, or 4.28 percent. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 50.

121. In 1933, for example, 48 percent of private lawyers in Berlin and 45 percent in Frankfurt were Jewish. Jarausch, "Jewish Lawyers," 175, 181. See also Hachenburg, *Rechtsanwalts* (1929 ed.), 183–184.

122. Hachenburg, *Rechtsanwalts* (1929 ed.), 79.

123. Hachenburg, *Rechtsanwalts* (1978 ed.), 64.

124. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 118–19.

125. Hachenburg, *Rechtsanwalts* (1978 ed.), 94.

126. Hachenburg, *Rechtsanwalts* (1978 ed.), 93.

127. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 48, 56–57.

128. On female doctors, see Kaplan, *Making*, 173–177. Jewish nurses first organized in 1893, but nursing did not attract large numbers of Jewish women. See Gustav Feldmann, *Jüdische Krankenpflegerinnen* (Kassel, 1901), and Evelyn Benson, "Nursing in Germany: A Historical Study of the Jewish Presence," *Nursing History Review* 3 (1995).

129. Pross and Winau, *Nicht misshandeln*, 31.

130. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 57.

131. In addition, a large number of patients in urban Jewish hospitals were non-Jews. Reinke, *Judentum und Wohlfahrtspflege*, 204.

132. Efron, *Medicine*, 3.

133. Efron, *Medicine*, chap. 7.

134. Pross and Winau, *Nicht misshandeln*, 32.

135. Efron, *Medicine*, 240.

136. Efron, *Medicine*, 253.

137. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 86. This practice had declined by the later nineteenth century.

Claudia Huerkamp, "The Making of the Modern Medical Profession," in *German Professions, 1800–1950*, edited by Geoffrey Cocks and Konrad Jarausch (New York, 1990).

138. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 98.

139. In actual numbers, this was 412 and 712, respectively. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 48.

140. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:416–417.

141. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:420.

142. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:420.

143. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:599–600.

144. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 26. In big cities this percentage grew to 32 percent. Prinz, *Wirtschaftsleben*, 167. See Hilger, "Probleme Jüdischer Industriearbeiter."

145. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 26–27, 36.

146. Eschelbacher, "Einwanderungsbevölkerung," (1920).

147. Toury, "Ostjüdische Handarbeiter in Deutschland vor 1914," 81.

148. Specifically, in "industry and crafts," about 51 percent of Jews in 1895 and 43 percent in 1907 declared themselves to be "independent." Prinz, *Wirtschaftsleben*, 168.

149. Schmelz, "Die demographische Entwicklung," 64; *Im deutschen Reich* 3, 9 (September 1897), 402–403; and Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 38. See also Barkai, *Jüdische Minderheit*.

150. There were about 44,000 handicraft workers. Segall, *Verhältnisse*, 44.

151. Heid, *Maloche*, 10–12, 60.

152. Heid, *Maloche*, 456, quoting Max Eschelbacher, "Ostjüdische Proletarier in Deutschland," *Der Jude* (1918/19), 517.

153. Heid, *Maloche*, 455.

154. Heid, *Maloche*, 455–595.

155. Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 7, 14.

156. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 196.

157. Sallis-Freudenthal, *Ich habe mein Land gefunden*, 185, 187.

158. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 142–143.

159. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 89–90, 247 (God), 248–249.

160. Werner Conze, "Arbeit," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, edited by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart, 1972), 1:173.

161. Epstein, memoir, LBI, 1:6.

162. Peter Gay writes: "In their century, the ideal of work was supplemented by the ideal of leisure." *Schnitzler's Century*, 199, 219 (quote).

17. Religious Practices, Mentalities, and Community

1. Leo Baeck coined the term *Milieufrömmigkeit*, and Alfred Jospe used *Individualfrömmigkeit*. Alfred Jospe, "A Profession in Transition: The German Rabbinate, 1910–1939," *LBIYB* 19 (1974), 52.

2. Eisen, *Rethinking Modern Judaism*. Eisen argues that what mattered in modern religion was not whether individuals believed but whether they practiced, even in a selective manner.

3. By World War I, the most devout section of the urban Protestant population was the lower middle class. McLeod, *Religion and the People*, 98–99, 101, 116.

4. Already by 1850 the core of loyal church people in German cities made up less than 10 percent of nominal parishioners. Ölscher, "Secularization and Urbanization," 278, 281.

5. McLeod, *Religion and the People*, 98. Protestants maintained high participation in rites of passage—baptism, marriage, and burial—and preserved some home rituals such as grace or prayers at night. Hölscher, "Secularization and Urbanization," 281–282.

6. F. W. Graf and H. M. Müller, eds., *Der deutsche Protestantismus um 1900* (Gütersloh, 1996).

7. Hermann Timm, "Bildungsreligion im deutschsprachigen Protestantismus—eine grundbegriffliche Perspektivierung," in *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, pt. 2, *Bildungsgüter und Bildungswissen*, edited by Reinhard Koselleck (Stuttgart, 1990), 57–89; Wolfgang Schieder, "Sozialgeschichte der Religion im 19. Jahrhundert. Bemerkungen zur Forschungslage," in *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Wolfgang Schieder (Stuttgart, 1993).

8. Scholem, *From Berlin*, 29, 42–43; Wieruszowski, diary, LBI.

9. Hirschberg, memoir (short version), LBI, 2. See also Kaplan, *Making*, chap. 2.

10. Eisen, *Rethinking Modern Judaism*, 2.

11. Eisen, *Rethinking Modern Judaism*, 3.

12. Wassermann, in Menken, *Stachel*, 119.

13. Fritz Stern, "Comments on the Papers of Ismar Schorsch, Vernon Lidtke and Geoffrey Field," *LBIYB* 25 (1980), 73.

14. Bein, *Hier*, 86 (b. 1903).

15. Cahnmann, "Village and Small-Town Jews," 119. See also Bein, *Hier*, 65; Zimmermann and Konieczek, *Essen*, 12.

16. Wassermann (b. 1873 in Fürth), in Menken, *Stachel*, 119.

17. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 178. I am purposely translating *Judentum* as Judaism, which I am using as an all-embracing term for the religion, the culture, and the community. The term "Jewishness" tends to have a stronger cultural, rather than religious, connotation.

18. Hirsch, *Versuche über Jissroels Pflicten in der Zerstreuung*, 365.

19. Some small-town kosher butchers posted, for anyone to see, hours during which they would perform ritual slaughter. "Schlachtstunden für Geflügel auf dem Synagogenhofe" (1897), CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 55, no. 65 (film 12, frame 275). See also Robin Judd, "Jewish Political Behavior and the *Schächtfrage*, 1880–1914," paper delivered at the Leo Baeck Institute conference "Towards Normality? Patterns of Assimilation and Acculturation within German-Speaking Jewry," Cambridge, England, September 9–13, 2001.

20. Poorly paid, cantors performed an assortment of duties. See Cantor's letter from Hohenstein (E. Prussia) from 1878, CJA, 1, 75 A Br 9 (Bromberg), nr. 34, no. 1383 (film 1383, frame 256). For teachers, see Richarz, "Jüdische Lehrer."

21. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 7.

22. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 177; Richarz, *Life*, 201.

23. Marx, *Werdegang*, 6.

24. Kaplan, *Making*, chap. 2.

25. Richarz, *Life*, 257.

26. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 298–299.

27. Edith Stein, *Aus meinem Leben* (Freiburg, 1987), 44.

28. Kratz-Ritter, *Zionstöchter*, 94.

29. Cahnmann, "Village and Small-Town Jews," 119.

30. Civil marriage was introduced in Prussia in 1874 and in the Empire in 1875, yet religious marriage remained an important family ritual.

31. In 1901 only 13 percent of Berlin women gave birth with the help of a doctor. Oliver Faure, "Der Arzt," in Frevert and Haupt, *Mensch*, 101.

32. For refusals to circumcise and Jewish as well as state responses, see Robin Judd, "German Jewish Rituals, Bodies, and Citizenship" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2000).

33. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 96–98; Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 184–185; Landau, *Kindheitserinnerungen*, 90.

34. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 269.

35. Bering, *Names*, 69.

36. Bering, *Names*, 118.

37. Richarz, *Life*, 212.

38. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI (December 7, 1916).

39. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 429 n. 152; Knappe, "Frauenorganisationen," 110.

40. Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 19.

41. Small town in Baden. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 184–185.

42. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 186.

43. Rosenthal, "Opus One," memoir, LBI, 14.

44. Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 19.

45. Gotzmann, *Jüdisches Recht*, 375–377.

46. Breuer, *Modernity*, 5–11. See also Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 24, and Julius Frank in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 200.

47. Richarz, *Life*, 220.

48. Liebermann, *Aus dem Ghetto*, 6–8.

49. In contrast to Berlin, Mecklenburg-Schwerin's 18 synagogues served about 98 Jews each. German Jewry supported about 1,855 synagogues in 1903. Prussia's 1,440 synagogues in 1867 dwindled to 1,089 in 1905. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 6. The urban ratio was similar to that of Protestant parishes, which served between 10,000 and 30,000 people. Hölscher, "Secularization and Urbanization," 278. In Berlin, the Protestant ratio was one minister to 9,593 parishioners in 1893. McLeod, *European Religion*, 16.

50. Meyer, "Gemeinschaft within Gemeinde: Religious Ferment in Weimar Liberal Judaism," in Brenner and Penslar, *In Search of Jewish Community*, 16.

51. *ZDSJ* 1, 9 (September 1905), 1–5.

52. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 173–174.

53. For the varieties of architecture, see Harold Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, vol. 1 (Hamburg, 1981); Annie Bardon, "Synagogen in Hessen um 1900," in *Neunhundert Jahre Geschichte der Juden in Hessen*, edited by Christiane Heinemann (Wiesbaden, 1983), 351–376; Ahland, "Wittener Juden," 335–337.

54. It was not unusual for the mayor or town leaders to attend such an inauguration. For Dortmund, see Jakob Loewenberg, "Die Einweihung der neuen Synagoge in Dortmund (1900)," in Meyer, *Juden in Westfalen*, 81, 84–87.

55. Militär-Kapelle des Regiments von Grolman in "Einweihung der neuen Synagoge," CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 13, no. 23.

56. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 160, quoting *AZJ* (October 14, 1904), 497–498.

57. "Gewissenskonflikt," in Schatzker, *Jugend*, 124, quoting *AZJ* (May 1, 1908), 205.

58. "Jugendgottesdienst in Breslau," CJA, 1, 75 A Be 4 (Beuthen), nr. 109, no. 695.

59. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 14–17.

60. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 10–14. In contrast to the United States today, communities as small as 30 or 40 individuals persevered. Lowenstein, "Decline and Survival of Rural Jewish Communities," 224.

61. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 173–174.

62. Richarz, *Life*, 206.

63. Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 19.

64. Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 19.

65. Kukatzki (b. 1907), in *Hotel*, 19. See also Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 178.

66. Richarz, *Life*, 201; Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 107; Cahnmann, "Village and Small-Town Jews," 122; Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 26 n. 1.

67. Sussmann coll., LBI, letters of Sigmund Hirsch.

68. Rabbis visited on occasion. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 86.

69. Kukatzki, *Hotel*, 19. See also Richarz, *Life*, 251; Kratz-Ritter, *Zionstöchter*, 83–85, 90.

70. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 345.

71. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 90.

72. Ninety percent of communities under one hundred people had no organ or singing, and two-thirds of those with three hundred members still eschewed musical accompaniment. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 14–17.

73. Richarz, *Life*, 269–270.

74. Richarz, *Life*, 250. Photos depict Jews standing outside their synagogues conversing before services. Bein, *Hier*, 55.

75. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 93–94; Jeggle, *Judendörfer*, 264.

76. Bein, *Hier*, 59. See also Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 5–6 (photos of Purim parade, 1910), and 61–64.

77. Jews made up 28 percent of the population in 1918, down from over 50 percent in 1858. Schmid, *Gailingen*, 17, 57–60 (including photos of 1910 parade), 99.

78. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 62.

79. Cahnmann, "Village and Small-Town Jews," 124.

80. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 92–93.

81. Steven Lowenstein, "Jüdisches religiöses Leben in deutschen Dörfern. Regionale Unterschiede im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in Richarz and Rürup, *Jüdisches Leben auf dem Lande*.

82. For religious splits in Westphalia, see Isi Kahn, "Streiflichter aus der Geschichte der Juden Westfalens," in Meyer, *Juden in Westfalen*, 64–65.

83. Lowenstein, "Decline and Survival of Rural Jewish Communities," 225, and "Religious Life," 104–105.

84. Mandelbaum, *Jewish Life*, 28, 88, 93 (1906–1910).

85. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 120–122.

86. Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, chap. 5; Lowenstein, "Religious Life," 103.

87. Kratz-Ritter, *Zionstöchter*, 148–149, 152–53.

88. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 17–18. For an example of a half-built mikveh, see Request from Jutroschin (Posen) in 1892, CJA, 1, 75 A, Be 4 (Beuthen), nr. 109, no. 695.

89. By midcentury, the wig had replaced the hair covering or cap (*Haube*), although some Orthodox families forbade wigs as too modern. Rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer permitted wigs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—at a point when wigs had fallen into general disuse, especially in cities, and even among many Orthodox women. Breuer, *Modernity*, 7–9. See also Monica Kingreen, "Jüdisches Leben um 1900," in Kingreen, *Windecken, Ostheim und Heldenbergen*, 239; Salomon Carlebach, *Ratgeber für das jüdische Haus: Ein Führer für Verlobung, Hochzeit und Eheleben* (Berlin, 1918), 12.

90. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 199.

91. Baer-Oppenheimer, memoir, LBI, 34.

92. Fröhlich, "Adolf Fröhlich," 164.

93. Liberles, *Religious Conflict in Social Context*, 13; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, chap. 5; Lowenstein, "Religious Life," 103.

94. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 239. On the other hand, some Orthodox Jews migrated to cities in order to join viable Orthodox communities, and Orthodox circles also included the very wealthy.

95. *Die Welt*, June 10, 1904, 2–3, in Green, *Jewish Workers in the Modern Diaspora*, 53. Immigrant Jews did not change religious culture in German cities as they may have done in Vienna or Warsaw. Marsha Rozenblit, *Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914* (Albany, 1983), 150–153, and W. Bartoszewski and A. Polonsky, eds., *The Jews in Warsaw* (New York, 1991).

96. Phyllis Albert, "L'Intégration et la persistence de l'ethnicité chez les Juifs dans la France moderne," in *Histoire Politique des Juifs de France: Entre universalisme et particularisme*, edited by Pierre Birnbaum (Paris, 1990).

97. Hirschberg, memoir (long version), LBI, 3.

98. The trend was toward diminishing practice, but some children became more Orthodox than their parents. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 243.

99. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 2–3.

100. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 196, photo of Herz family in 1905.

101. Bahlout, "Foodways," 2.

102. Kaplan, *Making*, 72.

103. Kingreen, *Windecken, Ostheim und Heldenbergen*, 239.

104. Zimmermann, *Essen*, 33. See also Hirschberg, memoir (short version), LBI, 2.

105. Scholem, "Social Psychology," 12.

106. Gotzmann, *Jüdisches Recht*, 359–379.

107. This was also a Christian phenomenon. Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit—männlicher Unglaube? Religion und Kirchen im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert," in Frevert, *Bürgerinnen und Bürger*, 140.

108. Michelle Perrot and Anne Martin-Fugier, "The Actors," in Perrot, *A History of Private Life*, 286.

109. Loevinson, memoir, LBI, 23.

110. Kaplan, *Making*, 75–77.

111. "The Secularization of Jewish Theology," in Mosse, *Masses and Man*, 258.

112. Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism*, 4.

113. Fröhlich, "Adolf Fröhlich," 164–165.

114. Schiller and, by the turn of the century, Goethe were particular favorites, but contemporary authors were also popular. Breuer, *Modernity*, 11; see also 46, 150.

115. Breuer, *Modernity*, 83.

116. Eyck, diary, LBI, 19 (pray), 47, and 53 (Bar Mitzvahs, 1890–91).

117. Eyck, diary, LBI, 64. "Thou art so like a flower" ("Du bist wie eine Blume"), translator unknown, from George Whitefield Chadwick, op. 11, no. 3. See George Whitefield Chadwick website (http://www.geocities.com/iambasboy/gwchfr.html), "Songs and Choruses."

118. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 93.

119. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 55.

120. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 343.

121. Richarz, *Life*, 249–251.

122. Eisen, *Rethinking Modern Judaism*, 4.

123. Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses*, 9.

124. Many German state governments had forbidden the sucking of blood, or *metsitsa*, by the 1880s. Breuer, *Modernity*, 258–259. See also W. Guenther Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism*, 206–211; Robin Judd, "Cutting Identities." On trees, see Malka Schmuckler, *Gast im eignenen Land. Emigration und Rückkehr einer deutschen Jüdin* (Cologne, 1983), 6–9, and on "Weih-nukka," see Eleanor E. Alexander, *Stories of My Life*, published in cooperation with the Judah Magnes Museum (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 11–13. See also Marion Kaplan, "Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany," *Jewish Social Studies* 9, 1 (fall 2002), 14–17.

125. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 244.

126. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 246–247. See also Sallis, memoir, LBI, 3.

127. Honigmann, *Austritte*, 11–13.

128. Richarz, *Life*, 202; Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 173–174.

129. Suchy, "Die jüdische Presse," 181; Herbert Strauss, "Jewish Press in Germany," 323; Breuer, *Modernity*, 171–172.

130. For Protestants, see Hölscher, "Secularization and Urbanization," 282; for Catholics, see Josef Mooser, "Katholische Volksreligion, Klerus und Bürgertum in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Thesen," in Schieder, *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, 150–152.

131. Kaplan, *Making*, 195.

132. Richarz, *Life*, 255. See also Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 365–368.

133. Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions*, 119, 147.

134. Grassroots organizing in Stettin, in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 216–218.

135. Richarz, *Life*, 177.

136. Liedtke, *Hamburg and Manchester*.

137. Also see Aussteuerverein, 1903, CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 16, no. 26 (film 26–40, frame 23).

138. Statut des Frauen-Vereins zur Unterstützung hilfsbedürftiger Israeliten weiblichen Geschlechts zu Allenstein, 1879, CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 50, no. 60 (film 12, frame 9).

139. Knappe, "Frauenorganisationen," 194.

140. On families: CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 16, no. 26 (film 26, frame 50) (from town of Rhein near Osterode Ostpr., 1889); Deutsch-Israelitische Darlehnskasse für Frauen und Jungfrauen (1875), CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 14, no. 24 (film 7, frame 20).

141. From Flatow, W. Prussia (1876), CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 14, no. 24 (film 7, frame 103). See also Request from Landeck W. Prussia (August 7, 1889), CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 17, no. 27 (film 26, frame 62).

142. CJA, 1, 75 A Al 1 (Allenstein), nr. 16, no. 26 (film 26, frames 152–153).

143. CJA, 1, 75 A Be 4 (Beuthen), nr. 109, no. 695: matzot (frame 372) and cemetery (frame 377).

144. See chap. 18 and Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 58–59.

145. Lowenstein, "Community," 144.

146. The numbers should not be exaggerated: the largest number of conversions took place in 1888; among these there were only 39 baptisms of children. *AZJ* (May 11, 1894), 218–219.

147. Berlin Jews converted at a much higher rate than any others: between 1875 and 1888, for example, 890 out of 1,901 conversions occurred in Berlin. *AZJ* (May 11, 1894), 218–219.

148. Wachenheim, *Vom Grossbürgertum zur Sozialdemokratie*, 10.

149. Honigmann, *Austritte*, 109.

150. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 16. Jews were also subject to missionaries. See Christopher Clark, *The Politics of Conversion: Missionary Protestantism and the Jews in Prussia, 1728–1941* (Oxford, 1995).

151. This was also the case with regard to resignations from the Jewish community: between 1873 and 1918, 68 percent of those who left the Jewish community were male and 32 percent female. Honigmann, *Austritte*, 134.

152. Kaplan, *Making*, 82. Some Jewish domestics and teachers found jobs only after they converted.

153. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 295.
154. Richarz, *Life*, 236.
155. *Israelit* (February 4, 1901), 219–220.

18. Social Life

1. Girardet, *Jüdische Mäzene*, 9. See also Gay, *Pleasure Wars*, 180; Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Drei Berliner Porträts: Wilhelm von Bode, Eduard Arnhold, Harry Graf Kessler," and Werner Knopp, "Kulturpolitik, Kunstförderung und Mäzenatentum im Kaiserreich," both in *Mäzenatentum in Berlin*, edited by Günter and Waldtraut Braun (Berlin, 1993).
2. Schatzker, *Jugend*, 151, quoting *AZJ* (March 27, 1891), 653.
3. Wolff, *Wassermann*, 11.
4. Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews*, 43. Most memoirs of German Jews share neither the anguish of Wassermann nor the happy sophistication of Landauer. They accepted their dual and frequently shifting identities. See, for examples, Liebeck, memoir, LBI; Elias, *Reflections*, 10.
5. Breuer, *Modernity*, 303, quoting from *Israelit* 11, 597 (1870), 22, 826 (1881), and *Jüdische Presse*, 11, 26–27 (1880). See also Straus, *Wir lebten*, 43.
6. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 337. Sedan Day started in 1873. It did not remain a popular holiday for very long but was recalled by writers born in Berlin in 1881 (Klemperer) and Breslau in 1894 (Kaden). Helene Eyck (Berlin) recorded the event in her diary in 1895, the same year that 55 stores in Witten, including seven stores owned by Jews, closed in honor of Sedan Day. Ahland, "Wittener Juden," 342.
7. Smith, "Religion and Conflict," 293. See Smith's careful analysis of intra-Christian tensions in *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict.*
8. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 184–187, 192–193, 198, 235.
9. See Elias (b. 1897), *Reflections*, 7.
10. Paepcke, *Ein kleiner Händler*, 15–16.
11. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 122. See also Hirschberg (b. 1898), memoir (long version), LBI, 3; Toni Ehrlich (b. 1880), memoir, LBI, 16.
12. For the period from 1900 through Weimar, see Claudia Prestel, "Youth in Need: Correctional Education and Family Breakdown in German-Jewish Families," in Brenner and Penslar, *In Search of Jewish Community*, 200–223.
13. See "situative ethnicity" in van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 19–21.
14. Baumann, "Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden," 30.
15. Baumann, "Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden," 28–29, 31.
16. Dann, diary, LBI, 7.
17. Teeabende also in Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit*, 375.
18. Hirschberg, memoir (long version), LBI, 6.
19. Posen in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 229; Berlin in Wieruszowski, diary, LBI (May 3, 1905), 162–163, and Breslau in Toni Ehrlich, memoir, LBI, 6, 15. For Königsberg, see Jacoby, *Königsberg*, 18.
20. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 121.
21. Richarz, *Life*, 266.
22. Richarz, *Life*, 229.
23. Richarz, *Life*, 255.
24. Baumann, "Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden," 28–29, 31.
25. I am referring to the non-Orthodox Jewish population. For social life among Orthodox Jews, see Breuer, *Modernity*, 268–281.
26. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 221–223. Similarly, for Stettin, see Richarz, *Life*, 222.
27. Richarz, *Life*, 267.

28. Richarz, *Life*, 302.

29. For a positive response to this question, see Jeggle, *Judendörfer*, 227.

30. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 311. In other cities, too, dance lessons remained segregated by class, ethnicity, or both. For Frankfurt, see Sallis, memoir, LBI, 22. In Berlin, the Eyck family provided class-appropriate dance lessons for its sons and daughters, clearing its own dining room occasionally so the dance class could meet in the home. Eyck, diary, LBI, 72, 75 (1896).

31. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI (February 12, 1941).

32. Richarz, *Life*, 208 (Fulda), and 301–302 (Buxbaum).

33. Eschelbacher, "Einwanderungsbevölkerung," *ZDSJ* 1–3 (1923), 17–18.

34. Peter Pulzer, *Jews and the German State* (Oxford, 1991), 13–14; Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 58–59.

35. Ruppin, *Gemeinden*, 60–61.

36. For Jewish women's organizations, see Kaplan, *Making*, 202. On students, see Pickus, *Identities.*

37. Hecht, *"Ich bin doch geborener Sulzburger und Deutscher,"* 16, 19.

38. Borut and Heilbronner, "Leaving the Walls or Anomalous Activity," 488.

39. Berlin in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 82; Frankfurt/Main in Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 138–140, 299.

40. Maurer, *Entwicklung*, 58.

41. *AZJ* (May 29, 1903), 257–259.

42. Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions*, 112.

43. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 216.

44. Schatzker, *Jugend*, quoting *AZJ* (March 10, 1899), 109–110.

45. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 378.

46. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 441.

47. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 58.

48. Jacob Borut, "'Verjudung des Judentums': Was There a Zionist Subculture in Weimar Germany?" in Brenner and Penslar, *In Search of Jewish Community*, 95.

49. German Zionists remained a relatively small group. They had about 62 clubs and close to 10,000 members. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 119. See also Ludger Heid, "Harry Epstein. Zionistischer Politiker und Anwalt der Ostjuden," in Barbian, Brocke, and Heid, *Juden im Ruhrgebiet*, 105–132. Only four women's Zionist organizations existed in Germany before World War I: those in Hamburg, Berlin, Posen, and Königshütte.

50. Hamburg, Baden, and Württemberg already allowed such organizations. But Prussia and many other states forbade women's political activities until the Imperial Law of Association was passed in 1908.

51. *Statistik der Frauenorganisationen im deutschen Reich* (Berlin, 1909), 18–66.

52. Kaplan, *Jewish Feminist Movement.*

53. Knappe, "Role of Women's Associations," 166–167.

54. Thon, *Gemeinden und Vereine*, 56–57.

55. Jews shared a strong affinity and sought comfort among their own. This included even fully acculturated bourgeois Berlin-Jewish families. Pincus, *Verloren*, 10, 17, 24, 27, 33.

56. Liedtke, "Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester," 271. See also Reinke, *Judentum und Wohlfahrtspflege*, 181.

57. Lowenstein, "Community," 144. See also Penslar, "Philanthropy, the 'Social Question,' and Jewish Identity."

58. Wippermann, *Bremerhaven*, 128; Hopp, "Von der Einheit der 'heiligen Gemeinde,'" 448–449, 452.

59. *AZJ* (December 15, 1899), 589.

60. Cahnmann, "Village and Small Town Jews," 58.

61. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 45–46. Despite these neighborly gestures, about half of Nonnenweier (a Protestant village) supported antisemitic candidates in the 1890s, and incidences of violence against Jewish homes occurred in 1892. Smith, "Religion and Conflict," 303, 308. In other Badenese towns, Jewish and non-Jewish neighbors sometimes borrowed food from each other and shared perishable leftovers from celebrations. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 54.

62. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 46.

63. Jeggle, *Judendörfer*, 283. See also Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 73; Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 46, 112; Schmid, *Gailingen*, 114.

64. Bein, *Hier*, 47. For friendship between two teachers (Hesse-Nassau), see Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 159–162.

65. Jeggle, *Judendörfer*, 271.

66. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 42; Straus in Menken, *Stachel*, 136. See also Smith, *German Nationalism*. As to the questions of who was more antisemitic, Protestants or Catholics, the jury is still out. On antisemitism as "mainly a Protestant phenomenon" (in Baden), see Smith, "Religion and Conflict," 304. On Catholic antisemitism, see Michael Riff, "The Government of Baden against Antisemitism: Political Expediency or Principle," *LBIYB* 32 (1987); David Blackbourn, "Catholics, the Centre Party and Anti-Semitism," in Blackbourn, *Populists and Patricians: Essays in Modern German History* (Boston, 1987); Olaf Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Göttingen, 1997), especially 131–145.

67. Richarz, "Landjuden," 181–190.

68. Cahnmann, "Village and Small Town Jews," 124.

69. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 324. See also Smith, "Religion and Conflict," 305.

70. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 100.

71. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 186; Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 74–75. In villages with only one tavern, both Jews and non-Jews appear to have patronized it. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 323. Christians, on the other hand, ventured into Jewish establishments less often than vice versa (Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 101, but see Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, for an exception, 74–75), with Protestants and Catholics hesitating to patronize each other's inns as well. Olaf Blaschke, "Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit im Spannungsfeld des neuen Konfessionalismus von den 1830er bis zu den 1930er Jahren," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and van Rahden, *Juden, Bürger*, 62.

72. Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 75.

73. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 71.

74. Baumann, "Gell," 211–212, and *Nachbarschaften*, 70, 75–76.

75. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 76–77.

76. Between 1897 and 1901, 64 to 80 percent of Jews migrating from Baden were men. *ZDSJ* 2, 2 (February 1906), 23.

77. Dieter Hoffmann, *Landjuden in Rheinhessen*, 88. See also Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 181–182.

78. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 81–82.

79. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 80–81.

80. Sobernheim an der Nahe was a town of about three thousand with about 150 Jews. Yet even people who played cards with Jews later joined the Nazi party. Frances Henry, *Victims and Neighbors: A Small Town in Nazi Germany Remembered* (South Hadley, Mass., 1984), 55–56.

81. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:17. For women, see Henry, *Victims*, 56.

82. See Kukatzki, *"Hotel,"* 18. The *Kirchweihe* had become relatively secularized by the end of the nineteenth century.

83. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften* 102 (1896–99).

84. Mosse, *German Jewish Economic Elite*, 161–185; Dolores Augustine, "Arriving in the Upper Class: The Wealthy Business Elite of Wilhelmine Germany," in Blackbourn and Evans, *German Bourgeoisie*, 56–64.

85. Wessling, "Familien," 15. See also Kraus, *Mosse*, 456–458; Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, "The Jewish Community in Königsberg," *Jewish Social Studies* 5, 3 (spring/summer 1999), 107.

86. Stern, *Gold and Iron*, passim.

87. Freudenthal, *Gestaltwandel*, 104.

88. Freudenthal, *Gestaltwandel*, 104. Georg Simmel noted the bigger the party "the less [it is] probable that [the individuals] converge in the more valuable and intimate sides of their natures." *Sociology of Georg Simmel*, 112.

89. Hahn, "Encounters at the Margins," 195.

90. Scholem, "Social Psychology," 10.

91. Hachenburg, *Rechtsanwalts* (1978 ed.), 90, 98.

92. Blumenfeld, *Erlebte Judenfrage*, 27.

93. Bucholtz, *Henri Hinrichsen*, 37–39, 323. It is not clear that Hinrichsen's guests, colleagues in the music world, were friends. See Simmel's "differentiated friendship," hereafter.

94. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 153 (*Bürgermeisteramtskandidat*). For similar instances, see Marx, *Werdegang*, 104 (Karlsruhe); Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 81.

95. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 153.

96. Girardet, *Mäzene*, 21. For an example of a man in a mixed marriage whose closest friends were non-Jews, see Schmuhl, *Herren der Stadt*, 470–472.

97. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 151.

98. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 15, 156.

99. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 79.

100. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 253–254. See also Baer-Oppenheimer, memoir, LBI, 34–35, 40.

101. Oded Heilbronner, "The German Bourgeois Club as a Political and Social Structure in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Continuity and Change* 13, 3 (1998). See also Wolfgang Jacobeit, Josef Mooser, and Bo Strath, *Idylle oder Aufbruch: Das Dorf im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1990), and Monika Richarz, "Landjuden," therein.

102. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 320, reporting on 1911; Richard Mehler, "Bürgertum und Landjuden," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and van Rahden, *Jüden, Bürger*, 213.

103. In Zempelburg, a small town in West Prussia, Christian and Jewish men not only sang together but sang for local weddings and funerals of "all confessions." Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 254. Some Jewish men even sang in concerts held in the local church. See Oppenheim, memoir, LBI, 483.

104. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 108–109; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 318–319.

105. For Rheinhessen, see Hoffmann, *Landjuden in Rheinhessen*, 88. See also Kukatzki, *"Hotel,"* 29 n. 37. Antisemitism and the growth of Jewish nationalism, however, caused some Jews to create their own gymnastic societies. George Eisen, "Zionism, Nationalism and the Emergence of the Jüdische Turnerschaft," *LBIYB* 28 (1983), 247–262.

106. Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 320; Jeggle, *Judendörfer*, 249.

107. Strauss, *Green Hill*, 6–7 (on Salzkotten, Westphalia).

108. Christa Berg, "Militär und Militärisierung," in Berg, *Bildungsgeschichte*, 501.

109. Baumann, "Gell," 212. See also Mehler, "Bürgertum und Landjuden," 214; Strauss, *Green Hill*, 9–10 (for Salzkotten, Westphalia); Schmid, *Gailingen*, 116; Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 108–111; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 328.

110. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 113. See also Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 328.

111. Baumann, "Gell," 212, and *Nachbarschaften*, 102–103.

112. Henry, *Victims*, 55–56, 58–59.

113. Alex Bein quoted by Toury, "Antisemitismus auf dem Lande," 188.

114. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 119–120.

115. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 74–75. For Berlin, see Fischer, *Poesiealbum*, 45, and Girardet, *Mäzene*, 27.

116. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 119–120.

117. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 77. For Berlin, see Fischer, *Poesiealbum*, 45.

118. Hoffmann, "Freemasons," 153. See also his *Politik der Geselligkeit*, 70–78, 176–202, 256–266, and Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe*.

119. Hoffmann, "Freemasons," 154–155.

120. As of 1888, the one Freemason lodge in Breslau that had accepted Jews no longer did so. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 122–123. The Freemasons, especially in Prussia (but in Leipzig and Hamburg, too), backed away from previously open policies toward Jews. Hoffmann, "Freemasons," 160.

121. Hoffmann, "Freemasons," 158; van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 123.

122. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*.

123. Andreas Reinke, "'Eine Sammlung des jüdischen Bürgertums': Der Unabhängige Orden B'nai B'rith in Deutschland," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and van Rahden, *Juden, Bürger*, 313–340.

124. For examples, see Dieter Hein, "Soziale Konstituierungsfaktoren des Bürgertums," in *Stadt und Bürgertum im Übergang von der traditionalen zur modernen Gesellschaft*, edited by Lothar Gall (Munich, 1993), 179–180.

125. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 222.

126. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 119–120. See also Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 79.

127. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 77. For Frankfurt, where, in 1900, over 40 percent of the members of the General German Women's Association (Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein) were Jewish, see Klausmann, *Frauenbewegung*, 314–315. See also Iris Schröder, "Jüdische Sozialreformerinnen," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and van Rahden, *Juden, Bürger*.

128. Ahland, "Wittener Juden," 342.

129. Wawrzyn, *Vaterland statt Menschenrecht*, 67.

130. Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 12–13.

131. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 81.

132. Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: American's Declining Social Capital* (New York, 2000). Georg Simmel distinguished between "acquaintance" and "friendship," arguing the former lacks intimate relations. *Sociology of Georg Simmel*, 320. Even so, such an acquaintanceship could offer "social capital."

133. Hahn, "Encounters at the Margins," 200–202.

134. Wawrzyn, *Vaterland statt Menschenrecht*, 55.

135. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 275.

136. Carl Paasch, *Eine jüdisch-deutsche Gesandtschaft und ihre Helfer: Geheimes Judentum, Nebenregierungen und jüdische Weltherrschaft* 3./4. (Leipzig, 1891), 70, quoted in Fassmann, *Jüdinnen*, 222.

137. Parts of this letter, written in 1908, appear in Klausmann, *Frauenbewegung*, 227 (see also 212–235).

138. This part of the same letter is in Evans, *Feminist Movement in Germany*, 126.

139. Van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 132.

140. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 81; also see her "Leben des Aron Liebeck," in Gotzmann, Liedtke, and van Rahden, *Juden, Bürger*, 384–385, 392–393.

141. For an excellent study of intermarriage, see Meiring, *Mischehe*.

142. Meiring, *Mischehe*, 95.

143. For steeper rate jumps in Berlin, Hamburg, Königsberg, see Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 370. For Breslau, see van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 147. For differences in male and female intermarriages (1876–1907), see *Isr. Gemeindeblatt* (Cologne), May 8, 1908, 186, and *ZDSJ* (May 1907), 80.

144. Kaplan, *Making*, chap. 3, and Meiring, *Mischehe*, 110–117.

145. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:383–390, 392, 398–399, 403–404.

146. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:383–385, 393–404, 406.

147. See, for example, Helmut Berding, *Moderner Antisemitismus in Deutschland* (Frankfurt/Main, 1988); Olaf Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Göttingen, 1997); Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Hoffmann, "Politische Kultur und Gewalt gegen Minderheiten," 93–120; *AZJ* 48 (1884), 437–438.

148. Richard Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany* (New Haven, 1975).

149. Itta Shedletzky, "Die Reaktion der Jüdischen Presse in Deutschland auf die Judenpogrome in Russland,1881–82," *LBIB* 59 (1981).

150. *AZJ* (December 22, 1899), 601–602. See also *AZJ* (December 27, 1901); Levy, *Downfall*, 254. "[I]n retreat" in *AZJ* (December 30, 1898), 613.

151. Peter Gay, "At Home in Germany: The Jews during the Weimar Era," in Paucker, *Die Juden im National-Sozialistischen Deutschland*.

152. On denominations, see Smith, "Religion and Conflict," 304; on demagogues, see Rüdiger Mack, "Otto Böckel und die antisemitische Bauernbewegung in Hessen, 1887–1894," in *Neunhundert Jahre Geschichte der Juden in Hessen*, edited by Christiane Heinemann (Wiesbaden, 1983).

153. Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 167–168, 197, 215, 225–226, 357–358, 365, and Richarz, *Life*, 200, 221–222; Zimmermann and Konieczek, *Essen*, 21; Liebmann, memoir, LBI, 18; Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 287; Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 43, 79; Toury, "Antisemitismus auf dem Lande," 185, quoting Rabbi Dr. Isaak Rülf (Memel), *AZJ* 9 and 20 (1890), 263–266, 273–277; Nonn, "Zwischenfall in Konitz," 395; Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 80; Sallis, memoir, LBI; Cahnmann, "Village and Small-Town Jews," 125.

154. Blumenfeld, *Erlebte Judenfrage*, 27.

155. Kingreen, *Windecken, Ostheim und Heldenbergen*, 237.

156. Schoeps, "Ritualmordbeschuldigung und Blutaberglaube," 286–299.

157. Straus, in Menken, *Stachel*, 141.

158. See Labsch-Benz, *Nonnenweier*, 26, on physical attacks in 1870, 1880–90.

159. Zimmermann and Konieczek, *Essen*, 24.

160. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:302–303.

161. Baumann, *Nachbarschaften*, 138–139.

162. Baumann, "Gell," 217.

163. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 289–290. See also Bajohr, *"Unser Hotel ist judenfrei."*

164. Van Rahden, "Words and Actions"; Zimmermann and Konieczek, *Essen*, 22–23.

165. Hopp, *Bürgertum*, 291.

166. In "Words and Actions," 436, Till van Rahden makes this point regarding municipal politics. It holds true in other areas as well.

167. Elias, *Reflections*, 11, 13.

168. H. G. Adler, *Juden in Deutschland*, 117. See also Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions*, and Barbara Suchy, "The Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus I," *LBIYB* 28 (1983), and II, *LBIYB* 30 (1985).

169. *AZJ* (February 16, 1900), 76–78.

170. Hoffmann, "Between Integration and Rejection," 92.

171. Angress, "Offiziere," 75, and personal correspondence, April 6, 2000. See also Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, *AntiAnti*, 30.

172. Toller, *I Was a German*, 62. See also Cohn, *Verwehte Spuren*, 210, 254.

173. Breuer, *Modernity*, 480 n. 124. See also Friedler, *Makkabi Chai*, 29; Picht, "Zwischen Vaterland und Volk," 736, 740–745.

174. Zimmermann, *Essen*, 29.

175. Ernst Jacob, "Benno Jacob als Rabbiner in Dortmund," in Meyer, *Juden in Westfalen*, 90.

176. Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae*, 1:217, 316.

177. Breuer, *Modernity*, 480 n. 124.

178. Toller, *German*, 65.

179. Riesenfeld, diary, LBI, 224–229 (February 19, 1945).

180. Hirschberg, memoir (short version), LBI, 2.

181. Ulrich Sieg, "Nothing More German than the German Jews? On the Integration of a Minority in a Society at War," paper delivered at the Leo Baeck Institute conference "Towards Normality? Patterns of Assimilation and Acculturation within German-Speaking Jewry," Cambridge, England, September 9–13, 2001. See also his *Jüdische Intellektuelle im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 2001). For a more complicated view of "Germans'" attitudes, see Benjamin Ziemann, *Front und Heimat: Ländliche Kriegserfahrungen im südlichen Bayern 1914–1923* (Essen, 1997).

182. Sallis, memoir, LBI, 76. In August 1914, with the fall of Liège, Jakob Wassermann had similar fears. Marta Karlweis, *Jakob Wassermann: Bild, Kampf und Werk* (Amsterdam, 1935), 244.

183. Angress, "Offiziere," 75. See also Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, *Die jüdischen Gefallenen des deutschen Heeres, der deutschen Marine und der deutschen Schutztruppen, 1914–1918* (Berlin, 1932), 422; Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, *AntiAnti*, 30a—30k. Jews served in similar proportions to other urban populations.

184. Volkov, *Juden in Deutschland*, 69. See also Picht, "Zwischen Vaterland und Volk," 748.

185. *Sociology of Georg Simmel*, 326. See also van Rahden, *Breslauer*, 19–20, 133–139.

186. Martin Buber, "Das Ende der deutsch-jüdischen Symbiose," *Jüdische Weltrundschau*, March 10, 1939, and *LBIB* 51 (1975); Wolfgang Benz, "The Legend of a German-Jewish Symbiosis," *LBIYB* 37 (1992).

19. Housing and Housekeeping

1. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:33.
2. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:59.
3. Bennathan, "Struktur," 91.
4. Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 6; statistics cited in Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, lxvi.
5. Milee, "Namen," 163.
6. Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 151.
7. *CVZ* 12, 25 (1933), 233; *BJFB* 12, 3 (1936), 5–6.

8. On Lippe, see Faassen and Hartmann, "*Dennoch Menschen,*" 88; on the Rhineland, Appel, memoir, LBI, 427; on Berlin, *Israelit* 76, 31 (August 1, 1935), 2.

9. Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 146, no. 2/78 (Decree of December 16, 1935).

10. *Israelit* 76, 31 (August 1, 1935), 2.

11. Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 152.

12. *CVZ* 12, 25 (1933), 233.

13. Bamberger, memoir, Jewish Museum of Frankfurt (hereafter JMF), 23.

14. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:31.

15. *BJFB* 13, 9 (1937), 6–8, quotations: 6, 7. For similar reports from Hessen see *JWS* 4 (1933–34), 238; on Baden, see *JWS* 5 (1935), 157–161.

16. Lessler, memoir, LBI, 30.

17. Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 158.

18. See, for example, the transfer of a teacher in view of the housing market, in Frank, *Schalom*, 126, 129ff.

19. Reassignment: Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 31; giant apartment: Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 28.

20. For examples, see Levy, memoir, LBI, 27; Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 79.

21. Smaller apartment: Laqueur, *Thursday's Child Has Far To Go*, 69; flat: Petsch, interview I, Center for Contemporary History, Hamburg (hereafter Hamburg), 11, and short biography; home for the aged: Hirschfeld, *Altersheime*, 35ff.

22. Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Erlebnisse*, 20, 24, 28; Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 36; see also Ruch, *Stimmen*, 8; Wamser and Weinke, "Entrechtung," 227–229; Laqueur, *Thursday's Child Has Far To Go*, 158, 178 (on 1938), 212 (on the "Jew house").

23. Selz, interview, Hamburg, 15.

24. Buchholz, *Judenhäuser*, 8ff. See also *Juden in Leipzig*, 178.

25. For an example of a tenant of a non-Jewish working-class family in Nuremberg, see Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 67.

26. Appel, memoir, LBI, 328; Gruner, "Reichshauptstadt," 234.

27. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 79; Levy, memoir, LBI, 29 (1933).

28. Buchholz, *Judenhäuser*, 13.

29. Unger, "Juden in Leipzig," 27.

30. On Gaukönigshofen, see Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 557–560 (29 people in three small houses).

31. Julius Moses, in a letter to his son Erwin Moses in Tel Aviv (August 1, 1934), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 210–211.

32. Cohn, "Kindheit," 218.

33. *BJFB* 14, 3 (1938), 11.

34. Gertrud Kolmar to her sister Hilde Wenzel (May 13, 1939), in Kolmar, *Briefe*, 33.

35. *BJFB* 14, 7 (1938), 13.

36. Klemperer, *Witness*, 413 (May 26, 1940).

37. Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 115–116.

38. Hirschfeld, *Altersheime*, 60, 35.

39. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 35 (March 16, 1942), 38 (March 24, 1942), 127 (July 20, 1942), 127–128 (July 21, 1942).

40. Landau, memoir, LBI, 35.

41. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 6; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 388.

42. Wilhelm, "Jewish Community," 70.

43. Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 2:787.

44. On statistics regarding Würzburg, see also Flade, *Würzburg*, 53.

45. Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 10.

46. Piezonka and Wamser, "Grindel," 17; Frank, *Schalom*, 3, 4.

47. For traditional Sabbath meals, see, for example, Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 8; Halmon, "Jugenderinnerungen," 32.

48. Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 152 (quoted passage), 79.

49. Announcement in *Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg* (August 11, 1930), 8, reprinted in Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 2:787ff.

50. Advertisement in *IF* 35, 11 (March 16, 1933), 6.

51. Bechtold-Comforty, "Tscholent," 121–123.

52. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 333; for an example, see Rosenthal, memoir, JMF, 24.

53. For example, see Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 15 (she was not even allowed to eat chocolate at her aunt and uncle's).

54. For example, see Sophie Friedlaender's mother, in Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 16ff.

55. Hedy Geismar (b. 1912), in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 52; see also Besser (b. 1911), *"uberleben,"* 210 (with complete change of dishes).

56. Interview with Sophie Adler, in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 11–29, quoted passage, 26; see also Geismar, in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 51; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 389, 417.

57. Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 11; Blyton, interview, Hamburg, 6.

58. Julius Moses to his son Erwin Moses (Rosh Hashanah week 1934 and Purim week 1935), Julius Moses to Trude and Erwin Moses (Purim 1934), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 226, 305, 135.

59. Bechtold-Comforty, "Tscholent," 132, 137ff.

60. *Israelit* 75, 37 (September 14, 1934), 10.

61. *CVZ* 12, 12 (March 23, 1933), 97ff.

62. *IF* 35, 13 (March 30, 1933), 3. For Beuthen and Gleiwitz, see *Israelit* 74, 33 (August 16, 1934), 2; and 74, 34 (August 23, 1934), 2.

63. H. Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 31.

64. Mainz, memoir, JMF, 9–13, cited passages: 12, 13; Reichszentrale für Schächtangelegenheiten (Reich Central Office for Matters of Kosher Slaughtering), *Merkblatt für die Einfuhr von Fleisch und Fettwaren aus dem Ausland* (Instructions for Importing Meat and Fat/Oil Products), JMF, A 392.

65. *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin* 25, 4 (January 27, 1935), 3.

66. On Aachen, see Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 134; on Saxony, Kaplan, *Dignity and Despair*, 33–34; on Bavaria, Weiss, *Wege*, 19; Schultheis, *Mainfranken*, 232–238; Wiesemann, "Viehhändler," 388.

67. Declaration by 17 rabbis, *Israelit* 75, 13/14 (March 29, 1934), 1.

68. *Israelit* 75, 30 (July 6, 1934), 5ff.; see also 75, 45 (November 8, 1934), 4.

69. *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (for Mannheim and Ludwigshafen) (March 4, 1933), reprinted in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:25.

70. *Israelit* 75, 13/14 (March 29, 1934), 1.

71. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 333.

72. *Israelit* 74, 16 (April 21, 1933), 12.

73. *BJFB* 9, 6 (1933), 10.

74. For examples, see Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 75; Elsa Perlmann in a letter to Michael Perlmann (September 3, 1937), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 89.

75. On meat, see Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 75; on cheese and nuts, see Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 31.

76. Levy, memoir, LBI, 30.

77. Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 11.

78. Lessler, memoir, LBI, 25. See also Carl Schwabe, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 156–167, especially 166.

79. Levy, memoir, LBI, 37ff.

80. Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 20.

81. Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 22; see also Lessler, memoir, LBI, 34.

82. For examples, see Kaplan, *Dignity and Despair*, 39ff.

83. For an example of this sort of interrogation by the police, see Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 60ff.

84. For examples, see Lessler, memoir, LBI, 21; on steadfastness, 25.

85. For examples of male help, see Pineas, memoir, LBI, 7; Appel, memoir, LBI, 322ff.

86. Levy, memoir, LBI, 37.

87. For advice of the League of Jewish Women and support by Jewish Communities, see Maurer, "Bürgertum," 393ff.

88. *BJFB* 14, 2 (1938), 13. On other forms of saving, see Maurer, "Bürgertum," 394ff.

89. *BJFB* 11, 12 (1935), 6.

90. *IF* 37, 22 (May 30, 1935), 16.

91. *BJFB* 13, 10 (1937), 13. On the actual help offered by sons, see *BJFB* 13, 4 (1937), 16; on thoughts about help by the husbands, see *BJFB* 14, 10 (1938), 4.

92. *IF* 37, 22 (May 30, 1935), 16.

93. For an ironic statement about his own housework, see the letter by Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (December 15, 1935), and about his son, who was satisfied with the changed roles, see Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (first week of June 1935), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 406, 335; on his own contribution to the housework in the "Jews' house," see Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 183 (September 28, 1942); for an example of the husband of a forced laborer, see Neumann I, memoir, LBI, 5.

94. For an example of buying from her domestic servant, a former member of the German Democratic Party, see Appel, memoir, LBI, 323ff.

95. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 73.

96. Bruss, *Bremer Juden*, 151ff.; Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 250 (December 27, 1939).

97. Pineas, memoir, LBI, 17.

98. Hanke, *München*, 274.

99. Klemperer, *Witness*, 415 (May 30, 1940).

100. Büttner, *Not*, 47; Meynert, *Endlösung*, 226; for examples, see Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 79–80 (recorded June 2, 1942), and Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 233 (September 14, 1939), 234 (September 21, 1939).

101. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 71 (quotation); Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 34 (on the camp; March 16, 1942).

102. On ironing, see Pineas, memoir, LBI, 19; on washing laundry, see Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 76 (May 29, 1942).

103. Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 262, no. III/47; 325ff., no. IV/115, 117; 377, no. IV/373 (together with typewriters, cameras, etc.).

104. See notes of January 20, 1942, February 11, 1942, June 19, 1942 (quotation), in Tuch, "Tochter," 12, 15, 27.

20. Family Life

1. Quack, *Amerika*, 35; see also Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 37 ("Golden Age").

2. Strauss, *Hügel*, 13.

3. Kaplan, "For Love."

4. Rosenthal, memoir, JMF, 29.

5. See, for example, Schorsch I, memoir, LBI, 13ff.

6. Bischheim, memoir, JMF, 43ff., 53.

7. Maurer, "Partnersuche," 355ff., 364. For example, see Eduard Cohn (from West Prussia) and Sylvia Oberbrunner (from Baden) in Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 34ff.

8. Meiring, *Mischehe*, 100.

9. Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 1:lix.

10. For detailed data on Prussia and some other regions, see Meiring, *Mischehe*, 91–101, especially 94ff.

11. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Strange Encounter" chapter, 2.

12. Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 1:lxxvii ff.

13. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 198. In general see also Gillerman, "Crisis," 183ff.

14. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:58.

15. Petsch, interview I, Hamburg, 2. See also, for example, Selz, interview, Hamburg, 13; on the late German Empire, see also Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 19.

16. Arnold Lederer (b. 1913) in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 97–116, especially 98.

17. On Berlin and Hamburg in the 1920s, see Schmelz, "Entwicklung," 43.

18. Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 27, 80.

19. *BJFB* 13, 2 (1937), 2.

20. Maurer, "Partnersuche," 356ff.

21. Abraham, memoir, LBI, 3. See also Lotte Carlebach, in a letter to Mirjam Cohn (April 23, 1939), in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 254.

22. For example, in Königsberg, in 1925: 13.1; 1933: 6.6; 1936: 6.5 births per thousand Jews; Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 369.

23. Quack, *Amerika*, 58.

24. Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 52.

25. Abraham, memoir, LBI, 6.

26. *CVZ* 12, 12 (March 23, 1933), 100.

27. See the painting *Sabbath Afternoon*, reprinted on the High Holidays with the surrounding text (translation): "The good old days were the days of the family. Everyone was together. Tranquility and peace radiated from the rooms and the people. The family and the house were the pillars of life." *Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg* (September 1936). On the ideology of the Jewish family in the Weimar Republic, which aimed to preserve a "noble past," see Gillerman, "Crisis," 186–195, quotation: 194.

28. Strauss, *Hügel*, 12 (quotation); see also Blyton, interview, Hamburg, 9; Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 61.

29. Hans Gaertner, "Problems," 138.

30. *CVZ* 14, 46 (November 14, 1935), 1, 2.

31. *JR* (May 25, 1937), cited in Boas, "Shrinking World," 255.

32. Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 10, 25.

33. *IF* 36, 16 (April 19, 1934), 12.

34. *IF* 36, 16 (April 19, 1934), 12. On Jewishness as a problem for children, see also *IF* 36, 36 (September 7, 1934), 9.

35. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 78.

36. *IF* 36, 5 (February 1, 1934), 14.

37. *BJFB* 10, 1 (1934), 11. See also *BJFB* 10, 10 (1934), 5.

38. On the woman's sole responsibility for the house and children, even after the attempts at career restructuring in agriculture, see *BJFB* 9, 5 (1933), 8.

39. *IF* 36, 29 (July 19, 1934), 20.

40. Weiss, *Wege*, 20.

41. Kohan, interview, Hamburg, 3.

42. On the conclusions a teacher drew from the compositions her pupils wrote, see *BJFB* 14, 8 (1938), 8.

43. Büttner, *Not*, 14.

44. These figures varied greatly from place to place; see, for example, for Hamburg: Meyer, *Jüdische Mischlinge*, 24; for Königsberg: Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 370.

45. This did not apply to already existing marriages until later. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 144ff., 72; *RGBl* (1933) I, 443–447.

46. Faassen and Hartmann, "*Dennoch Menschen*," 113.

47. Sabatzky, memoir, LBI, 25.

48. Büttner, *Not*, 27ff.

49. Petsch, interview I, Hamburg, 1; interview II, Hamburg, 25. For an example of immediate emigration, see Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 73.

50. Meynert, *Endlösung*, 48.

51. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (third week of June 1935 and October 27, 1935), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 346, 378ff.

52. *RGBl* (1933) I, 1146.

53. Bruss, *Bremer Juden*, 145–148.

54. Büttner, *Not*, 29ff.

55. Hecht, *Invisible*, 54.

56. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 50–52; for a wide range of responses, see Meyer, *Jüdische Mischlinge*.

57. For example, see Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 76ff.

58. For example, an immediate gynecological exam was ordered after someone denounced a kiss and the *Stürmer* newspaper reported it; see Angress, manuscript of forthcoming book on his youth, "Gross Breesen" chapter.

59. See, for example, the forced departure from a spa in Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 51ff.

60. Beck, *Underground Life*, 55.

61. Diary (February 16, 1939), cited in Büttner, *Not*, 42.

62. For example, see Cahn, memoir, JMF, 3.

63. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 354ff.

64. Büttner, *Not*, 12.

65. Beck, *Underground Life*, 24, 31 (quotation); see also Petsch, Report, Hamburg, 4, and interview I, Hamburg, 25.

21. Education and Vocational Training

1. Liselotte Stern, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 169ff.

2. On social status, see Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 100, and Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 16.

3. Though each child did not have his or her own bed, the family had a piano; see Roth, memoir, LBI, I, 4ff. (also on career plans for the children).

4. Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 276 n. 3.

5. Quack, *Amerika*, 23.

6. Walk, *Jüdische Schule*; percentages on 29.

7. On Hamburg, see Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 25.

8. Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 25.

9. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 17.

10. See, for example, Strauss, memoir, JMF, "The Nest Grows" chapter, 4 (Krefeld);

Strauss, *Abgrund*, 26ff. (Würzburg); regarding the private preschool of a general high school, see Strauss, *Hügel*, 40ff.

11. Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 82. On another Orthodox family's refusal because some parents could not afford it, see Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 6.

12. Weiss, *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, 16; quoted passages from *IF* 34, 25 (June 23, 1932), 14.

13. Meyer, *Idealgemeinde*, 210.

14. The Hamburg chief rabbi Samuel Spitzer and the school principal Joseph Goldschmidt, cited in Randt, "Grindel," 37.

15. Cited in Randt, "Grindel," 51.

16. On the Philanthropin School, see Schlotzhauer, *Philanthropin*, 89.

17. For example, see Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 18.

18. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 22.

19. Strauss, *Hügel*, 45ff.

20. Roth, memoir, LBI, I, n.p. [10a], 80; see also Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Strange Encounters" chapter, 3.

21. Munich: Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 18 (Boys' Business School), 25 (Girls' School); Hamburg: Wamser and Weinke, "Antisemitismus," 95ff.

22. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 13ff., 180.

23. See, for example, the lack of protest when instead of the usual morning prayer one pupil recited the so-called Frick hate prayer: "Deutschland awaken—Lord make us free!" Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 20.

24. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 13.

25. Strauss, *Hügel*, 37; Quack, *Amerika*, 22ff.

26. Hildegard Bachert, in a letter to the Mannheim City Archives (January 12, 1967), reprinted in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:133; see also similar evidence in Platner, *Schule*, 190; Ortmeyer, *Schulzeit*, 88, 90–92; with reference to interviews, see Quack, *Amerika*, 20.

27. Atkinson, "Welt," 21 (Hamburg); Gross, "Erinnerungen," 124 (Berlin 1940–41).

28. Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 5.

29. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 19.

30. Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 32.

31. Levy, memoir, LBI, 16.

32. Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 72, no. I/349; 74, no. I/359; 76, no. I/369.

33. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 62.

34. On restrictions and elimination of Jewish religious instruction at public schools, see Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 75, no. I/366, and 95, no. I/469 (subsidies); 79, no. I/386; 109, no. I/536; 169, no. II/195; 175, no. II/226.

35. Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 7, no. I/23, and 66, no. I/318.

36. Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:78.

37. Hanke, *München*, 257ff.

38. Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 105.

39. *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* 3 (1937), 346–348; quotation: 346.

40. Bruss, *Bremer Juden*, 140, decree passage cited as in n. 39.

41. *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* 4 (1938), 520ff.

42. See the letter by the principals of the two Jewish elementary schools in Frankfurt to the mayor in late August 1941 in Ortmeyer, *Schulzeit*, 91.

43. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 70.

44. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 78.

45. Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 124.

46. Lessler, memoir, LBI, 27.

47. Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 26.

48. Hildegard Bachert, in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:133.

49. Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 78.

50. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 41; for an example of poor grades, which the schoolgirl viewed as antisemitism, see Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 13; for an example of a teacher warning the mother to prepare the child, see Kaplan, "School Lives," 43.

51. Beck, *Underground Life*, 20.

52. Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:135; Ortmeyer, *Schulzeit*, 94.

53. Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 122.

54. Gay, *German Question*, 64; Angress, manuscript of forthcoming book on his youth.

55. Beck, *Underground Life*, 17; see also Reich-Ranicki, *Author of Himself*, 30.

56. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 46–48. On not being excluded by Krefeld schoolgirls in Nazi uniforms, see Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 24.

57. Angress, manuscript of forthcoming book on his youth, chapter on "Lichterfelde."

58. Regarding a Berlin high school (Realgymnasium) in 1934–35, see Reich-Ranicki, *Author of Himself*, 40.

59. Regarding the Fichte Gymnasium in Berlin, see Reich-Ranicki, *Author of Himself*, 49–53.

60. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 42ff.

61. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 22. See also the principal's demand for return of a page from the autograph book (the demand did not come from the teacher who wrote it), in Levy, memoir, LBI, 42.

62. Strauss, *Hügel*, 44; Angress, manuscript of forthcoming book on his youth, chapter on "Lichterfelde."

63. For references for 1934, see Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:76; for 1933, see Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 24, no. 110; 26, no. 121; 51, no. I/242; on the rescinding of the sibling reduction in Thuringia, see 5, no. I/13.

64. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 32.

65. Herrmann, *Jüdische Jugend*, 67 (30.9 percent due to abuse by teachers or students; 27.1 percent due to refusal or expulsion by school authorities).

66. Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 77, I/374.

67. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 85 n. 64.

68. See, for example, Tübingen: *BJFB* 13, 9 (1937), 3; Brandenburg: *BJFB* 13, 9 (1937), 6; East Westphalia: Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 111. For an overview of the state-run Jewish elementary schools in the individual German states, see Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 80–90; on the private schools, 96–101.

69. *BJFB* 11, 9 (1935), 2; Faassen and Hartmann, *"Dennoch Menschen,"* 108; Schäfer-Richter, "Aspekte," 187.

70. Randt, "Zerschlagung," 121, 125.

71. Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 151ff.; Keval, *Widerstand*, 171; Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:80, 93.

72. *Die Vorlehre für die jüdische Jugend*, Jugendpflegedezernat der Jüdischen Gemeinde in Berlin, n.d. [1936], quoted in Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 153. On plans in Cologne (expansion into a trade school), see Düwell, *Rheingebiete*, 282–284.

73. *BJFB* 11, 9 (1935), 2.

74. Schlotzhauer, *Philanthropin*, 91, 102ff.

75. Gaertner, "Problems," 132.

76. For a reprint that takes both versions into account, see Weiss, *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, 157–161, quotation: 157ff.

77. *BJFB* 11, 9 (1935) 3. See also the observation that children responded to harassment of Jews by rejecting everything German, in Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 27.

78. Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:90.

79. On the "general" textbooks as required reading, see Schlotzhauer, *Philanthropin*, 110; on the content, see Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 144ff.; Weiss, *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, 103ff.

80. Aufklärungsamt für Bevölkerungspolitik und Rassenpflege der NSDAP, quoted in Weiss, *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, 103.

81. See the report by Nelly Wolffheim, director of the Berlin kindergarten and nursery school teacher seminar, Yad Vashem Central Archives, cited in Weiss, *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, 20.

82. For a report on classes in the school of the Youth Aliyah, see Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 82.

83. Randt, "Zerschlagung," 121ff.; on practical courses in the Talmud Torah School, 125ff.

84. *CVZ* (December 2, 1935), cited in Boas, "Shrinking World," 258ff.

85. *BJFB* 11, 9 (1935), 3.

86. Kaplan, "School Lives," 47.

87. See, for example, Iggers, "Kindheit," 10; Hugo Moses, in Limberg and Rübsaat, *Nicht mehr Deutsche*, 211.

88. Pineas, memoir, LBI, 5.

89. Beck, *Underground Life*, 18.

90. Beck, *Underground Life*, 20–21. For the observations of a liberal teacher at the Hamburg Talmud-Torah School, see Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 27; and for those of the principal of the Berlin Grunewald School on how the children came to life again, see Lessler, memoir, LBI, 22ff.

91. On Königsberg, see Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 341. On the Hamburg Talmud-Torah School, see Cohn, "Kindheit," 218, and Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 7ff.

92. Lessler, memoir, LBI, 27.

93. Selz, interview, Hamburg, 26.

94. Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 196.

95. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 30.

96. Feiner, *Deportation*, 14; on schools moving, 35–37, 64.

97. Hertha Feiner in letters to her daughters (September 4, 1939; February 2, 1940; March 1940; April 3, 1940; February 6, 1941), in Feiner, *Deportation*, 42, 48, 51, 55, 78.

98. Hertha Feiner in a letter to her daughter Inge (March 11, 1941), in Feiner, *Deportation*, 79.

99. Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 377, no. IV/376; 379, no. IV/386.

100. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 174.

101. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 186.

102. For Freiburg, see Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 175.

103. For example, about a Hamburg woman who visited relatives in England after completing the Abitur exams but who no longer even considered going to college upon her return in 1933, see Heldenmuth, interview, Hamburg, 5.

104. *BJFB* 10, 5 (1934), 1–4, quotation: 1ff.

105. Gaertner, "Problems," 138.

22. Career and Employment

1. Max Kreutzberger, "Jüdisch-soziale Arbeit heute!" *JWS* 4 (1933–34), 89–94, quotation: 93.

2. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:34.

3. Rebecca Zadik, "Jüdische Berufsberatungsstellen," *Jahrbuch für die jüdischen Gemeinden Schleswig-Holsteins und der Hansestädte* 2 (1930–31), 90–95 (abridged), reprinted in Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 2:1095–1098, quotation: 1097. The Association of Self-Employed Jewish Artisans and Tradesmen reported similarly in Hamburg in 1927 that "in our own circles, Jewish artisans and tradesmen are assigned low status." "An unsere Glaubensgenossen!" *Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg* (March 10, 1927), 7, reprinted in Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 2:1086ff., quotation: 1086.

4. Flade, *Würzburg*, 61.

5. Flade, *Würzburg*, 71.

6. Faassen and Hartmann, *"Dennoch Menschen,"* 82.

7. For example, see Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 50–51; Liselotte Stern, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 170.

8. Stern, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 170; Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 64.

9. Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 33; see also Maurer, "Partnersuche," 359.

10. Heiber, *Weimar*, 99.

11. Flade, *Würzburg*, 198.

12. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 206 (quotation taken from the Königsberg Jewish Community records).

13. Flade, *Würzburg*, 43.

14. Philip Seligsberger-White, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 132; see also Bruno Ostrovsky, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 200.

15. For example, see Schwabe, in Richarz, *Life*, 324–325; Seligsberger-White, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 132.

16. For example, see Ostrovsky, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 197–199, 203.

17. Entry of November 15, 1923, in Mühsam, *Mein Weg*, 102.

18. According to the financial consultant of the Prussian Association of Jewish Communities in 1932, cited in Plum, "Wirtschaft," 270.

19. Henry Buxbaum, in Richarz, *Life*, 305–6.

20. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:34–35, 39; Flade, *Würzburg*, 74.

21. For example, see the interview with Sophie Adler, a milliner, in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 11–29, especially 16; see also Zimmermann, *Deutsche Juden*, 16.

22. Cited in Flade, *Würzburg*, 202.

23. *Bayerisches Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (March 8, 1927), 81, cited in Flade, *Würzburg*, 203.

24. Jacob Goldberg, "Und neues Leben blüht aus den Ruinen. Gedenke des Sabbathtages ihn zu heiligen," *Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg* (February 10, 1930), 1, reprinted in Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 2:1089–1091, quotation: 1089.

25. Barkai, "Sozio-ökonomische Minderheitsgruppe," 334–336.

26. Zadik, "Jüdische Berufsberatungsstellen," in Lorenz, *Juden in Hamburg*, 2:1098.

27. Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:52.

28. Flade, *Würzburg*, 71.

29. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:36.

30. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 204.

31. For example, on the protest against the hiring of a Jewish teacher at a public elementary school in Detmold, see Müller, "Rülf," 30–32.

32. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 7.

33. On a Berlin student teacher, for example, see Quack, *Amerika*, 29.

34. Cited in Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 71. On the leave of absence of one individual in

March 1933 with reference to the Lippe civil service law of 1859(!), for example, see Müller, "Rülf," 44.

35. *RGBl* (1933) I, 175ff., especially 175.

36. Edwin Landau, in Richarz, *Life*, 306–315, quotation: 313.

37. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 39 (quotation), 14ff. (examples).

38. Klemperer, *Witness*, 146, 148 (May 2, 1935, May 4, 1935).

39. *Ärztliche Mitteilungen* 31 (1930), 988, cited in Grenville, "Nichtarier," 193. It appears to have been possible in individual cases to influence patients by showing the other side of the issue. This was the impression, for example, of a doctor who in 1932 had put a copy of the *Gefallenen-Gedenkbuch des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (Fallen Soldiers Commemorative Book of the Reich Alliance of Jewish Frontline Soldiers) in the waiting room of his practice, cited in Cremer, *Selbstbehauptung*, 56. See also Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 316–319.

40. Rosenstrauch, *Nachbarn*, 22.

41. First in Breslau on March 11 (see Foerder, cited in Plum, "Wirtschaft," 284ff.) and in Görlitz on March 29 (see Mühsam, *Mein Weg*, 165 [March 29, 1933]); on Frankfurt, see Bruck, memoir, JMF, 1; on Berlin, see Blau, memoir, LBI, 18–23. On the later riots, see Schreiber, memoir, JMF, 1–4.

42. Blau, memoir, LBI, 25.

43. Cremer, *Selbstbehauptung*, 85.

44. Blau, memoir, LBI, 30.

45. Bendix, *Berkeley*, 203.

46. Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:181.

47. Plum, "Wirtschaft," 291.

48. On Mannheim, see Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:185; see also Raffael Mibberlin, in Limberg and Rübsaat, *Nicht mehr Deutsche*, 57 (presumably on Fürth).

49. On Mannheim, see document 187b in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:276ff.

50. Cremer, *Selbstbehauptung*, 85, 127.

51. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 139.

52. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 137.

53. Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 164–166.

54. Schwabe, in Richarz, *Life*, 331.

55. Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 83 (June 11, 1936); on the frequent requests made to a Jewish doctor by pregnant women (or perhaps informers) from other towns, see Cremer, *Selbstbehauptung*, 129.

56. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 49.

57. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (April 3, 1934), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 151ff.

58. Buxbaum, in Richarz, *Life*, 301; in greater detail, see Cremer, *Selbstbehauptung*, 82ff.

59. For a detailed description of the regulations for the license for "practitioners for the sick" in Mannheim, see Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:186; see also document 191 in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:281.

60. Quotation: Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 114 (September 18, 1938); for a detailed description of the sign, see Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 338ff.

61. Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 339.

62. Benz, *Juden 1933–1945*, 740 (dentists and dental technicians).

63. For example, interpreters (in the National Socialist League of Law Safeguarders) or stenographers (in the National Socialist Teachers Association); see Büttner, *Not*, 18.

64. Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 158.

65. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 69.

66. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 69ff.

67. *JWS* 4 (1933–34), 239.

68. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 79; on Heidelberg, see Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 108.

69. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, quotations: 71, 70.

70. For a summary of the present state of research and a typology of the procedures, see Bajohr, "Verfolgung."

71. Plum, "Wirtschaft," 277–278; but see also 347 herein.

72. Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 38 (April 1, 1933).

73. Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 50, 52 (March 31, 1933, March 31, 1933, evening).

74. Landau, in Richarz, *Life*, 311.

75. Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 38 (April 1, 1933).

76. Max Reiner, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 115; on the reaction of non-Jews to war decorations, see also Plum, "Wirtschaft," 279ff.

77. Klemperer, *Witness*, 13 (April 3, 1933); Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 54 (April 1, 1933); Landau, in Richarz, *Life*, 310–312.

78. Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 53, 56 (April 1, 1933), facsimile of the card (without his name!), 55.

79. Reiner, in Richarz, *1918–1845*, 115.

80. Angress, manuscript of forthcoming book on his youth; Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 38 (April 1, 1933).

81. Sabatzky, memoir, LBI, 27. See also Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 67, and Schwabe, in Richarz, *Life*, 331–332. In 1937 the usual Christmas boycott never came to an end, and at Easter 1938 in Hanau schoolchildren and their teachers and municipal employees took position in front of Jewish stores.

82. E. Herzfeld, memoir, LBI, 9.

83. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 78; terms of the individual fronts, 72–78.

84. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 109.

85. See Schwabe, in Richarz, *Life*, 330: "Developments showed that whenever there was a new propaganda thrust, more customers stayed away."

86. For examples, see Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 166. On shopping indirectly, via intermediaries, see Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 54ff.

87. See, for example, Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 168.

88. 1933: Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 105ff.; 1935: Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 305.

89. Aside from Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, see also Knipping, *Dortmund*, 53. On the behavior of competitors, see Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 104; Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 49.

90. *Der Alemanne* (March 3, 1933), cited in Haumann and Schadek, *Von der badischen Herrschaft*, 327. On other laws prohibiting trespassing, see, for Hamburg: Wamser and Weinke, "Entrechtung," 226ff.; for Leipzig: Unger, "Leipzig" (1992), 270; for Dortmund, starting in April (as of May, entry was again allowed for ca. 4–5 individual butchers): Knipping, *Dortmund*, 33.

91. Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 122–123.

92. Report of Kurt Sabatzky, the Centralverein syndic in Leipzig, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 297 ("political" reliability); on the ordinance, see Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 85 ("personal").

93. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 68ff. On a 65-year-old getting sent to a concentration camp in November 1938 after the responsible offices had purposely drawn out sale negotiations for months, see Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 75.

94. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 104.

95. For example, Max Mayer sold his leather shop to his employee, Eugen Rees. Haumann and Schadek, *Von der badischen Herrschaft*, 330.

96. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 125.

97. *CVZ* (April 6, 1933), cited in Plum, "Wirtschaft," 281.

98. *CVZ* 12, 17 (April 27, 1933), 148.

99. Plum, "Wirtschaft," 282ff.

100. *CVZ* 12, 16 (April 20, 1933), 141. See also the appeal in the *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* [for Mannheim and Ludwigshafen] (March 14, 1933), reprinted in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:63. In the summer of that year even a "League of Jewish Employees" was formed, but it had nothing to do with the new, centralized self-help program of German Jewry (*CVZ* 12, 28 [July 13, 1933], 276), and its activities then apparently fizzled out.

101. *CVZ* 12, 45 (November 23, 1933), suppl. 1.

102. For example, on a music scholar at the University of Hamburg, see Randt, "Zerschlagung," 122.

103. C. Israel, "Die Arbeit der Berliner jüdischen Hauspflege," *JWS* 7 (1937), 78–83, especially 80.

104. See, for example, Proskauer, *Wege*, 43 (lawyer selling coal).

105. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 320. See also Alfred Schwerin, in Richarz, *Life*, 403.

106. Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 22ff.

107. Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 163 and 202 n. 98.

108. For example, see Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 26; E. and B. J. Perlmann to M. Perlmann (June 12, 1939), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 154.

109. Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 163, with respect to lawyers.

110. *CVZ* 12, 35 (September 14, 1933), suppl. 2 (Berlin Villa); on the apartment of a Hamburg salesman as an example of the greatest possible use of space, see E. or B. J. Perlmann in a letter to M. Perlmann, in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung* (August 25, 1937, and July 18, 1939), 86, 162; (June 10, 1938), 118; (June 6, 1939, and August 4, 1939), 153, 165.

111. Flatow, "Lage," 240.

112. *IF* 35, 36 (September 7, 1933), 9.

113. Kaplan, *Dignity and Despair*, 27.

114. *CVZ* 12, 47 (November 22, 1934), suppl. 2.

115. *IF* 40, 28 (July 14, 1938), 12.

116. Barkai, *Boycott*, 84; Barkai, "Existenzkampf," 163 n. 36; following up on that, see also Quack, *Amerika*, 48.

117. Kaplan, "Daily Life," 423.

118. Quack, *Amerika*, 48 (quotation taken from *BJFB*).

119. *CVZ* 26 (June 25, 1936), suppl. 5.

120. *BJFB* 11, 3 (1935), 3.

121. *Arbeitsbericht des Zentralausschusses der deutschen Juden für Hilfe und Aufbau* (Berlin, 1933), 49, cited in Plum, "Wirtschaft," 381.

122. *BJFB* 9, 5 (1933), 8. See also *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin* 24, 9 (March 24, 1934), 6.

123. On the other hand, if they could avoid both of these pitfalls they "could perhaps one day truly become the basis for a new emancipation." *BJFB* 9, 12 (1933), 8ff.

124. *CVZ* 12, 35 (September 14, 1933), suppl. 2.

125. *CVZ* 12, 30 (July 26, 1933), and 31 (August 2, 1933).

126. *CVZ* 12, 33 (August 16, 1933), suppl. 1, and 34 (August 23, 1933).

127. *CVZ* 12, 38 (October 4, 1933).
128. Alexander Szanto, in Richarz, *Life*, 348–350, quotation: 349.
129. Ernst Loewenberg, in Richarz, *Life*, 366.
130. *BJFB* 9, 5 (1933), 8.
131. *BJFB* 9, 3 (1933), 6, and 4 (1933), 8.
132. *BJFB* 9, 3 (1933), 6.
133. *BJFB* 10, 3 (1934), 8; *BJFB* 9, 12 (1933), 9.
134. *IF* (February 8, 1934), cited in Plum, "Wirtschaft," 388.
135. Angress, *Fear and Hope*, 47. For other examples of how people felt about leaving or being fired from their professions, see Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 106 (April 24, 1938); *CVZ* 12, 13 (March 30, 1933), 111; Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 40 (April 16, 1933), 46 (June 30, 1933), 118ff. (November 2, 1938).
136. Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 158.
137. See Rosenstrauch, *Nachbarn*, 57ff.

23. Religious Practice in the Synagogue and at Home

1. Max Grünewald [Grunewald], "Erinnerung an Paul Eppstein," [n.d.], in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:155ff., especially 155.
2. Statistics taken from Walk, *Jüdische Schule*, 13, 17.
3. Barkai, in *GJH*, 4:59–60.
4. Schorsch I, memoir, LBI, 95.
5. *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* [for Mannheim and Ludwigshafen] (September 22, 1932), cited in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung in Mannheim*, 1:41.
6. Schorsch I, memoir, LBI, 95, 91 (Hannover); Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:41 (Mannheim).
7. On Dortmund, see, for example, Appel, in Richarz, *Life*, 357–358; on Göttingen, see Hermon, *Seelsorger*, 94; on Bremen, Bruss, *Bremer Juden*, 167.
8. Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 159; *JWS* 4 (1933–34), 241, 244; *JWS* 5 (1935), 160.
9. *IF* 36, 16 (April 19, 1934), 12.
10. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 326; Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:17.
11. *BJFB* 12, 11 (1936), 1–2.
12. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 4; Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 325.
13. Mainz, memoir, JMF, 9, 15ff.
14. Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 329; Schäfer-Richter, "Versäumtes Gedenken," 144.
15. *CVZ* 14, 11 (1935), suppl. 2.
16. Nussbaum, "Ministry," 240ff.; see also Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 32; Appel, memoir, LBI, 226; Prinz, memoir, LBI, 233.
17. Hermon, *Seelsorger*, 161.
18. Lotte Carlebach in a letter to Martha Preuss (March 19, 1939), in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 240. See also Joseph Carlebach to his siblings (April 23, 1939), in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 225; G. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 13ff.
19. Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 157.
20. On this, see *Gemeindeblatt Berlin* 24, 9 (March 24, 1934), 6; *BJFB* 13, 10 (1937), 6; on consolidating 50 Jewish Communities, see *Israelit* 75, 31 (August 2, 1934), 4; Birnbaum, *Staat und Synagoge*, 242–244.
21. *Israelit* 75, 31 (August 2, 1934), 4. See also "Kein Minjan?" *Israelit* 74, 35 (August 31, 1933).
22. *JWS* 5 (1937), 157–165, especially 161.
23. Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 83.

24. Levy, memoir, LBI, 63ff.

25. Birnbaum, *Staat und Synagoge*, 236.

26. Liselotte Stern, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 170.

27. On Hannover, see Schorsch I, memoir, LBI, 22, 65; on Offenburg (Baden), see the interview with Arnold Lederer in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 101; on the synagogue of the Hamburg Reform congregation, see Maleachi, "Hamburg," no. 45, 19.

28. On Mannheim in 1931, see Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:32.

29. On Westphalia, see Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 69; on Dortmund, see Appel, memoir, LBI, 354; on Hamburg, Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 250, 264 (1939); and on Berlin, Scheftelowitz, *Spree*, 32ff.; on April 1, 1933, see Prinz, "Rabbi," 232.

30. Prinz, "Rabbi," 233; Nussbaum, *Ministry*, 243; Scheftelowitz, *Spree*, 32.

31. Scheftelowitz, *Spree*, 32; Prinz, "Rabbi," 233ff.

32. Appel in Richarz, *Life*, 357.

33. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 47ff.

34. Julius Moses in letters to Erwin Moses (December 20, 1935, and early fall 1936), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 414, 476.

35. Schorsch I, memoir, LBI, 22; Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 378ff. See also Seligsberger-White, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 138.

36. See also the nostalgic recollections in Weiss, *Wege*, 22ff.

37. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 10; for further details, see Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 10, 21; Strauss, *Abgrund*, 21; Weiss, *Wege*, 23; see also Julius Frank, in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 192.

38. On this, see Freimark, "Eruw."

39. Weiss, *Wege*, 24; on a Franconian village, see Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 390; on *eruv* in Fürth, see also Seligsberger-White, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 136; on attaching a handkerchief, see also Frank, in Richarz, *Kaiserreich*, 199; on a Sabbath belt for schoolchildren, see Ben-Chorin, *Isar*, 28.

40. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 3. On attending the theater, see also Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 15.

41. Weiss, *Wege*, 22.

42. Amichai, *Mein Judentum*, 20.

43. Conversation with Herbert A. Strauss, cited in Flade, *Würzburg*, 31; toned down in Strauss, *Abgrund*, 36.

44. Strauss, *Abgrund*, 36.

45. See, for example, Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 62; Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 25 (Friedlaender); Amichai, *Mein Judentum*, 21.

46. See, for example, Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 25 (Friedlaender). See also Sylvia Cohn's diary for her daughter Esther Lore, in Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 55 (March 10, 1929).

47. For an impressive description, see Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 62–63 (cattle trader near Aachen); see also Strauss, *Hügel*, 16ff. (small town in Westphalia), and Weiss, *Wege*, 25 (Fürth).

48. Maleachi, "Hamburg," no. 44, 28; see also Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 3; on Fürth, see Seligsberger-White, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 139.

49. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 13 (Krefeld); interview with Heinz Baum, in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 31–37, especially 36 (Offenburg).

50. Weiss, *Wege*, 26. See also the *sukkah* with a roof that could open that had been built into the attic of a building, on display in the Jewish Museum in Fürth.

51. Amichai, *Mein Judentum*, 15 (Würzburg); on carrying things openly, see also Seligsberger-White in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 139 (Fürth); on hiding one's Judaism, see also

an interview in Quack, *Amerika*, 24; on both phenomena, see *IF* 35, 51 (December 21, 1933), 1. "Rishus" is Judeo-German for "antisemitism."

52. Atkinson, "Welt," 21.

53. Flade, *Würzburg*, 96; interview with Arnold Lederer in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 101 (Offenburg).

54. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 12.

55. See Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 71–88, quotation: 80; for a similar statement about women during the German Empire, see Sternheim, memoir, JMF, 5. See also (with greater emphasis on the religious experience) Salzberger-Wittenberg, *Mein Judentum*, 187.

56. Atkinson, "Welt," 18.

57. See, for example, Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 8.

58. Weiss, *Wege*, 30.

59. Conversation with Anne D. Schwabacher, cited in Flade, *Würzburg*, 99ff.

60. Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 26 (Friedlaender, quotation); on the German Empire, see Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 238 ("being kept out"); see also Stein-Pick, memoir, LBI, 31.

61. See Sylvia Cohn's diary for her daughter Esther Lore in Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 54 (December 28, 1927).

62. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 13ff.

63. Myriam Cohn in a letter to her father (December 4, 1943), in Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 218 (little Hanukkah boys); interview with A. Lederer in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 103 (fruitcake).

64. *BJFB* 14, 1 (1938), 8; see also Prinz, "Rabbi," 236.

65. Eva or Myriam Cohn's letter to their father (November 20, 1943), in Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 218.

66. Winterberg, "Aufwachsen," 293; Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 5; for an Orthodox example, see Flade, *Würzburg*, 210.

67. For example, see Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 13.

68. Nöthen, interview, Hamburg, 3ff.; Blyton, interview, Hamburg, 6; see also Petsch, interview I, Hamburg, 4; Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 135 (Jarecki); Ben-Chorin, *Isar*, 15–18.

69. Randt, "Grindel," 45. According to the son of the founder, it was never a Jewish school, but three-fourths of the students were Jewish (Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 26).

70. Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 25 (Friedlaender). See also Ben-Chorin, *Isar*, 36: "Judaica were extremely rare." On family celebrations, see also Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 12ff.

71. Maleachi, "Hamburg," no. 44, 28.

72. On the last confirmation in Frankfurt in 1937, see Salzberger-Wittenberg, *Mein Judentum*, 190.

73. See, for example, Ben-Chorin, *Isar*, 17, 21, 22, 23, 26, 37ff.; Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 14ff., 17. On the early Nazi period, see Iggers, "Kindheit," 9.

74. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 49.

75. *Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (May 1933), title page, facsimile in Wippermann, *Frankfurt*, 170.

76. *Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig* 9, 47 (November 24, 1933), facsimile in *Juden in Leipzig*, 134. See also the report on a board meeting of the Jewish Women's League in *BJFB* 9, 6 (June 1933), 11.

77. Cited in Quack, *Amerika*, 46.

78. The Freiburg businessman Max Mayer wrote this to his three-year-old (baptized) grandson (a first-degree *Mischling*, according to the Nuremberg Race Laws) on May 9, 1938. On this, see Haumann, "Lebensweg."

79. Boas, "Shrinking World," 245; Fricke, *Berlin*, 81 n. 5.

80. Prinz, "Rabbi," 237; but in 1936 there were hardly one hundred listeners (Boas, "Shrinking World," 247); on the lectures, see Boas, *Shrinking World*, 248.

81. All from Prinz, "Rabbi," 234–236.

82. *BJFB* 10, 1 (1934), 10; *CVZ* 13, 50 (December 13, 1935).

83. *BJFB* 9, 12 (1933), 5ff. (with detailed suggestions for celebrating Hanukkah). See also *BJFB* 10, 10, (1934), 1ff. and n. 87.

84. These terms are taken from Martha Wertheimer's article "Helft heimkehren" (Help to return home), which closed with an appeal to helpers in this process: "Open up yourselves and become a home." *BJFB* 9, 10 (1933), 1ff.

85. *IF* 35, 51 (December 21, 1933), 1.

86. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 44.

87. *BJFB* 11, 8 (1935), 2–4.

88. Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:95 (Mannheim). See also the appeals by the Central Organization of German Jews (Reichsvertretung) and the Hamburg Temple Association, *Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg* 10, 10 (November 23, 1934), 1.

89. See, for example, Iggers, "Kindheit," 9 (responding to the son's wishes). *BJFB* 11, 9 (1935), 6; *BJFB* 11, 6 (1935), 8 (new elements).

90. *Israelit* 75, 43 (October 25, 1934), 1, 3–4.

91. Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 354 (Nienburg County).

92. On Frankfurt, see G. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 13ff.; on Freiburg, see Haumann and Schadek, *Von der badischen Herrschaft*, 510 (Blod and Haumann), 332 (Haumann); on Pirmasens, see Schwerin, in Richarz, *Life*, 401–402; on Bad Kissingen, Beck and Walter, *Bad Kissingen*, 145ff.; on Breslau, Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 232 (September 11, 1939).

93. Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 244 ("Schlosshof" Camp in Bielefeld).

94. On Halberstadt, see Kwiet, "Pogrom," 654; on Gaukönigshofen, see Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 584.

95. Pritzlaff, "Grindelviertel," 28. On the strong religious interest from 1939 to 1941, see the letters by Lotte Carlebach to an unknown addressee (April 16, 1939) and to her children (May 26, 1939), in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 250, 264; and Joseph Carlebach, newsletters (early June 1939 and before Passover 1941), in Gillis-Carlebach, *Alltag*, 56–61, 93.

96. Benz, "Überleben," 696–700; Simon, "Berliner Juden," 263.

97. Excerpt from a newsletter of 1939 in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 244 (quotation); facsimile of the 1940 newsletter in Mistele, *Bamberg*, 79ff. (closing quotation). On the production of matzot in 1939 and 1941, see Gillis-Carlebach, *Alltag*, 52, 93.

98. L. Carlebach to Martha-Rachel Preuss (March 29, 1939), in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 243.

99. On celebrations by an Orthodox couple with pension guests in 1939 and by the Liberal rabbi Max Nussbaum in 1940, see E. Perlmann in a letter to M. Perlmann (April 13, 1939); E. and B. J. Perlmann to M. Perlmann (both on April 7, 1939), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 147, 146, 146; Nussbaum, "Ministry," 247.

100. Joseph Carlebach to Miriam Carlebach (April 8, 1940), in Gillis-Carlebach, *Alltag*, 82.

101. On fasting by most Breslau Jews, see Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 234 (September 24, 1939); on drawing strength (1940), see Sternheim, memoir, JMF, 8ff.

102. Rewald, *Berliner*, 5.

103. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 134–140; see also Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 86–89.

24. Leisure Time and Social Life

1. Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 93–94. For West Prussia, see Landau, memoir, LBI, 35.
2. Appel, memoir, LBI, 125.
3. Stein, memoir, LBI, 235ff.
4. Bischheim, memoir, JMF, 46.
5. For example, on Königsberg, see Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 231ff., 265–273; on Nienburg, see Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 334, 336 (with different reasons for a decline in general clubs as compared with those during the German Empire); on Würzburg, see Flade, *Würzburg*, 213–221.
6. On Mannheim, see Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:27.
7. Jüd. Lex. II, 1423.
8. Landau, memoir, LBI, 35, 37.
9. Schwabe, in Richarz, *Life*, 326.
10. Straus, *Wir lebten*, 169.
11. Petsch, interview I, Hamburg, 3.
12. See, for example, Appel, memoir, LBI, 119; on Königsberg, see Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 231ff.
13. See, for example, Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 10; Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 5 (regarding his grandfather, only East European Jews).
14. Flade, *Würzburg*, 210.
15. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 5.
16. On Pentecost excursions, see Strauss, *Hügel*, 196; Rosenthal, memoir, JMF, 29; on Sunday outings with the brother's (a doctor) car, see Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 47.
17. On South Tyrol, see Angress, manuscript of forthcoming book on his youth; Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 3; on Switzerland, see Rosenthal, memoir, JMF, 42; Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 3.
18. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 10. On the theft of black, red, and gold flags from (largely non-Jewish) beach castles in 1930, see also Sallis-Freudenthal, *Mein Land*, 104.
19. *Griebens Nordseebäder*, 1922. Both quotations cited in Werner Vahlenkamp, "'Deutsche Insel' Borkum warb mit Antisemitismus. Hetzpredigten in der Kirche," *Nordwest-Heimat* (*Nordwest-Zeitung*, no. 5) (May 31, 1988), no page nos. After completion of this manuscript, Frank Bajohr's book appeared: *"Unser Hotel ist judenfrei."*
20. On this, see Borut, "Antisemitism" (with tables on antisemitic towns, hotels, restaurants, etc.).
21. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 9ff., with further examples for 1930–32 that refute his own assessment of things running "smoothly."
22. On exclusion in East Prussia, see Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 231.
23. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 48ff.
24. On exclusion in Tübingen, Plauen, Straubing, at the Wannsee beach in Berlin, in Lauf (Upper Franconia), in Nuremberg, and, in response to fears that Jews would go there instead, in Erlangen; in Munich and Nördlingen; and on special hours of use, see Speyer, Trebnitz (in Silesia) in *Schwarzbuch*, 468–470.
25. *Israelit* 76, 30 (July 25, 1935), 2.
26. Council meeting (*Ratsherrensitzung*) in Berlin on June 3, 1937; for excerpts from the minutes, see Rosenstrauch, *Nachbarn*, 27ff.
27. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, 1:122.
28. In summer 1935 the SA attacked a swimming pool operated by a family in Mannheim. The owner was considered to have Jewish relatives, and despite pressure he refused to hang the sign prohibiting Jews from using the facility. The attackers kicked

guests, both Jews and Christians, with their boots and destroyed furniture. They also examined the men on the spot to see if they were Jews! The owner called the police, who did not arrive until after the SA had completed what they set out to do. See Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:195ff. The police had behaved similarly during the 1933 riots in the courts.

29. For example, see *Juden in Leipzig*, 149.

30. Levy, memoir, LBI, 38.

31. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 56. On the penalty for using a bench designated for non-Jews, see Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 65 (Berlin); Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 232 (September 11, 1939, in Breslau).

32. Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 48.

33. Levy, memoir, LBI, 89; on Hamburg, see also Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 256.

34. Proskauer, *Wege*, 69.

35. See, for example, Klugmann's thoughts on his sense of honor, memoir, LBI, 63ff.

36. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 256. See also Lessler, memoir, LBI, 34ff.

37. *RGBl* (1938) I, 1676.

38. Reprinted in Rosenstrauch, *Nachbarn*, 78ff.

39. Klemperer, *Witness*, 338, 339–340 (December 3, 1938); see also Julius Moses in a letter to Erwin Moses (December 3, 1938), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 565. On a more relaxed reaction (since "good middle-class Aryan circles" also stayed home), see Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 206 (December 3, 1938).

40. See, for example, Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 28.

41. Klemperer, *Witness*, 347 (New Year's Eve 1938). On the feeling of imprisonment, see also Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 70 (March 12, 1935).

42. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (second week of April 1935 and last week of July 1935), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 319 (quotation), 352 ("vacation from my self").

43. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, 1:139, citing *Sopade* 2 (1935).

44. Beck and Walter, *Bad Kissingen*, 83–98 (on exclusion from municipal swimming pools in 1934 and 1935, 80–83); on the guidelines, see also Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 169.

45. For example, see Appel, memoir, LBI, 208–217, 291–305, 392; Pineas, memoir, LBI, 7; Rosenthal, memoir, JMF, 51, 52, 58, 60; Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 74 (annually); Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 48, 57–59.

46. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 36, 39.

47. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 59, 63. On taking a deep breath, see also Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 75.

48. *IF* 38, 53 (December 31, 1936), 6ff., quotation: 7. See also Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (October 14–20, 1934; May 25, 1935), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 244 (on going for walks, reading, visiting), 332ff. (on missing the Palestine movie *The Promised Land*). On 1933, see Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 77 (June 4, 1933).

49. On Leipzig, see Unger, "Juden in Leipzig" (1989), 16; on other places, see Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, 1:139, citing *Sopade* 2 (1935). On Frankfurt prior to 1938, see also Manthai, interview, Hamburg, 26.

50. Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 176ff.

51. Appel, in Richarz, *Life*, 352.

52. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 50. On the Mannheim national theater after Jewish artists were given "leave" in 1933, see also Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:47. On the fact that it was easier for adults to do without cultural events and the unsatisfied needs of young people to attend theater and concerts, see Gaertner, "Problems," 134; and Hildegard Bachert in a letter to the Mannheim city archives (January 12, 1967), reprinted in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:133ff., quotation: 133.

53. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 56.

54. Quotation: *BJFB* 13, 10 (1937), 6. On the period prior to 1933, see *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin* 24, 9 (March 24, 1934), 6; in general (without reference to the Prussian model), see *IF* 36, 18 (May 9, 1934), 14ff.

55. Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 20.

56. Levy, memoir, LBI, 40.

57. Paul Moses, president of the Rhine-Ruhr Jewish Cultural Association, in *Jüdischer Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr*, November program (Cologne, 1933), endpaper.

58. State: Bruss, *Bremer Juden*, 162; municipal: Mainz, memoir, JMF, 8.

59. Mainz, memoir, JMF, 8.

60. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 52ff.

61. Müller-Wesemann, *Last*, 139.

62. Heinrich Levinger, director of the Rhine-Ruhr Jewish Cultural Association, cited in *Geschlossene Vorstellung*, 313.

63. Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*, 94, 109; on Königsberg, see Schüler-Springorum, 333. On the increase in interest, see Werner Levie (1937); for similar statements on the Rhine-Ruhr region, see Levinger; both cited in *Geschlossene Vorstellung*, 312–313, 314.

64. Müller-Wesemann, *Last*, 138. On discussion regarding focuses on Jewish or general themes, see *IF* 36, 11 (March 15, 1934), 1; *IF* 36, 12 (March 22, 1934); Flatow, "Lage," 243.

65. E. and B. Perlmann to Michael Perlmann (October 15, 1937; November 12, 1937; December 10, 1937; February 6, 1940), quoted in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 98, 103, 106ff., 169. On the significance of distraction and relaxation, see also Max Nussbaum's memorandum, 1940, quoted in Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*, 165.

66. *BJFB* 10, 1 (1934), 10.

67. Müller-Wesemann, *Last*, 141. See also Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 52.

68. This is suggested in Dahm, "Geistiges Leben," 193.

69. *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (July 7, 1939), cited in Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*, 157ff.

70. Levy, memoir, LBI, 40ff. For similar thoughts, see Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 51ff.

71. In Geisel and Broder, *Pogrom*, 236; for similar remarks by other artists, see 189, 215, 247.

72. On Freiburg, for example, see Haumann and Schadek, *Von der badischen Herrschaft*, 327. On the purge of Mannheim clubs and associations long before the Nuremberg Laws, see Walter, "Leistung," 24.

73. Frau Wex in Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 35.

74. Stein, memoir, LBI, 259ff.

75. On Königsberg, see Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 332–334.

76. Levy, memoir, LBI, 50.

77. For example, see Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 30.

78. G. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 14.

79. G. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 2.

80. Pritzlaff, "Grindelviertel," 24, on Hamburg; on rioting on the eve of the Jewish New Year in 1931 on Kurfürstendamm in Berlin, see Walter, *Kriminalität*, 211–221; on other riots, see Maurer, *Ostjuden*, 345ff.

81. Atkinson, "Welt," 21; see also chapter 23 herein, especially n. 52.

82. Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 60 (August 20, 1934).

83. In greater detail on this, see Maurer, "Beziehungen" (quotation: Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 68ff.). For examples of disparaging the deceased, see Raffael Mibberlin in Limberg and Rübsaat, *Nicht mehr Deutsche*, 130 (Fürth?), and Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 334 (Schneidemühl, 1937).

84. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 48. Letters: see n. 85.
85. Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 17.
86. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 16.
87. G. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 7.
88. Levy, memoir, LBI, 42.
89. Rosenstrauch, *Nachbarn*, 38.
90. For an example from 1936 (with a reduced sentence), see Müller, "Rülf," 49.
91. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 17.
92. For example, see Appel, memoir, LBI, 228.
93. Levy, memoir, LBI, 44.
94. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 57ff.
95. Stein, memoir, LBI, 260ff.; on private relations, see also Maurer, "Customers."
96. See, for example, Schwerin, in Richarz, *Life*, 402.
97. See, for example, Schwabe, in Richarz, *Life*, 329.
98. New Year's Day: Klemperer, *Witness*, 352 (January 2, 1939). See also Julius Moses's letters to his son, Erwin Moses (July 2, 1934; 1st week of July 1935; 1st week of July 1937; n.d. [mid-July 1938] in Fricke, *Berlin*, 197–199, 348, 503, 535ff. (birthdays).
99. Klemperer, *Witness*, 321 (August 10, 1938).
100. Fricke, *Berlin*, 94 n, 12, 569, and passim.
101. Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 51.
102. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (early fall 1936), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 476ff.
103. Schwerin, in Richarz, *Life*, 402.
104. G. Kolmar in a letter to H. Wenzel (February 22, 1940), in Kolmar, *Briefe*, 58ff.
105. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 55, 63; Appel, memoir, LBI, 479; see also Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 72.
106. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 63.
107. See, for example, Angress, manuscript of forthcoming book on his youth. On the *Berliner Tageblatt*, see also Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 13.
108. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (October 14–20, 1934), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 242; on shared subscriptions in villages, see Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 580.
109. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (October 21–28, 1934), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 260; and n.d. [mid-July 1938], 537.
110. Prinz, "Rabbi," 237.
111. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses, Rosh Hashanah 1935, in Fricke, *Berlin*, 369.
112. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 38, 41, 114–115, 140 (March 24, 1942, March 27, 1942, July 5, 1942, August 4, 1942): he read Elbogen, Graetz, Dubnow.
113. Benjamin J. Perlmann to his son, Michael Perlmann (July 1, 1938), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 123ff.: he read Graetz.
114. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (September 23, 1933, July 12, 1936), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 96, 459: he read Gronemann, Levin, Asch. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 14 (February 8, 1942), 95 (June 14, 1942): he read Levin, Dubnow.
115. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (September 23, 1933), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 96.
116. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 66 (May 18, 1942).
117. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (late August 1933), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 83ff.
118. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (Rosh Hashanah 1935), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 369; Heine parodies: 338–342, 504.

25. Constricting and Extinguishing Jewish Life

1. Burkert, Matußek, and Wippermann, "*Machtergreifung*," 113. Regarding Munich, see also Klugmann, memoir, LBI, 20ff., 56.

2. *Schwarzbuch*, 493, 501 (lawyers), 495ff. (theater manager), 496 (moneylender), 497 (Scheunenviertel), 498 (Worms), citing the *Manchester Guardian.*

3. Sabatzky, memoir, LBI, 20ff. Contrary to Sabatzky's statement, reference is made to political and economic motives in Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 297.

4. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 98 (Karlsruhe, Speyer, Worms).

5. Wilhelm, *Göttingen*, 41–46; Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 60–63; on Westphalian cities, see Faassen and Hartmann, "*Dennoch Menschen*," 82.

6. See the report in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (March 31, 1933), in *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden*, 22ff.

7. Levy, memoir, LBI, 33ff.

8. See, for example, Blau, memoir, LBI, 17.

9. On Westphalia, for example, see Faassen and Hartmann, "*Dennoch Menschen*," 83.

10. Bing, "Mein Leben," 196.

11. Wildt, "Boycott Campaign," 56–57. For examples, see Meynert, "*Endlösung*," 87; Selz, interview, Hamburg, 15, 3.

12. Wildt, "Gewalt," 62.

13. Iggers, "Kindheit," 8; see also Weiss, *Wege*, 29; Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 338.

14. See, for example, Pineas, memoir, LBI, 1; Blyton, interview, Hamburg, 10; Beck, *Underground Life*, 16–17; Scheftelowitz, *Spree*, 23ff.; Laqueur, *Thursday's Child Has Far To Go*, 112; Spiegel, *Retter*, 15.

15. Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 14.

16. G. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 3.

17. On a case in which 17 non-Jews contested the accusations, see Sabatzky, memoir, LBI, 25.

18. Levy, memoir, LBI, 35. For conjectures on pressure placed on business people, see also Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 71.

19. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 71.

20. Levy, memoir, LBI, 7 n. On fear of spies at a private security company, see also Klemperer, *Witness*, 321 (August 10, 1938).

21. Levy, memoir, LBI, 35ff. (Frankfurt); for Berlin, see Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 54.

22. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 74, 85. On "offenses" caused by the Nazis themselves, see Fliedner, *Verfolgung*, 2:246ff.

23. Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 346ff.

24. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 86, 92, 93ff.

25. For an example of a totally shattered giant of a man, see Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 87; on emigration, 91.

26. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 94.

27. Wildt, "Gewalt," 68.

28. Wildt, "Boycott Campaign," 69. (Hunsrück); Wildt, "Gewalt," 69ff. (Franconia).

29. Quotes cited in Hanke, *München*, 201, and Zapf, *Tübinger Juden*, 79 n. 13; see also Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 82.

30. On this, see Maurer, "Background"; Milton, "Grenzen."

31. Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 167–177, quotation: 170; comparison with the "sadistic Middle Ages," 176 (October 30, 1938). For a comparison with the expulsion of Jews from Spain, see B. J. Perlmann in a letter to M. Perlmann (October 30, 1938), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 139. On deportation during the Sabbath, see Schorsch II, memoir, LBI, 6, and Mainz, memoir, JMF, 17.

32. Pomeranz, memoir, JMF, 8; see also Rosenthal, memoir, JMF, 65.

33. For Leipzig, see also Sabatzky, in Richarz, *1918–1945*, 298.

34. Stein-Pick, memoir, LBI, 35.

35. G. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 9; see also n. 39 hereafter.

36. With respect to Tübingen, for example, see Zapf, *Tübinger Juden*, 82–85.

37. Döscher, *"Reichskristallnacht,"* 77; Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 67–71; Sabelleck, *Nienburg*, 350.

38. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 113.

39. Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 182 (November 12, 1938).

40. See, for example, the recollections of Irene Mierzynski in Buchholz, *"Reichskristallnacht" in Hannover*, 130ff.

41. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 98.

42. Sabatzky, memoir, LBI, 37. On an SA man in a Munich home for the aged, see also Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Erlebnisse*, 68.

43. Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 342ff.; on Breslau, see also Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 188 (November 12–13, 1938); on Fürth, see Bing, "Mein Leben," 207; on Frankfurt, see Pomeranz, memoir, JMF, 8; for the example of a Jew from Worms who hid in a Mannheim hospital, see Miriam Gerber in Richarz, *Life*, 428 n. 1.

44. Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 350; for an example, see Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:201.

45. For an example in East Westphalia, see Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 211–214; for a meticulously and critically reconstructed example of external organization combined with cheering and participation by town residents, see the Lower Franconia town of Gaukönigshofen in Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 503–529.

46. Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 263–270.

47. See, for example, N. Salzberger, memoir, JMF, 4.

48. Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 137–138; see also Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 511.

49. Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 190.

50. Levy, memoir, LBI, 70, 72. Some other cities even brought the elderly to the concentration camp; see Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 187.

51. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 74. See also Max Mayer, cited in Haumann and Schadek, *Von der badischen Herrschaft*, 333.

52. Levy, memoir, LBI, 67ff.

53. Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 338–343, 346ff.; on criticism of the destruction of objects, see also Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 520ff.

54. Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 335ff., 354; see also Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 518ff., 523.

55. Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 319–325.

56. Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 325–332; regarding an old age home see Levy, memoir, LBI, 78; on providing food in Munich, see Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Erlebnisse*, 65 ("as a rule!"), and Hanke, *München*, 218; on taking in Jews, see also Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 136.

57. For several examples of warnings, see Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 341; on valuables, see the personal account in Lauber, *Judenpogrom*, 106.

58. For East Westphalia, see Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 222.

59. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 99.

60. Stein-Pick, memoir, LBI, 41.

61. On the special regulation for East Prussia, see Schüler-Springorum, *Königsberg*, 349.

62. On the following, see the vivid report on his internment in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 120–238.

63. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 235.

64. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 180.

65. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 167.

66. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 229.

67. Schwerin, in Richarz, *Life*, 398; see also Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 123, 170ff., 188ff., 226.

68. Schwerin, in Richarz, *Life*, 399.

69. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 239ff., 220, 202.

70. Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 199. For other reports, see Strauss, *Hügel*, 120; Klemperer, *Witness*, 341 (December 6, 1938); Hecht, *Invisible*, 59.

71. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 246.

72. Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 349.

73. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 241.

74. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 61.

75. Hecht, *Invisible*, 59. On aid for an agricultural training camp, see Obst, *"Reichskristallnacht": Ursachen*, 330.

76. Ostrowski, "Schicksal," 340.

77. Quack, *Amerika*, 70 (Gestapo); Abraham, memoir, LBI, 2, 4 (camp); Stein-Pick, memoir, LBI, 41. On 1937, see also Appel, memoir, LBI, 508–513.

78. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 84–86; see also Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 61.

79. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 242.

80. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 61.

81. On those spared the concentration camp, see, for example, Klemperer, *Witness*, 341 (December 6, 1938); see also 336 (November 27, 1938).

82. Strauss, "Emigration," 1:326.

83. See Göpfert, *Kindertransporte*.

84. Mühsam, *Mensch*, 240. See also Mühsam, *Mein Weg*, 167 (diary entry June 6, 1933).

85. "My grandfather Cibulski always said, I'll be on the last train to leave the Fatherland. And he was born in Poland" (Feiner, interview, Hamburg, 26). If an East European—Jewish immigrant had developed such ties to Germany, then how much stronger must the ties have been for German Jews! On the meaning of identity in deciding whether or not to emigrate, see also Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 203.

86. Interview with Heinz Baum in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 31–37, especially 34.

87. Gerber, memoir, LBI, 20, 26; Müller, *Rülf*, 51; Julius Moses to Erwin Moses, n.d. (late October 1938), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 558.

88. Blau, memoir, LBI, 25ff. (Arthur Ruppin's advice against it!); see also Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 54; Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 15.

89. Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 102 (January 4, 1938). And she commented: "I believe them and yet they have been gone too long to understand how unbearable it has become here."

90. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 41ff.; on the futile attempt by neighbors in Deutsch-Krone (West Prussia), a school principal in Berlin, and clerks in the tax agency to get him not to emigrate, see Landau, memoir, LBI, 49, 52.

91. Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 15, 25.

92. Lucas, *Sovereigns*, 136.

93. Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 203.

94. Angress about his parents, manuscript of forthcoming book on his life, chapter on family. See also Rülf, *Ströme*, 138ff.

95. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 75.

96. Fricke, *Berlin*, 140; Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 50ff.

97. Edith Königsberg, in Rosenstrauch, *Nachbarn*, 161ff.

98. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 106.

99. Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 106; Heldenmuth, interview, Hamburg (mentioned by the sister C. H.); see also Edith Königsberg, in Rosenstrauch, *Nachbarn*, 161.

100. Wetzel, "Auswanderung," 485–488; Weckbecker, *Heidelberg*, 54; photograph of an affidavit in Haumann, "Lebensweg," 58; Pineas, memoir, LBI, 7.

101. Petsch, interview I, Hamburg, introductory biography and 23.

102. Heim, "Land ohne Zukunft," 56.

103. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses, n.d. (late October 1938), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 558.

104. Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 233, 249, 279 (letters of L. Carlebach to various addressees: February 9, 1939; n.d. [early April 1939]; n.d. [August 1939]).

105. See, for example, Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 95 (Easter 1937).

106. Letters by E. Perlmann (July 15, 1938; August 24, 1938; September 2, 1938), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 124, 129 (quotation), 132 (quotation).

107. On this, see the communication analysis by Unverfehrt, *Gehen*.

108. For a summary, see Mühsam, *Mein Weg*, 167ff. (July 8, 1933). On destruction of livelihood, see, for example, E. Moses in a letter to Rudi Moser (May 27, 1933), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 71ff.; Pineas, memoir, LBI, 7; and Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 40–42. On the psychological causes, see E. Moses to Rudi Moser (May 27, 1933), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 71ff., and Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 24; Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (August 17, 1936), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 466 (about R. Moser).

109. Appel, in Richarz, *Life*, 356 (quotation); for other evidence, see the unpublished memoirs of Appel, memoir, LBI, 227, 290, 332–334, 364ff., 390, 409, 444–470, 477. Counterexamples (i.e., women who refused to emigrate) are rare and confirm the significance of career as the *raison d'être*; on this, see Nathorff, *Tagebuch*, 42 (May 1, 1933), 51 (August 30, 1933), 56 (Easter 1934), 60 (August 20, 1934), 85 (June 23, 1936), 87 (August 12, 1936), 95 (Easter 1937), 102 (January 4, 1938).

110. For examples, see Kaplan, "Daily Life," 421; on the woman's complaint about the man's reluctance to emigrate and his self-soothing with regard to his income potential, see E. and B. J. Perlmann to M. Perlmann (July 22, 1938), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 127, 128 (July 22, 1938); for other examples of the contrast between men and women, see König, *David*, 70; Frank, *Schalom*, 22; Quack, *Amerika*, 63; Susi Grelet, interview, in Ruch, *Stimmen*, 55–65, especially 63; for many examples, see Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 201 n. 94.

111. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 41, 44.

112. *BJFB* 13, 4 (1937), 5.

113. G. Kolmar to H. Wenzel (November 24, 1938; February 15, 1939; September 10, 1939), in Kolmar, *Briefe*, 25, 27, 37.

114. Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 38.

115. Levy, memoir, LBI, 85ff.

116. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 58.

117. Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 259ff.; see also Bing, "Mein Leben," 193.

118. Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 79.

119. Sylvia Cohn to her sister Hilde (June 27, 1939), facsimile in Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 99. On easing financial concerns through sales to former patients, see Rosenthal, memoir, JMF, 66–68; to former neighbors: Selz, interview, Hamburg, 30; see also Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 88ff.

120. Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (August 17, 1938), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 553ff.

121. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 59.

122. Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 39; Strauss, *Hügel*, 50.

123. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 59.

124. Stein-Pick, memoir, LBI, 51ff. On the matter of honor, see also Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 1:195.

125. E. Moses to R. Moser (May 27, 1933); J. Moses to E. Moses (May 30, 1933; October 14–20, 1934; n.d. [late October 1938]; November 27, 1938), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 71 (quotation), 73 (quotation), 249, 558 (quotation), 563ff. (quotation). See also Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Not by Choice" chapter, 1ff.; Lessler, memoir, LBI, 34ff.

126. On elderly parents, see Hirschfeld, *Altersheime*, 37; on separation by country, see Loewenberg, in Richarz, *Life*, 366–367; on obituaries, see Appel, memoir, LBI, 375.

127. Harrison, interview, Hamburg, 40.

128. Lotte Carlebach to her emigrated children, n.d., in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 245; on writing letters as a "necessity of life," see also Julius Moses to Erwin Moses (November 16, 1933; February 19, 1935), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 123ff., 295; on receiving letters, see Hirschfeld, *Altersheime*, 77; Strauss, memoir, JMF, "Happy Childhood" chapter, 45: "I welcomed the postman like a friend." For an example of alienation, see Myriam Cohn's letter to her father, reprinted in Ruch, *Familie Cohn*, 227ff.

129. E. Perlmann to M. Perlmann (August 21, 1939), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 166.

130. J. Moses to E. Moses (April 27, 1934; May 9, 1934), in Fricke, *Berlin*, 160, 164.

131. Schwabe, memoir, LBI, 56; Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 74.

132. L. Carlebach, July 17, 1939, and August 8, 1939, in Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 274, 277.

133. These figures and the following breakdown cited from Maier, *Deportation*, 49ff.

134. For examples, see Gillis-Carlebach, *Jedes Kind*, 218ff.; Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 102ff.

135. See, for example, Pineas, memoir, LBI, 4; Levy, memoir, LBI, 88; Bamberger, memoir, JMF, 31.

136. At first 20 percent, then 25 percent of total assets.

137. On the anniversary of the November Pogrom, see Schwerin, memoir, LBI, 159–166; Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 242ff. (November 12, 1939).

138. Excerpt from the timeline of Nazi policies against the Jews in Benz, *Juden 1933–1945*, 739–754; on shopping restrictions and bans on certain food items, see chapter 19 herein.

139. For example, see B. J. Perlmann to M. Bertenthal (September 25, 1941), in Lorenz and Bohn-Strauss, *Verfolgung*, 172ff.

140. The words of a divorced mother in a mixed marriage in a letter to her two daughters in a Swiss boarding school (October 23, 1941), in Feiner, *Deportation*, 92.

141. See especially Gruner, *Arbeitseinsatz*, 337 (quotation); see also Maier, *Deportation*, and on villages, Michel, *Gaukönigshofen*, 570–573.

142. Sachse, "Einleitung," 24; for two examples of rather humane treatment, see Wolffenstein, *Erinnerungen*, 44.

143. Maier, *Deportation*, 56.

144. To compensate for the fact that Jews did not make contributions for Nazi Party membership or Nazi welfare institutions. Kwiet, "Pogrom," 577; Bruns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte*, 110.

145. Sachse, "Einleitung," 24; see also the title of Elisabeth Freund's 1941 report, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 37–153.

146. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 99ff., 54. For examples of transfer to another work-

place achieved for health reasons, see also Wolffenstein, *Erinnerungen*, 35–44; Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 85–86.

147. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 54; on a medical attendant's refusal to treat Jews, see Wolffenstein, *Erinnerungen*, 44ff.

148. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 57. See the wage data for Hamburg (12–15 Marks) and Munich (based on the pay rate for Polish civilian laborers). Lorenz, "Endlösung," 231; Hanke, *München*, 287.

149. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 52 (allowed to sit in empty cafeteria but could not buy anything), 108 (food delivered to place of work but not allowed to enter the cafeteria); see also Stillmann, *Überleben*, 173. Before the eyes of forced workers in Berlin-Zehlendorf, who peeled potatoes for 10 hours a day for the cafeteria, food scraps were discarded, while they received nothing to eat! Wolffenstein, *Erinnerungen*, 37.

150. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 77, 117ff.

151. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 107, 110ff. On moving across the factory grounds under guard, see also Stillmann, *Überleben*, 173.

152. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 101. On the segregation of Jewish cafeteria workers (in the basement) from non-Jews (outdoors) at the Zeiss-Ikon-Goertz plant, see Wolffenstein, *Erinnerungen*, 37.

153. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 122, 124; see also Rewald, *Berliner*, 2, and n. 172 below.

154. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 107, 88, 90.

155. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 87, 67ff., 78, 101.

156. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 49, 50, 81, 52.

157. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 90–92, quotation: 91.

158. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 118, 80.

159. Rewald, *Berliner*, 2.

160. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 68.

161. G. Kolmar to H. Wenzel (July 19, 1942), in Kolmar, *Briefe*, 132. Note the same Schiller quotation here and in Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 68.

162. Spiegel, *Retter*, 13. For further examples ranging from harassment to personal abuse, see Wolffenstein, *Erinnerungen*, 35ff. (spiteful comments of the German master craftsman and maltreatment by a Polish forewoman); Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 254ff. (and n. 119); and Kwiet, "Pogrom," 581 (chief inspector of the railway). On special harassment while recruiting forced laborers as they left the synagogue, see also Hanke, *München*, 287.

163. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 15, 21, 23–24, quotation: 19 (February 15, 1942; February 22, 1942; February 25, 1942; February 16, 1942).

164. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 19ff., quotation: 28 (February 18, 1942; March 6, 1942). For another example of clearing snow, see H. Feiner in a letter to her daughter Inge (February 6, 1941), in Feiner, *Deportation*, 78.

165. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 20 (February 18, 1942; February 19, 1942).

166. Rosenberg, *Jahre*, 12.

167. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 115ff.

168. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 57 (May 3, 1942).

169. Sachse, "Einleitung," 26ff. (from an interview with a former forced worker for Siemens). A pregnant woman who suffered a miscarriage after two shifts of very hard labor even had to pay for the ambulance and a portion of the hospital costs herself, since the health insurance refused to cover these costs for Jews. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 89, 99.

170. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 261–262 (April 18, 1943); number: 290 (June 12, 1943). On

the visible marking of Jews, see hereafter. Jews (like Klemperer) living in nonprivileged mixed marriages had to wear the star; those in privileged marriages did not.

171. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 307–308 (August 14, 1943), 275 (May 5, 1943).

172. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 336 (December 11, 1943, quotation), 334 (December 5, 1943, fruit), 366 (February 28, 1944, quotation).

173. On the assignment of special license plate numbers and the resulting higher fines for traffic violations for Jews in Berlin, which later, in the 1938 June Action, could have been grounds for imprisonment in a concentration camp, see Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger*, 81.

174. Adam, *Judenpolitik*, 170ff.; *Berliner Tageblatt*, 397–398 (August 24, 1938), cited in Fricke, *Berlin*, 555 n. 9.

175. Levy, memoir, LBI, 86ff.

176. Schwerin, memoir, 117; for an example of feeling offended, see Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 35. On verification of proper usage of the forced names in Breslau by presenting one's food ration card, see Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 238 (October 22, 1939).

177. Klemperer, *Witness*, 536 (October 7, 1941).

178. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 21 (February 22, 1942).

179. Heim, "Land ohne Zukunft," 81 n. 101.

180. Klemperer, *LTI*, 168.

181. Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 174.

182. Klemperer, *Witness*, 528 (September 17, 1941).

183. Winterberg, "Aufwachsen," 291.

184. Klemperer, *Witness*, 531 (September 22, 1941).

185. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 311 (August 23, 1943). See also Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 145; Levi, memoir, JMF, 4.

186. Levi, memoir, JMF, 4 (bicyclist); Beck, *Underground Life*, 57 (shake heads or smile).

187. Freund, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 145 (seat); Stillmann, *Überleben*, 175 (seat; frequent secret presents).

188. Klemperer, *Witness*, 536 (October 7, 1941) (turning back the coat; umbrella); Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 83 (pencil); Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 22 (briefcase); Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 213 (briefcase); König, *David*, 155 (handbag).

189. In general, see Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 225; on being sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp and from there being transferred to Auschwitz, for example, see Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 196 (October 30, 1942); as an explanation of one's own behavior, see Strauss, *Hügel*, 67.

190. See Elisabeth Freund's reaction, *Zwangsarbeiterin*, 145, to the warning of a soldier on guard at a concentration camp shortly *before* the start of the deportations.

191. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 89; see also Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 51; and Petsch, Report, Hamburg, 5.

192. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 7 (January 17, 1942).

193. Meynert, *"Endlösung,"* 244; see also 257.

194. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 89.

195. Tuch, "Tochter," 7 (twice), 8, 10, 11, 13.

196. Tuch, "Tochter," 29ff.

197. In addition to the references that follow, see, for example, Rewald, Berliner, 6 (general comment about 1942 without noting the month), and Seligmann, "Illegal Way," 343.

198. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 7 (January 17, 1942).

199. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 8 (January 18, 1942) on the negotiations and 9 (January 19, 1942) on the event (quotation).

200. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 26 (March 1, 1942).

201. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 34 (March 16, 1942).

202. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 50 (April 19, 1942).

203. Petsch, interview I, Hamburg, 34. A short time later she added: "In '43 we knew everything."

204. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 89. See also Beck, *Underground Life*, 60–61; Neumann I, memoir, LBI, 11.

205. Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 124.

206. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 51ff.; Kroh, *David kämpft*, 175–182.

207. Letters of November 2, 1941, and November 12, 1941, cited in Randt, "Waisenhäuser," 62.

208. Klemperer, *Bitter End*, 197 (October 30, 1942); see also 155–156 (August 20, 1942).

209. Beck, *Underground Life*, 60.

210. Neumann I, memoir, LBI, 12.

211. Pineas, memoir, LBI, 20.

212. Petsch, Report, Hamburg, 5; Petsch, interview II, Hamburg, 15.

213. Pineas, memoir, LBI, 2ff.

214. Niewyk, *Jews*, 20; Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 196–198.

215. Mühsam, *Mein Weg*, 169 (diary entry August 23, 1933); Selz, interview, Hamburg, 11; Neumann I, memoir, LBI, 1.

216. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 47 (about the author Ludwig Fulda); for a number of examples, see Loewenberg, memoir, LBI, 70ff.

217. He nevertheless decided against taking that step. See Tausk, *Breslauer Tagebuch*, 180 (November 12, 1938) (quotation), 206 (December 3, 1938), 214 (quotation), and 217ff. (January 25, 1939).

218. Petsch, interview I, Hamburg, 37 (comfort); on the price, see Camilla Neumann, in Richarz, *Life*, 439.

219. Diagram in Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 199.

220. Klemperer, *Tagebücher, 1942–1945* (February 5, 1942). This passage was edited out of the English translation.

221. Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 205.

222. Petsch, Report, Hamburg, 5ff. It seems that among doctors opinions varied whether attempts should be made to "save" these patients. For examples, see Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 207.

223. Ilse Rewald, cited in Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 214.

224. Heinrich Mugdan (see Käte Mugdan), in Richarz, *Life*, 429 (assistance for his grandmother to die); Edith Wolff, cited in Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 215 (about an elderly couple).

225. Neumann II, memoir, LBI, 2.

226. Beck, *Underground Life*, 70; see also Rosenberg, *Jahre*, 15–17.

227. Neumann I, memoir, LBI, 11 (permission for a *Mischling*); on a forced laborer of the railway being prohibited, see Rewald, *Berliner*, 4.

228. Beck, *Underground Life*, 62 (about Edith Wolff); see also Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 89; and also her self-presentation in a 1983 interview, where she said this was only *one* motive in a more complex explanation, in Wolff, "deportieren," 114ff.; on the initially divided opinions among the leadership and their later agreement, see Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 54, 57.

229. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 90ff. (quotation), 93; see also 62; on Lotte Strauss's futile attempt to get her parents to go underground, see Strauss, *Hügel*, 65.

230. Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 153.

231. Spiegel, *Retter*, 56. On encoded messages on postcards (!) from friends from Holland, see Pineas, memoir, LBI, 10.

232. Rewald, *Berliner*, 8 (by a German railway inspector); Besser, "Überleben," 239ff. (by German air force officers).

233. Spiegel, *Retter*, 16; Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 128.

234. Rewald, *Berliner*, 10ff.

235. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 59 (quote "role"), 76, 81 (limp); Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 122 (hair and tie).

236. See examples in Kaplan, *Dignity and Despair*, 206.

237. For example, see Besser, "Überleben," 243, 245.

238. Rewald, *Berliner*, 7, 8; Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 133, 135–136.

239. Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 205–209.

240. Of Seligmann's 65 cases, 17 had only one main residence, 48 at least two, and almost all had alternative quarters for emergencies. "Illegal Way," 349ff.

241. Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 142–143, 162–163, 179ff.; Sello, "Tagebuchblatt," 124ff.

242. Benz, "Überleben," 697.

243. On Herta Pineas's frequent change of quarters, see Benz, "Überleben," 677ff.; Hermann Pineas, in Richarz, *Life*, 448–460, especially 454–456; see also Rewald, *Berliner*, 7–10.

244. Spiegel, *Retter*, 17 (quotation), 23, 29, 35; see also the lists of quarters of a family of three who lived mostly apart, in Benz, "Überleben," 666.

245. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 62, 70–72.

246. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 73ff.

247. For example, see Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 156.

248. Rewald, *Berliner*, 8ff.

249. Rewald, *Berliner*, 13; Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 185.

250. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 93ff.

251. Excerpts from a report in Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 146.

252. Lorenz, "Endlösung," 255.

253. See the excerpts from Charlotte Joseph's report and the case of a family of three who left Berlin with such a certificate, in Benz, "Überleben," 662, 667.

254. Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 217–219, 225–226; for the western part of the country, see Spiegel, *Retter*, 61–66.

255. Spiegel, *Retter*, 71; Besser, "Überleben," 242–244. For an impressive report, see König, *David*, 187ff.

256. König, *David*, 173.

257. Besser, "Überleben," 243, 245, 246.

258. König, *David*, 189–193.

259. König, *David*, passim, especially 199 (getting taken in), 206 (repairs), 214–216 (dissatisfaction), 248–251 (museum and zoo), 257–266 (temporary work), 264–266 (plan for escape), 269–274 (boss's help), 276 (left shoemaker), 282 (gardener). On zoos as a safe place, see also Strauss, *Hügel*, 94, 139.

260. König, *David*, xii; Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 151ff.; particularly impressive through her doubt whether she would have had so much courage if the tables had been turned, see Spiegel, *Retter*, 48ff.

261. Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 6 (arrest); 129 ("great"); 147 (quotation); 192 (women under 55).

262. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 66.

263. This typology of helpers was cited from Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 61.

264. Schwersenz and Wolf, "Untergrund," 60ff., 68, and Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 102, 110ff.; Rewald, *Berliner*, 6; Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 162ff.

265. Besser, "Überleben," 244ff. (with quotation); Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 63. See also Deutschkron, *Outcast*, 159. But on a birth in the underground with the help of a doctor, see Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 81.

266. For the most comprehensive acknowledgment (based largely on writing and oral testimony of members of the group), see Zahn, "Nicht mitgehen"; for a brief description, see Kaplan, *Dignity and Despair*, 212ff.; for member accounts, see Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 78–89; Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 97–102, 129–140; Beck, "Organisator" (with documents), 150–162.

267. Schwersenz, *Versteckte Gruppe*, 151; Beck, *Underground Life*, 80ff.

268. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 77. See also König, *David*, 166, 181.

269. Schwersenz and Wolff, "Untergrund," 61.

270. Strauss, *Hügel*, 87, 96, 123.

271. Kroh, *David kämpft*, 163–174 (with documents); Kaplan, *Dignity and Despair*, 210; for the most extensive report, including interviews with Stella from the 1980s, see Wyden, *Stella*.

272. On the last-named group, see Simon, "Berliner Juden," 255.

273. On those who resurfaced, see Kwiet and Eschwege, *Widerstand*, 150.

Conclusion

1. Chapter 1, at n. 32, herein.

2. Richarz, *Jewish Life*, 41–42.

3. Richarz, *Jewish Life*, 223.

4. Goldberg, memoir, LBI, 56, in chapter 24, herein.

5. Quack, *Zuflucht*, 35; see also Friedlaender and Jarecki, *Sophie und Hilde*, 37 ("Golden Age"). For voices decrying the decline of the family during Weimar, see Gillerman, "Crisis of the Jewish Family."

6. See photo of musical quartet at Hachscharah training, p. 320.

7. Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism*, 4.

8. Chapter 11, first sentence, herein.

9. Simone Lässig, "The Emergence of a Middle-Class Religiosity: Social and Cultural Aspects of the German-Jewish Reform Movement during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, edited by Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (Tübingen, 2003).

10. Chapter 12, before n. 34, herein.

11. Chapter 12, at n. 35, herein.

12. Chapter 12, at n. 51, herein.

13. About the 1840s, in Richarz, *Jewish Life*, 122.

14. About the 1840s to early 1850s, in Richarz, *Jewish Life*, 135.

15. Chapter 22, at n. 83, herein.

16. Thomas Nipperdey, *Religion im Umbruch*, 7, quoted in Smith, introduction to *Protestants, Catholics and Jews*, 5.

17. Max Grünewald [Grunewald], "Erinnerung an Paul Eppstein," [n.d.], in Fliedner, *Judenverfolgung*, 2:155ff., especially 155. In chapter 23, at n. 1, herein.

18. Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith) was founded in 1893.

19. It would be useful to scholars in the field of cultural studies to examine Jews both

as one of the ancient precursors to the hybrid social groups that they study and as another example of hybrid communities in the modern era. See Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes, eds., *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture* (London, 2000). Similarly, it would be interesting for historians of the Jews to analyze them from this perspective. In "The Emergence of a Middle-Class Religiosity," Simone Lässig suggested that the "German path to Jewish emancipation allowed space for the development of hybrid identities." Similarly, Tobias Brinkmann, working on a project entitled "Migration and Metropolis: Jewish and Other Migrants in Berlin during the Interwar Years" (Dubnow Institute, Leipzig), uses concepts of hybridity. It should be recalled that Marion Berghahn pointed to this characteristic many years ago when she noted that "Jewish and German elements were integrated in such a way that a form of German-Jewish ethnicity emerged which was not identical with either culture." This new culture "possessed a character entirely of its own." Today we might term this a hybrid culture. Berghahn, *German-Jewish Refugees in England*, 44–45.

20. For the mid—nineteenth century, Heinrich Heine wrote: "It is only double-dyed hypocrites who nowadays still give their hatred a religious tinge . . . the masses frankly admit that their enmity is based on material interests." Possibly Rahel Varnhagen *to* Heine, in Heine's "Jessica (The Merchant of Venice)," in Robertson, *The German-Jewish Dialogue*, 80–81. For more modern clichés, see Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisemitism, 1700–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

21. Richarz, *Jewish Life*, 147.

22. Eyck, diary, LBI, 54–55.

23. Hoffmann, "Between Integration and Rejection," 101.

24. Ludwig Hollander, quoted by Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews*, 183.

25. "Encounter with Modernism: German Jews in Wilhelminian Culture," in Gay, *Freud, Jews*, 168.

26. Till van Rahden raises these issues in his essay "Germans of the Jewish 'Stamm': Visions of Community between Nationalism and Particularism, 1850–1933," in *German History from the Margins, 1800 to the Present*, edited by Mark Roseman, Nils Roemer, and Neil Gregor (forthcoming). See also Michael Brenner, "Religion, Nation oder Stamm. Zum Wandel der Selbstdefinition unter den Juden," in *Nation und Religion in der deutschen Geschichte*, edited by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Dieter Langewiesche (Frankfurt, 2001), 587–601.

27. "The Politics of Assimilation," comment at the Leo Baeck Institute conference "Towards Normality? Patterns of Assimilation and Acculturation within German-Speaking Jewry," Cambridge, England, September 9–13, 2001.

28. 1962 quoted in Cynthia Ozick, "The Heretic," *New Yorker*, September 2, 2002, 147; See also Gershom Scholem, "Jews and Germans" and "Once More: The German-Jewish Dialogue," in Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis: Selected Essays*, edited by Werner Dannhauser (New York, 1976), and Scholem, "Social Psychology."

29. Marrus, "Reflections on the Historiography of the Holocaust," 101.

30. Peter Pulzer writes of Jewish "self-deception," referring to the *political* attitudes of the Jewish leadership, such as the Centralverein, which accepted an "all-inclusive definition of nationality common to liberal and illiberal advocates of national unification" but ignored that belonging to a "religious denomination had its social implications." "Why Was There a Jewish Question in Imperial Germany?" *LBIYB* 25 (1980), 141.

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