

# “Salvation Comes from America”: The United States in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*

Sonja L. Meikel

The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, subtitled “a non-partisan organ for all Jewish interests,” was the longest continuously published Jewish newspaper in Germany. Established in 1837, it continued under its own name until 1922, when it merged with the *CV-Zeitung*, the official publication of the Central Association of German Jews that the Nazis closed down in November 1938.<sup>1</sup> After appearing three times a week for the first two years, it became a weekly in 1839. One of only three German-Jewish papers out of fourteen to survive the revolution of 1848–1849, its contents addressed a vast array of topics and problems.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this essay is to focus on one specific theme that appeared repeatedly: the image of America as it was drawn on the pages of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (hereafter *Allgemeine*) until 1922. It argues that America fulfilled a twofold exemplary function for the paper’s editors and the readership they addressed: It served as a model for an ideal (or nearly ideal) civil society, highlighting what was wrong with Germany politically and socially, and it showed German Jews what emancipated Jews could and should be by portraying American Jewry’s successes and failures.

## German Jews and the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*

Though the *Allgemeine*, “German Jewry’s most important newspaper,”<sup>3</sup> is one of the most frequently cited sources of nineteenth-century German Jewry, its portrayal of the United States has been largely neglected. With the exception of an essay by Steven M. Lowenstein,<sup>4</sup> overviews of the German-Jewish press in general and studies of the *Allgemeine* in particular usually focus on the development of Reform Judaism and the struggle for emancipation, which comprised the *Allgemeine*’s foremost concerns. In her article “The Jewish Press in Germany,” Margaret T. Edelheim-Muehsam asserts that “[t]he paper’s true objective... was to complete the emancipation of the Jews by adding religious emancipation to their political emancipation.”<sup>5</sup> Michael A. Meyer, who acknowledges the paper’s importance for international Jewish solidarity, also gives primacy to its religious function: “For Jewish history in general the *Allgemeine Zeitung* possesses major significance as a force for sustaining the sense of a worldwide Jewish peoplehood despite assimilatory pressures. For the Reform movement it was of even greater importance.”<sup>6</sup> Yet by looking across the Atlantic, the *Allgemeine* provided German Jews with an implicit and sometimes

explicit point of reference on which their relative progress could be measured. The cliché of the allegedly increasingly optimistic mood of urbanizing, educated, and economically stable nineteenth-century German Jews (rural Jewry differs somewhat from that profile<sup>7</sup>) that cooled only slightly and temporarily around the 1880s<sup>8</sup> developed within a *European* context. This included notoriously antisemitic eastern European nations, such as Romania, and was informed by episodes of hostility against Jews even in more progressive countries, such as France and Italy. Broadened to include the United States, it might become necessary to rethink our knowledge of the German-Jewish worldview. George Mosse, furthermore, emphasizes the period of emancipation as a decisive factor in the formation of a collective German-Jewish consciousness: “Jews were emancipated during the first decade of the nineteenth century in the autumn of the German Enlightenment. This gave them their optimism, a certain faith in themselves and in humanity,”<sup>9</sup> a faith that, according to some historians, proved fatal in the 1930s.<sup>10</sup> Conceding at best an inner conflict that is supposed to have engendered German Jewry’s amazing creativity,<sup>11</sup> the cliché relies on many Jews’ overt expressions of enthusiasm for German culture and progress vis-à-vis their own recent past and present eastern European gloom. However, effusive professions of patriotism and glowing admiration for German “poets and thinkers” are put into perspective when we pay attention to the more somber tone in which German Jews evaluated their own situation in comparison to that of their American coreligionists. The *Allgemeine* is a case in point: Its attitude toward the United States remained strikingly stable, revealing only slight variations in times of relative stability with regard to Jewish-gentile relations within Germany. Though other German-Jewish publications shared its stance, the paper’s longevity and prominence make it more pertinent to an evaluation of German Jewry’s attitudes than examples taken from sources unable to sustain themselves, or those representing particular causes or regions.<sup>12</sup> Due to space limitations, this article can merely encourage, rather than provide, an elaborate comparison with the image of America in equally prominent Jewish newspapers of other countries, such as France or England.

The founder of the *Allgemeine*, Rabbi Ludwig Philippson, remained its editor until 1889. Born in Dessau in 1811, Philippson received his doctorate at the University of Berlin at the age of twenty-two. In 1862, he was forced by failing eyesight to give up the Magdeburg pulpit he had occupied for twenty-eight years. He then moved to Bonn and continued publishing and writing historical novels and religious, historical, and dramatic works, in addition to editing the *Allgemeine*.<sup>13</sup> Until the unification of the German states in 1871, the paper concentrated on Jewish emancipation and reforms within Judaism; the fight against an increasingly virulent antisemitism became its main concern after the establishment of the second Reich in 1871. The Heine scholar, Gustav Karpeles,<sup>14</sup> editor from 1890 to 1909, started to devote more attention to eastern

European Jews, while Ludwig Geiger, a historian and son of the famous Reform rabbi Abraham Geiger, agitated against Orthodoxy and Zionism during his editorship, from 1909 to 1919.<sup>15</sup> The paper, which had been located in Leipzig from the time of its founding, moved to Berlin at the turn of the century, where it was published by the influential house of Rudolf Mosse, historian George L. Mosse's grandfather.<sup>16</sup>

## Historical Background

The *Allgemeine* was founded at a crucial time for German and German-Jewish history. In the oppressive climate that followed the Congress of Vienna until the revolutionary 1840s, many Germans turned inward and backward in their search for a German essence. The nationalist thrust of German Romanticism rejected the universalism of the Enlightenment (which was associated with the hated French enemy) for the sake of an idealized image of the German past, especially the Middle Ages.<sup>17</sup> Though German Jews, who had been emancipated by Napoleon or autocrats afraid of him, had acted against their interest by participating in the Wars of Liberation, they now enjoyed little sympathy. The German states, including Prussia, completely or partially rescinded Jewish emancipation where the concept of a "Christian state" rapidly gained currency.<sup>18</sup> With the exception of the often reluctant liberals, German intellectuals denied Jews access to their social and political circles.<sup>19</sup> Students who had burned rabbinical writings at the *Wartburgfest* in 1817 excluded Jews from most of their associations.<sup>20</sup> Though the most infamous postwar outbreak of violence against Jews, the Hep-Hep riots of 1819, was not followed by equally dramatic episodes, a pessimistic mood persisted among many Jews, especially those who strove for academic careers or employment as civil servants, options closed to them unless they converted to Christianity.<sup>21</sup> Mass emigration of Jews and gentiles from the German states to America, and, to a lesser extent, to other countries, had begun, though not yet reached its zenith.

## A Public Sphere

From its inception, the *Allgemeine* addressed questions pertaining to all Jewish interests, encompassing religion as much as politics, literature, and history.<sup>22</sup> Covering events within and outside of Germany, it deplored acts of persecution and discrimination against Jews yet never forgot to pay special attention to cultural issues.<sup>23</sup> In its statement of principles, the *Allgemeine* refuted the criticism of those who regarded a Jewish newspaper in Germany as an unnecessary and untimely assertion of distinctiveness; it asserted that Jews would always retain their particularity in religious matters and, as long as they were not completely accepted by and integrated into their surrounding society, even remain a distinct national group. Philippson stressed the importance of a public voice:

Each individual has to be represented. In modern times, when the life of civilized mankind does not take place within locked rooms, of which one does not know what is happening in the other, but life has become a great, open marketplace, where actions and ideas are being exchanged and living conditions face each other openly, he who retreats into a dark corner to lead a dismal, solitary existence, is soon forgotten.<sup>24</sup>

As becomes clear in Philippson's insistence on the need to present one's ideas to a larger public open, as he hoped, to Jews as much as anyone else, he was aware of the existence of what Jürgen Habermas would call the "public sphere," a forum of debate ideally open to all who followed certain rules of discourse, the "public use of reason."<sup>25</sup> Jewish intellectuals, rejected by their gentile peers, tried to join this discourse by studying the Jewish past with modern scientific methods. The founders of the *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden* (Society for Jewish Culture and Knowledge), established in 1819, desired to claim a history for the Jewish people as much as to gain legitimacy for Jewish researchers.<sup>26</sup> Though perhaps not as prestigious as historians, journalists served an important function in the German intellectual landscape: "Newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets were the cultural nourishment through which 'Germans could become Germans' and public opinion could make itself felt within the state."<sup>27</sup> For Philippson, the public sphere included both Germany and the larger Jewish world; from the first issue on, he devoted considerable space to the fortunes of Jews in all parts of the Diaspora, though discussions of European and especially German events received more attention and deeper analysis. Yet by dealing with international Jewish news items *and* with events in Germany that transcended local interests, the paper showed its championship of German national unity while contributing to the creation of a modern, transnational Jewish public.<sup>28</sup>

The significance of a Jewish public voice gained special urgency with the Damascus Affair of 1840, which, though neither the first nor the last blood libel of the nineteenth century, galvanized European and American Jewry like few scandals before the abduction of Edgardo Mortara (discussed later in this essay).<sup>29</sup> Jewish papers, including the *Allgemeine*, contributed to the outcry over the atrocities;<sup>30</sup> even though both affairs demonstrated the limited power of public outrage and of prominent Jewish intercessors, they led to the formation of national Jewish defense association in France and the United States.

The *Allgemeine* was quick to realize the rapidly growing importance of the press for German-Jewish life at a time when German newspapers were "expensive and their circulation remained limited."<sup>31</sup> Modern newspaper publishing came into existence in the United States and England in the 1820s and 1830s mostly because of two factors: private advertising that rendered publishers relatively independent of one main sponsor and technical innovations that made mass circulation possible and profitable.<sup>32</sup> Ethnic or religious publications often

lacked a prosperous or broad readership, even without taking into account the specific problems of the foreign-language press.<sup>33</sup> The *Allgemeine*'s stability and style of reporting made it a model for the emerging American Jewish press that struggled with many of the problems other American minority papers faced.<sup>34</sup> The earliest Jewish publications tended to be mere reactions against anti-Jewish attacks and Christian conversionary efforts. Yet, unlike, for instance, the first American Jewish paper, Solomon Henry Jackson's *The Jew*, the *Allgemeine* transcended a defensive purpose. Its closest counterpart in scope and objective was Isaac Mayer Wise's *The Israelite*,<sup>35</sup> founded in 1854 and renamed *The American Israelite* in 1874. This paper combined a championship of moderate Reform and acculturation into the American milieu with admiration for German culture and *Bildung* (self-cultivation).

### Emancipation, Reform and Antisemitism

The aims of Wise and Philippon did not differ as much as the environments surrounding them: Both men strove for Jewish unity along progressive lines, together with a commitment to their respective host countries. Whereas emancipation, along with basic civil liberties and rights for the general population, lagged behind egregiously in most of Europe, the United States had accepted Jews as the equals of Christians from the start and, with the exception of some unfortunate incidents and state laws,<sup>36</sup> had granted them the freedom it bestowed so abundantly upon its fortunate citizens. Throughout the nineteenth century, emigration provided the promise of economic improvement and an always available "substitute for emancipation."<sup>37</sup> This basic equality, anchored in the American Constitution, was something Wise and other politically conscious Jews saw themselves obligated to defend; in the German states, equal rights first had to be achieved.

If a separate religious identity remained a tenet of Reform Judaism until well into the twentieth century, the claim to Jewish national identity underwent a radical transformation in the long and tortuous path leading to Jewish emancipation. In fact, Jewish peoplehood was antithetical to Jewish emancipation in European countries that claimed to be tolerant of individual Jews and individual forms of Judaism but opposed to the Jews "as a nation," or as "a state within the state" (a slogan infamously popularized by Johann Gottlieb Fichte).<sup>38</sup> Jews eager to enter European culture without conversion to Christianity were willing to adopt that view. Reform Judaism integrated a denationalized conception of modern Jewish identity into its civil and religious program, renouncing hopes of a return to Zion and embracing as their homelands the countries granting them citizenship. This held true for reformers in Germany as well as in America, where the *Allgemeine* was read and scrutinized by German-speaking Jews. In fact, many German-Jewish Americans had been readers of the *Allgemeine* before their emigration,<sup>39</sup> and in its coverage of American events, the paper relied on

news items it reprinted from the American Jewish press—for example, Isaac Leeser’s *The Occident* and *American Jewish Advocate*, as well as the already mentioned *American Israelite*.<sup>40</sup>

The image of America that the *Allgemeine* advanced differed little from the one drawn by liberal German gentiles, for whom the American Constitution and Declaration of Independence were standard texts<sup>41</sup> (unless they identified Jews with capitalism, capitalism with America, and hence America with Jews, or claimed that the United States was controlled by Jews<sup>42</sup>), and who praised American individualism.<sup>43</sup> After the Civil War removed its one grievous flaw—slavery—the United States was held up as an ideal democratic and egalitarian state, the paradigmatic land of freedom based on a model constitution. Philippson added a Jewish aspect to the emancipation of the slaves by celebrating it (as well as the emancipation of the Russian serfs) as a victory of the “Mosaic principle” over gentile “unfreedom.”<sup>44</sup> But unlike German gentiles, Jews paid keen attention to signs and manifestations of antisemitism in the United States. Though the *Allgemeine* praised America as a model to emulate and as an attractive destination for immigrants, it did not deny the existence of antisemitism in the Land of the Free. For example, the *Allgemeine* reported in several articles how the American government abandoned its Jewish citizens for the sake of commerce. U.S. politicians, including President James Buchanan, were harshly criticized for their initial reluctance to put appropriate pressure on the Swiss government or to cancel the 1840 trade treaty with Switzerland as long as Switzerland discriminated against American Jews. Yet the very bitterness of these articles reveals just how high the standards of justice were for the United States and how anomalous it was in the eyes of German Jewish journalists to encounter signs or even tolerance of American antisemitism. However, the differences between American antisemitism and European—especially German—antisemitism were crucial. These included differences in origin, intensity, and frequency.

Thus, U.S. antisemitism was deemed to be of foreign provenance, brought over from the Old World to America’s enlightened shores by “European intruders,”<sup>45</sup> by Irish immigrant “scum,”<sup>46</sup> ultramontane Catholics,<sup>47</sup> or German radicals. Though the latter objected to a constitutional amendment declaring America a Christian state, they did so, as one Jewish observer remarked,

not out of love for the Jews—God forbid, owing as we do, all our *rißus* (antisemitism) in America to those heroes of liberty—the American, originally, does not know anything about *rißus*—not our of love for the Jews, but because, if Christ were to be included in the constitution, God would have to be granted a place there as well, but Him, they despise almost as much as us poor Jews.<sup>48</sup>

The failure of anti-Jewish strategies so habitually employed by Germans<sup>49</sup> could be witnessed in an election to the state legislature of Louisiana, when a German-born candidate agitated against his Jewish competitor. Out of fear of being suspected of “ridiculous prejudices,” the *Allgemeine* reported, the city’s voters almost unanimously elected the Jew.<sup>50</sup>

## Jewish Life in America

The image of America portrayed in the *Allgemeine* changed over time and in tandem with changing perceptions of Germany, though the overall tenor of coverage retained its positive, often enthusiastic character. In the first years of the paper’s publication, the United States appeared as a remote, even exotic place. One of the earliest articles on North America pondered the question whether Native Americans descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel, a topic of interest for many Europeans at the time, and even furnished samples from the Hebrew and “Indian” languages to show their alleged linguistic similarities.<sup>51</sup> Soon, as a result of increasing immigration and the accumulation of information about the United States,<sup>52</sup> more serious articles took the place of such adventurous theories. In March 1844, a correspondent of the *Allgemeine* cautiously suggested, “There will come a time when North America will have won great importance for Jewry.”<sup>53</sup> Articles and reports on the United States, few and far between in the early issues, became a regular feature toward the mid-1840s and diversified according to regions and cities. Coverage of religious developments, especially the success of Reform Judaism, intracommunal affairs, and the establishment of new congregations and synagogues took precedence over general American news, but the majority of those reports emphasized that the well-being—even the difficulties, religious laxity, and internecine fighting—of American Jews was attributable to the unheard-of freedom U.S. citizens enjoyed. Religious freedom was a right even the most underprivileged shared with the rest of the population, and Jews demonstrated their advocacy of the disadvantaged by welcoming a black man into at least one of their communities as early as 1857.<sup>54</sup> True, America did not give birth to rabbis of European caliber, but this was a result of the freedom of its congregations to hire whomever they saw fit, even a “rabbi” who devoted his time to preaching, acting in a local theater, and working as a firefighter.<sup>55</sup> If a congregation in California lacked discipline and, however hard to believe, a proper set of written synagogue regulations, then perhaps this was so because California Jews were simply too busy being judges, county treasurers, and aldermen.<sup>56</sup> Early on, the *Allgemeine* presented an image of the United States as a society similar to that of Europe but turned upside down: The masses, powerless in Europe, were powerful voters in America; people were devoutly religious in the face of greatly diminished ecclesiastic authority; Christians valued Jews; and Jews, now perfectly free to pursue their religious duties, started to neglect them.<sup>57</sup>

Although some scholars have asserted that German Jews' interest in America ebbed and flowed—for example, Steven Lowenstein wrote that “[i]n times of trouble for German Jews, [interest in America] suddenly flourished; in times when they were satisfied with conditions in their own country, it decreased,”<sup>58</sup>—the *Allgemeine* provided its readers with news from the United States even during times of relative quiet in Germany. Since American conditions were not only used to criticize German politics and society but also served as a test case for the effect of complete emancipation on Jews, the paper's interest in America cannot be attributed to dissatisfaction with Germany alone. Articles on the fortunes of emancipated American Jewry remained a regular feature of the *Allgemeine* in “good” and “bad” times; interest in the United States, then, had as much to do with German Jews' satisfaction with Germany as with their satisfaction with themselves. As a nation in which Jews could flourish and prove their worth thanks to the absence of barriers, America served as an example for the state of affairs Jews could achieve, if only Germany were to rid its Jews of their fetters. Economic advancement was a natural result of occupational freedom, and rather than squander it on conspicuous luxuries, newly prosperous American Jews spent their money on charity and magnificent synagogues.<sup>59</sup> Instead of directing its view overseas only in times of crisis or as a sole consequence of legally cemented inequality, the *Allgemeine* also paid attention to the United States in the comparatively quiet period of the early 1870s, right after German Jews were finally granted full equality.<sup>60</sup>

Yet, considering the fluctuating degrees of freedom and equality in Germany, coverage of the stability of American institutions and of the well-being of American Jews continued to have a dual character. In 1872, the paper reprinted an article from a German-American newspaper that bemoaned the abandonment of the German language on the part of American Jews but remarked that “it could of course not be held against the German Israelites of this country if they renounced the language and national habits of a people in whose midst they experienced oppression and affronts of all kinds *up to the most recent times*.”<sup>61</sup> Whether this article was meant to criticize American Jews for giving up on their precious German heritage so quickly, or Christian Germans for *making* Jews do so, remains open to interpretation. Whatever the case, rather than only appearing “[i]n times of trouble for German Jews,” articles on the United States remained frequent during those years.<sup>62</sup> Presenting America to German-Jewish readers had a twofold function—criticizing both Germany and German Jews—and it is that which accounts for the *Allgemeine's* unflagging interest in America, even in periods commonly seen as uneventful.

## Jewish Patriotism

The military and diplomatic achievements of American Jews gave testimony to Jewish courage and political skills. These virtues were beneficial to

their adopted country, but were put into question in Germany, despite Jewish participation in every armed conflict between Germany and other nations since the Wars of Liberation.<sup>63</sup> Inspired by a patriotism that distinguished Jews in every country that gave them an opportunity to show it, they served the United States in times of peace and war. Throughout the Civil War, the *Allgemeine* published the number and names of Jewish volunteers, listed Jewish casualties, and gloried in the courage of Jewish officers. Such displays of loyalty did not go unrewarded. In fact, whenever Jews were elected to public office or appointed to government posts, the *Allgemeine* rejoiced. One correspondent believed to see the “finger of God” in the appointment of Judah Benjamin as ambassador to the Spanish court:

In 1492, Spain expelled all Jews from their country and sent out the great navigator [Columbus] just a day later, to discover an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed of all nations, religions, and peoples, and in 1858 . . . the United States are sending out a Jew as their representative to the Spanish government! O! The old God of Israel is still alive!<sup>64</sup>

Punishing Spain with a Jewish delegate was not the only example in which America righted a historical wrong. A similar case occurred in 1871, the year in which President Grant appointed the young Jewish lawyer, Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, consul to Romania, a country priding itself of its flagrantly anti-Jewish policies.<sup>65</sup> “America has helped the Jews in Switzerland to claim the justice due them; maybe, so it will in Romania.” Success did not depend on American Jewish money and pressure but on “the voice of 40 million free human beings,” the combined power of the American people, faithfully represented by their government.<sup>66</sup> By virtue of its political power and uprightness, America took action (if not revenge) on behalf of the Jews. Moreover, in stark contrast to German courts, which could not care less about the religious sensibilities of Jews, U.S. law respected the Jewish faith. This was evident, for instance, in the sensitivity of an American judge who decided that all religious objects in a Jew’s possession had to remain untouched when his property was confiscated, since freedom of religion demanded it.<sup>67</sup>

Nothing was more quintessentially American than religious freedom. In 1842, it was reported that a New York City official, upon learning of a Jewish man about to marry a Christian woman, recommended that the Jew convert to Christianity for the sake of the couple’s future children. When told that this suggestion was un-American, the official apologized and then recommended the bride’s conversion to Judaism.<sup>68</sup> Whereas intolerance was a characteristically European reaction to crisis, the *Allgemeine* informed its readers that America was quite different in that regard as well: After Lincoln’s assassination, a correspondent assured German Jews of his conviction that religious liberty had emerged stronger than ever from the chaos of the war.<sup>69</sup>

Jews, in turn, owed special allegiance and love to their new homeland, a love that often and legitimately expressed itself in the fight to improve it with public protest and, if need be, lawsuits. In this, they foreshadowed the legal struggles led in Germany by the *Central Verein*.<sup>70</sup> Though criticism of the government was one of the hailed American rights, the *Allgemeine* frowned upon its “overly zealous” use. Protests like that of “a certain Rev. Isidor Kalisch” sparked by a “harmless” comment of President Buchanan, which prompted the President to apologize, could be used by the German press once again to suspect American Jews of exerting too much power.<sup>71</sup> Whether a subliminal message of pride could be gleaned from the complaint about Kalisch’s presumptuousness was left to the reader’s ability to read between the lines. Nevertheless, despite Jewish citizens’ duty toward America, patriotism had to be exercised within an ethical framework. Southern Jews loyal to the secessionist states were condemned in no uncertain terms;<sup>72</sup> with obvious contempt, the *Allgemeine* informed German Jews of a New York rabbi, Morris Raphall, who in a sermon had justified slavery on biblical grounds.<sup>73</sup> While the paper declared, in bold type, that “every Jew who lifts his hand against the Union is, as a Jew, to be considered a patricide,”<sup>74</sup> it did not lose its compassion for human weakness, describing the execution of a Jewish deserter with marked sympathy: “With the *Shema* on his lips, he breathed his last breath.”<sup>75</sup> In the final analysis, the majority of American Jews had proved to be defenders of the best the United States embodied.

### The American Example

Yet, as mentioned previously, portrayals of America in the *Allgemeine* served a second function, quite different from merely being a foil to showcase the exemplary virtues (and sometimes frailties) of emancipated Jews. Jewish critics in the pre-imperial era, like gentile malcontents, viewed America as a perpetual point of reference and contrast with German social and political ills. The Prussian and Saxonian governments were so anxious “to prove that America was not a utopia of freedom and tolerance” that they even posted placards in the streets reporting the number of Germans allegedly killed in the United States.<sup>76</sup> In the eyes of the *Allgemeine*, Germans were oppressed by petty autocrats, while Americans ruled themselves wisely and in accordance with the ideas of the country’s founders; Germany was fragmented, while America was unified; and religion kept its medieval grip on German lands, while it was shown its proper—that is, private—place in the secular United States. Yet, when Germans turned to aggressive nationalism and grew increasingly critical of, even hostile to, America,<sup>77</sup> the latter maintained its positive image for most German Jews. Disappointed by the upsurge of political and “scientific” antisemitism in the newly unified German Empire, American tolerance stood as a silent accusation against Germany. It had come as no surprise in 1858 that a liberal German paper, the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, reported the appointment of Judah

Benjamin to a prestigious position while forgetting to mention “that he is a Jew and that his name is Judah,”<sup>78</sup> only to “correct” the mistake by claiming shortly thereafter that his appointment demonstrated that America was ruled by Jews.<sup>79</sup> However, the persistence and increase of antisemitism after the official emancipation of German Jewry caused much pain and consternation. Whether out of conviction or necessity, Jews eager to find acceptance in Imperial Germany had to adopt and conform to the current nationalist jargon to prove once again their German identity.<sup>80</sup> Heinrich von Treitschke, one of Germany’s most famous historians and antisemites, publicly attacked the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz as anti-German for writing the eleventh volume of his *Geschichte der Juden* (*History of the Jews*) from a Jewish nationalist perspective, calling him an “unadulterated Oriental.”<sup>81</sup> However, complete devotion to Germany proved to be of little use; Philippon’s own son, Martin, an author of patriotic works about Germany, volunteered for the war against France in 1870, only to be denied a professorship on account of his Jewishness afterwards.<sup>82</sup> In the *Allgemeine*, overt apologetics and assertions of the Jews’ right to be different (on the condition that they remain dedicated Germans at the same time) were supplemented by perhaps even more alarming calls to calm down: A front page article of 1875, titled “The Flood,” assured its readers repeatedly that the flood of antisemitic incitement in the German press would surely fail to rescind emancipation or to provoke outbreaks of violence against Jews.<sup>83</sup>

In contrast to Germany, gentile America did not pose a threat to its Jewish citizens. Still, after the Civil War, the *Allgemeine* identified two increasing dangers for American Jewry: religious apathy and Catholicism. The first, religious apathy among Jews (outweighed though it was by their extraordinary charity), turned out to be premature. Relieved, the *Allgemeine* reported in 1892 that “the great worries” of fifty years before “were, as the facts show, thank God unjustified ... [and that] the organization of Judaism [in America] outdoes that in Europe in many respects.”<sup>84</sup> In 1914, German rabbis were even encouraged to emulate their American colleagues’ style of publication.<sup>85</sup> The second danger, Catholicism, was the more insidious since “the American people, hardly knowledgeable of history, does not know this enemy, nor realize the extent of the impending menace.”<sup>86</sup> The *Allgemeine*’s attitude toward Catholicism clearly demonstrates the extent to which the contrast between American dream and German reality influenced the image of America unfolding before the eyes of Jewish readers: German Catholics, who had founded their own political party in 1870 (the *Deutsche Zentrumspartei*) and received almost 28 percent of the vote in the Reichstag election of 1874,<sup>87</sup> drafted an agenda that “declares religious freedom a principle of the devil, equality a principle of state worthy of damnation, thus taking away everything the Jews have achieved in state and society in a century.”<sup>88</sup> The concern that the *Zentrum* would destroy the achievements of a century may have been exaggerated; however, it bespoke the sense

of discomfort, even threat, that many Jews felt at the time. By the mid-1870s, German Jews formed a part of the middle and upper middle class in terms of their economic and educational standing, a status that was not matched by the social and political recognition or other privileges that many of their gentile contemporaries enjoyed.<sup>89</sup> Numerically and ideologically incapable of forming their own party,<sup>90</sup> German Jews feared the very infringement of religion on politics from which American Jews were protected. Moreover, in America, Catholicism was seen as an external foe, threatening to ruin the purity of the American people and institutions from its seat in Rome rather than having sprung up as an indigenous phenomenon. While the antisemitic atmosphere of the Civil War and postbellum years, acknowledged by the paper's editorship, was little more than a fleeting, spontaneous outbreak of irrationality triggered by the upheavals of the conflict, the Catholic peril was seen as the concerted effort of a well-organized institution trying to circumvent the separation of church and state. The distrust that many European and American Jews felt toward the Catholic Church matched that of the American mainstream.<sup>91</sup> American anti-Catholic activists had already vigorously supported and found common ground with Jewish protesters in the Mortara affair, during which a six-year old Jewish boy had been abducted by the Inquisition from his home in Bologna in 1856, after a Christian maid claimed to have secretly baptized him;<sup>92</sup> yet anti-Catholic articles in the *Allgemeine*—which was, after all, readily accessible to Germans—risked incurring the enmity of gentiles within Germany. The *Allgemeine* printed them nevertheless. Perhaps its editors felt secure enough to do so because of Prussia's hostility toward the Catholic Church and its political allies (which begs the question why the *Allgemeine* engaged in open warfare with the Protestant Prussian *Kreuzzeitung*<sup>93</sup>), despite the fact that many Jews resided in Catholic regions of Germany. On the other hand, perhaps they estimated the situation to be so bad that a potential provocation would not make much of a difference. The influence of the antisemitic court chaplain Adolf Stoecker and his ilk were not the only reason for concern.<sup>94</sup> Whereas the *Kulturkampf* (the culture struggle between the German government and the Catholic Church in Germany), though clearly a symptom of an intolerant political atmosphere, may still have been judged expedient by some Jews,<sup>95</sup> the oppression of socialists that followed was another warning signal. German liberals split, some moving to the right and cooperating with the conservatives in their support of Bismarck's authoritarian policies, leaving Jews with fewer and fewer allies.<sup>96</sup> In 1892, the German Conservative Party drafted the "Tivoli Program," which declared Jews, along with socialists and capitalists, "unpatriotic elements," showing that antisemitism had become *salonfähig*—respectable, beyond the orbit of radical fringe parties.<sup>97</sup> An *Allgemeine* article dealing with the Tivoli Program as part of the "antisemitic wave" conceded, rather helplessly, that there were no general rules of what to do "now that antisemitic agitation is being brought anew into

the provinces.”<sup>98</sup> An American rabbi writing to the paper in 1893 explicitly stated that Germany’s antisemitism was one of the reasons why American Jews were giving up the German language.<sup>99</sup> For the *Allgemeine*, it was as important as ever to save America, the “asylum for the persecuted and oppressed of all nations, religions, and peoples.” For German Jews, America remained—even if only in their imaginations—the “virginal land of freedom, that does not know of the many restrictions still burdening the old, historic Europe.”<sup>100</sup> America was a haven for the Jews fleeing disease that plagued not only Germany, but most of the Old World. After all, in the wake of the formation of the *Antisemiten-Liga* in Germany,<sup>101</sup> the pogroms in Russia, and the crude oppression in Romania, where else did the exiled fare as in America, where Judaism “has no past, but it does have a future”?<sup>102</sup>

## A New Century

When the nineteenth century drew to a close, the *Allgemeine* had to confront two new realities: the exodus of eastern European Jews to the West, and the simultaneous American nervousness about mass-immigration of southern and eastern Europeans that eventually resulted in restrictive laws.<sup>103</sup> The *Allgemeine* brimmed with articles on the Russian problem but differentiated strictly between its own, the German Jews, and their eastern coreligionists.<sup>104</sup> The editors’ attitude influenced coverage of American immigration policy as well. In 1906, the *Allgemeine* showed itself rather unconcerned with the impending immigration restriction, since “for the time being, immigration is still a necessity, especially for the South” and immigration was still possible via Canada and Mexico. Moreover, the immediate consequences of restrictionism for German Jews were negligible: “[T]here are very few illiterates among our emigrants, and secondly, the German immigration to America is constantly declining.”<sup>105</sup> American immigration restriction hurt German Jews only indirectly, through the greater number of Orthodox, Zionist, and “nihilist” Russians who would be forced to remain in Germany and thereby “cause” antisemitism.<sup>106</sup>

After the turn of the century, articles on the United States grew, on the whole, fewer and less prominent in presentation, probably in response to the waning emigration of German Jews; yet whenever the *Allgemeine* did report on the United States, its view of American society seemed to have changed little. It thus showed once again the high degree of constancy over time in its presentation of the United States. In 1907, though now in a short and superficial note on the last page, the paper reported that Americans had demonstrated their progressive character once again, citing both a New York court decision to prohibit hotel managers from excluding guests on the basis of race or religion, and the championship by the American government of the right of voluntary expatriation of Russian subjects, i.e., Jews.<sup>107</sup> Even during World War I, the image of America was drawn in relatively bright colors. At a time when

the ardently patriotic editors vented their wrath against other enemy nations, especially England, where hatred of Germany merged with allegedly rampant antisemitism,<sup>108</sup> they remained rather reticent about American “misdeeds.” One week before America’s entry into the war, the *Allgemeine* explained that “now, that several American ships have been sunk, the United States regard this as a case of war without a declaration of war.”<sup>109</sup> An attack in an April 1917 issue was aimed exclusively against President Wilson personally: an “imperialist” and “autocrat” who disregarded the Constitution, Wilson forced his will upon his reluctant nation.<sup>110</sup> But hostile remarks about the American government were easily outnumbered by positive news on the state of American Jewry—for instance, that a Jewish woman was elected mayor in Florida,<sup>111</sup> or notes on the outpouring of American Jewish charity on behalf of their unfortunate brethren abroad. The United States’s unwavering fairness and championship of the Jewish cause not only contrasted with eastern European savagery; America could retain the exemplary position it had always occupied in the *Allgemeine* even during its conflict with the *Vaterland* because of the chance it gave American Jews to excel as model citizens. German Jews, who, “with a strong feeling of happiness and sparkling eyes rallied to the flag at the moment of national uprising,”<sup>112</sup> were rewarded for their own loyalty by such outrages as the *Judenzählung*, the infamous Jewish census intended to prove that Jewish soldiers hid behind their fellow gentile fighters.<sup>113</sup>

The course of the war, both in Germany and in the United States, reinforced the image of America as a purified Germany, the Germany that could have been had it discarded its age-old prejudices during the Enlightenment. As such, it helped German Jews to keep up their hope that Germany itself might one day become more like America. It also helped a by-then small minority among them to make up their mind and leave. A pronouncement, uttered casually and as a matter of course in a book review in the very last year of the *Allgemeine*’s publication, revealed the symbolic role the United States had assumed, still unshaken after so many years and despite a report on Henry Ford in the same issue: “Salvation comes from America.”<sup>114</sup>

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*Sonja L. Mekel is a doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Her dissertation analyzes the relationship between Germans and German Jews in Chicago and Milwaukee in the nineteenth century.*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Before it merged its organ with the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, the CV had since 1895 published a monthly titled *Im Deutschen Reich*. On the CV, see Jehuda Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land: The Dilemma of the German Jew, 1893–1914* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1975).

<sup>2</sup>Johannes Valentin Schwarz, “The Origins and the Development of the German-Jewish Press in Germany Until 1850: Reflections on the Transformation of the German-Jewish Public Sphere in Bourgeois Society,” paper given at the 66th IFLA Council and General Conference (Jerusalem, 13–18 August 2000). “By adopting several new elements like leading articles from the realm of general press, his [Philippon’s] weekly soon became the prototype of all Jewish newspapers both in Germany and abroad.” Though it may be exaggerated to say that the *Allgemeine* served as the model for all Jewish newspapers, Schwarz is right to point out its innovative character.

<sup>3</sup>David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 138.

<sup>4</sup>Steven M. Lowenstein, “The View from the Old World: German-Jewish Perspectives,” in *The Americanization of the Jews*, ed. Robert M. Seltzer and Norman J. Cohen (New York and London: New York University Press, 1995), 19–40. Lowenstein draws extensively on the *Allgemeine* and its image of America, yet his conclusions are different from mine; though he, too, argues that German Jews used American freedom to criticize Germany’s shortcomings, he in my opinion overemphasizes the negative portrayal of the United States and its citizens—both gentile and Jewish—in the *Allgemeine* and other German-Jewish papers. For example, though it is true that “[a]lmost every anti-Jewish incident in mid-nineteenth-century America” was reported in the *Allgemeine* (24–25), Lowenstein gives little weight to the various news items dealing with the defeat of antisemitism in the United States.

<sup>5</sup>*Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 1 (1956): 166.

<sup>6</sup>Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), 108.

<sup>7</sup>A recent work by Simone Lässig interprets German-Jewish embourgeoisement once again as a success story: *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum: Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2004). On the connection between Jewish embourgeoisement and the emergence of a Jewish subculture, see Sorkin, 107–123. On rural Jews, see Monika Richarz, “Emancipation and Continuity—German Jews in the Rural Economy,” in *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History*, ed. Werner E. Mosse, Arnold Paucker, and Reinhard Ruerup (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1981), 95–115.

<sup>8</sup>Even after the resurgence of antisemitism in the last decades of the nineteenth century, a great number of Jews continued to idealize German culture. As Amos Elon writes in his deeply pessimistic history of German Jews, “Before Hitler rose to power, other Europeans often feared, admired, envied, and ridiculed the Germans; only Jews seemed actually to have loved them.” *The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the German-Jewish Epoch, 1743–1933* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 10. See also Frederic V. Grunfeld, *Prophets Without Honor: Freud, Kafka, Einstein, and their World* (New York: Kodansha International, 1996), 3–4: “As a measure of the enthusiasm with which they joined in the prevailing fashions of the age, they gave their children Wagnerian names like Siegmund or Siegfried, and even Wagner’s antisemitic diatribes in *Das Judentum in der Musik* (*The Jews in Music*) failed to discourage them.”

<sup>9</sup>George L. Mosse, *German Jews Beyond Judaism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 3.

<sup>10</sup>Sydney M. Bolkosky, *The Distorted Image: German Jewish Perceptions of Germans and Germany, 1918–1935* (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing, Co., 1975).

<sup>11</sup>Mosse, xix: “Although there were always those German Jews who left Judaism behind or at least tried to do so, it is hard to imagine how modern Judaism would look today without the pioneering work of German Jews.” In 1956, Selmar Spier wrote of “a disunited existence of a kind that nowhere else in Europe has appeared with the same acuteness... It was a torturing but a fertile disunity, for in it originated all the lasting achievements of German Jewry.” “Jewish History As We See It,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 1 (1956): 5. Even Amos Elon concedes: “If their [the German Jews’] success appears in retrospect an illusion, it was often a highly creative one and with a grandeur of its own.” Elon, 8.

<sup>12</sup>Various journals were devoted to particular cultural, political, or theological issues, such as *Ben Chanania*, *Berliner Vereinsbote*, *Der Israelitische Volkslehrer*, *Der Israelit*, or the *Österreichisch-Ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung*.

<sup>13</sup>On Philippson, see Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, eds., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 16 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 50; Meyer, 108; Henry Samuel Morais, *Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century: A Series of Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co., 1880), 273–277; Meyer Kayserling, *Ludwig Philippson: Eine Biographie* (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1898); Hans Otto Horch, “Auf der Zinne der Zeit: Ludwig Philippson (1811–1889)—der ‘Journalist’ des Reformjudentums,” *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Institute* 86 (1990): 5–21; Norton D. Shargel, “Ludwig Philippson. ‘The Rabbi as Journalist,’” doctoral dissertation (Jewish Theological Seminary, 1990); Gabriele von Glasenapp, “Identitätssuche ohne Modell: Geschichte und Erinnerung im jüdisch-historischen Roman des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Judentum und Historismus: Zur Entstehung der jüdischen Geschichtswissenschaft in Europa*, ed. Ulrich Wyrwa (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2003), 227–231; and Johanna Philippson, “Ludwig Philippson und die *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*,” in *Das Judentum in der deutschen Umwelt, 1800–1850*, ed. Hans Liebeschütz and Arnold Paucker (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1977), 243–292.

<sup>14</sup>On Karpeles, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 11, 816.

<sup>15</sup>On Geiger, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 7, 415–416; Meyer, 209. Geiger had written an acclaimed history of the Jews of Berlin in 1871.

<sup>16</sup>Nachum T. Gidal, *Jews in Germany. From Roman Times to the Weimar Republic* (Cologne: Könnemann, 1998), 272ff.; Peter Pulzer, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority, 1848–1933* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 170.

<sup>17</sup>Dieter Langewiesche, *Europa zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815–1849* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1985); Brian Vick, “The Origins of the German Volk: Cultural Purity and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *German Studies Review* 26, no. 2 (May 2003): 241–256; George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1971), 13–30.

<sup>18</sup>On the concept of the “Christian state,” see Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700–1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 195–202; John E. Toews, “The Immanent Genesis and Transcendent Goal of Law: Savigny, Stahl, and the Ideology of the Christian German State,” *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 37, no. 1 (Winter 1989): 139–169; Chris Clark, “The ‘Christian State’ and the ‘Jewish Citizen’ in Nineteenth-Century Prussia,” in *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford and New York: Berg Publisher, 2001), 67–96.

<sup>19</sup>See Katz, 147–158; Paul Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 15ff.; Erik Lindner writes that even though liberalism in the state of Baden was considered the most progressive in all of *Vormärz* Germany, leading liberals agitated against legal equality for Jews. *Patriotismus deutscher Juden von der napoleonischen Ära bis zum Kaiserreich: Zwischen korporativem Loyalismus und individueller deutsch-jüdischer Identität* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 204ff. Some German intellectuals were not shy to suggest new methods of “civic amelioration” of the Jews; Jakob Friedrich Fries, professor of philosophy at Jena, wrote in 1816: “[T]o improve the civic situation of the Jews means exterminating Jewry.” Fries quoted in David Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789–1939* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 250.

<sup>20</sup>Steven Ozment, *A Mighty Fortress: A New History of the German People* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004), 167; Keith H. Pickus, *Constructing Modern Identities: Jewish University Students in Germany, 1815–1914* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 37–58. Pickus distinguishes Corps and *Burschenschaften* among the student associations; Corps was somewhat more inclusive than *Burschenschaften*, but the latter was much more important numerically and in terms of political influence. Religion played a major role for these associations, 46: “*Burschenschaften* ideology defined civil society and citizenship in Christian terms.”

<sup>21</sup>See Stefan Rohrbacher, *Gewalt im Biedermeier: Antijüdische Ausschreitungen in Vormärz und Revolution 1815–1848/49* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1993); Eleonore Sterling, *Judenhass. Die Anfänge des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland, 1815–1850* (Frankfurt: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1969); Pickus, 40–42; Elon quotes Heine as counseling students to emigrate to England or America, where nobody would ask them about their religion. Elon, 122.

<sup>22</sup>See the programmatic statement in the first volume of the *Allgemeine*, vol. 1, no. 41 (1837): 161.

<sup>23</sup>*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 647–648; Hans Otto Horch, “Zur Geschichte der ‘Allgemeinen Zeitung des Judentums,’” *Kesher* (1989): 14–30. See also the description of the *Allgemeine* in [www.compactmemory.de](http://www.compactmemory.de) (all translations from the German are mine).

<sup>24</sup>*Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, vol. 1, no. 41 (1837): 161.

<sup>25</sup>Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Boston: MIT Press, 1991), 28. See also Sorkin, 79–104.

<sup>26</sup>Books and articles on the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* are numerous and have continued to proliferate in recent years; to name just a few: Michael Brenner and Stefan Rohrbacher, eds., *Wissenschaft vom Judentum: Annäherungen nach dem Holocaust* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Michael Meyer, “Two Persistent Tensions within Wissenschaft des Judentums,” *Modern Judaism* 24, no. 2 (2004): 105–119; Henry Wasserman, “The Wissenschaft des Judentums and Protestant Theology: A Review Essay,” *Modern Judaism* 22, no. 1 (2002): 83–98; Christian Wiese, *Wissenschaft des Judentums und protestantische Theologie im wilhelminischen Deutschland: Ein Schrei ins Leere?* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

<sup>27</sup>James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 37.

<sup>28</sup>For an enlightening discussion of the creation of a transnational Jewish public sphere, see Nils Roemer, “Outside and Inside the Nations: Changing Borders in the Study of the Jewish Past During the Nineteenth Century,” in *Modern Judaism and Historical Consciousness: Identities, Encounters, Perspectives*, ed. Andreas Gotzmann and Christian Wiese (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 28–53. On the significance of historiography for nineteenth-century German-Jewish identity, see Roemer’s excellent book *Jewish Scholarship and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Between History and Faith* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005).

<sup>29</sup>See Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair: “Ritual Murder,” Politics, and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), especially the introduction, “Crisis as a factor in nineteenth-century Jewish history.”

<sup>30</sup>Coverage of the Damascus Affair began with vol. 4, no. 17 (1840): 231–232.

<sup>31</sup>Sheehan, 97.

<sup>32</sup>Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite* (New York: Viking, 1988), 202f.

<sup>33</sup>Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 2.

<sup>34</sup>On the German-Jewish press in America (both in English and German), see Arthur A. Goren, “The Jewish Press,” in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987), 203–211; Barbara Straus Reed, “The Antebellum Jewish Press,” *Journalism Monographs* 139 (June 1993): 1–42.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 19–23. On *The Israelite* see Sefton D. Temkin, *Isaac Mayer Wise: Shaping American Judaism* (Oxford and New York: Littman Library by the Oxford University Press, 1992), 112–125.

<sup>36</sup>Such as voting restrictions against Jews in Maryland until 1826, Rhode Island until 1842, North Carolina until 1868, and New Hampshire until 1877: Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 15; see also Jonathan Sarna, “The ‘Mythical Jew’ and the ‘Jew Next Door’ in Nineteenth-Century America,” in *Anti-Semitism in American History*, ed. David A. Gerber (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 57–78.

<sup>37</sup>For an overview of the German-Jewish immigration to America, see Avraham Barkai, *Branching Out: German Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820–1914* (Holmes and Meier Publishers: New York, 1994), 15; Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter With Emancipation: The German Jew in the United States, 1830–1914* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1984); and Hasia Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

<sup>38</sup>See Alfred D. Low, *Jews in the Eyes of the Germans: From the Enlightenment to Imperial Germany* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979), 144; Jacob Katz, “A State Within a State, the History of an Anti-Semitic Slogan,” in *Emancipation and Assimilation: Studies in Modern Jewish History*, ed. Jacob Katz (Farnborough, UK: Gregg International, 1972), 47–76.

<sup>39</sup>One of the most prominent was Max Lilienthal, who corresponded with the *Allgemeine* from Germany, Russia, and America. David Philipson, *Max Lilienthal: American Rabbi, Life and Writings* (New York: The Bloch Publishing Co., 1915), 10, 55–57; Another *Allgemeine* reader, Isaac Leeser, wrote to Philipson that he “considerably modeled” *The Occident* on the *Allgemeine*, vol. 6, no. 42 (1842): 618.

<sup>40</sup>On Isaac Leeser, see Lance Sussman, *Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995); Maxine Seller, “Isaac Leeser, Architect of the American Jewish Community,” doctoral dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1965); on Wise, see Temkin, *Isaac Mayer Wise*.

<sup>41</sup>Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution. The German Forty-Eighters in America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970), 24. Wittke’s book, first published in 1952 by the University of Pennsylvania Press, is still one of the best works on the refugees of the failed liberal revolution. See also James M. Bergquist, “The Forty-Eighters: Catalysts of German-American Politics,” in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation Between Two Cultures, 1800–2000*, ed. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), 23ff., and Eckhart G. Franz, *Das Amerikabild der deutschen Revolution von 1848/49: Zum Problem der Übertragung gewachsener Verfassungsformen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1958).

<sup>42</sup>For the connection between antisemitism and anti-Americanism in Germany, see Dan Diner, *America in the Eyes of the Germans: An Essay on Anti-Americanism*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), especially Sander Gilman’s introduction, xiii–xiv.

<sup>43</sup>Könraad W. Swart, “‘Individualism’ in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (1826–1860),” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 23, no. 1 (January 1966): 89.

<sup>44</sup>“Die beiden grössten Ereignisse unseres Jahrhunderts,” vol. 29, no. 19 (1865): 283–285. On this article, see Christhard Hoffmann, “Historicizing Emancipation: Jewish Historical Culture and Wissenschaft in Germany, 1912–1938,” in *Modern Judaism and Historical Consciousness*, 332. On German views of American constitutionalism, see (among others) Hermann Wellenreuther and Claudia Schnurmann, eds., *Die amerikanische Verfassung und deutsch-amerikanisches Verfassungsdenken: Ein Rückblick über 200 Jahre* (New York and Oxford: Berg, 1990); Sheehan, 1; Andrei S. Markovits, “On Anti-Americanism in West Germany,” *New German Critique* 34 (Winter 1985): 12: “In addition to Marx and Engels, it was mainly a small group of liberal republicans who extolled the virtues of the New World. Fascinated by the new nation’s federalism, some of these individuals voiced their pro-Americanism in 1848 during the national assembly in Frankfurt. To German liberals, the constitutional arrangement of the United States remained a model well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.”

<sup>45</sup>Vol. 5, no. 2 (1841): 14.

<sup>46</sup>Vol. 15, no. 43 (1850): 593.

<sup>47</sup>Vol. 39, no. 25 (1875): 400.

<sup>48</sup>Vol. 29, no. 13 (1865): 202–203.

<sup>49</sup>On the patterns of politically and economically motivated (or allegedly motivated) attacks on Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Stefan Rohrbacher, *Gewalt im Biedermeier*.

<sup>50</sup>Vol. 6, no. 20 (1842): 294.

<sup>51</sup>Vol. 1, no. 52 (1837): 207–208.

<sup>52</sup>The coincidence of immigration and information about America was no accident, but a mutually reinforcing process. It was not only masses of letters to friends and family that crossed the ocean; immigration guides and travelogues gained unprecedented popularity. See, for example, Otto Zirckel, *Skizzen aus den und über die Vereinigten Staaten: Ein Beitrag zur Beurtheilung der Aussichten für die gebildete deutsche Mittelklasse in der Union für Auswanderer, Politiker und Kapitalisten* (Berlin: G.W.F. Mueller, 1850); Theodor Griesinger, *Lebende Bilder aus Amerika* (Stuttgart: Wilhelm Ritzschke, 1858); Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander, *Auswanderungs-Katechismus: ein Ratgeber für Auswanderer, besonders für Diejenigen, welche nach Nordamerika auswandern wollen* (Glogau, 1852); Traugott Bromme, *Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Bayreuth: Buchner'sche Buchhandlung, 1848); Karl Büchle, *Land und Volk der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika: Zur Belehrung für Jedermann, vorzüglich für Auswanderer* (Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855).

<sup>53</sup>Vol. 8, no. 11 (1844): 151. The article deals with Isaac Leeser and his *Occident*.

<sup>54</sup>See, for instance, an article on the Jews of California in vol. 21, no. 3 (1857): 28–30; another one declares that “here, Judaism enjoys the general [public’s] respect, even though our scholars are asleep” (vol. 17, no. 2 [1853]: 18); the especially interesting 1857 correspondence from a Charleston, South Carolina rabbi mostly deals with religious infighting in America, but at the end recounts the story of an old former slave, one of the “most devoted synagogue-goers” of the congregation. The rabbi adds that he will do everything in his power to comply with the man’s ardent wish to be buried “among his coreligionists, rather than among slaves or free people of color!” Vol. 21, no. 25 (1857): 339.

<sup>55</sup>Vol. 28, no. 4 (1864): 56; 20 (1842): 295.

<sup>56</sup>Vol. 20, no. 13 (1856): 173ff.

<sup>57</sup>Much has been written about American Jews’ alleged lack of religious observance. Accusations to that effect were often voiced by the Orthodox, such as Moses Weinberger, who perceived the Reform movement as a main threat to tradition. *People Walk on Their Heads: Moses Weinberger’s Jews and Judaism in New York*, trans. Jonathan D. Sarna (New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982), 65, or Jacob David Willowski, who famously called America a “trefa land where even the stones are impure,” quoted in Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2004), 155. Yet Reformers as well denounced assimilation and religious indifference, as apparent in the superficial Jewish education of the young, or participation in the Ethical Culture Movement (see Sarna, *American Judaism*, 148). Other Reformers added the desecration of the Sabbath to the list of shortcomings, depending on their respective personal convictions (see Temkin, *Isaac Mayer Wise*, 261). Whether the degree of observance of American Jews in fact differed from that of their European coreligionists, and whether religious leaders were seriously concerned or merely engaging in a kind of habitual Jeremiad, is a different question.

<sup>58</sup>Lowenstein, 20. “Satisfaction,” though, is a relative term and its degree hard to establish. Tobias Brinkmann rightly remarks that what seems to have been an objectively discernible improvement of the Jews’ legal and social position was not necessarily seen as such by individual Jewish emigrants. *Von der Gemeinde zur “Community”*: *Jüdische Einwanderer in Chicago, 1840–1900* (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 2002), 43.

<sup>59</sup>Vol. 28, no. 3 (1864): 41. An article that warns of the consequences of building too expensive synagogues, in particular of the introduction of prohibitively high membership dues to finance those edifices, serves as a warning against the impending *Austrittsgesetz*, the law that would allow Jews to leave their local congregation and establish alternative ones. The article shows the exemplary nature of American circumstances for Germany (in this case, the example is negative); at the same time, it contends that American Jews are not irreligious, as is often supposed, but often simply too poor to afford synagogue membership and religious education. Vol. 39, no. 5 (1875): 72ff.

<sup>60</sup>Wolfgang Heinrichs speaks of a period of social and economic optimism that spanned the years 1867 to 1873 as a time in which antisemitism flagged. *Das Judenbild im Protestantismus des deutschen Kaiserreichs: Ein Beitrag zur Mentalitätsgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums in der Krise der Moderne* (Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 2000).

<sup>61</sup>Vol. 36, no. 3 (1872): 45. Emphasis added.

<sup>62</sup>Apart from articles on gentile-Jewish relations in America that could be used for cautionary purposes, the *Allgemeine* printed news of both general and particularly Jewish interest. For instance, the paper quotes an upbeat report of the (gentile) *Illinois Staatszeitung*, praising the self-sufficiency of the Jewish community after the Chicago Fire, and thus correcting a more negative one by a Jewish correspondent, who claimed that the B'nai B'rith only took care of its own members (vol. 35, no. 1 [1872]: 8); an article that presents American interest in European events along with yet another emphasis on America's commitment to religious freedom recounts the celebration of Italian unity in Pittsburgh, an event that counted "several clergymen" among its speakers (15 [1871]: 303). Neither did interest in Jewish religious developments in the United States diminish, as can be seen in an article on a "Conferenz jüdischer Cultusbeamten" in Cincinnati (vol. 35, no. 29 [1871]: 580–581); see also no. 31 of the same year, 620).

<sup>63</sup>Beginning with the Napoleonic Wars, Jews were treated as second-class soldiers; for instance, unlike their Christian fellow fighters, Jewish soldiers were not entitled to receive government positions, and the wives of fallen Jewish soldiers were not granted pensions. Elon, 96. Before 1848, "Jews to the greatest part lacked the possibility of high-level political activity, since the state prevented their political participation." During the war of 1870–1871, "intolerant positions within the military continued" despite universal conscription and were followed by racial theories about Jewish "military unfitnes" later in the decade. Lindner, 225 and 319.

<sup>64</sup>Vol. 22, no. 40 (1858): 553.

<sup>65</sup>On Romania, see Lloyd Gartner, "Roumania, America, and World Jewry: Consul Peixotto in Bucharest, 1870–1876," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* (September 1968): 25–117; Vital, 487–509.

<sup>66</sup>Vol. 25, no. 1 (1871): 14 (reprinted from *Die Deborah* [2 December 1870]: 2).

<sup>67</sup>Vol. 27, no. 28 (1863): 434–435. See also the case in vol. 29, no. 19 (1865): 294, when a court adjourned because of the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath.

<sup>68</sup>Vol. 6, no. 20 (1842): 293.

<sup>69</sup>Vol. 29, no. 29 (1865): 448.

<sup>70</sup>See Arnold Paucker, "The Jewish Defense against Antisemitism in Germany, 1893–1933," in *Living With Antisemitism: Modern Jewish Responses*, ed. Jehuda Reinharz (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1987), 105–132; Marjorie Lamberti, *Jewish Activism in Imperial Germany: The Struggle for Civil Equality* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978).

<sup>71</sup>Vol. 22, no. 45 (1858): 623ff.

<sup>72</sup>Vol. 25, no. 24 (1861): 338ff.; 32 (1862): 444–446.

<sup>73</sup>Vol. 25, no. 26 (1861): 371.

<sup>74</sup>Vol. 25, no. 24 (1861): 339.

<sup>75</sup>Vol. 27, no. 43 (1863): 669.

<sup>76</sup>Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 188.

<sup>77</sup>See Guy T. Hollyday, *The First Major Wave of Anti-Americanism in the German Novel, 1841–1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964).

<sup>78</sup>Vol. 22, no. 43 (1858): 595f. On Benjamin, see Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin, the Jewish Confederate* (New York: Free Press, 1988).

<sup>79</sup>Vol. 22, no. 45 (1858): 623ff.

<sup>80</sup>For the attempt to portray German Jews as one German *Stamm* (tribe) among many, both as a reaction to German antisemitism and as a way of overcoming divisions among Jews, see Till van Rahden, “Germans of the Jewish Stamm: Visions of Community between Nationalism and Particularism, 1850 to 1933,” in *German History from the Margins*, ed. Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 27–48.

<sup>81</sup>See Michael Meyer, “Heinrich Graetz and Heinrich Von Treitschke: A Comparison of Their Historical Images of the Modern Jew,” *Modern Judaism* 6, no. 1 (Feb., 1986): 1–11, especially 4.

<sup>82</sup>Ulrich Wyrwa, “Die europäischen Seiten der jüdischen Geschichtsschreibung: Eine Einführung,” in *Judentum und Historismus*, 29.

<sup>83</sup>Vol. 39, no. 39 (1875): 605ff.

<sup>84</sup>Vol. 56, no. 21 (1892): 241.

<sup>85</sup>Vol. 78, no. 1 (1914): 11.

<sup>86</sup>Vol. 39, no. 44 (1875): 715.

<sup>87</sup>Gerd Hohorst, Jürgen Kocka, and Gerhard A. Richter, *Sozialgeschichtliches Arbeitsbuch II: Materialien zur Statistik des Kaiserreichs 1870–1914* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1978), 173–175.

<sup>88</sup>Vol. 39, no. 1 (1875): 1. The “Soester Program” of October 1870, the platform of the Zentrum, had a decidedly Christian agenda, committing itself, among other objectives, to reject “any attempt to de-Christianize marriage.” The devil, however, was not mentioned. See Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der deutschen Zentrumspartei*, vol. 3 (Cologne: Bachem, 1927; reprinted Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967), 113.

<sup>89</sup>See Uffa Jensen, *Gebildete Doppelgänger: Bürgerliche Juden und Protestanten im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), especially 14, where Jensen concludes that the bourgeois culture of *Bildung* “provided resources both for new Jewish identity constructions and for new anti-Semitic exclusion.” On the role of women in the embourgeoisement of German Jews, see Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Benjamin Maria Baader, *Gender, Judaism, and Bourgeois Culture in Germany, 1800–1870* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006). On the continuing importance of Jewish historiography for the creation and propagation of a bourgeois German-Jewish identity, see Christhard Hoffmann, “Die Verbürgerlichung der jüdischen Vergangenheit: Formen, Inhalte, Kritik,” in *Judentum und Historismus*, 149–171.

<sup>90</sup>On the political orientation of German Jews, see Jacob Toury, *Die politische Orientierung der Juden in Deutschland: Von Jena bis Weimar* (Tübingen: Leo Baeck Instituts, 1966).

<sup>91</sup>See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 5; John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America: The German in the United States of America During the Nineteenth Century and After* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam, 1940).

<sup>92</sup>See David I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997); Bertram Wallace Korn, *The American Reaction to the Mortara Case, 1858–1859* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1957).

<sup>93</sup>Still in 1907, the *Allgemeine* called the *Kreuzzeitung*, which stigmatized Jews as a “guest people,” the “Junkerblatt.” Vol. 71, no. 39 (1907): 458.

<sup>94</sup>See Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 83–110.

<sup>95</sup>On German Catholic antisemitism, see Olaf Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

<sup>96</sup>On Jewish misgivings about the Kulturkampf, see Michael B. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 301; The German-Jewish *Central Verein* called the reluctance to nominate a Jew for the 1890 Reichstag election “a sacrifice of the intellect to the moloch of antisemitism.” Quoted in Pulzer, *Jews and the German State*, 128. Pulzer later remarks: “It is difficult to think of a time when German Liberalism was not in crisis” (Ibid., 324). On German liberals’ attitude toward Jews just before the foundation of the Empire, see Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914*, trans. Noah Jonathan Jacobs (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), especially 41.

<sup>97</sup>Wilhelm Mommsen and Günther Franz, *Deutsche Parteiprogramme I: Die konservativen Parteien von den Anfängen bis 1918* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1932), 25–27. See Albert S. Lindeman, *Esau’s Tears: Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 335.

<sup>98</sup>Vol. 56, no. 53 (1892): 627.

<sup>99</sup>As Gotthard Deutsch wrote in an article for the *Allgemeine*: “This movement has brought many Jews, who know that after more than a hundred years of testing the system of complete religious freedom in this country, a curtailment of their civil right is unthinkable, to a point where they do not wish to be reminded of the old fatherland anymore.” Vol. 57, no. 2 (1893): 18.

<sup>100</sup>Vol. 48, no. 4 (1884): 58.

<sup>101</sup>See Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*, 90ff.

<sup>102</sup>Vol. 56, no. 21 (1892): 241. The article, titled “Das Judentum in Amerika” emphasizes that “the same directions and opposites are present and active in America as well as in the old Europe. However, both Orthodoxy and Reform are of a different kind there than in Europe.” Enthusiastic about American Jewish accomplishments, it ends with the hope that American Judaism will always keep in mind its “civilizing mission.”

<sup>103</sup>For a general overview, see Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880–1921* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1982).

<sup>104</sup>See, for instance, an article in issue vol. 71, no. 29 (1907): 337: “In America, where half of the Jewish population is now of Russian origin, and the other half has been battered psychologically and materially by the persecution of the Jews in Russia, and the colossal immigration of Russian and Romanian Jews, and where one is allowed to speak more freely than in the countries where Zionism is most widespread . . . hardly a day passes without heated discussions about Zionism between its adherents and opponents.”

<sup>105</sup>Vol. 70, no. 46 (1906): 544.

<sup>106</sup>Two now-classic works on eastern European Jews in Germany are Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), and Jack Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). Already in 1884, Bismarck’s cabinet ministers had justified the expulsion of eastern European Jews on the grounds that they were “nihilistic.” Wertheimer, 24. In an *Allgemeine* article on the “wave” of German antisemitism, the author lists immigration from Russia as one of its causes: “Regarding antisemitism, Germans are directly dependent on their eastern neighbor. . . . Because Jews do not fit into the white Tsar’s politics, one fears that they will flood Germany’s borders” (vol. 56, no. 53 [1892]: 627).

<sup>107</sup>Vol. 71, no. 50 (1907): 4.

<sup>108</sup>Of particular interest is a news item about a “pogrom in London”, vol. 81, no. 43 (1917): 508.

<sup>109</sup>Vol. 81, no. 13 (1917): 147.

<sup>110</sup>Vol. 81, no. 15 (1917): 171f.

<sup>111</sup>Vol. 81, no. 45 (1917): 4.

<sup>112</sup>Vol. 78, no. 36 (1914): front page.

<sup>113</sup>Vol. 81, no. 13 (1917): front page. On the *Judenzählung*, see Vital, 648–649, and Werner T. Angress, “The German Army’s ‘Judenzählung’ of 1916. Genesis-Consequences-Significance,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 23 (1978): 117–137.

<sup>114</sup>Vol. 86, no. 5 (1922): 57.