The Years of 1918-1923 as a Transformative Period of Jewish Politics

Alexis Hofmeister

Years of Comets – Years of Kaddish[1]

To many, the crumbling of imperial sovereignty in Eastern Europe after four years of war did not come as a surprise. Many places heralded it through the quiet toppling of ancient symbols, clearly showing how worn the traditional loyalties already were.[2] Signs that old certainties had been shattered abounded, and the long-established elites had finally lost all credibility during the war.[3] Tamara Deutscher (1913-1990) later retold a story about the events of 1918 often reported by her to-be husband Isaac Deutscher (1907-1967). Looking back at the events of November 1918 in the small Polish town of Chrzanów, he characterised this historical change of guards with the following anecdote:

> At the market place of Chrzanów, not far from the house of the Deutschers, stood the most impressive municipal building in the district. It was Town Hall and Police Station all in one. Over its heavy entrance door, on the big shield, was blazoned the emblem of the Habsburg Empire: a large eagle with wings spread and two heads, both crowned, looking left and right. One November day in 1918 a crowd of people gathered outside the Town Hall to talk about the latest proclamation of the last of the Habsburgs. A young boy, a hunchback, one of the least impressive characters of the town, was climbing a long flimsy ladder placed against the roof of the municipal building. The whole crowd watched his swift movements with bated breath. He reached the flagpole and then the double-headed eagle. With two or three strokes of a hammer he loosened the shield from its base; then he looked down and shouted to the people below: 'Hey, there, step aside, take care!' The crowd moved back a little. The hunchback threw the Austrian eagle straight on the cobblestones of the square. The shield and eagle smashed into a hundred pieces. Next day a new flag, the Polish flag, was flying over Chrzanów. The symbolism of the scene engraved itself on the memory of the future historian. When the moment comes, 'the least remarkable' hunchback of the little town can smash to bits the most awe-inspiring and revered imperial eagle.[4]

Fig. 1: Market place in Chrzanów about 1910.

The historical first days of November 1918 demonstrated how fast political authority can disappear into the quicksand of uncertainty if those in power can no longer take the tacit approval of their subjects for granted.[5] In Tsarist Russia, where the Tsar had granted a parliament, the Russian Duma, in 1906 that could not, however, conceal the essentially autocratic nature of the regime, the Romanov dynasty had already fallen in 1917. The dynasties of the Hohenzollerns and Habsburgs, which had ruled their empires much more according to the rule of law, sur-

Juden!

Erscheinet vollzählig bei den

Massenkundgebungen

gegen die

Pogrome in Galizien

die am Mittwoch, den 27. November 1918, halb 7 Uhr abends in folgenden Sälen stattfinden:

1. Bezirk: „Reichshallen", Dorotheergasse 6-8
Hotel „Post", Fleischmarkt 24

2. Bezirk: „König Dawid", Unt. Augartenstrasse 8

20. Bezirk: Brigittasaal, Wintergasse 27.

Unter Anderem werden sprechen:

Se. Ehrw. Oberrabbiner Dr. Chajes, Abgeordneter Straucher, Adolf Stand, Staatsbahnrat Ing. Stricker, Dr. Schipper (Krakau), Abgeordneter Reitzes, Abgeordneter Breiter, Frau Anitta Müller.

Freier Zutritt. **Jüdischer Nationalrat.**

Fig. 2: Poster of the Jewish National Council of Austria to come out against anti-Jewish pogroms in Galicia, November 1918.

Fig. 3: Jewish soldiers detained in the camp in Jabłonna in August 1920 during the Battle of Warsaw, one of the decisive battles of the Polish-Soviet War (1919-1920). Several thousand Jewish soldiers were suspected of collaboration with the Bolsheviks, despite their very substantial commitment for Polish independence, for instance in the Polish Legions.

vived only a year longer.[6] At the moment of crisis and of power vacuum, however, it became obvious that the different post-war societies could not agree on a common denominator. Rather, the political consensus often amounted to little more than the rejection of the old order. In Chrzanów, there were anti-Semitic riots even before the declaration of the new Polish state on 11 November 1918.[7] After the Jewish self-defence groups, composed of former soldiers, were disarmed at the behest of the Polish military, their attackers were afforded free rein. Two Jews died as a result of the violence, a large number of the roughly 14,000 Jewish inhabitants of Chrzanów lost their property and many sought refuge in Cracow.[8] In Kielce, anti-Jewish riots that broke out on the 11th and 12th of November left over 500 wounded. In Lwów, which was already experiencing a bitter conflict between Poles and Ukrainians over the control of the city, horrific acts of violence against Jews were committed between the 22nd and 24th of November 1918.[9]

In 1919, the Polish–Soviet War gave rise to court-martial shootings in Pińsk and Vilnius, where there were 90 Jews among the victims.[10] In most of these incidents, it has been reported, conventions of honourable and gentlemanly conduct were purposely infringed. Humiliating treatment was not reserved only for the men: women, children and the elderly were included among the victims. The disarming of Jewish self-defence units as well as the exclusion of former comrades-in-arms in the Polish–Soviet War can be interpreted as a symbolic degrading and denial of comradeship, indeed as exclusion from the national community.[11]

Given the very different ways in which Jews experienced the Great War, and the crisis of long-cherished certainties during the ‘dreamland’[12] of the

cease-fire period, the question arises as to whether there really is just one way in which Jewish people experienced the historical moment of 1918/19. Ezra Mendelsohn (1940-2015), the North American historian of the Jewish labour movement and of Zionism, subsequently wrote of 'great expectations and an unpleasant awakening'.[13] It is scarcely surprising that the shadow cast by the later Holocaust was darkening the decades before Hitler's seizure of power and his attack on Europe as well. To this day, the historiography of the years following the end of the First World War resonates with the question of whether the extremism of the 20th century was already discernible at the end of the 'long 19th century', and whether the violence that immediately followed the end of the war was already kindling a genocidal frenzy that foreshadowed the later degeneration of the territories between the Baltic and the Black Sea into *Bloodlands*.[14] The brief period between the formal end of the First World War and the consolidation of the new post-imperial states in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe was unquestionably a time of crisis and transition. But for the Jews, it was particularly a time of worrying threats on the one hand and of pioneering departures and advancements on the other.[15] This essay will look not only at the complex historical changes but also at long-term developments.[16] It will examine a selection of individual life stories, offered here as keys to understanding the five-year period between 1918 and 1923. The lives sketched out here in brief biographies, and the autobiographical reflections of the individuals presented, open up a world of political experiences and correspondingly of political expectations.[17] Later interpretations had to try to make sense of the critical transitional phase from imperial to nation-state in the light of the fracture in civilisation represented by Auschwitz.[18]

Political Affiliations During Conflict

In 1927, the Jewish historian Simon Dubnow (1860-1941), born in the Russian Empire but living in seclusion since 1922 in Berlin-Dahlem, interrupted his work on his magnum opus, the *World History* of the *Jewish People*,[19] in order to take part in a conference in Zurich on the situation of Jewish populations in Europe, of the Yishuv[20] in Palestine and in America. Dubnow was no longer active in frontline politics after 1918. Then as now he was considered one of the most significant historians of Eastern European Jewry. The political echo of his many writings on the theory and practice of self-government for Jewish communities and on autonomy in the diaspora resonated throughout the different Jewish minority groups in the new nation states after the First World War.[21] Calls for minority protection and internal autonomy – different from the independence of a territorial state – rang out across Eastern Europe after 1918. This was due not only to Simon Dubnow, but also to federative plans of the Austro-Marxist Karl Renner (1870-1950) and Zionist demands.[22] In Zurich, Dubnow claimed that ten years after the end of the First World War there were few grounds for hope arising from the situation in the Soviet Union. The Russian Revolution's gains in terms of individual autonomy had been lost through a rapid diminishing of economic freedom and cultural – especially religious – self-determination.[23] Dubnow was more optimistic about those Jews who, following the breakup of the multi-ethnic empires, found themselves in newly created nation states, the borders of which had been secured by the new post-war order established in the treaties drawn up in the suburbs of Paris.[24] Dubnow presumed that these Jews outside the Soviet Union would preserve and revive the heritage of East-European Jewry. The individual and collective social and cultural rights granted to the East and Central European Jews constituted, in spite of many setbacks, an undeniable success in emancipation. Statues of Jewish Autonomy, such as the one achieved in independent Lithuania, were a source of hope to Dubnow. It seemed to him as if young Jewish men and women in Eastern Europe were increasingly thinking in terms of the Jewish nation. Dubnow explained: 'I am convinced in the final bankruptcy of the whole assimilationist policy and in the victory of the national idea. [...] I believe in the future of the League of Nations and I also believe in the necessity of centralizing the political work for the protection of Jewish rights.'[25]

In 1927 in Zurich, all attempts at founding a single forum representing the interests of Jews worldwide were frustrated by conflicts within the Jewish community, at the root of which lay different understandings of the very nature of Jewishness. Did Jewry constituted a community of faith and shared destiny,

Fig. 4: Postcard (before 1918) showing the Jewish historians Simon Bernfeld (1860-1940), left, and Simon Dubnow (1860-1941), right.

resting on orthodox practice and a shared vision among the faithful, or was it a modern nation arisen from common roots and therefore rightfully striving for the satisfaction of its claims to a shared territory under international law? As early as 1919, the battle at the Paris Peace Conference to achieve minority rights for Jews had demonstrated that not all Jewish delegates shared the sense of an ethnically based identity held mostly by Jewish representatives from Eastern Europe. The American Jewish delegation saw Jewry principally as a community of faith. While a common understanding of Jewish politics was still under debate, guaranteed 'Jewish rights' already featured on the agenda of the Paris Peace Conference. They were discussed in talks and negotiations on East-European minority protection in international law.[26] Leon Reich (1879-1929), a Zionist from Eastern Galicia and a member of the Committee of Jewish delegations at the Paris Peace Conference (*Comité des délégations juives*), once told the following anecdote to describe the situation:

'Are you hoping to find rights for Jews in Paris?' I was asked, half in jest and half in derision, by a prominent industrial magnate from Geneva. I met him on the train to Paris; ground down by the monotony of factory life, he was travelling to the French capital to lift his spirits by visiting the colourful world of reviews and variety shows [...] We were hoping to find rights for Jews. And we can say it straight: we found them. Admittedly not as plentiful as we wanted, or as would have been our fair due if we were to be satisfied as a nation; but sufficient nevertheless to avoid being absorbed into the variety of other cultures, and to see these rights as a foundation for building up our own national life.[27]

For Jewish politicians, the fundamental foreign policy problem was the fact that the major powers supported their claims as a stateless minority to be a

Fig. 5: Jewish inhabitant standing close to the ruins of his former home; part of a series of war postcards, printed by the German Jewish publisher Louis Lamm (1871-1943), 'Original Footage from the Theatre of War', 1915.

subject of international law only to a certain extent. The acknowledgement of Jewish rights in principle resulting from the Paris peace agreements and the possibility to petition to the League of Nations could not substitute for the fact that Jews had no form of an identifiable state. Lord Arthur James Balfour's (1848-1930) undertaking in respect of Jewish claims to parts of Palestine – undoubtedly a significant success on the part of the Zionist movement – was only one of a number of competing factors influencing British foreign policy. [28]

Since the late 19th century, the internal conflicts of the Jewish populations in Eastern Europe had focused on questions of affiliation, social, political and economic. After the end of the empires, however, the rules of the game had changed dramatically. Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine in 1948, a graded cultural and political autonomy for the transnational and highly heterogeneous Jewish population in Eastern Europe, undoubtedly provided the most advanced agenda for an autonomous Jewish political life. There had already been attempts at creating a system of Jewish politics, with modern left-wing, liberal, national and religious parties in various forms, within the imperial states that collapsed in 1917/18. Now, the generation of Jewish men and women of politics born in the later 19th century had to prove themselves under the system of nation states established in the post-imperial political order for East-Central Europe. In interpreting the radical collapse brought about by the First World War and the subsequent post-war and transition periods, they referred in principle to the same fundamental ideological beliefs that were shared by their non-Jewish neighbours.[29] Apart from concerns of particular individuals, Jewish politicians tended to be guided by political priorities which were already developed during imperial times.[30] The currents of (religious)

Fig. 6: Jewish preschool class with a portrait of Vladimir Medem (1879-1923), the famous leader of the *Algemeyner Yidisher Arbeter Bund*.

traditionalist, nationalist, liberal and socialist positions must be particularly mentioned. Their proponents disagreed bitterly at times, but were prepared to build strategic alliances at other times. One could find examples of internecine conflict at various political levels, for instance on the boards of Jewish communities, in which socialists, Zionists and Agudists[31] argued vigorously over the financial equipment of various types of Jewish schools.[32] Remarkably, however, and regardless of any newly created territorial borders, the political conflicts among the Jewish populations of East-Central and South-Eastern Europe in 1918 were structurally similar and presented comparable challenges.

This was true in many ways. First, the war as well as the new social and territorial order after 1918 affected the Jews on an existential level; they were an ethno-religious diaspora population without any territory of their own, living in many of the new states as migrants without ever having crossed their borders. In 1922, more than 70% of the worldwide Jewish population – about 8.25 million people – lived in states that had not existed in their current form eight years before. About half of the 5.2 million Jews who had entered the war as subjects of the Tsar now became Soviet citizens. The other half lived in the Baltic states, Poland and the much-expanded state of Romania, where the Jewish population had tripled. The c. 2.1 million Jews of the Habsburg monarchy now lived in Romania, Hungary, the Republic of German-Austria and the new states of Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Roughly 400,000 Ottoman Jews lived in

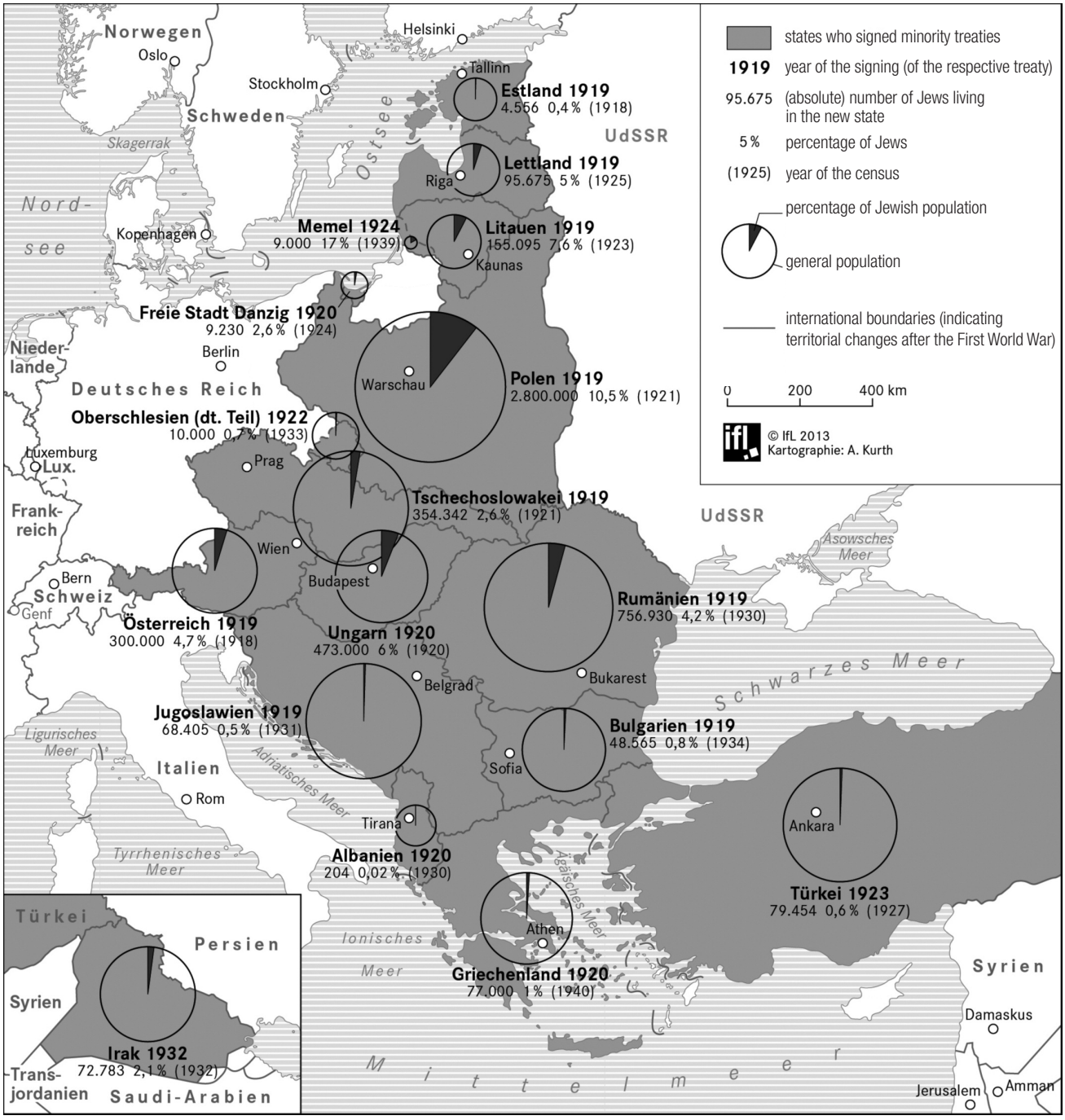

Fig. 7: Map of the minority treaties after the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, indicating the borders of the new states in Eastern Europe as well as the percentage of the respective Jewish populations of these states.

the Turkish Republic, Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine.

The particular Jewish communities were secondly divided by economic, cultural, political and even religious characteristics.[33] Outside the Soviet Union, which is not the focus here, lived several million Jews, concentrated in part in the larger cities such as Riga (40,000), Kaunas (25,000), Vilnius (49,000), Warsaw (349,000), Lwów (77,000), Prague (32,000), Budapest (212,000), Belgrade (5,000), Iaşi (39,000), Czernowitz (75,000), Chişinău (100,000) and Bucarest (41,000), but also in rural areas such as Carpatho-Ukraine (93,000), Bukovina (176,000) and the eastern provinces of Poland, where about 10% of the population was Jewish.[34] The differences between urban and rural populations were due to some extent to cultural differences but principally to the sharp social differentiation within Jewish communities. There were also inter-generational, gender and linguistic differences within Jewish society.[35] Some were native Yiddish speakers, whose knowledge of Hebrew was limited to the minimum that they needed in order to take part in religious life. Some Jews only used the dominant language of the newly erected nation-states in which they used to live and did not want to teach their children any 'Jewish languages'. Some Zionists refused to speak Yiddish on ideological grounds. Observant and secular Jews rarely met in daily life; they read the newspapers of their own community and sent their children to different schools. The observant group was divided into opponents and supporters of settling in Palestine, while the secular community split along political lines ranging from socialists (such as Bundists[36]) and communists to various branches of proletarian Zionists. The fracturing of Jewish politics was manifest in the different institutions that claimed to speak for the majority of East European Jews, or at least for nationally minded Jews after 1918. The competing visions of who should speak for the Jewish community and what Jewish politics should aim at were struggling with each other at different levels: the local Jewish communities, the national parliaments as well as international institutions. There were, for example, various clubs and factions of parliamentarians in the Polish parliament after 1918 as well as several Jewish groups of delegates representing Jewish interests at the Paris Peace Conference.[37]

And finally – and this is the third point of similarity between the claims of all Jewish politicians following 1918 – the question of the non-Jewish allies recurred. The inherited pattern of Jewish politics rested on cooperation between Jewish and non-Jewish elites, and had been closely linked to the political framework of the *ancien régime*.[38] In the last few decades of imperial sovereignty, this pattern had come under some strain, and in 1918 it seemed as if the times had finally come to an end in which Jewish politics could be viewed as hierarchic from within and as patriarchic from without. Democratization was the keyword of the time, and there is good reason to date the origin of modern Jewish politics to the years between the turn of the century in 1900 and the final demise of the imperial era in 1918.[38]

The system of minorities protection treaties the First World War allies established for the post-war order throughout Eastern Europe and in Iraq (a successor state of the Ottoman Empire) was designed to correspond to the relevant peace treaties. The newly established post-imperial states in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe declared themselves as national states but were in fact multi-ethnic states. Germans and Jews lived as minority groups in nearly all of these states, which were either newly created – such as the Czechoslovakian Republic – or had been re-created from previously existing entities, such as Hungary and Romania. For various reasons, Jews and Germans were not regarded as an integral part of the respective nation. Individual Jewish and German politicians from these minority groups were aware of the position of minority groups from a transnational perspective, and they set up the European Nationalities Congress together in 1925. They attempted, by means of submissions to the League of Nations, to influence the situation of various minority groups in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The German Empire could advocate for German minorities, an option Jewish people did not have at their disposal. The Jews were a historical minority group, but some of the German populations were experiencing life as a minority group for the first time in Eastern Europe after 1918: this was the case for the German groups in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, who were collectively designated as the 'Sudeten Germans' from 1919 onwards. Historical minorities such as Baltic Germans had a different perspective on minority protection,

one that was not unfamiliar to representatives of Jewish minority groups.

Are there any ways in which Jewish politics after 1918 still exert an influence today? According to some historians, political influences born out of experiences in East-Central Europe and South-Eastern Europe continue to shape the political discourse in Israeli society today, even though the founding generation born in Eastern Europe between 1918 and 1938 has now left active political life.[40] We shall now look at some examples of Jewish political representatives in Eastern Europe, and at the scope available to them in their activities in the decisive years between 1918 and 1923.

Fig. 8: *Lea Lyon* – Poster of a popular stage play written by Sándor Bródy (1863-1924) and adapted for film in 1915, directed by Alexander (Sándor) Korda (1893-1956). It helped to popularize one of the Central Powers' major war propaganda claims by showing the relation of the Habsburg officers vis-a-vis the local Jewish population in 'liberated' Galicia in a rosy light.

Wilhelm Filderman and Mayer Ebner

Wilhelm Filderman (1882-1963) is considered one of the most significant representatives of Romanian Jewry in the 20th century.[41] He began his studies in his home city of Bucarest and gained his doctorate in law at the Sorbonne in 1909. Having fought in the First World War as a Romanian officer, he then took part in the Paris Peace Conference, where he contributed to formulating the Romanian minorities protection treaty. He advocated in the press and lobbied among the political representatives for equal treatment of the different Jewish populations in Romania. He held a leading position in the Romanian Jewish Union (Uniunea Evreilor Români, UER), an organisation he played a major part in shaping, and led the Federation of Jewish communities in Romania. Filderman promoted a policy of integration for Jews in the expanded national state of Romania after 1918. In spite of disagreeing with them strongly on some issues, he worked with Zionist organizations such as the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund (JNF), and in 1926 he visited Palestine. Filderman combated Romanian anti-Semitism and promoted a programme to enable Jews living in Romania to become assimilated into an idealised civic normality, including linguistic assimilation. He was elected to the Romanian house of deputies as a member of the National Liberal Party (Partidul Naţional Liberal, PNL) and opposed the need for specifically Jewish representation of Romanian Jews in parliament. His posthumously published memoirs and diaries include little in the way of personal reflections. Rather, they extensively document his many speeches and initiatives both within and beyond Parliament.[42] As a politician, he continued to work in the way he had done in the pre-war era. He saw no need to re-arrange his political guidelines. His decision to rely on Romanian liberalism and his reference to the West European model of the national state made him an ideal point of contact for Romanian politicians and for the Entente victor nations backing the post-war European order.[43] Given the majority of Romania's educated classes' pronounced cultural interest in Paris and French models of culture, Filderman's French cultural imprint fit in very well.

Mayer Ebner (1872-1955), meanwhile, represents another variant of post-imperial politics in post-War

Romania.[44] His cultural focus was Vienna, where he had studied law at the Franz-Joseph University. An effect of his disillusionment with the bourgeois anti-Semitism in the Habsburg monarchy was his founding of the Hasmonäa fraternity in Czernowitz in 1891. Ebner, an adherent of Theodor Herzl, had taken part in the First Zionist Congress in Basel (1897), and was one of Romania's most prominent Zionists. He achieved significant success in local and district elections. He was a long-time member of the Czernowitz city council and, after his return from banishment to Siberia in 1914 by the Russian occupation forces, he represented the Zionists in the Jewish National Council of Bukovina. He campaigned for the revival of Hebrew as a national language, but at the same time edited the successful German-language *Ostjüdische Zeitung* (Eastern Jewish Newspaper) from 1919 to 1938. Although Ebner and the party he had helped to found, the Jewish Party of Romania (Partidul Evreiesc din România, PER), entered into an alliance with Filderman's Union of Romanian Jews (UER) in 1937 in order to stand up to the increasing anti-Semitism, Ebner remained one of the most outspoken opponents of the 'Romanianisation' of Jews in Greater Romania.

The biographies of Filderman and Ebner illustrate a political dichotomy that existed both within and outside Judaism.[45] The Jews in the newly incorporated border regions of Greater Romania – in the eastern (or Romanian) Banat, in the historical provinces of the Bukovina and Transsylvania – had been socially and politically integrated into the Habsburg monarchy and, after the First World War, found themselves in a state that was both linguistically and culturally alien to them. To some extent, this was true for Jews from Bessarabia, which had been part of the Russian Empire. Filderman experienced Judaism principally as a religion, and thus followed the Western European model, but Ebner saw his Jewishness as an ethnic fact, thereby representing a mindset more popular in Eastern Europe. Ebner explained his way of thinking in a speech before the Romanian senate, the upper chamber of the parliament:

> If we as Jews were not seen as an ethnic minority, then it would be impossible to gain either a historical or a factual understanding. If it were true that we belong ethnically to the population among which we live and whose language we speak, then the Jews of the Regat[46] would be Romanians, but the Jews in Transsylvania would be Hungarian, the Jews in Bessarabia would be Russian and those living in Bukovina would have to be seen as German. I want to remark, however, that the broad majority of Jews living in these four areas besides speaking the vernacular generally speak Yiddish. The concept of a Romanian Jewry with fourfold ethnicity, however, is but nonsense.[47]

Fig. 9: The wooden synagogue of Grodno 1926.

Ebner emigrated to Palestine in 1940, where he campaigned for a dualistic solution to the conflict between the Jewish and Arab inhabitants of Palestine. His biographers have suggested that this echoes the policies of federalisation and compromise of the later Habsburg monarchy.[48]

Shimshon Rosenboim and Paul Mincs

Shimshon Rosenboim (1860-1934), also known as Simon Rosenbaum, was a former member of the Russian Duma, a lawyer and an early Zionist from Lithua-

nia; his rich political experience qualified him in various respects to represent the new state of Lithuania on the international stage. The elaboration of the Jewish autonomy statute in interwar Lithuania and the respective showcasing at the Paris Peace Conference were connected with his name.

Rosenboim was at this point Lithuania's acting foreign minister; in January 1920, at their first conference, the representatives of the Jewish communities in Lithuania had elected him as chairman of the Jewish National Council. On 15 May 1920, Rosenboim had joined the founding Seimas, the Lithuanian Parliament, as a member for the United Jewish People's List; from 1923, he sat as member for the United List of Zionists in the second Seimas. Both within the Lithuanian Parliament and outside it, he promoted the interests of the Jewish population of Lithuania. Rosenboim's political career had already begun in the Russian Empire. He joined the first Russian parliament, the State Duma, in 1906, representing the constituency of Minsk as a member of the Constitutional Democrats (K-D). As a signatory of the Vyborg Manifesto, which called for resistance to Tsar Nicholas II's dissolution of the State Duma, he was prosecuted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. At the instigation of the German occupation forces, the Lithuanian National Council, the Taryba, promoted the inclusion of Jewish politicians from Lithuania.[49] In December 1918, at a conference of Lithuanian Zionists, Rosenboim had articulated the conditions for his entry into the Taryba and the postulate for independent Jewish politics in Lithuania. With the expected Lithuanian constitution which would guarantee Jews rights, Jews should be able to achieve a position in which they could take part themselves in the legislative process and politically control the executive.[50] Rosenboim himself and two other Jewish politicians not affiliated to any party were co-opted into the Taryba.[51] Jewish politicians had to make their presence felt, given Lithuania's and Poland's competing claims to Vilnius and its surrounding region, designated as 'Mid-Lithuania' during the period between its occupation in 1920 by General Lucjan Żeligowski's (1865-1947) troops and its final incorporation into the Polish state. Rosenboim stayed in Kaunas while Jakob Wygodzki (1856-1941), who first had been Lithuanian Minister for Jewish Affairs, became chair of the Jewish community in Vilnius and subsequently joined the Polish national parliament, the Sejm. Both Rosenboim and Wygodzki, preferred the option of a Lithuanian national state in which the Jewish population would have autonomous status, and were critical of Polish imperial ambitions.[52] In 1920, the Polish occupation administration in Vilnius had drawn up policy guidelines on Jews and Lithuanians inspired by Russian models. Moreover, a part of the legal system applying to the Jewish population survived from Tsarist into Polish times and remained in force until 1931. This background must be kept in mind when looking at Rosenboim's activities at the Paris Peace Conference. Whether within Jewish circles or before a wider public, he emphasised that a strong Lithuania, incorporating both Jews and White Russians in a territory of significant size, would be the best guarantee against any Bolshevik or Polish expansionism. In its guarantee of Jewish rights, Lithuania consequently included elements of cultural and territorial

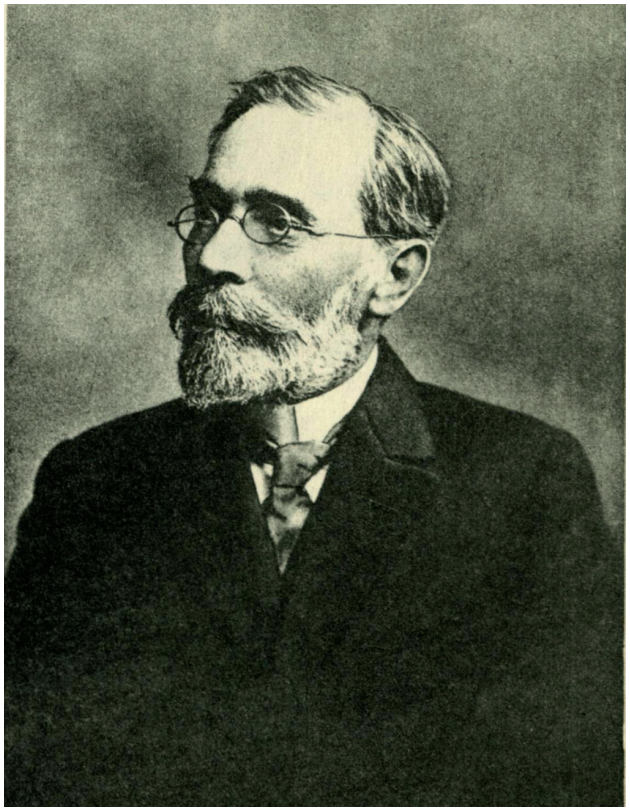

Fig. 10: Shimshon Rosenboim about 1920 as depicted in 'Lietuvos Albomas' – a volume portraying the new Lithuanian elites after 1918.

autonomy and thus went further than other post-imperial states in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe.

Rosenboim observed the prohibition on contact with Polish diplomats, a loyalty that he had to defend against Jewish critics, some from Poland. He made but one further attempt to mediate in the conflict between Poland and Lithuania. In the autumn of 1921, he received the Lithuanian foreign minister Juozas Purickis's (1883-1934) permission to travel to Berlin and Warsaw to gauge the possibility of a compromise between Lithuania and Poland on the issue of the Vilna territory. When this attempted negotiation was made public, Rosenboim was suspected of betraying Lithuanian interests. Both the Lithuanian foreign minister and Rosenbaum as his deputy resigned in the wake of this affair. Lithuania increasingly lost interest in establishing a proper autonomy for its Jewish population as it became obvious that Poland would retain Vilnius and its significant Jewish population. Rosenboim served as Minister for Jewish Affairs (1923-1924) for about one more year and became increasingly aware of Lithuanian politicians' unwillingness to respect any kind of solidarity between Lithuanians and Jews. In 1925, Rosenboim emigrated to Palestine and worked as a lawyer in Tel Aviv and acted as Lithuanian consul from 1927 onwards. In 1926, Atanas Smetonas (1874-1944) established an authoritian presidential regime and Lithuanian politics veered towards authoritarianism. In 1932, Rosenboim preserved the legacy of the struggle for the rights of the Jewish minority by publishing an account of his exploration of the concept of sovereignty.[53] On the problem of protecting a minority lacking an advocate to defend it from state power, Rosenboim writes:

> When one examines cases in which oppressed peoples have no one to defend them, such as the Jews, serfs and so on, it always emerges that they had no 'relatives' so that there is no one with a subjective right or a subjective duty to offer them protection. It is a regrettable fact and a testimonium paupertatis of our culture that so much injustice goes unpunished simply because there is no judge. It was therefore a major benefit that humanity in its attempt to set up an organised system for the mutual protection of rights between and among states, with the League of Nations, was not only considering protecting statist actors, but also included the safeguarding of citizens within their own countries.

Fig. 11: Portrait of Paul Mincs, 1925.

Pauls Mincs (1868-1941), the son of a businessman from Daugavpils, studied in Saint Petersburg and Tartu, and taught law from 1918.[54] He had already campaigned on social and political issues for Jews in Russia during the Tsarist period, as both co-founder and board member of the Riga branch, set up in 1889, of the Society for the Advancement of the Enlightenment Among the Jews of Russia (*Obshchestvo dlya razprostnaneniya prosveshcheniya mezhdu evreyami, OPE*). From 1918, he was a member of the Latvian Senate and between 1919 and 1921 he acted as auditor for the Latvian government.[55] In 1920, he was promoted to Deputy Minister for Employment. He made a considerable contribution to drafting the constitution of the new Latvian state. His political activities in inde-

Fig. 12: Róża Pomeranz-Melzer (center) with Leon Reich (1879-1929), with walking cane, the leader of the Galician Zionists from Lwów at the 12th Zionist Congress in Carlsbad, 1st to 14th September 1921.

pendent Latvia embraced a wide spectrum: he chaired the association of Jewish lawyers and led the Jewish National Democratic Party. He was a member of the Jewish Agency.[56] His allegiance towards the Latvian state was not affected, even after the government declared, in 1921, that it no longer needed any representatives from the ranks of the minorities.[57] As a lawyer, he represented Latvia on the international stage, for example in the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission (Commission Internationale Pénale et Pénitentiaire) in Bern in 1934, and from 1935 in Paris at the International Bureau for the Unification of Penal Law (Bureau International pour l'Unification du Droit Pénal). Following the Soviet annexation of Latvia, he was captured and deported to a work camp in Siberia, where he died in 1941.[57]

Róża Pomeranz-Melzer and Jakub Lejb Mincberg

Róża Pomeranz-Melzer (1880-1934) was one of the few Jewish women whose social and political activities in independent Poland were publicly acknowledged. She had studied in Vienna and Paris and spent several years training in a Leipzig conservatory of music. She spoke several European languages as well as Hebrew and Yiddish. Booklets she published, such as *Der Zionismus und die Frauen* (*Zionism and Women*, 1910) and *An die jüdischen Frauen: Ein Appell zur Umkehr* (*To Jewish Women: A Call to Turn Back*, 1898), brought her recognition and identified her as both a Zionist and a defender of women's rights.[59] She founded Judiyta, one of the first women's organisations in

Fig. 13: A local group of Bundists from Mszczonów, Poland, with a portrait of Karl Marx.

Poland, and from 1909 she chaired the Organisation of Jewish Women (WIZO) in eastern Lesser Poland. She represented the Jewish women of Interwar Poland at several international conferences. In order to offer help to refugees, war orphans and pogrom victims in Western Ukraine, after the end of the First World War she undertook a fund-raising tour through Western Europe. She opened an orphanage in Lwów and established a school for deaf-blind Jewish children. Pomeranz was elected to the Polish Sejm on the list of National Jewish Parties, and from 1922 to 1927 she represented the region of Stanisławów in Eastern Galicia. She was unsuccessful when she stood in subsequent elections to the Sejm (1928) and the Senate (1930). She remained the only Jewish woman parliamentarian in the history of the Sejm during the Second Polish Republic.[60]

Róża Pomeranz-Melzer's public commitment to Zionism and to women's rights were of equal importance to her in her political life. However, it appears that her focus shifted somewhat after the turning point of 1918, when she involved herself mainly in women's politics, although Zionism was still very important to her. In 1923, she attended the First World Congress of Jewish Women in Vienna. Following the devastation of the war, she became involved in a variety of issues: social care for the many war orphans and widows; equal rights for Jewish women in post-war society; overseas emigration as a social problem; and the difficulties faced specifically by Jewish women who had no legal Jewish bill of divorce (get) and were searching everywhere for their 'disappeared' husbands.[61] The *Wiener Morgenzeitung* carried a brief interview with Róża Pomeranz-Melzer, which did not focus on the reason for her visit to Vienna. Mrs Pomeranz used the interview to give information about the situation of Jews in Poland and her parliamentary work in the 'Jewish club' in the Sejm.[62] She was cautiously optimistic about the prospects for the coexistence of Jews and Poles. The congress brought

Fig. 14: Portrait of Zsigmond Kunfi (1897-1929) from a volume of his selected essays, edited posthumously in 1930.

together Zionist and non-Zionist women, which made it impossible to reach conclusions on various controversies, including the question of Palestine. However, the women who favoured Zionism did gather together in their own groups, or were invited by their Viennese hostesses to do so. The World Congress of Jewish Women offered the first opportunity since the end of the war for Jewish women to come together in solidarity and to show their strength to the worldwide women's movement. Contacts were established and views were exchanged between Eastern and Western European women, and women from America. The World Congress of Jewish Women offered Rosa Pomeranz a wider platform for political campaigning and public appearances.

Pomeranz's life-story might reinforce the idea that few women took part in Jewish politics or made their views public after 1918. The context, however, was important: first, Eastern European countries had taken the radical step of introducing women's suffrage; second, one should not underestimate the extent to which Jewish women were socially and politically engaged across the political spectrum.[63] As examples, one could cite Sophia Dubnov-Erlikh (1885-1986), born in in Belarus and active in the Polish Bund, and Sarah Schenirer (1883-1935), who set up a school movement for Jewish Orthodox girls (*Beys Yankev*[64]) that had an influence well beyond the borders of Poland.[65]

One of the most successful anti-Zionist orthodox politicians was the industrialist Leib Mincberg (1887-1943),[66] who sat on the Industry and Trade Committee of the Polish Sejm for the orthodox Aguda Party, and chaired the Jewish community in Łódź.[67] Mincberg had had a traditional upbringing as the son of a Hasidic family. Besides Polish, Hebrew and Yiddish, he also spoke various West European languages. He was a member of the Łódź city council and worked with the Sejm and with Polish politicians for the victims of anti-Jewish discrimination, which earned him the respect of the secular Jewish members of the council. Mincberg sided with the legendary founder of reborn Poland, Marshall Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935), whom Mincberg assured of the loyalty of the Jewish population. Historical scholarship nowadays tends to assume that Jewish politics after 1918 moved away from the model of personal appeal to the relevant non-Jewish persons in power (*shtadlanut*). The example of Mincberg and several other influential and charismatic Aguda politicians, such as Mordekhai Dubin (1889-1956) in Latvia, nevertheless shows that even under democratic auspices the political relationship between Jews and non-Jews was not one of equals: another legacy from imperial times.

Zsigmond Kunfi

The Hungarian Social Democrat Zsigmond (or Siegmund) Kunfi (1897-1929) claimed neither religious nor ethnic Jewish affiliation. He formally converted to the Calvinism of his Transylvanian homeland. Yet as his friend and brother-in-law Zoltán Rónai (1880-1940) wrote in a biographical tribute after Kunfi's death, he always laboured 'under the burden of an invisible yellow star'.[68] Before moving to Budapest, Kunfi worked as a teacher of German and Hungarian in a grammar school in Timişoara. In 1907, his public support for a Social Democrat cost him job and his income. Kunfi edited the social democratic

magazine *Szocializmus* and became a lead editor of *Népszava* (*People's Voice*). He earned little, so he supplemented his income by doing translations and writing booklets. As a Marxist, he turned to literature and joined the Sociological Society of Vienna. His many articles appeared in various places, including the liberal journals *Nyugat* and *Huszadik század* (*The Twentieth Century*) as well as in Die Neue Zeit – the theoretical journal of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), published in Stuttgart. The social democratic milieu in Hungary was probably the only place in which his career was not hindered by his humble origins, his Jewish parentage and the fact that he had distanced himself from church and religion.

As an adherent of Karl Kautsky (1854-1938), Kunfi did not share the general enthusiasm for the war, and he represented Hungary in the 1917 Stockholm peace conference for socialist parties.[69] The Hungarian delegation campaigned for a peace without annexations or contributions. In spite of his opposition to the monarchy, Kunfi supported the continuing coherence of Hungarian territories on economic grounds. He thought that disrupting the existing well-developed economic arena by creating new borders would harm the population's interests. The Hungarian delegation supported keeping Transsylvania with Hungary and preserving Hungarian access to the sea at Fiume. They saw democratisation of international and interethnic relationships as a condition for peace between the Hungarian and South Slav area as an essential requirement.[70] However, they released no statement on the Jewish population of Hungary or Eastern Europe.

Kunfi became a member of the first republican government of Count Mihály Károlyi (1875-1955), which proclaimed the republic of Hungary on 16 November 1918.[71] Following the liquidation of the Croatian Ministry, Kunfi was Minister of Employment and Public Health, and from January 1919 he was responsible for the Ministry of Education, where he advocated a strict separation of church and state. As a centrist, Kunfi 'fought externally against a peace treaty imposed by force and for self-determination of the nations, and internally against the Bolshevik ideology of force'.[72] Initially, Kunfi retained his responsibilities after 20 March 1919. He was a member of the committee of the United Workers' Party and worked as the People's Commissar for Education in the Revolutionary Council of the Hungarian Soviet Socialist government. As such, he appointed Sándor Ferenczi (1873-1933) as psychoanalyst to a professorial chair in the medical faculty of the University of Budapest. It was the first time that psychoanalysis was recognised as a medical discipline at a university. As a mark of protest, Kunfi resigned his post on 24 June 1919 and he also subsequently became dissatisfied with his role in the Soviet government of Béla Kun (1886-1938).[73] He stayed in Hungary and was therefore able to support other members of the revolutionary government fleeing the White Terror. Kunfi himself emigrated to Vienna and made a living working as a foreign editor on the social democratic *Worker's Paper* and the Hungarian paper Világosság (Clarity). He became director of the Viennese Workers' evening classes and the party school of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ).[74] In Vienna, Kunfi became involved in Hungarian emigrant circles that were critical of the political course of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary. In 1929, he died of an overdose of the barbiturate Veronal.

Zsigmond Kunfi's activities as a politician were not, in a narrow sense, politics on behalf of a specific ethno-religious group such as the Jews. He therefore cannot be labelled a Jewish politician. His biography is given here for those 'non-Jewish' Jews who partially found a home in the Social Democratic and Communist parties of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

David Albala

The surgeon David Albala (1886-1942) was born in Belgrade; he had fought for his country in the two Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 and had been promoted first to captain and then to lieutenant-colonel. He was born into a Sephardic family, and after returning from his medical studies in Vienna he established and directed a group of Zionists. Even before the official founding of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), Albala was on a diplomatic mission to America when Lord Balfour declared that his government was sympathetic to the establishment of a 'Jewish homeland in Palestine'. Albala managed to secure a diplomatic note from Serbia endorsing the Balfour Declaration. Milenko Radomar Vesnić (1863-1921), Prime Minister of the SHS-kingdom as well as foreign

Fig. 15: David Albala from Belgrade, about 1940, wearing the army uniform of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

minister to be, in an official letter sent to Albala stated that Serbia endorsed the Balfour Declaration.[75] Serbia was thus the first state after the United Kingdom to recognise the justification of Jewish claims to Palestine and to express sympathy with the Zionist cause. In achieving this diplomatic coup, Albala was hoping to gain the acknowledgment and support of American Jews and a wider public. There was no contradiction in his mind between Serbian nationalism, Yugoslav patriotism or Zionism.

Albala travelled to the Paris Peace Conference as a member of the delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. He defended the newly created Yugoslav state from both Jewish and non-Jewish criticism, and repeatedly highlighted how sympathetic the Serbian nation, and in particular the royal family, were towards the Jewish cause. Emphasising the historical experience of victimisation shared by Jews and Serbs helped Albala and other Yugoslav Jews to validate their assertions. Albala became chairman of the Federation of Jewish Congregations in Yugoslavia and led the Zionist association Bar Giora, in which he encountered fellow combatants who had served as soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian forces in the fight against Serbia, such as the famous Croatian Zionist Aleksandar Licht (1884-1948).[76]

After his return from the Paris Peace Conference Albala launched a period of political activity that lasted nearly twenty years: he published widely, worked for a number of Jewish organisations, led the Sephardic community of Belgrade and was involved in political, educational and cultural work among Jews in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. He also maintained many international connections. He founded the Association of Yugoslavian Jews in the United States, where he had fled before the German invasion of Yugoslavia and where he died unexpectedly in 1942.

Conclusion

There is a rich variety among the Jewish men and women active in politics who took on positions of responsibility and, in some cases, power after 1918; they include a highly heterogeneous range of individuals engaged across a wide range of interests. Yet, in spite of their differences, there are common traits to the life stories presented here, in that they share similar attitudes towards political responsibility, which led to comparable reactions vis-a-vis historical conflicts. The war years left clear traces on all these men and women. They were perhaps most deeply affected by their war service, and by the need to flee from violence and from the insecurity of uncertain civil status after the end of the imperial era. Sarah Schenirer (1883-1935), for example, moved during the First World War from her birthplace, Cracow, to Vienna, where she experienced a form of revelation. It happened in Vienna that the preaching of a Rabbi made such an impression on her that she decided to tackle the lack of education for Jewish women in orthodox households.

In 1918, the threat of vital significance to many was the expulsion of Jewish citizens declared to be foreigners, often carried out overnight. One famous person affected was Salo W. Baron (1895-1989), arguably the most significant Jewish historian of the 20th century. He was born in Tarnów in West Galicia,

Fig. 16: Jewish population in front of destroyed buildings in Sokolniki (near Lwów), 1919.

and like Sarah Schenirer he had moved to Vienna in 1914, fleeing with his parents from the advancing front. Baron gained his first doctorate in 1920 by publishing a study of the Jewish question at the Vienna Congress.[77] There were obvious parallels to the 'Jewish question' at the Paris Peace Conference, but Baron did not address them in his work. He did, however, discover from his own experience that international protection was needed for minorities such as the Jews. The threat of expulsion applied to Galician refugees to Vienna. They were, it was alleged, citizens of the new state of Poland and thus not entitled to be in Vienna, where provisions were in short supply. In order not to stay illegally in Vienna, Baron applied for a Polish passport. It was issued on 16 August 1919, but only gave him permission to travel from Austria to Poland via Czechoslovakia[78] and had to be extended every six months. The young refugee also had to report regularly to the Vienna police to avoid an expulsion notification. It was not until 1924 that Baron was granted the permanent right to remain in Vienna and in 1926, shortly before his emigration to America, he was issued with an Austrian passport. Baron experienced a leniency that was not granted to many other Galicians in Vienna. In 1921, the council of the League of Nations ruled that the planned expulsions of stateless people and aliens was legal and that citizens of the former Habsburg monarchy had no naturalisation rights in Austria.

Against this background, it is surely no coincidence that following 1918, and later after 1945, Jewish politics were marked by the question of the protection of the rights of individuals from the power of national states. Baron, for example, was convinced that heterogeneous and multi-ethnic empires, although they may have seemed an old-fashioned con-

Fig. 17: Jewish youth group „Tsukunft“ (yidd.: future) from Przemyśl, 1925. The text on the board says: ‘With united effort we will build the future!’

cept, provided better protection to Jews than monolithic nation states. Only a strong international peacekeeping power with authority over a nation state could overtly guarantee that the weak would be protected by the rule of law. This explains the significance of international congresses such as the Paris Peace Conference, which came to be seen as an important and existentially significant forum for Jewish politics. The politically active personalities examined here also engaged in negotiation and communication in places such as schools, local communities and national parliaments, as well as in transnational arenas such as courts of appeal.

Remarkably, there were various attempts after 1918 at establishing competing political and ideological systems within Jewish politics. The most eloquent example of this was in Poland, where Bundists, Zionists and Agudists were engaged in parallel education and media systems, publishing newspapers and books, arguing over party and memory politics and carrying out rituals of remembrance at various and sometimes competing *lieux de mémoire*. In the Jewish world, the events of November 1918 in Chrzanów continue to be commented from different angles and perspectives to this day. While Isaac Deutscher underlined that ‘the least remarkable hunchback of the little town can smash to bits the most awe-inspiring and revered imperial eagle’, the memorial book of the town of Chrzanów, published to commemorate the annihilation of the Jewish community as well as its Jewish heritage, states that Chrzanów was the site of the first pogrom anywhere in liberated Poland.[79] It draws our attention to the bloody pogroms that erupted in the aftermath of the Great War in Eastern and, to a lesser extent, Southeastern Europe.

Zionists, for their part, remember the place of Chrzanów as the birthplace of Ignacy Schwarzbard (1888-1961), a member of the Jewish faction in the Cracow city council who in 1938 was elected to the Polish Sejm and after the German occupation of Poland became a member of the Polish government in exile in France and England. He transmitted news about the holocaust to the West and promoted rescue activities for Polish Jews.

Endnotes

1. The Kaddish (Quaddiš), a traditional prayer to sanctify God, or rather his name. It is recited as a mourning prayer for the dead at the end of Sabbath liturgy in the synagogue. Johann Maier, *Judentum-Reader* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 92-93, 199.
2. Manes Sperber, *Sieben Fragen zur Gewalt. Leben in dieser Zeit* (München: dtv, 1978), 9-26, here 9-10. On the fading of loyalties among war-weary soldiers, which Habsburg military leaders later included in their version of the stab-in-the-back myth, *see Innere Front. Militärassistenz, Widerstand und Umsturz in der Donaumonarchie 1918*, eds. Richard Georg Plaschka, Horst Haselsteiner and Arnold Suppan, 2 vols. (München: Oldenbourg, 1974); Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished. Why the First World War Failed to End, 1917-1923* (London: Allan Lane, 2016), 107-112; Patrick J. Houlihan, 'Was there an Austrian Stab-in-the-Back Myth? Interwar Military Interpretations of Defeat,' in *From Empire to Republic. Post-World War I Austria*, eds. Günter Bischoff, Fritz Plasser and Peter Berger (Innsbruck: Innsbruck UP, 2010), 67-89.
3. Jörn Leonhard, *Der überforderte Frieden. Versailles und die Welt 1918-1923* (München: C.H. Beck, 2018), 11-29.
4. Tamara Deutscher, 'Introduction. The Education of a Jewish Child,' in: Isaac Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays*, ed. Tamara Deutscher (London-New York-Toronto: Oxford UP, 1968), 1-24, here 11. Based on autobiographical texts: Daniel Schönfeld, *Kometenjahre. 1918: Die Welt im Aufbruch* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 2017); A world on Edge: The End of the Great War and the Dawn of a New Age; translated by Jefferson Chase, London: Macmillan 2018.
5. Alf Lüdtke, 'Herrschaft als soziale Praxis,' in *Herrschaft als soziale Praxis. Historische und sozialanthropologische Studien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 9-63.
6. Diaries as well as memoirs, were used by: Leonhard, *Frieden*, 11, 15-17 (on Franz Kafka); H[ans] G[ünther] Adler, 'Es gäbe viel Merkwürdiges zu berichten,' interview with Hans Christoph Knebusch, in *Der Wahrheit verpflichtet. Interviews, Gedichte, Essays*, ed. Jeremy Adler (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1998), 32-60, 32-34; Miroslav Krleža, Dnevnik 1918-1922: Davni Dani II (Sarajewo: Oslobođenje, 1977), 146. Concerning childhood recollections from the Habsburg monarchy: Katarzyna Jaśtal, *Erzählte Zeiträume. Kindheitserinnerungen aus den Randgebieten der Habsburgermonarchie von Manès Sperber, Elias Canetti und Gregor Rezzori* (Kraków: Aureus, 1998), 207-209.
7. *Sefer Khzshanov. leben un umkum fun a yidish stetl – Chrzanow. The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Shtetl*, ed. Mordekhai Bokhner (Regensburg: Published under EUCOM Civil Affairs Division, 1949), 6-8, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a9966260-653e-0133-5bc0-00505686d14e> (accessed 17 September 2019).
8. Leon Chasanowitsch, *Die polnischen Judenpogrome im November und Dezember 1918. Tatsachen und Dokumente* (Stockholm: Judaea, 1919), 36-37; Martyrium. Ein jüdisches Jahrbuch, ed. Jakob Krausz (Wien: Selbstverlag, 1922), 29.
9. Carole Fink, *Defending the Right of Others. The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 101-130; Josef Bendow [pseud. Joseph Tenenbaum], *Der Lemberger Judenpogrom (November 1918-Jänner 1919)* (Wien-Brünn: M. Hickl, 1919); Chasanowitsch, *Judenpogrome*, 43-71.
10. William Hagen, *Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland 1914-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), 305-362; Piotr Wróbel, 'The Kaddish Years. Anti-Jewish Violence in East Central Europe, 1918-1921,' *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 4 (2005), 211-236.
11. In this context, scholars have on the one hand desired to acknowledge the consequences of the brutalisation resulting from the four years of the war and its de facto extension, while on the other hand wanted to interpret the post-war violence as a protest against the conventions of masculine behaviour and honour imposed during wartime. Emily Gioielli, 'Abnormal Times. Intersectionality and Anti-Jewish Violence in Hungary and Poland, 1918-1922,' in *Poland and Hungary. Jewish Realities Compared*, eds. François Guesnet, Howard Lupovitch and Antony Polonsky, Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry 31 (London-Liverpool: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2019), 313-328.
12. Ernst Troeltsch used the concept of 'dreamland' for the period between the cease-fire in November 1918 and the Paris Peace Treaty in the summer of 1919. Ernst Troeltsch, 'Nach der Entscheidung (26.6.1919),' in *Die Fehlgeburt einer Republik. Spektator in Berlin 1918 bis 1922*, ed. Johann Hinrich Claussen (Frankfurt/Main: Eichborn, 1994), 56-62, here 60-62.
13. Ezra Mendelsohn, 'Zwischen großen Erwartungen und bösem Erwachen: Das Ende der multinationalen Reiche in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa aus jüdischer Perspektive,' in *Zwischen großen Erwartungen und bösem Erwachen. Juden, Politik und Antisemitismus in Ost- und Südosteuropa 1918-1945*, eds. Dittmar Dahlmann and Anke Hilbrenner (Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2007), 13-30. The ambivalence is also emphasized by Michael Brenner, 'Von Czernowitz nach Cernăuți: Politische Krise und kulturelle Blüte zwischen den Kriegen,' in *Kleine jüdische Geschichte* (München: Beck, 2012), 256-285.
14. Ezra Mendelsohn, 'Jewish Historiography on Polish Jewry in the Interwar Period,' in *Jews in Independent Poland, 1918-1939*, eds. Antony Polonsky, Ezra Mendelsohn and Jerzy Tomaszewski, Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry 8 (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994), 3-13; Rogers Brubaker, 'Aftermath of Empire and the Unmixing of Peoples,' in *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, ed. Rogers Brubaker (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 148-178; Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, 'The Great War and Paramilitarism in Europe, 1917-1923,' *Contemporary European History* 19, no. 3 (2010), 267-273; Mark Mazower, 'Timothy Snyder's Bloodlands,' *Contemporary European History* 21, no. 2 (2012), 117-124; Piotr J. Wróbel, 'Foreshadowing the Holocaust: The Wars of 1914-1921 and Anti-Jewish Violence in Central and Eastern Europe,' in *Legacies of Violence. Eastern Europe's First World War*, eds. Jochen Böhler, Włodzimierz Borodziej and Joachim v. Puttkamer (München: Oldenbourg, 2014), 169-208.

15. Contemporaries compared the anti-Jewish riots in Poland in 1918 and 1919 to the pogroms in Tsarist Russia (Kishinev 1903, Odessa 1906) and interpreted them as the last convulsion of a finished era. The description of the epoch as 'interwar', however, suggests a kind of breathing space between the wars and is assuming knowledge of the coming cataclysms in civilisation and genocide. Leonhard, *Frieden*, 11-29; Dan Diner, *Das Jahrhundert verstehen. Eine universalhistorische Deutung* (München: Luchterhand, 1999), 21-78. Unduly optimistic about future prospects in 1918: William O. McCagg, 'On Habsburg Jewry and its Disappearance,' *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 4 (1988), 84-95.
16. Marsha L. Rozenblit, 'The European Jewish World 1914-1919: What Changed?,' in *World War I and the Jews. Conflict and Transformation in Europe, the Middle East, and America*, eds. Marsha L. Rozenblit and Jonathan Karp (New York-Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 32-55.
17. Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zeiten. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1979), 349-375.
18. Celia Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction. Jews of Poland between the Two World Wars* (New York: Columbia UP, 1977); Jakob Lestschinsky, 'The Anti-Jewish Program: Tsarist Russia, The Third Reich and Independent Poland,' *Jewish Social Studies* 3 (1941), 141-158, here 152-158. Remarkably, the *Shoa* plays almost no role in: Szyja Bronsztejn, 'Polish-Jewish Relations as Reflected in Memoirs of the Interwar Period,' *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry* 8 (1994), 66-88.
19. Simon Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 10 vols. (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1927-1929). On this, see: Olaf Terpitz, 'An Enclave in Time? Russian-Jewish Berlin Revisited,' in *The Russian Jewish Diaspora and European Culture*, 1917-1937, ed. Jörg Schulte (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 179-200; Karl Schlögel, 'Simon Dubnows Berliner Tagebuch,' in *Das russische Berlin: Ostbahnhof Europas* (München: Hanser, 2007), 287-308.
20. Yishuv is the Hebrew designation of the Jewish population in Palestine. The efforts to achieve a settlement under Zionist auspices are sometimes described as the 'new Yishuv'. Following the end of the First World War, the League of Nations incorporated the southern parts of Ottoman Syria into a mandate, entrusted to the British in 1922. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace. Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914-1922* (London: Deutsch 1989).
21. Verena Dohrn, 'State and Minorities: The First Lithuanian Republic and S. M. Dubnow's Concept of Cultural Autonomy,' in *The Vanished World of Lithuanian Jews*, eds. Alvydas Nikžentaitis, Stefan Schreiner and Darius Staliūnas (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2004), 155-173.
22. Karl Renner, *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen in besonderer Anwendung auf Österreich*, vol. 1: Nation und Staat (Leipzig-Wien: Deuticke, 1918); James Loeffler, 'The Famous Trinity of 1917: Zionist Internationalism in Historical Perspective,' *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 15 (2016), 211-238.
23. Sophie Dubnov-Erlich, *The Life and Work of S. M. Dubnov. Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish History* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1991), 201-203.
24. The Paris Peace Conference drew up five peace treaties between the warring nations and their successor states. These were the Treaties of Versailles (28 June 1919 – the German Empire), Saint-Germain-en-Laye (10 September 1919 – Austria), Neuilly (27 November 1919 – Bulgaria), Trianon (4 Juni 1920 – Hungary) and Sèvres (10 August 1920 – the Ottoman Empire). Other agreements were also fundamental to the new order of post-war Eastern Europe and Asia Minor: the separate peace of Brest Litowsk (3 March 1918, annulled 11 November 1918); the Treaty of Riga (18 March 1921) between Poland and the Soviet Union; the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) between the Allies and the newly established Turkish Republic.
25. 'Opponents Scored at Zurich Conference on Jewish Rights (Jewish Telegraphic Agency),' *Jewish Daily Bulletin* (New York) 19 August 1927, 1.
26. Leon Reich, 'Das Komitee der jüdischen Delegationen in Paris,' *Der Jude. Eine Monatsschrift* 8/9, no. 5 (1920/21), 439-448.
27. Leon Reich, 'Die jüdische Friedensdelegation in Paris,' in *Jüdischer Nationalkalender* 5 (1919/20 = 5680), eds. Otto Abeles and Ludwig Bato (Wien: Verlag Jüdische Zeitung), 33-45, here 33.
28. The promise to support the establishment of a 'Jewish homeland' in Palestine came very close to President Wilson's demand that the Slavic nations should enjoy the 'greatest possible autonomy' within a reformed Habsburg Federation. Wilson was not in any way envisaging an independent national state, such as he was suggesting to the Poles. As early as 1915 Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, had given a written undertaking to Arab leaders promising 'the independence of the Arabs'. Gerwarth, *The Vanquished*, 182-184.
29. On the difference between, on the one hand, non-Jews' understanding of Jewish political commitment as mainly left-wing during the interwar years, and on the other, right-wing politicians' readiness to accept Jewish patrons and politicians, see: Bela Vago, 'The Attitude Toward the Jews as a Criterion of the Left-Right Concept,' in *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe 1918-1945*, eds. Béla Vago and Georges L. Mosse (New York-Toronto-Jerusalem: John Wiley & Sons, Israel UP, 1974), 21-49.
30. Angelique Leszczawski-Schwerk, 'Dynamics of Democratization and Nationalization. The Significance of Women's Suffrage and Women's Political Participation in the Parliament of the Second Polish Republic,' Nationalities Papers 46 (2018), 809-822; Frank Grelka, 'Gegen altes Unrecht in neuen Staaten. Nationaljüdische Akteure in Polen und Litauen nach dem Großen Krieg,' *Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 25 (2017), 65-85.
31. Members of the political movement of orthodox Jews (faithful to the Torah) founded in 1912 in Katowice. See: Gershon Bacon, 'Agudas Yisroel,' in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (19 August 2010), <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Agudas_Yisroel> (accessed 17 September 2019).
32. The linked acquisition of both language and education was of crucial importance to the survival of the various models of Jewish life (secular, religious, national). On the various types of schools that were important even beyond Polish

borders, see: Shimon Frost, 'The Jewish School Systems in Interwar Poland. Ideological Underpinnings,' in Jews in Poland, ed. Andrzej K. Paluch (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1992), 235-244.

33. An account of the considerable heterogeneity of Jewish lifeworlds can be found in: Jonas Kreppel, *Juden und Judentum von heute übersichtlich dargestellt. Ein Handbuch* (Zürich: Amalthea, 1925), which also provides a realistic set of basic sociocultural data.
34. The numbers for Bucarest and Jassy date from 1914, while the rest of these approximate rounded numbers are valid for the early 1920s. Various criteria have been used to collect them. The principal difference is the one between confession and nationality. In Warsaw, this difference amounts to nearly 100,000 people. The number of Jews by confession was 33%, by nationality 26.9%. In 1924, 31,324 Jews lived in Prague; of these, 16,264 described themselves as Czechs, 7,421 as Germans and 5,800 as Jews. Another 466 Jews were of a different nationality and 1,800 were not citizens of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The figures come from: Kreppel, *Juden* (1925), 315-359.
35. For the principal differentiations presented here, I am grateful to: Gershon Bacon, 'One Jewish Street? Reflections on Unity and Disunity in Interwar Polish Jewry,' in *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*, eds. Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek and Andrzej Żbikowski (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 324-337.
36. From 'Allgemeiner Jüdischer Arbeiter-Bund (Bund)'. See: Gertrud Pickhan, '*Gegen den Strom' – Der Allgemeine Jüdische Arbeiterbund 'Bund' in Polen 1918-1939* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2001).
37. On Poland: Joseph Marcus, *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland, 1919-1939* (Berlin-New York: Mouton, 1983), 261-291; on the peace conference: Oscar I. Janowsky, *The Jews and the Minority Rights (1898-1919)* (New York: Columbia UP, 1933), 264-319; Carole Fink, 'Jewish Diplomacy and the Politics of War and Peace,' in *World War I and the Jews. Conflict and Transformation in Europe, the Middle East, and America*, eds. Marsha L. Rozenblit and Jonathan Karp (New York-Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 56-81.
38. David Biale, *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 118-144; Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, '*Diener von Königen und nicht Diener von Dienern'. Einige Aspekte der politischen Geschichte der Juden* (München: Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung, 1995).
39. Zvi Y. Gitelman, 'A Century of Jewish Politics in Eastern Europe. The Legacy of the Bund and the Zionist Movement,' in *The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics. Bundism and Zionism in Eastern Europe*, ed. Zvi Y. Gitelman (Pittsburgh/Pa.: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), 3-18.
40. The last significant Israeli politician born in Interwar Eastern Europe was probably President Shimon Peres (Szymon Perski), born on 2 August 1923 in the then-Polish Voivodeship of Nowogródek. Shlomo Avineri refers to the identity politics involved in ethnicising democratic decisions. The small majority in the Knesset in favour of ratifying the Oslo II Accord was criticised by the assassin of Yitzchak Rabin (1922-1995) for lacking a 'Jewish' majority. A similar argument was used by the murderer of Gabriel Narutowicz (1865-1922), the first Polish president, who declared that the votes of the Jewish deputies to the Sejm could not be counted among the 'Polish' votes. Shlomo Avinery, 'The Presence of Eastern and Central Europe in the Culture and Politics of Contemporary Israel,' *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 10, no. 2 (1996), 163-172.
41. Jean Ancel, 'Wilhelm Filderman' in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (6 August 2010), <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Filderman_Wilhelm> (accessed 17 September 2019).
42. Wilhelm Fildermann, *Memoirs and Diaries*, ed. Jean Ancel, vol. 1: 1900-1940 (Tel Aviv and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004).
43. Since their shared schooldays, Filderman had apparently been good friends with Ion Antonescu (1882-1946), later the 'Conducator' of Greater Romania.
44. David Schaary, 'The Realpolitik of the Jewish National Leadership of Bukovina: From the Jewish National Council to the Jewish National Party,' in *Between the Two World Wars*, eds. Liviu Rotman and Raphael Vago, The History of the Jews in Romania 3 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Univ., 2005), 267-315.
45. Hildrun Glass, 'Varianten jüdischer Identitäten und Loyalitäten im rumänischen Staat der Zwischenkriegszeit,' in *Staat, Loyalität und Minderheiten in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 1918-1941*, eds. Peter Haslinger and Joachim v. Puttkamer (München: Oldenbourg, 2007), 143-158.
46. The 'Regat' or 'Romanian Old Kingdom' designates the Romanian state within the borders up to 1918. It included the former principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia – also called the Danube principalities – as well as Dobruja.
47. Manfred Reifer, *Dr. Mayer Ebner – Ein jüdisches Leben* (Tel Aviv: Edition Olympia, 1947), 163.
48. Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, 'Mayer Ebner', in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (5 August 2010), <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Ebner_Mayer> (accessed 17 September 2019).
49. Here and below, from Grelka, *Gegen altes Unrecht*, and Eglė Bendikaite, 'Zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Die Politik gegenüber den Juden in Litauen in der Zwischenkriegszeit,' in *Zwischen großen Erwartungen und bösem Erwachen. Juden, Politik und Antisemitismus in Ost- und Südosteuropa 1918-1945*, eds. Dittmar Dahlmann and Anke Hilbrenner (Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2007), 101-120.
50. Eglė Bendikaite, 'One Man's Struggle. The Politics of Shimshon Rosenbaum (1859-1934),' *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 13 (2014), 87-109, here 101. Eglė Bendikaite, 'Mittler zwischen den Welten. Shimshon Rosenbaum: Jurist, Zionist, Politiker,' *Osteuropa* 58, no. 8-10 (2008), 295-302, here 299.
51. Tomas Balkelis, *War, Revolution, and Nation-Making in Lithuania 1914-1923* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018), 64.
52. Eglė Bendikaitė, 'Expressions of Litvak Pro-Lithuanian Political Orientation c. 1906-c. 1921,' in *The Vanished World of Lithuanian Jews*, eds. Alvydas Nikžentaitis, Stefan Schreiner and Darius Staliūnas (Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2004), 89-107.
53. Samuel Rosenbaum, *Der Souveränitätsbegriff. Ein Versuch seiner Revision* (Zürich: Gutzwiller, 1932). The author empha-

sises repeatedly that the work reflects the state of the negotiations in the year 1920.

54. Paul Mintz, *Die Lehre von der Beihilfe* (Riga: Müllersche Buchdruckerei, 1892), <https://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/5863> (accessed 17 September 2019).
55. *1918-1920: Latvijas Republikas Pagaidu valdības sēžu protokolos, notikums, atmiņās* [1918-1920: The Republic of Latvia Provisional Government. Meeting Minutes, Events, and Memoirs] (Riga: Valsts kanceleja, Latvijas Vēstnesis, 2013), 90. The Riga museum 'Jews in Latvia' presented Mincs's life and works (13 March to 10 September 2019): Muzejs 'Ebreji Latvijā', Exhibition '*For My People and For My Country: Paul Mintz, Latvia's Statesman*' (4 March 2019), <http://www.jewishmuseum.lv/en/item/320-exhibition_for_my_people_and_for_my_country_paul_mintz_latvia_s_statesman_.html> (accessed 17 September 2019).
56. Verena Dohrn, *Baltische Reise. Vielvölkerlandschaft des alten Europa* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1994), 119. Mincs published works on penal law in Russian, Latvian and German. He also gave many lectures, for example: Paul Mintz, 'Das Einkammersystem in der lettländischen Verfassung,' *Rigaische Zeitschrift für Rechtswissenschaft* 1, no. 1 (1926/27), 9-18.
57. The sudden political volte-face against minorities in Latvian politics happened under the government of Zigfrīd Anna Meierovics (1887-1925), whose father was – as was widely known – of Jewish origin.
58. The surgeon Wladimir Mincs (1872-1945), Paul Mincs's brother, had successfully operated on Lenin after the attempted assassination by Fanny E. Kaplan (1890-1918). Following the German occupation of Latvia, he was interned in the Riga ghetto, where he directed the hospital. In 1944, he was transported to Buchenwald, and died there. Šarūnas Liekis, Pauls Mincs, in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2 September 2010), <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Mincs_Pauls> (accessed 17 September 2019); Šarūnas Liekis, Vladimirs Mincs, in YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe (2 September 2010), <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Mincs_Pauls> (accessed 17 September 2019).
59. Rosa Pomeranz, *An die jüdischen Frauen! Ein Appell zur Umkehr* (Tarnopol: Verlag des Vereines 'Ahawath Zion', 1898); Rosa Pomeranz, 'Die Bedeutung der zionistischen Idee im Leben der Jüdin,' Die Stimme der Wahrheit. Jahrbuch für wissenschaftlichen Zionismus 1 (1905), 329-333.
60. *Pamięci Róży Melcerowej* ed. Koło Kobiet Żydowskich (Lwów: Drukarnia Przemysłowa, 1936); *Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919-1927* eds. Włodzimierz Dzwonkowski and Henryk Mościcki (Warszawa: Lucjan Złotnicki, 1928), 307, 312; Dietlind Hüchtker, *Geschichte als Performance. Politische Bewegungen in Galizien um 1900* (Frankfurt/Main - New York: Campus, 2014), 118-146; Szymon Rudnicki, Żydzi w parlamencie II Rzeczypospolitej 2. rev. edn. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2015), 164, 498.
61. Dieter Hecht, 'Die Weltkongresse jüdischer Frauen in der Zwischenkriegszeit: Wien 1923, Hamburg 1929,' in *Geschlecht, Religion und Engagement. Die jüdischen Frauenbewegungen im deutschsprachigen Raum. 19. und frühes 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Margarete Grandner and Edith Saurer, L'Homme Schriften 9 (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2005), 123-156.
62. 'Eine Unterredung mit Frau Rosa Melzer Pomeranz – Mitglied des polnischen Sejm,' in: *Wiener Morgenzeitung* 1524 (11 May 1923), 9-10.
63. Birte Förster, *1919: Ein Kontinent erfindet sich neu* (Ditzingen: Reclam, 2018). In many places, women were also able to vote in Jewish community elections.
64. *Beys Yankev* (Yidd. for The House of Jakob), also described in Hebrew as *Beth Ya'akov*. Tobias Grill, 'Wesen, Entwicklung und Bewertung der Bet Jakob Bewegung,' in *Der Westen im Osten: Deutsches Judentum und jüdische Bildungsreform in Osteuropa* (1783-1939) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 295-301; Naomi Seidman, 'Legitimizing the Revolution: Sarah Schenirer and the Rhetoric of Torah Study for Girls,' in *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*, eds. Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek and Andrzej Żbikowski (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 356-365.
65. Sophia Dubnov Erlich gives an account in her autobiography of her time in Warsaw and of the political work of her husband Henryk Erlich (1882-1942), as well as her own involvement: Sophie Dubnova-Erlich, *Bread and Matzoth* (Tenafly/NY: Hermitage, 2005). On this, see: Pickhan, '*Gegen den Strom*', 293-294.
66. Sometimes also written as: Jakub Leib Müntzberg; on his biography, see: Gershon Bacon, 'Leib Mincberg,' in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2 September 2010), <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Mincberg_Leib> (accessed 17 September 2019).
67. *Agudas Yisroel* – an influential political party that affirmed the traditions of orthodox Judaism and was represented in Jewish local councils and in the state parliaments of the states of East-Central Europe.
68. Zoltán Rónai, 'Siegmund Kunfi (1879-1929),' in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Siegmund Kunfi*, vol. 1: *Die Neugestaltung der Welt*, ed. Julius Braunthal (Wien: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1930), 5-12, here 5.
69. On Kunfi's respect for Kautsky: *Karl Kautsky und die Sozialdemokratie Südosteuropas. Korrespondenz 1883-1938*, eds. Georges Haupt, János Jemnitz and Leo van Rossum (Frankfurt/Main - New York: Campus, 1986), 521-523.
70. The 1917 Stockholm peace conference, 'Pressekommuniqué zu den Sitzungen mit der ungarischen Delegation am 29.-30 Mai 1917 (31 May 1917),' Social History Portal, <https://socialhistoryportal.org/stockholm1917/documents/111571> (accessed 17 September 2019).
71. Balázs Trencsényi et al., *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe*, vol. 2: *Negotiating Modernity in the 'Short Twentieth Century' and Beyond*, part I: 1918-1968 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018), 13.
72. Rónai, *Siegmund Kunfi*, 9.
73. Trencsényi, *A History*, 108.
74. Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei (Socialist Democratic Workers' Party).
75. The American War Congress and Zionism. Statements by Members of the American War Congress on the Jewish National Movement, New York: Zionist Organization of America 1919, p. 10; Pauline Albala, 'Dr. Albala as a Jewish National Worker' (Manuscript, Center for Jewish History, New York), 7-9.

76. Licht had fought in the First World War on the side of the Central Powers.
77. Salo Baron, *Die Judenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress. Auf Grund von zum Teil ungedruckten Quellen dargestellt* (Wien-Berlin: R. Löwit, 1920), <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/titleinfo/102361> (accessed 17 September 2019).
78. David Engel, 'Crisis and Lachrymosity: On Salo Baron, Neo-baronianism, and the Study of Modern European Jewish History,' *Jewish History* 20, no. 3/4 (2006), 243-264.
79. *Sefer Khzshanov. leben un umkum fun a yidish stetl – Chrzanow. The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Shtetl*, ed. Mordekhai Bokhner (Regensburg: Published under EUCOM Civil Affairs Division, 1949). <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a9966260-653e-0133-5bc0-00505686d14e> (accessed 17 September 2019). *Chrzanów: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Shtetl, New York 1992.* <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Chrazanow/Chrzanow.html> (accessed 17 February 2020); Frank Golczewski, *Polnisch-jüdische Beziehungen 1881-1922. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus in Osteuropa* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1981), 205-208; Israel Cohen, 'My Mission to Poland (1918–1919),' *Jewish Social Studies* 13 (1951), 149-172, here 157-158.