Jews in German Society: Prague, 1860-1914

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GARY B. COHEN

THE development of social interaction between Jews and Gentiles offers a fertile area of research to historians of modern Central Europe. Examining the place of Jews in Gentile society, of course, furthers understanding of both the proponents and victims of political anti-Semitism. Yet such study is also needed to deepen our knowledge of the values and social structures that characterized German and Austrian liberal society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Too often in recent years historians have studied Central Europe in the half century before World War I merely to seek the roots of the traumatic events of the 1930s and 1940s.[1] Consequently, the rise of the radical right and left has been examined in some detail, and historians have generally emphasized the fragility of liberal culture. One tends to assume that in the late nineteenth century few among the Central European middle classes took liberalism seriously enough to accept extensive or sustained Jewish participation in Gentile society, but in fact little systematic work has been done on the actual social relations between Jews and Gentiles.[2]

To understand the entry of Jews into Gentile society one must examine all areas of everyday life where Jews and non-Jews might form relationships and share values. Generally, historians of modern Europe and America have employed the concept of assimilation, but their use

A shorter version of this paper was read at a symposium on Jews and Germans at the turn of the century held at Washington University in April 1976. The author wishes to thank Herbert Gutman, David Hammack, and Theodore Rabb for their helpful comments and suggestions on early drafts of the paper.

1. This point is made strongly in Richard S. Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany* (New Haven and London, 1975), pp. 1–2.

2. Both Peter Gay, "Encounter with Modernism: German Jews in German Culture, 1888–1914," *Midstream* 21 (1975): 24–25, and George L. Mosse, *Germans and Jews* (New York, 1970), p. 78, comment on our ignorance of the actual place of Jews in German society before World War I. The discussions by Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1958), pp. 54–88, and Peter G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York, 1964), pp. 3–17, are highly impressionistic.

of this notion has typically been too limited in compass and unilinear in its sense of development.[3] Most historians have considered assimilation as primarily the acquisition of the values, attitudes, and habits of one group by members of another, i.e., acculturation, leading to fusion in a common cultural life. While this notion of fusion certainly implies interpenetration in social relations, nearly all studies of Jewish assimilation in modern Europe have concentrated on acculturation and neglected the systematic examination of social interaction.[4] The usual notions of assimilation have also worked to limit understanding of situations in which individuals simultaneously share values and relationships with several ethnic groups. So long as scholars conceive of assimilation as a linear process whereby individuals simply move from one group membership to another, we will tend to dismiss dual affiliations as merely transitory and inherently unstable.[5]

A properly multidimensional analysis of Jewish entry into Gentile society in nineteenth-century Germany and Austria therefore requires a more complex research design than that used heretofore in studies of assimilation. First, historians need to examine as distinct but related processes Jews' adoption of Gentiles' values and ways of life, Jews' conscious identification with non-Jews, Jewish-Gentile interaction in a wide variety of social groups, and intermarriage. Then those areas of

3. See, for example, George Barany, " 'Magyar Jew or: Jewish Magyar'? (To the Question of Jewish Assimilation in Hungary)," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 8 (1974): 1–44, which uses a very generalized concept of social integration, or Michael R. Marrus's work on late nineteenth-century France, *The Politics of Assimilation* (Oxford, 1971), which treats assimilation primarily as a question of conscious identification with the surrounding society.

4. Among the more recent works on the history of Central European Jewry, Samuel Echt, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Danzig* (Leer-Ostfriesland, 1972), does not raise the question of social interaction. Jehuda Reinharz, *Fatherland or Promised Land* (Ann Arbor, 1975), and Ismar Schorsch, *Jewish Reactions to German Anti-Semitism, 1870–1914* (New York and London, 1972), deal primarily with political organization at the national level. Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany* (Ithaca and London, 1975), is an intellectual history of the problems of emancipation and social integration. Stephen M. Poppel, "New Views on Jewish Integration in Germany," *Central European History* 9 (1976): 86–108, ably reviews other recent contributions to the literature.

5. For discussions of dual group affiliations and biculturalism, see Steven Polgar, "Biculturation of Mesquakie Teenage Boys," *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 217–35, and Charles A. Valentine, "Deficit, Difference, and Bicultural Models of Afro-American Behavior," *Harvard Educational Review* 41 (1971): 137–57. Contrast these to the influential work of Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York, 1964), which argues for a multidimensional analysis of assimilation to allow for cultural pluralism but still sees a linear movement from membership in one group to another.

life where Jews came into conformity with Gentile patterns and entered into relationships with non-Jews must be distinguished from the areas where separation continued. In explaining these developments one must try to identify the social, cultural, and political conditions which encouraged or impeded Jewish entry into non-Jewish society in its various facets. This study will proceed along these lines in examining the experience of Prague's German Jews before World War I.

Prague offers an instructive locale for analyzing the movement of Jews into German culture and society in the late nineteenth century. In 1956 Felix Weltsch, one of the "Prague Circle" of German Jewish writers around World War I, wrote of *fin de siècle* Prague as "a place where German literature and art were thriving . . . when the most intensive assimilation of the Jews to German culture was the order of the day."[6] The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Habsburg hereditary lands shared much in common with those of Germany. As in Germany, the Jews in Austria's western provinces lived in larger concentrations than in Western Europe yet still in lower densities than in Poland, the Bukovina, and western Russia.[7] Moreover, the Austrian Jews only achieved final emancipation in the 1860s, the same decade as in northern Germany. Thereafter, the Jews in the Bohemian and Alpine lands sought entry into Gentile society to a much greater degree than did the Polish and Russian Jews. Prague, the Bohemian capital, also offers ample evidence for studying the integrative processes: Jewish settlement in the city dates back at least to the early tenth century, and in 1900 the Jewish residents of Prague and the inner suburbs numbered 26,342, 6.7 percent of the civilian population.[8]

6. Felix Weltsch, "The Rise and Fall of the Jewish-German Symbiosis—The Case of Franz Kafka," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 1 (1956): 255–56.

7. See the comments by Hans Kohn and Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia and New York, 1968–71), 1: 13, 21–26, and Peter G. J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*, p. 5. For a comparison of Central and Eastern European Jewry, see Shmuel Ettinger, "Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern and Central Europe between the Wars: An outline," in Bela Vago and George L. Mosse, eds., *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe 1918–1945* (New York and Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 3–4.

8. On the early history of the Prague Jews, see Samuel Steinherz, ed., *Die Juden in Prag* (Prague, 1927), pp. 32–39. The 1900 statistics derive from Jan Srb, ed., *Sčítání lidu v král. hlavní městě Praze a obcech sousedních provedené 31. prosince 1900*, 3 vols. (Prague, 1902–1908), 1: 86–96. I will take the "city of Prague" to mean the eight districts included in the municipality in 1901: Old Town, New Town, Malá strana, Hradčany, Josefov, Vyšehrad, Holešovice, and Libeň. The "inner city" includes only the first five districts. Smíchov, Karlín, Žižkov, and Vinohrady are the four "inner suburbs." I will take as

The Czech-German polarization of public life in Prague after 1860 does distinguish the city from other large urban centers in Germany and western Austria. Jews who wanted to enter Gentile society here had to choose between Czech and German affiliations. Yet the Czech-German polarity heightened the residents' consciousness of the Jews' place in society and makes Prague an all the more revealing case. Indeed, the intense concern of the famous writers of the Prague Circle with their Jewish identity and the changing place of Jews in Central European society has already attracted literary critics and intellectual historians to the experience of the Prague Jews around 1900. Their studies, based primarily on latter-day memoirs and some correspondence, have argued incorrectly, I think, that the sense of unease and alienation that characterizes so much of the work of Franz Kafka, Max Brod, and the other German Jewish writers is symptomatic of the general experience of Prague's middle-class German Jews as a minority within a minority, rejected by both the Czech and German middle-class communities.[9] A broader study of the participation of Jews in German society in Prague can thus also clarify the actual social context in which the Prague Circle developed.

EMANCIPATION AND ACCULTURATION

In the nineteenth century the Prague Jews followed a course of acculturation to their non-Jewish environment that is familiar throughout Central Europe and can only be summarized here. It is important, however, to determine which Jews in Prague adopted the values and ideals of their German neighbors and to try to assess the extent of that acculturation. Whether they aligned with German or Czech society, the Jews' desire to escape the poverty and restrictions of ghetto life provided a strong and lasting impetus for adopting the values and lifestyle of secular, liberal, middle-class society. In Prague and throughout Bohemia, Jews took the lead in commercial and industrial innovation even before the final emancipation. Rich and poor alike, the Prague

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Jews those who affirmed membership in a Jewish population or religious community and exclude those who formally renounced any such affiliation.

9. See Pavel Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague* (New York, 1950), Eduard Goldstücker, "Über die Prager deutsche Literatur am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts," *Dortmunder Vorträge* 70 (1965), William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), pp. 265–73, Heinz Politzer, "Prague and the Origins of Rainer Maria Rilke, Franz Kafka, and Franz Werfel," *Modern Language Quarterly* 16 (1955): 49–63, and Hans Tramer, "Prague—City of Three Peoples," *LBI Year Book* 9 (1964): 305–39.

Jews developed a strong identification with the emerging entrepreneurial and professional middle class even before they began to move out of the old Jewish quarter after 1859.[10] Over half of all the Bohemian Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century engaged in commerce and finance while another 15 percent to 25 percent were in the professions.[11] Excluded from the guilds in the old corporate society, the Jews could not identify with the small craft producers and their reactionary politics. Moreover, Prague had no significant Jewish industrial proletariat until World War I. In 1900, the only prewar year for which such statistics are available, 51 percent of all the self-supporting Jews in the city and the inner suburbs were self-employed or independent compared to 7 percent industrial workers (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF SELF-SUPPORTING JEWISH RESIDENTS, PRAGUE AND SUBURBS, 1900

	Agric./Forest	*Manufact.*	*Commerce*	*Public/Prof. Other*	*Total*
Independent	37	985	2,353	3,069	6,444
Employee	5	852	2,045	533	3,435
Worker/ day-lab.	4	884	1,441	299	2,628
TOTAL	46	2,721	5,839	3,901	12,507

SOURCE: Heinrich Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1905), 2: 368.

The patterns of migration to Prague under the Monarchy help explain the absence of a Jewish working class and the rapidity of the Jews' acculturation. The granting of freedom of movement and marriage in 1849 and the removal of the last restrictions on occupation and residence in 1859–60 caused the fertility of Jews to increase throughout Bo-

10. See the vivid recollections of Sigmund Mayer, *Ein jüdischer Kaufmann 1831 bis 1911* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 103, and the general discussions by Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1: 37–43, Christoph Stölzl, "Zur Geschichte der böhmischen Juden in der Epoche des modernen Nationalismus, I," *Bohemia: Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum* 14 (1973): 179–221, and Michael A. Riff, "The Assimilation of the Jews of Bohemia and the Rise of Political Anti-Semitism, 1848–1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1974), passim.

11. From an unpublished study by Jan Heřman, cited by Stölzl in *Bohemia: Jahrbuch* 14 (1973): 191.

hemia.[12] Prague's Jewish population grew thereafter both from the higher fertility and a substantial influx of migrants from the smaller Bohemian Jewish communities. In 1857 the Jewish residents in the five historic sections of the inner city numbered 7,706, 5 percent of the total.[13] Primarily owing to the in-migration, the civilian Jewish population of the whole municipality and inner suburbs grew from 14,928 in 1869 to 27,986 in 1910.[14] Prague's Gentile population increased at an even faster rate, however, and the Jewish share of the total declined during the same period from 7.3 percent to 6.0 percent. The migration of Jews into Prague, like that of Catholics and Protestants, came principally from other parts of Bohemia. Unlike Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest, the immigration of poor Polish and Russian Jews did not become a significant factor in Prague until World War I.[15] In 1900, 94.4 percent of the Jewish residents of Prague and the suburbs were native to Bohemia and Moravia; less than 3 percent had been born in Galicia, the Bukovina, Hungary, and Russia.[16]

Between the 1850s and the late 1870s, the great majority of the Prague Jews adopted the culture of Austria's German middle class. The large-scale linguistic and cultural Germanization of the Bohemian Jews had begun in the reign of Emperor Joseph II, when the government established schools for the Jews with German as the language of instruction.[17] By 1860 German had almost completely replaced *Mauscheldeutsch*, the regional Jewish dialect, as the principal language spoken in the larger Jewish communities.[18] In Prague and the other central Bo-

12. See the discussion by Kestenberg-Gladstein in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1: 27–37.

13. *Tafeln zur Statistik der öster. Monarchie*, N.F., vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 10, 48–49.

14. Srb, ed., *Sčítání lidu*, 1: 92–95, and *Statistická zpráva král. hl. města Prahy r. 1910* (Prague, 1912), p. 58.

15. On the impact made by the arrival of East European refugees during the war, see Felix Weltsch in *LBI Year Book* 1 (1956): 271, and Tramer in *LBI Year Book* 9 (1964): 320–26.

16. Srb, ed., *Sčítání lidu*, 3: 750.

17. See Guido Kisch, "Linguistic Conditions among Czechoslovak Jewry," in Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr., ed., *Czechoslovakia Past and Present*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1968), 2: 1451–62, and Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den böhmischen Ländern* (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 357–59.

18. Auguste Hauschner, *Die Familie Lowositz* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 24–26, and Fritz Mauthner, *Erinnerungen*, vol. 1, *Prager Jugendjahre* (Munich, 1918), p. 33, both note the efforts of Jewish parents to stamp out all traces of *Mauscheldeutsch* in household use in the 1860s. On the Jews' linguistic habits see also Karel Adámek, *Slovo o židech*, rev. ed. (Chrudim, 1900), and Ottilie Bondy, "Familiengeschichte des Hauses Michael Beermann Teller" (unpubl. memoir in the Leo Baeck Institute, New York), pp. 1–2.

hemian cities, which had large Czech-speaking populations, the Jewish residents also had to know a good amount of Czech. Yet the preeminence of German in government, large commerce, and public education caused the preponderance of Prague's Jews to prefer the German language, secular German learning, and where possible German social connections.[19] One Jewish visitor to Prague in the 1850s observed that even while still in the ghetto the Prague Jews already identified with the Germans: ". . . both the authorities and the people themselves considered the Prague Jews as Germans although a wall divided them from the German Christians, which only a few Jews in the highest strata surmounted."[20]

The removal of most of the remaining discriminatory laws and the general liberalization of Austrian public life at the end of the 1850s caused the Prague Jews to intensify their adoption of secular middle-class values and their identification with German society. Not until after 1900 did any Jews in the city show a desire to be considered as a distinct people on a par with the Czechs and Germans. Determined to achieve full emancipation, the Jews wanted their Jewishness respected as a matter of personal belief but opposed any distinction in law or political life. A Zionist group committed to the idea of the Jews as a separate people developed in Prague only after 1907 and attracted only a small following in the years before World War I.[21]

The Jews who wanted to enter into non-Jewish society in Prague had to choose between two distinct Gentile communities after 1860. The rapid growth of a mass-based Czech national movement at the end of the 1850s caused public life in Prague to split into distinct Czech and German spheres. The separate Czech and German societies that arose in the following two decades each possessed its own collective identity based on language, political goals, social values, and an ethnically exclusive public life.[22]

19. In the 1830s and 1840s Jewish intellectuals in Bohemia briefly flirted with notions of the cultural equality of Czechs and Germans in Bohemia and even pro-Czech sentiments. See Stölzl in *Bohemia: Jahrbuch* 14 (1973): 190–210.

20. Mayer, *Ein jüdischer Kaufmann*, p. 151.

21. See Oskar K. Rabinowicz, "Czechoslovak Zionism: Analecta to a History," in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* (Philadelphia–New York, 1971), 2: 1–30, and Hartmut Binder, "Franz Kafka and the Weekly Paper *Selbstwehr*," *LBI Year Book* 12 (1967): 135–48.

22. See the discussion in Gary B. Cohen, "The Prague Germans 1861–1914: The Problems of Ethnic Survival" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1975), chaps. 1 and 2.

Until the 1890s the Prague Jews found much to persuade them to align with the Germans and little to attract them to the Czechs. Like many Catholic peasants and workers in the Czech-speaking parts of Bohemia, most of the Prague Jews still viewed German society as superior to the Czech in power, prestige, and wealth long after a significant Czech bourgeoisie had arisen and Count Taaffe's government (1879–93) had shattered German political dominance in Austria.[23] The German Liberal party virtually monopolized German politics in Bohemia until the late 1880s and welcomed Jewish support. The German Liberals eschewed anti-Semitism, opposed Catholic clerical influence in politics and education, and championed economic freedom and equality of opportunity.

In contrast, many aspects of Czech politics repelled the Prague Jews despite the liberal principles of the early Czech nationalists. Soon after 1860 the more conservative Czech nationalists, known later as the Old Czechs, formed an alliance with the conservative aristocrats and the Catholic hierarchy that obliged them to support reactionary economic legislation and clerical influence over public education. The more radical Czech nationalists, the Young Czechs, were strongly anticlerical, but they tolerated and occasionally joined in the lower middle-class demagoguery which identified the Jews with the Germans and the other alien forces who oppressed the Czechs in their own land.[24] The social and economic resentments of Prague's small Czech shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, and skilled workers erupted in mass violence against the property of Germans and Jews repeatedly between the 1840s and World War I. When Jews did show pro-German sentiments, they only confirmed Czech presumptions and drew attacks from Czech radicals.

Considerations of class rather than religion acted as the greatest impediment to Jewish identification with the Germans in Prague. The

23. On the Taaffe era see William A. Jenks, *Austria under the Iron Ring* (Charlottesville, 1965), H. Gordon Skilling, "The Czech-German Conflict in Bohemia 1867–1914" (unpubl. revision of Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1940), and Jan Havránek, "The Development of Czech Nationalism," *Austrian History Yearbook* 3 (1967): 223–60.

24. On the development of Czech politics in the late nineteenth century, see the extensive party history by Bruce M. Garver, "The Young Czech Party 1874–1914" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1971), and the surveys, Oldřich Říha, ed., *Přehled československých dějin*, 3 vols. (Prague, 1958–60), 2: 214–31, 378–440, and R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (London, 1943), pp. 200–43. On Czech anti-Semitism see the brief comments of Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*, pp. 138–43, 215; Riff, "The Assimilation of the Jews of Bohemia," pp. 154–80; and Karel Adámek's contemporary tract, *Slovo o židech*.

city's German minority derived from the Germanized upper strata that arose in all the Bohemian towns between the Thirty Years' War and the mid-nineteenth century. To define themselves as a group and compensate for their demographic and political decline, the Prague Germans developed a strong identity as a prestigious elite after 1860. This resulted in the virtual exclusion of working-class elements from German community life and discouraged the poorest Jewish shopkeepers and commercial employees from establishing German allegiances.[25]

Immersed in a predominantly Czech environment and fearful of retribution for pro-German sentiments, the poorer Jews increasingly aligned with the Czechs after the mid-1880s. An organized Czech-Jewish movement allied with the moderate Young Czechs slowly gained support among the less prosperous Jewish residents of the old Prague ghetto and the suburbs as well as university students from the Czech towns of central Bohemia.[26] The Czech-Jewish movement showed its strength among the poorer Jews by consistently winning the election of its candidates over German Jews in the old Jewish quarter from the late 1880s until a slum clearance project removed the poor after 1900.[27] The experience of the Jews who aspired to join Czech society awaits systematic treatment, but one suspects that their adoption of Czech allegiances represented more an act of necessity than a sign of any great mutual affection. Lingering Czech resentments over the Jews' old German affinities and the increasingly virulent anti-Semitic outbursts of the Czech radicals after 1890 probably assured Jews a relatively cool reception in many Czech quarters.[28] Prague's more prosperous Jews, in contrast, remained committed to German culture and politics throughout this period.

25. See Cohen, "The Prague Germans," chaps. 2 and 3.

26. Neither Egon Hostovský, "The Czech-Jewish Movement," in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 2: 148–54, nor *Dějiny českožidovského hnutí* (Prague, 1932) published by the Svaz Čechů-Židů provides an adequate history. See the memoirs of the playwright František Langer, *Byli a bylo* (Prague, 1963), for the experience of a Czech Jewish family in Prague around 1900.

27. See the summary of the political developments in Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 222–42.

28. See Christoph Stölzl, "Zur Geschichte der böhmischen Juden in der Epoche des modernen Nationalismus, II," in *Bohemia: Jahrbuch* 15 (1974): 129–57, and idem, "Die 'Burg' und die Juden: T. G. Masaryk und sein Kreis im Spannungsfeld der jüdischen Frage," in Karl Bosl, ed., *Die "Burg": Einflussreiche politische Kräfte um Masaryk und Beneš*, 2 vols. (Munich and Vienna, 1974), 2: 79–110, for discussion of the general trends in Czech attitudes toward the Jews from the 1860s to the 1920s.

The statistics on everyday language from the Austrian censuses offer one measure of the Prague Jews' national loyalties after 1880. In that year the census began to ask of citizens their language of everyday use (*Umgangssprache*, *obcovací řeč*), and from the inception the Bohemian public equated the test of language with one of nationality. Particularly in localities such as Prague where Czechs and Germans lived side by side, those responding to the census quickly became aware that the statistics on language could be used as a measure of national strength.[29] The published returns for 1880 do not compare language with religion. In 1890 the Germans of all religions comprised only 15.7 percent of the citizens in the city of Prague; 73.8 percent of all the civilian Jewish citizens declared German loyalties in the census.[30] The Jews in the poorest wards showed the strongest tendency to hold Czech allegiances, those in the wealthiest areas the greatest German loyalties.[31] In 1900 only 45.3 percent of all the Jewish citizens still indicated German language.[32] The Jews in the wealthiest districts still held German allegiances in the largest proportions, but many formerly German Jews in the intermediate and poorest wards now adopted Czech loyalties in the census. This does not mean that over four thousand Jews completely abandoned speaking German and learned Czech from scratch in ten years' time. The census permitted only a single response to the question of language, but in practice a large portion of the Jews in Prague engaged in commerce and manufacture had to speak both German and Czech in the course of their daily activities.[33] The general weakening of the German Liberals in the 1890s, the increasing militancy of the Czech parties, and the shock of the Czech anti-Semitic violence in 1897 apparently per-

29. See Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 130–41.

30. Srb, ed., *Sčítání lidu*, 1: 126, and appendix to vol. 3, "Obcovací řeč jako prostředek . . . ," pp. 72–75, 78. The city, here districts I–VII, had 173,304 citizen residents, among them 27,125 with German everyday language. Of the latter, 12,588 were Jews. Libeň did not become part of the city as Prague VIII until 1901.

31. For detailed discussion of this, see Gary B. Cohen, "Ethnicity and Urban Population Growth: The Decline of the Prague Germans, 1880–1910," *Studies in East European Social History* 2 (forthcoming), and Jan Havránek, "Social Classes, Nationality Ratios, and Demographic Trends in Prague 1880–1900," *Historica* 13 (1966): 199–202.

32. Srb, ed., "Obcovací řeč jako prostředek . . . ," pp. 72–75, 78. Officially there were now 8,230 German-speaking Jews and 9,880 Czech-speaking. The total German-speaking population in Prague I–VII now numbered 17,928, 9.4% of all the citizens.

33. See the discussions by the contemporary demographers, Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 1: 151–60, and in Srb, ed., "Obcovací řeč jako prostředek," passim, and the comments by Jan Havránek, "Demografický vývoj Prahy v druhé polovině 19. století," *Pražský sborník historický 1969–1970*, pp. 97–99.

suaded many of the less prosperous Jews to hold out the olive branch to the Czechs and affirm Czech allegiances in the 1900 census.[34] By then the Czech majority in Prague had become so powerful economically and politically that it could no longer easily be flouted in so public a test of strength as the census.

While the census returns thus indicate primarily the Jews' shifting political loyalties, the attendance of secular German schools by Jews, rich and poor alike, shows a strong persistence of their German cultural affinities. After 1848 the public school curriculum in Austria provided for religious instruction according to the pupils' faith, and private Jewish religious schools generally died out in Bohemia at the end of the 1850s.[35] After 1860 Prague developed dual systems of public schools, one with Czech-language instruction and the other German, but until 1918 the great majority of the Prague Jews preferred the German primary and secondary schools. In 1890, 97 percent of the 1,863 Jewish pupils in the municipal primary schools attended the German institutions. In 1900 despite the great Jewish attrition from the German ranks in the census, the German public schools still had 91 percent of the Jewish pupils. In 1910 the figure was 89 percent.[36] At the secondary level, 83 percent of all the Jewish students in the public gymnasia and *Realschulen* attended the German schools in 1910.[37] Notwithstanding the decline in the Jews' German political identification, more than eight in ten still wanted their children to master German, be grounded in German learning, and receive only limited instruction in Czech.[38] The choice of schools often also played a crucial role in determining social affiliations. Growing up in the midst of Czech neighbors, Czech servants, and sometimes Czech relatives, Jewish and Gentile children alike

34. On the 1897 disturbances in Prague see Berthold Sutter, *Die Badenischen Sprachenverordnungen von 1897*, 2 vols. (Graz and Cologne, 1965), 2: 74–80; Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 451–55; and the vivid novels of Viktor Dyk, *Prosinec* (Prague, 1906), and Karl Hans Strobl, *Die Václavbude* (Leipzig, 1902). No comparable statistics are available to compare religion with everyday language for Prague in 1910.

35. See Kestenberg-Gladstein in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1: 48–50.

36. *Statistická knížka král. hl. města Prahy r. 1890* (Prague, 1892), p. 362; *Statistická knížka města Prahy r. 1900* (Prague, 1903), p. 387; and *Statistická zpráva král. hl. města Prahy r. 1910* (Prague, 1912), pp. 477–91, 495. The city's statistical handbooks do not describe the pupils in private schools in the same detail, but apparently at any time in this period an additional 300–400 Jewish children attended private schools, nearly all of them with German-language instruction.

37. *Statistická zpráva Prahy 1910*, pp. 477–91, 495.

38. See the comments of contemporary observers, Rauchberg, *Nationale Besitzstand*, 1: 151–60, and Srb, ed., "Obcovací řeč jako prostředek . . . ," passim.

often received their first sustained exposure to an exclusively German-speaking and German-dominated situation when they attended a German school.[39]

The strong desire of Prague's German Jews to adopt the values and life-style of their German Gentile neighbors and to be accepted as equals in Gentile society caused many of the ways of the old ghetto life to disappear rapidly after 1860. Attending the German public schools in itself doubtlessly contributed much to the Jews' adoption of non-Jewish ways and to the Jews' secularization. Many contemporary accounts attest to the quick decline of religious piety after the mid-nineteenth century.[40] Yet neither apostasy nor any pronounced religious reformism accompanied the drive for acceptance in Gentile society. In most of Central Europe before World War I, the actual rate of conversion from Judaism to Christianity remained low, and Prague did not depart from that norm. In 1878, for instance, fewer than ten Jews in the city renounced their religion.[41] In 1891 only eight Jews, 0.046 percent of the total, gave up their religion. In the same year in Vienna, where Catholic piety and anti-Semitism were both stronger, Jews converted at five times the Prague rate.[42] In this period none of Prague's synagogues undertook liturgical reforms beyond the introduction of vernacular sermons and organ music and some shortening of services.[43] The low enrollment in the city's only specialized Jewish religious school, however, suggests the actual extent of religious indifference in

39. See the vivid recollections of Willy Haas, *Die literarische Welt* (Munich, 1958), pp. 10–11, and the fictional portraits in Matej Šimáček, *Ze zápisků phil. studenta F. Kořínka* (Prague, 1893–96), 1: 166f., 2: 74f., 3: 218f.

40. See, for example, Mauthner, pp. 95–105, Hauschner, pp. 112–19, Arnold Höllriegel (pseud. of Richard A. Bermann), "Die Fahrt auf dem Katarakt" (unpubl. autobiography in the Leo Baeck Institute, New York), pp. 5–6, and Hans Kohn, *Living in a World Revolution* (New York, 1964), pp. 36–39.

41. *Statistisches Handbüchlein der kgl. Hauptstadt Prag für das Jahr 1878* (Prague, 1880), pp. 128–29. See the general comments on conversion in Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism*, p. 6, and Gay in *Midstream* 21 (1975): 24–25. Carl Cohen, "The Road to Conversion," *LBI Year Book* 6 (1961): 259–79, is less useful.

42. *Oesterreichisches Städtebuch* (Vienna, 1893), 5: 32, 245. Published statistics on conversions in Prague are scarce for later years. The analysis of archival sources in Riff, pp. 209–16, shows some increase in the number of Prague Jews who gave up their religion after the mid-1890s, but the increase was chiefly among those going to the without religion category and the overall rate of conversion in the last decade before the war was still half the rate for the Viennese Jews.

43. See Kestenberg-Gladstein, "The Jews between Czechs and Germans," and Hugo Stransky, "The Religious Life in the Historic Lands," in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1: 50–53, 336–9.

the population: at any one time hardly more than 425 received the rigorous instruction offered by Prague's Talmud-Torah school between 1880 and World War I, compared to an average enrollment of nearly 3,000 Jewish pupils in the public primary and secondary schools.[44] For the rest a few hours weekly of often perfunctory religious study in the public schools sufficed.[45]

The support for the German Liberals, the attendance of German schools, and the decline in religiosity indicate only the most salient features of the more prosperous Jews' German acculturation in the half century after emancipation. Insofar as few of Prague's Jews formally renounced their religion, most retained some loyalty to their own distinct culture and identity. One would like to know much more about the exact mixture of Jewish and non-Jewish elements in the German Jews' habits and values, but the limited memoirs and periodicals available do not suffice for a discussion of any large segment of the population. Apparently, however, the middle-class Jews who established firm German loyalties generally honored secular German ideals over those of Jewish tradition. The staunchly German Liberal leaders of the religious community, for instance, consistently rejected the concept of separate Jewish schools as a return to the ghetto conditions.[46] The founding of a youth group in 1910 by the Jewish fraternal organization B'nai B'rith provides a more telling example. Rather than give the new group a Judaic name, the middle-class members of the B'nai B'rith in Prague chose to honor Johann Gottfried Herder, the German Protestant champion of the dignity of all national cultures.[47] Yet if the middle-class Jews adopted the values of secular German culture in Austria and identified with the Germans, to what extent did they also develop patterns of social interaction with the Gentile Germans in Prague after 1860?

44. The Talmud-Torah had 310 pupils in 1880, *Statistická knížka Prahy 1879–1880* (Prague, 1881), p. 124, and 425 pupils in 1910, *Statistická zpráva za rok 1910*, p. 507.

45. Höllriegel, pp. 4–5, Kohn, *World Revolution*, p. 39, and Mauthner, pp. 95–100, all comment on the superficial character of the Jewish religious instruction in the public schools.

46. *Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* (Prague), Aug. 15, 1895, Mar. 15, 1896.

47. E. Starkenstein, ed., *Festschrift anlässlich des 30-jährigen Bestandes der Loge Bohemia I.O.B.B.* (Prague, 1923), pp. 174–75. The police dossier for the "Bohemia" lodge makes clear the very respectable character of the B'nai B'rith in Prague, Central State Archive, Prague, PP 1908–1915 V/10/39, especially Zl 6421 pp de pr 14.III.1906, report of a meeting on Mar. 17, 1906.

THE ENTRY OF JEWS INTO GERMAN SOCIAL LIFE

Jews had enormous success in entering into the social, political, and cultural groups that constituted German community life in Prague. Jewish manufacturers and professionals shared in founding Prague's first consciously German groups in 1848 and again in the early 1860s. As German community life developed thereafter, it excluded Czechs and any Germans who did not support German liberal politics, but the German groups applied no overt religious test against Jews. A professor of philosophy from Munich succinctly described the situation in the late 1880s when he noted that the survival of German community life in Prague depended on two conditions: "no flirtation with the Slavs and no hostility to the Jews."[48] German social life did exclude the poorest Jews in the city, but Catholics and Protestants were excluded by the same social and economic criteria. An examination of those criteria reveals the limits of liberal German society in the city as well as the extent of Jewish integration.

Like other Western and Central European urban populations in the nineteenth century, the Prague Germans conducted most of their group social and political life in interlocking networks of voluntary associations. At the community level voluntary associations met collective needs for sociability, entertainment, self-improvement, and mutual aid. Connected by common directors and shared members, the associations also played a vital role in articulating class and status differences, defining social hierarchy, and directing local political affairs.[49] The German minority of Prague developed an elaborate and tightly knit network of associations. As the German share of the population declined and the Czechs gradually excluded the Germans from local government, the Germans depended increasingly on their own organizations to represent their interests to the higher authorities, provide educational

48. Quoted in Margarete Jodl, *Friedrich Jodl: Sein Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921), pp. 117–18.

49. The history of voluntary associations has been studied most thoroughly so far for Germany. See the general discussion by Thomas Nipperdey, "Verein als soziale Struktur im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in Hartmut Boockmann and Hermann Heimpel, eds., *Geschichtswissenschaft und Vereinswesen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1972), pp. 1–44, and such local studies as Herbert Freudenthal, *Vereine im Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1968), and Wolfgang Meyer, *Das Vereinswesen der Stadt Nürnberg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Nuremberg, 1970). Maurice Agulhon, "Les Chambrées en Basse-Provence: histoire et ethnologie," *Revue Historique* 498 (1971): 337–68, suggests the patterns of development in southern France.

and cultural services, and assure group survival in general. Not counting the 36 student organizations, Prague had 196 German associations to serve a German-speaking citizen population of only 32,800 in 1912.[50] The nerve center of the German community was the German Casino, a large, general-purpose social club founded in 1862. To examine the participation of Jews in German social life, one must begin with the associational network headed by the Casino.

The Casino itself measures well the entry of Jews into German community life in Prague. The Casino sponsored a variety of social activities and provided central direction, facilities, and financial support for all the German associations in the city except the small, isolated *völkisch* and German Social Democratic groups. Befitting its power and prestige in the German community, the Casino had a large but socially select membership: in 1879–80 manufacturers, independent businessmen, professionals, professors, public officials, and bank officers—all members of the middle class of property and education, the *Bürgertum*—comprised more than three-quarters of the 1,200 members.[51] In 1898–99, 81 percent of the 1,282 members belonged to the *Bürgertum*.[52] Despite this selectivity, unconverted Jews comprised 38 percent of the Casino's members in 1879.[53] After the mid-1880s the rise of political anti-Semitism in the German nationalist and Christian Social movements gradually forced Jews to withdraw from German middle-class society in many of Austria's German cities and towns, but Prague's German minority remained staunchly liberal. Jews accounted for 45 percent of the Casino's members in 1898–99, a figure comparable to the Jewish portion of the total German-speaking population. In 1907, 48 percent of the 1,329 members were Jews.[54]

Membership data are not as plentiful for the myriad other associa-

50. Wilhelm Winkler, "Schutzarbeit: Deutsch-Prager Vereinsleben," *Deutsche Arbeit* 13 (1913–14): 527–28. See Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 63–100, 280–325, 473–506, on the development of the German associational network in Prague.

51. The actual portion was 77.3%, Prague City Archive, fond spolků: Deutsches Haus, "Mitglieder Verzeichnis des Vereines des Deutschen Casino, 1879–1880."

52. Prague City Archive, fond spolků: Deutsches Haus, "Mitglieder Verzeichnis des Vereines des Deutschen Casino, 1898–99."

53. The Jewish members were identified by comparing the Casino's membership lists with the registries of taxpayers for the Jewish Religious Community of Prague for the years 1870, 1891, 1901, and 1912 in the State Jewish Museum, Prague, records of the Jewish Religious Community of Prague.

54. Prague City Archive, fond spolků: Deutsches Haus, "Namens-Verzeichnis der Mitglieder des Deutschen Casinos nach dem Stande vom 31. Dezember 1907."

tions, but Jewish participation in the smaller liberal groups seems to have been comparable to that in the Casino. In the predominantly lower middle-class *Deutscher Turnverein* Jews accounted for one-third of the members in late 1887.[55] In Lower Austria, Styria, Moravia, and northern Bohemia after 1885, anti-Semitic German nationalists took over many of the chapters of the German School Society, the voluntary organization that operated free German schools for minority communities that lacked state schools. In Prague, however, Jews remained active as members and officers in all the local chapters until 1918.[56]

Jews gained acceptance in German social life in Prague according to the same social and economic criteria as Gentiles. The occupational profile of the Jewish participants differed from their Gentile colleagues, but generally Jews who wanted honors in German society were not subject to any higher standards. Table 2 compares the occupations of the Casino's Jewish members with those of the non-Jews in 1898–99. Of course, the Jewish members of the Casino represented Prague's wealthier Jews.[57] The differences in the composition of the Jewish and Gentile members generally derived from the character of the whole Jewish population rather than any special social standard imposed on Jewish membership. The Jews had a disproportionately high representation among the city's wholesale and retail businessmen at the turn of the century. Since many of these had only modest means and limited social pretensions, their numbers artificially inflate the total of the Jewish members who could be considered unquestionably middle class. In the professions, the membership figures reflect the relatively high representation of the Central European Jews of this era in medicine and law and their low numbers in government service, the academy, and technical pursuits. At the lower end of the hierarchy, poor Jewish grocers, peddlers, clerks, and workers, like their Catholic and Protestant counterparts, found entry blocked into organizations such as the German Casino.

55. Central State Archive, Prague, PP 1888–1892 V/39/1: "Verwaltungsbericht des Vorstandes des Deutschen Turnvereins in Prag für das Jahr 1887."

56. Central State Archive, Prague, PP 1908–1915 V/40/1–2 Deutscher Schulverein: police reports and lists of officers, directors. See August Ritter von Wotawa, *Der Deutsche Schulverein 1880–1905: Eine Gedenkschrift* (Vienna, 1905), on the political history of the whole society.

57. Checking the membership of the Casino against the tax registries of the Jewish Religious Community (see n. 53), I found that 86% of the Jewish Casino members in 1898–99 were in the upper half of the Jewish population ranked according to their tax payments in 1901, 55% in the highest quartile.

TABLE 2

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN CASINO, 1898–99

	Non-Jewish		*Jewish*	
	Members in %		*Members in %*	
Banker / bank director	1.6		1.2	
Manufacturer	10.6	(75)	9.6	(55)
Lawyer	9.2	(65)	17.8	(102)
Physician	2.5	(18)	3.8	(22)
Merchant / indep. business.	23.8	(168)	43.0	(250)
Government official	3.0	(21)	0.4	
Univ. prof. / docent	7.8	(55)	3.3	(19)
Gym. prof. / school dir.	2.0		0.7	
Bank / insurance officer	5.9	(42)	4.0	(23)
Architect / engineer / chem.	3.8	(27)	0.5	
Landowner	1.1		0.2	
Rentier / independent	2.7		5.1	(29)
SUBTOTAL	74.0%	(523)	89.6%	(516)
Superv. / employee / agent	9.5	(67)	5.2	(30)
Bookkeeper	0.4		1.2	
Government clerk / worker	0.3		0	
Shop foreman	0.1		0	
Skilled trade	1.6		0.9	
Construction	0.7		0.2	
Railroad / transport.	2.7		0.3	
Teacher	2.0		0	
Arts / journalism	7.4	(52)	1.6	
Student	0.1		0.2	
Widow	0.3		0.3	
TOTAL	100%	=(707)	100%	=(575)

SOURCES: Prague City Archive, fond spolků: Deutsches Haus, "Mitglieder Verzeichnis des Vereines des Deutschen Casino, 1898–99," and State Jewish Museum, Prague: tax registries of the Prague Jewish Religious Community, 1891 and 1901.

NOTE: Absolute numbers are given in parentheses for categories with 3 percent or more. The subtotal shows those in middle-class occupations as defined above.

German community life in Prague did more than merely tolerate Jewish participation. The German associations accorded high honors to Jewish members. Otto Forchheimer, a wealthy dealer in agricultural commodities, served as vice-president of the German Casino from 1883 to 1894 and president from 1894 to 1913. The Jewish lawyer Ludwig Bendiener, the last German Liberal member of the Prague board of

aldermen, acted as a director of the Casino's political arm, the German Club, from the 1880s to World War I and as vice-president after 1903. The two other principal officers of the German Club after 1908, Dr. Josef Eckstein and Docent Bruno Kafka, a cousin of Franz, were also Jews.[58] After the early 1880s, Jews dominated the German Merchants' Club and comprised around a third of the directors in most of the liberal associations.[59]

Nearly all the Jews who achieved prominence in the German community held positions of equal prestige and influence in Prague's Jewish religious and charitable groups. Advancement in German society did not require the severing of all connections with Jewish group activity or the denial of a distinct Jewish identity. Ludwig Bendiener served as president of the orthodox High Synagogue in the 1890s, as Jewish representative to the German Bohemian Provincial School Board in the late 1880s and 1890s, and as an officer of the Prague Jewish Religious Community for three decades.[60] The textile manufacturer Sigmund Mauthner presided simultaneously over the German Merchants' Club and the Central Society for the Care of Jewish Affairs, the chief Jewish charitable organization, in the 1880s and early 1890s. The insurance broker Philip Falkowicz succeeded Mauthner in both positions. These German Jewish notables partook of both German and Jewish society and won high status in both according to the same social and economic tests.[61]

Most of the Jews who participated in German community life in Prague acted avowedly as both Germans and Jews. In political action, education, artistic affairs, and large-group social activities, the German Jews identified with the German Gentiles and expected to be treated as equals regardless of religion. The German Jews openly supported the goals for which the liberal middle-class community stood: the primacy of the German middle class in a centralized Austria, civil and economic

58. Christoph Stölzl, *Kafkas böses Böhmen: Zur Sozialgeschichte eines Prager Juden* (Munich, 1975), p. 81, describes Bruno Kafka as having been baptized without offering any source. Kafka was still Jewish as of the time he took his doctorate in law in 1904; Charles University Archive, Prague: "Matricula Doctorum Univ. Prag. Germ.," 2.

59. For further discussion see Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 325–47.

60. See the biographical sketch published in *Selbstwehr*, Sept. 2, 1910, on the occasion of Bendiener's seventieth birthday.

61. Contrast this to the opposite conclusions on Jewish notables in Western and Central Europe in the late nineteenth century in Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, pp. 62–63.

libertarianism, and the removal of clerical influence from politics and public education. The German Jews expected matters of religion to be kept out of public life, but they also insisted on respect for their identity as members of a distinct religious group. The German Jews were not craven suppliants for status in Gentile society. In the early 1880s the Casino's Jewish members staged temporary walkouts when they were insulted by an anti-Semitic clique.[62] In 1899 during the Dreyfus affair and the ritual murder trial in the Bohemian town of Polná, a group of Jews in the Casino demanded the removal of an anti-Semitic newspaper from the association's reading room.[63] After 1900 the German Liberal leaders in Bohemia met vocal resistance from the Jewish members of the German associations in Prague whenever they proposed any political concessions to the anti-Semitic German parties.[64]

Shared social and political values as well as the need to maximize numerical strength united the German Gentiles and German Jews in Prague. As Czech politicians often remarked, the loss of Jewish support could cut in half at any time Prague's small but proud German *Bürgertum*.[65] Sensing their common interests with the middle-class Jews, the middle-class German Gentiles retained their liberal principles throughout the period before 1914 and rejected the appeals of the radical German nationalists. The leaders of the German community could do little to stop the spread of anti-Semitism among the university students who came to Prague from the German Bohemian border areas, but after the mid-1880s the directors of the Casino forbad any expression of anti-Semitism within Prague's German associations and expelled all *völkisch* elements.[66] If Jewish participation in group activity in many other German communities in Central Europe was less than in Prague—and the inadequacy of studies of Jewish-Gentile social interaction makes it impossible to draw specific comparisons—the difference must be attributed largely to the conditions under which middle-class German

62. See Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 252, 335–38.

63. Prague City Archive, fond spolků: Deutsches Haus, "Beschwerdebuch des Lesezimmers 1899–1928," entries of Sept. 20 and 26, 1899. For a similar incident, see Heinrich Teweles, *Theater und Publikum* (Prague, 1927), pp. 124–25.

64. *Bohemia* and *Prager Tagblatt*, June 23, 1907 (morning), both report such an incident.

65. The Old Czech *Politik*, Sept. 5, 1893, offers a characteristic example.

66. Central State Archive, Prague, PP 1900–1907 V/15/10 Deutscher Verein: VS 492/NE 2423pp, Mar. 21, 1883, police report; PMT 1888 48/88, Apr. 11, 1888, police report; and PP 1888–1892 V/39/1 Deutscher Turnverein in Prag: police reports for June 1888. See discussion in Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 333–41, 382–91.

Gentiles and German Jews lived in Prague as a tiny minority needing each other if they were to survive as a distinct group.

Prague's German Jews participated fully in the associational life of the liberal German community until after World War I. Adoption of the values of German middle-class society and conscious identification with the Germans in public affairs served as the prerequisites for the Jews' entry into group relationships with the German Gentiles. The Jews' success in German social and political life in turn reinforced the processes of German acculturation and identification among the Jews. Indeed, the acceptance of middle-class and some lower middle-class Jews into German society became so great that occasionally socially ambitious Jews felt the need to prevent mixed groups from becoming predominantly Jewish.[67] Yet this structural assimilation of the Jews affected only certain group relationships. All the Jewish-Gentile interaction described took place within what the Central European middle classes considered the public sector of daily life.[68] Relations in the private sphere of the household and the family took a different course.

THE PRIVATE SPHERE

Interaction between German Jews and German Gentiles in Prague occurred to a much lesser extent within the intimate confines of the household and the family than in public life. Relationships between Jews and Gentiles begun in the associations and discussion groups often developed into strong friendships even in the highest strata of German society.[69] Yet apparently such relationships seldom penetrated far into private life. Considerations of religious heritage still governed the German Jews' choice of spouses and neighbors even after religion had ceased to be a significant differentiating factor in public affairs.

For all of the Prague Jews the rate of intermarriage with Gentiles remained quite low throughout the first half century after emancipation. In the year 1881, for instance, only one Jewish resident in the city

67. Else Bergmann, "Familiengeschichte" (unpubl. typescript in the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, used by permission), p. 31, presents an instance of this. By citing this same case out of context, Kestenberg-Gladstein in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1: 54, uses it to exemplify the insults to which Jews were purportedly subject in Prague German society.

68. See Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Neuwied, 1972), pp. 60–75, for a discussion of the distinction between public and private in nineteenth-century middle-class culture.

69. Bergmann, "Familiengeschichte," pp. 29–30, recalls such friendships.

contracted a marriage with a non-Jew, compared to 207 homogeneous Jewish marriages.[70] In 1891 no Prague Jews entered into mixed marriages.[71] Between 1890 and 1914 the rate of intermarriage increased in Prague and throughout Central Europe, but the number of mixed marriages in Prague still remained relatively low. In 1911 only 30 of the 28,000 Jewish residents of Prague and the inner suburbs married non-Jews.[72] In Vienna, by contrast, the number of mixed Jewish/non-Jewish marriages per 100 homogeneous Jewish marriages consistently surpassed that for Prague by a wide margin (see Table 3). The rate of Jewish intermarriage in Prague was also much lower than the average in Germany: in 1901 the ratio of mixed to homogeneous Jewish marriages for all of Germany stood at 16.9 per 100, in 1907, 22.7 per 100.[73] All these statistics consider Jews who had renounced their religion as non-Jews, but, as has been seen, the conversion rate remained low among the Prague Jews before World War I.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF MIXED JEWISH/NON-JEWISH MARRIAGES PER 100 HOMOGENEOUS JEWISH MARRIAGES

	1881	*1891*	*1901*	*1911*
Prague	0.5	0	4.9	7.6
Vienna	11.8	7.7	11.4	14.9

SOURCES: See notes 70–72 for the 1881, 1891, and 1911 statistics. The 1901 statistics derive from *Oester. Städtebuch*, 10: 14, 385.

However much Jews desired and achieved acceptance in the public life of Prague's German society, only a tiny number joined in family relationships with non-Jews. Which social strata had the highest rate of intermarriage is unknown, but virtually none of the Jews most prominent in the German community were married to non-Jews. Here participation in German public affairs and upward mobility in German society did not require an attempt at complete amalgamation with the Gentile population as was the case in many Viennese social circles and apparently in many other Central European cities. Without such strong pressures Prague's German Jews kept their family lives separated.

70. *Oesterreichische Statistik*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 20–21.

71. Ibid. vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 16–21.

72. *Oesterreichisches Städtebuch*, 15: 10–11.

73. Uriah Zvi Engelman, "Intermarriage among Jews in Germany, the U.S.S.R. and Switzerland," *Jewish Social Studies* 2 (1940): 157–58.

The German Jews and German Gentiles generally avoided each other in their home life. Not only did the Jews limit their family relationships to other Jews, but the German Jews also tended to have other Jews but not German Gentiles as their immediate neighbors. After the removal of the last restrictions on residence in 1859, the Prague Jews gradually moved out of Josefov, the old Jewish quarter, and into the better sections of the Old Town, the Lower New Town, and eventually some of the inner suburbs, where they were joined by Jewish immigrants from the smaller ghettoes of Bohemia.[74] In 1900 only 8 percent of all the Prague Jews lived in Josefov although 73 percent still resided within the five historic sections of the inner city.[75] At the end of the century the Jews generally did not cluster together in particular neighborhoods or streets to the exclusion of non-Jews except in parts of Josefov, but within individual apartment buildings Jewish households, particularly the German Jews, tended to be gathered together with few if any German Gentiles in the same building.

One can see clearly the tendency of Jewish households to cluster together in a sample of the 1890 census returns for three parishes in the inner city. The selected parishes—St. Gall in the Old Town near the Carolinum and the two Lower New Town parishes of St. Henry and St. Peter—had relatively high concentrations of German-speakers, 29 percent of all the residents, and, in terms of religion, of Jews, 22 percent of the total.[76] German Catholic households were usually found together with Czech households in the same building but seldom German Catholics together with German Jews. The 1890 sample included 1,171 Czechs, 93 percent Catholic, 4 percent Jewish, and eighteen of the forty-six buildings sampled had only Czech residents. Excluding the ubiquitous Czech domestic servants, Czechs resided in all but three of

74. This is described in Srb, ed., *Sčítání lidu*, 1: 87–95, and Antonín Boháč, *Hlavní město Praha* (Prague, 1923), pp. 31–36.

75. Srb, ed., *Sčítání lidu*, 3: 88–93.

76. Prague City Archive, manuscript census returns. See Cohen, "The Prague Germans," pp. 591–94, for a description of the sampling procedures. These samples were drawn originally to study the occupational structures of the Czech and German populations, for which the sample size is adequate. Here, however, the clusters, i.e., the numbered buildings or parcels, are the crucial unit, and rigorous statistical procedure would require sampling a much larger number of clusters. Because of limited access to the manuscript materials, this was not practicable, and for purposes of significance tests I have had to treat the samples as if they were direct random samples. See Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Social Statistics*, 2d ed. (New York, 1972), pp. 523–27, for a sensible discussion of the practicalities of cluster sampling.

the remaining twenty-eight buildings along with the 484 German residents, 66 percent (321) of whom were Jewish, 29 percent Catholic. An index of association for the various groups can be calculated simply by correlating against each other the numbers of residents who belonged to each national and religious group for all the buildings with German residents. The German Catholic and German Jewish residents had the extremely low correlation coefficient of 0.05, compared to the higher association between the German Catholics and all nonservant Czech Catholics (0.36). The association of the German Jews with Czech Catholics (0.12) was only marginally higher than the association of German Jews and German Catholics, but the German Jews and Czech Jews had the very high correlation of 0.67.

Jewish families, German or Czech, might gather in the same building in a variety of ways. The presence of one or two families could attract others from the same circles of friendship or family relations. Business partners or individuals in the same pursuit might also gather in the same apartment building over a period of years.[77]

Neither the census returns nor any other available source offers any direct evidence on the motivations of the German Jews and German Gentiles in selecting residences, and one can only infer the reasons for the patterns. There was apparently little impediment to German Catholics residing in the same buildings with Czech Catholics. In everyday life the members of Prague's haughty German minority tried simply to ignore their Czech Catholic neighbors, whom they habitually dismissed as their social inferiors. The Germans' memoirs and novels tell of Czech students, servants, employees, colleagues, and competitors, but never of Czech neighbors. The German Catholics perhaps deliberately avoided the German Jews in selecting residences or somehow managed to exclude them as neighbors. Yet if the Jews were discriminated against and thus thwarted in a desire for greater interaction with the German Gentiles, one would expect the Jews to have complained either in the press, the German voluntary associations, the Jewish organizations, or their memoirs, where they were quite willing to com-

77. At No. 6 Na poříčí in the Lower New Town, for instance, Jewish families occupied fourteen of the twenty flats for most of the period from 1880 to 1910. Two of these were the families of Louis and Josef Brandeis, brothers and partners in an iron and hardware business. Beginning in 1890 they were joined by the household of yet another German Jewish iron dealer; Prague City Archive, manuscript census returns for 1038/II, 1880, 1890, and 1910.

plain of other snubs.[78] That at the same time so few Jews were seeking closer ties to Gentiles through conversion and intermarriage gives some weight to the hypothesis that the German Jews found their separation from the German Catholics not only acceptable but even desirable. The much higher association of German Jews with Czech Jews in the same buildings than for the German Jews and any Catholics also suggests that the German Jews may have preferred other Jews as immediate neighbors.

The adoption of Czech allegiances by larger numbers of the Prague Jews after 1890 and the increasing role of the remaining German Jews in the German community seem to have had only a small effect on the patterns of residence. The census returns for the same three-parish sample in 1910 show a slight increase in the German Jews' association with the German Catholics although the actual number of German Catholics in the second sample, 92, is too small to be very reliable. Now 1,256 Czechs, 82 percent Catholic, 17 percent Jewish, resided in all forty-six buildings. In thirty-one of the buildings, the remaining 335 Germans, 27 percent Catholic, 68 percent Jewish, resided alongside 812 Czechs, excluding the Czech servants. The German Jews' association with Czech Jews in the same buildings, a correlation of 0.63, still greatly surpassed the association of German Jews with German Catholics (0.21). The latter figure suggests a slightly higher association between German Jews and German Catholics than in 1890, but the difference is not statistically significant.[79]

The separation between the German Jews and the German Catholics in residential patterns indicates the extent to which membership in a distinct Jewish group conditioned the German Jews' associations in daily life. In the most intimate areas of their lives, the German Jews still had something of a separate existence and remained linked to other Jews through close ties of family and friendship.[80] Despite the Jews'

78. See sources in n. 62, n. 63, and n. 66 above.

79. Significance test: Using Fisher's z transformation of r_{xy}, $Z=0.59$, which is less than the minimum value of 1.65 necessary for a significant difference with 95% certainty. Because of the small number of German Gentiles in the 1910 sample, any conclusions about their behavior are dubious. The manuscript returns for 1900 are too incomplete and in too much disarray for sampling.

80. The extensive body of memoirs and novels bears this out. See Else Bergmann, "Familiengeschichte," Ottilie Bondy, "Ein Beitrag zu einer Familiengeschichte des Hauses Michael Beermann Teller 1790–1896" (unpubl. typescript in the Leo Baeck Institute, New York); Max Brod, *Streitbares Leben 1884–1968*, rev. ed. (Munich, Berlin, and Vienna, 1969); Auguste Hauschner, *Die Familie Lowositz*; Egon Erwin Kisch,

high acculturation with the Germans, the strength of the persisting links with other Jews in the private sphere also helped preserve a distinct body of Jewish values and habits and thus sustained a certain amount of continuing Jewish "enculturation."[81] The encapsulation of the Jews' home life also helped assure a sense of separate identity even while they were experiencing such extensive integration into Gentile society in occupational, civic, and cultural affairs and identifying so strongly with the Gentile Germans in public life.

In the first two generations after the final emancipation, Prague's middle-class and lower middle-class Jews made rapid progress in entering German society. Given the choice between identifying with the German or Czech national groups, the great majority of Jews aligned with the Germans between 1860 and the early 1890s. Thereafter the more prosperous Jews in the city retained their German identification while a Czech political allegiance gained among the poorer Jews. The more comfortable Jews not only identified with liberal German society and accepted its civic values, but they also gradually entered in large numbers into the myriad of German political, social, and cultural groups in Prague.

Yet the inclusion of Jews in the fabric of German society in the city had sharp limits. The Jews were absorbed into German community life without losing all identity as Jews. While the German Jews did not deny their Jewishness, they tended to confine that distinct heritage to the private sector of their lives and won acceptance as equals with Gentiles in a secular public sphere. In private affairs, which included the Jews' religious activities, they continued to behave as members of a separate group. In large part, the sharp distinction that the European middle classes tried to make between their public and private affairs in the nineteenth century made possible the Jews' dual affiliations. Prague's German Jews participated in the widest possible range of activities with Gentiles in public life while their family and household affairs remained restricted to other Jews.

Marktplatz der Sensationen (Mexico City, 1942); and Emil Utitz, *Egon Erwin Kisch* (Berlin, 1956).

81. Anthropologists and sociologists use "enculturation" to describe the transmission and perpetuation of a culture within a group. See Margaret Mead, "Socialization and Enculturation," *Current Anthropology* 4 (1963): 184–88, and idem, "Grandparents as Educators," *Teachers College Record* 86 (1974): 240–49.

The experience of the Prague Jews suggests the extent to which it was possible in one community to live as both German and Jew before World War I. The historian Uriel Tal has argued that the crucial dilemma facing the Jews of Germany—indeed in all of Central Europe—in the late nineteenth century lay in the tension between their desire for full equality within Gentile society and their wish to retain a distinct sense of Jewishness.[82] The German Jews of Prague demonstrate one way of trying to resolve this dilemma and to belong to both worlds. Placing the experience of the Prague Jews in the proper perspective must await comparable studies of Jewish-Gentile social interaction elsewhere in Central Europe. The conditions under which the German Gentiles and German Jews lived as small minorities in Prague doubtless account for much of their remarkably high interaction in public life, but even here the Jews retained a separate private life.

Using a linear concept of assimilation, one might argue that the lack of Jewish-Gentile interaction in the family and the household simply arrested a movement from membership in the Jewish group to the German. This view, however, would undervalue both the capacity of individuals to maintain dual affiliations and the ability of European middle-class elements to articulate ethnic and class identities through participation in group social, political, and cultural activities. In fact, the existence of Prague's German minority in the late nineteenth century depended much more on the Germans sharing in a closed public life than on any exclusivity in their private affairs.[83] Jews shared equally with Gentiles in that enclosed German public life. What tensions the German Jews felt between their dual identities derived primarily from political and social forces external to the German community of Prague.

Before World War I, German Jews in Prague experienced acculturation and socialization into two different worlds at once, Jewish and German. The content of the distinct Jewish culture that the German Jews retained and their reasons for desiring dual rather than single affiliations require further exploration. Nonetheless, so long as liberal values predominated in Prague's German community, it is clear that German and Jew were not exclusive and competing social categories for the middle-class Jews. Only in the last years before World War I did the complementary development of anti-Semitism and Zionism in

82. Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, passim.
83. See Cohen, "The Prague Germans," chaps. 2 and 3.

Austrian politics cause a small group of young German Jewish intellectuals in Prague to question whether German and Jew were compatible identities and whether a genuine Jewishness could be confined to one's private affairs.[84] Yet it must be remembered that it was precisely the heritage of dual affiliations against which the members of the Prague Circle rebelled, not one of alienation from both Germans and Jews.

84. Max Brod, *Franz Kafka: A Biography*, 2d ed. (New York, 1960), pp. 42–43, 219, and Robert Weltsch, "Max Brod and His Age," *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 13* (New York, 1970), pp. 8–14, both admit the relative lateness of the appearance of Zionist sentiments among members of the Prague Circle. See also Brod, *Streitbares Leben*, pp. 47–52; Binder in *LBI Year Book* 12 (1967): 135–48; O. K. Rabinowicz in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 2: 1–30; and the short monographic study by Stuart Borman, "The Prague Student Zionist Movement, 1896–1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1972).