UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

Dying for the Fatherland: The Remembrance of the Fallen German-Jewish Soldiers of the First World War, 1914-1978

by

Tim Grady

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2006

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT
FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Doctor of Philosophy

DYING FOR THE FATHERLAND: THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE FALLEN GERMAN-JEWISH SOLDIERS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914-1978

by Tim Grady

During the First World War some 100,000 German Jews fought for Germany, of these almost 12,000 died. This thesis examines changes in the commemoration of the Jewish soldiers killed in the conflict from the time of the war until the late 1970s. By focusing on both Jewish and non-Jewish remembrance of the war dead, moreover, it uses the commemorative process as a means to consider changing Jewish / non-Jewish relations across this broad period.

In contrast to much of the existing historiography, this thesis argues that in many areas close relations between Jews and non-Jews persisted even after the turmoil of the First World War. Although antisemitism increased, remembrance activity for the war dead involved all sections of German society. It was only in the mid 1920s that a significant change in this relationship occurred. As veterans' associations began to consolidate their support, the position of German Jews in the commemorative process was considerably weakened. Crucially, though, the German-Jewish veterans were never fully excluded from the wider remembrance of the war. Even during the Third Reich, some recognition of Jewish wartime sacrifice for Germany remained.

Remembrance activity for the Jewish fallen after 1945 reveals many continuities with the interwar period. A significant number of Jewish veterans continued to remember the war dead either from abroad or in the reformed German-Jewish communities, while West Germany's nascent memorial culture, which rested on interwar practices, continued to include the Jewish fallen. The inclusion of the Jewish war dead prompted a small number of West Germans to engage with the Nazis' crimes through the commemoration of the Jewish soldiers. However, as the victims of the First World War and the Holocaust became increasingly entangled, the existing remembrance of the Jewish war dead changed. By the late 1970s, the German-Jewish soldiers had come to represent the brutality of the Nazis' crimes.

Contents

	List of Illustrations	iv
	Declaration of Authorship	v
	Acknowledgements	vi
	List of Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	**Reconsidering the German-Jewish Fallen of the First World War**	**1**
	The German-Jewish Fallen in History and Memory	3
	German-Jewish History in the 'Short Twentieth Century'	10
	Methodological Approaches	22
Chapter 1	**War, Mass Death and the Formation of a Remembrance Culture, 1914-1923**	**28**
	A Common Experience of Death	31
	Communities of Mourning	38
	Sites of Mourning	44
	The German-Jewish Communities' Remembrance of the War Dead	50
	Overlapping Remembrance	59
	Conclusion	66
Chapter 2	**The Rise of the War Veterans' Organisations, 1923-1930**	**69**
	The Formation of Veterans' Organisations	72
	Veterans' Associations and Local Memorialisation	79
	The State's Official Narratives of the War	87
	Sectional Narratives of the War	95
	The Disintegration of the State's Narratives of the War	102
	Conclusion	109
Chapter 3	**Nazism and the Remembrance of the Jewish War Dead, 1930-1945**	**111**
	The Second Wave of Memorialisation	114
	The National Socialist Seizure of Power	123
	The Marginalisation of the Jewish Fallen	133
	The Emigration of Jewish Remembrance	139
	From Isolation to Destruction	143
	Conclusion	151
Chapter 4	**The Post-Holocaust Remembrance of the Jewish World War One Fallen, 1945-1960**	**153**
	Restoration in a Landscape of Destruction	156
	The Rededication of the Jewish First World	162

War Remembrance Sites
From the Local to the National 170
The Jewish First World War Fallen and the Nazi Past 175
Entangled Remembrance and Local Reconciliation 182
Conclusion 189

Chapter 5 Rewriting the History of the German-Jewish War Dead, 1960-1978 191
Jewish Soldiers and the West German *Bundeswehr* 194
German-Jewish Patriotism and the Holocaust 202
'Against the Myth of the German-Jewish Dialogue' 209
1968 and the Anti-Militarist Turn 215
The Passing of the First World War Generation 221
Conclusion 227

Conclusion The German-Jewish War Dead: Between Inclusion and Exclusion 230

Bibliography 237
Archive Collections 237
Personal Correspondence 240
Newspapers 240
Printed Volumes 243
Books 248
Chapters in Edited Volumes 258
Journal Articles 266
Unpublished Secondary Literature 269
Electronic Sources 270

List of Illustrations

Figure 1.	Sally Brandes, a German-Jewish soldier from Bamberg.	36
Figure 2.	Dresden, Jewish Community War Memorial, 1916.	45
Figure 3.	Berlin Oranienburger Straße Memorial Plaque, December 1922 (Photograph 2004).	54
Figure 4.	Hamburg-Ohlsdorf Memorial, October 1922 (Photograph 2004).	58
Figure 5.	*Wilhelm-Gymnasium* Hamburg, Memorial Plaque (closed), 1921.	62
Figure 6.	Max Liebermann, "Den Müttern der Zwölftausend", 1924.	81
Figure 7.	Eberswalde Town Memorial, 1925.	83
Figure 8.	Berlin-Weißensee Memorial, 1927 (Photograph 2005).	100
Figure 9.	Tannenberg Memorial, 1927.	103
Figure 10.	Hamburg City Memorial, 1931 (Photograph, 2005).	115
Figure 11.	*Neue Wache* Memorial Berlin, 1931.	116
Figure 12.	Würzburg City Memorial, 1931 (Photograph, 2005).	117
Figure 13.	Richard Stern outside his shop in Cologne, April 1933.	130
Figure 14.	Dedication of Jewish War Memorial, Cologne-Bocklemünd, 1934.	131
Figure 15.	Würzburg Holocaust Memorial within the original First World War site, 1945 (Photograph, 2004).	166
Figure 16.	Heilbronn City Memorial with the lighter names of the Jewish fallen returned, 1946 (Photograph, 2004).	184
Figure 17.	Offenbach First World War memorial with additional Holocaust remembrance plaque, 1963	207
Figure 18.	Two replacement Jewish headstones in the German war cemetery in Neuville-St Vaast.	220

Acknowledgments

In writing this thesis I have often found the short acknowledgments to a book remarkably insightful, so it is pleasing to have reached the stage where I can offer my own statement of appreciation. I would like to acknowledge the Arts and Humanities Research Council's generosity in providing the funds for me to complete three years of doctoral study. Numerous archives and institutions kindly replied to my letters of enquiry and provided me with access to useful and informative material. To all of these I am most grateful.

The project would never have been possible in this form without the help and guidance of my supervisors: Neil Gregor and Nils Roemer. Both gave me much helpful advice, carefully read numerous draft chapters and provided a great deal of assistance during the length of the project. I would also like to thank Tony Kushner, John Oldfield, Gavin Schaffer, Hannah-Villette Dalby, Hazel Starmes, Caroline Sharples and Mathias Seiter for their suggestions on various aspects of the thesis. Finally, I am grateful for the continued support of my parents and of course to Victoria for her love and patience.

List of Abbreviations

BArch	Bundesarchiv
CDU	Christlich-Demokratische Union
CJA	Centrum Judaicum Archiv, Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CV	Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
DIGB	Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
DP	Displaced Person
DStA	Dresden Stadtarchiv
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei
FRG	German Federal Republic
GDR	German Democratic Republic
HASK	Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Cologne
HStAD	Nordrhein-Westfalen Hauptstaatsarchiv, Düsseldorf
HStADD	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden
IDR	Im Deutschen Reich
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
IJWV	Immigrant Jewish War Veterans
KrABar	Barnim Kreisarchiv, Eberswalde
LAB	Berlin Landesarchiv

LBI	Leo Baeck Institute
LBI JMB	Leo Baeck Institute Archive, Jewish Museum Berlin
LBINY	Leo Baeck Institute Archive, New York
LBIYB	Leo Baeck Institute Year Book
MGFA	Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt
MUP	Manchester University Press
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
OUP	Oxford University Press
PRO	National Archives, Kew
RjF	Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
StadtA HN	Heilbronn Stadtarchiv
StAHH	Hamburg Staatsarchiv
StAL	Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Leipzig
UAW	Würzburg Universitätsarchiv
VjF	Vaterländischer Bund jüdischer Frontsoldaten
VDK	Volksbund deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge
VVN	Verein der Verfolgten des Nazi-Regimes
WGA	Wilhelm-Gymnasium Archiv, Hamburg
ZVfD	Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland

Introduction – Reconsidering the German-Jewish Fallen of the First World War

Paul Pincus, a Jewish tailor from Breslau and member of the Zionist Herzl-Bund, was one of almost 100,000 German Jews who fought for Germany in the First World War.[1] Pincus came close to surviving the conflict, but was killed at the age of nineteen six weeks before the war's end on the Western Front.[2] Pincus found his final resting place in a German war cemetery near the French town of Verlinghem. Yet the grave's original headstone, which was neatly carved to depict a Star of David, is no longer in France, but instead forms the centrepiece of a display on the German-Jewish war experience in Berlin's Jewish Museum.

Pincus's death was one small part of the catastrophe of the First World War, which claimed the lives of some two million German servicemen, including almost 12,000 German Jews. The ratio of German-Jewish soldiers to the Jewish population, as Jewish commentators sought to prove after the war, compared favourably to that of the non-Jewish population.[3] Despite this, the shared memory of sacrifice in the First World War did not spare German-Jewish soldiers from the horrific fate that befell all Jews during the Third Reich. It is this German-Jewish experience, which gravitated between discrimination and integration before final rejection and destruction, that Pincus's gravestone has now come to represent. As Michael Blumenthal, Director of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, noted, the five gravestones of German-Jewish soldiers displayed in the museum "are elements of the 'Gallery of the Missing'." They represent the "emptiness" and "voids" in German-Jewish history.[4]

Today, objects representing the Jewish First World War experience have become an important medium for illustrating the twisting path of modern

---

[1] 'Mitgliederbewegung', *Herzl-Bund-Blätter*, July 1917, p.464. For the Jewish war statistics, see: Felix Theilhaber, 'Weltkrieg, der, und die Juden', in Georg Herlitz und Bruno Kirschner (eds.), *Jüdisches Lexikon*, (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1930), pp.1379-1381, p.1380.

[2] Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Die jüdischen Gefallenen des deutschen Heeres, der deutschen Marine und der deutschen Schutztruppen 1914-1918. Ein Gedenkbuch*, (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1932), p.181.

[3] See for example: Jacob Segall, *Die deutschen Juden als Soldaten im Kriege 1914-1918*, (Berlin: Philo, 1921); Franz Oppenheimer, *Die Judenstatistik des preussischen Kriegsministeriums*, (Munich: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1922).

[4] Siegfried Buschschlüter interviewing Michael Blumenthal, 'Interview der Woche', in 'Deutschland Radio', http://www.dradio.de/cgi-bin/es/neu-interviewwoche/221, 09/09/2001.

German-Jewish history. New York's Jewish Museum displays a First World War memorial plaque from the *Große Synagoge* in Danzig to emphasise the patriotism of German Jews, while in the Museum of Hamburg History (*Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte*) photographs of German-Jewish soldiers poignantly precede displays on the fate of Hamburg's Jewish citizens during the Third Reich.[5] The juxtaposition of objects from the First World War, such as Danzig's war memorial or Pincus's gravestone, with the horror of the Holocaust demonstrates powerfully the tragedy of the German-Jewish experience.

Yet these objects also reveal a history of wartime loss and post First World War commemoration, which was distinct from the Holocaust. They demonstrate how friends and relatives of the Jewish war dead grieved their loved ones and how the process of commemoration evolved during the interwar years. The memorial plaque displayed in New York's Jewish Museum, moreover, was sent to America in 1939 when Danzig's Jewish community was forced to liquidate its assets.[6] Rather than viewing the memorial as merely symbolic of the German-Jewish catastrophe, therefore, it is important to contextualise its own history, to consider why German Jews originally constructed it and, just as importantly, why they chose to rescue it in 1939.

Focusing on the fallen German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War, this thesis examines how both Jewish and non-Jewish Germans remembered the war dead from the start of hostilities in August 1914 until the late 1970s. Although it traces changes in the public commemoration of the Jewish war dead during more than sixty-years of German history, its primary concern is with the individuals and communities whose lives were permanently altered by the First World War. By considering both Jewish and non-Jewish responses to the conflict, this thesis uses the commemorative process as a prism through which to analyse changing German Jewish / non-Jewish relations across this broad period. This approach to the German-Jewish experience demonstrates a complex narrative of inclusion and exclusion, which reveals a far more

---

[5] Ortwin Pelc (ed.), *Juden in Hamburg: Begleitheft zur Ausstellung. Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte*, (Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1997).
[6] Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson, 'Preface', in Vivian Mann (ed.), *Danzig 1939: Treasures of a Destroyed Community*, (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1980), pp. 9-10, p.9.

entangled relationship between Jews and non-Jews than historians have previously suggested.

The German-Jewish Fallen in History and Memory

It is only relatively recently that the commemoration and remembrance of war has become a subject of historical research. From the early 1980s, with the publication of seminal studies by David Cannadine, Reinhart Koselleck and George Mosse among others, the historiography on the First World War began to move away from considering the history of the war itself, to examining the conflict's wider legacy.[7] This shift demonstrated an increasing recognition that long after the fighting has ceased the impact of war continued to impose itself on subsequent decades.[8] A dramatic surge in research on the subject of war and remembrance in the mid 1990s even led Reinhart Koselleck to declare enthusiastically that "war memorials have come into vogue".[9] Yet it would seem that historians of the German-Jewish experience have had little interest in this new fashion. Despite the growing interest in the legacy of war, remarkably little literature exists on the commemoration of the fallen German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War.

In 1977, Mosse produced one of the most important and influential studies on the German-Jewish First World War servicemen. He argued that Christian symbols used during the war to confront the horror of mass death led to the exclusion of the Jews from the remembrance process after the conflict. "The glorification of sacrifice and the reward of resurrection [...] and the love of home and nature", concluded Mosse, "were turned against the Jews" during the interwar years.[10] Mosse's study, although path breaking for its time, now suffers from his selective use of archival sources. The essay

---

[7] David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', in Joachim Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, (London: Europa, 1981), pp.187-242; Reinhart Koselleck, 'Kriegerdenkmale als Identitätsstiftungen der Überlebenden', in Odo Marquard and Karlheinz Stierle (eds.), *Identität*, (Munich: Fink, 1979), pp. 255-276; George Mosse, 'National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 14 (1) (1979), pp. 1-20.

[8] Catherine Moriarty, 'The Material Culture of Great War Remembrance', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34 (4) (1999), pp. 653-662, p.654.

[9] Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), 'Vorwort', in Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne*, (Munich: Fink, 1994), p.7.

[10] George Mosse, 'The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914-1918', *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture*, 21 (1977), p.15.

juxtaposes right-wing German authors, such as Ernst Jünger and Walter Flex, with the contemporary Zionist press to maintain that Germans and Jews experienced the war differently. This approach, though, overlooks source material from less polarised political perspectives, which suggests points of convergence rather than solely variance.

The most significant studies on the Jewish war dead to appear since Mosse's publication take a local history approach. Articles on Jewish war memorials and cemeteries in Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig among others focus narrowly on the construction and reception of individual remembrance sites.[11] The scope of these studies, though, is limited in various ways. First, the existing studies conclude their narrative at the latest in 1938, which precludes a consideration of Jewish remembrance sites after 1945. Second, by considering only war memorials, they overlook other forms of remembrance activity. As James Young suggests, "a memorial may be a day, a conference, or a space, but it need not be a monument."[12] Third, the assumption of separateness determines the findings of their research. They consider only Jewish war memorials, ignoring non-Jewish sites of remembrance, in which Jewish soldiers were also commemorated.

This dearth of research into the remembrance of the Jewish fallen reflects the position of the First World War in German-Jewish history. Most scholars regard the war to have marked a disastrous turning point for Jewish life in Germany. The war, writes Donald Niewyk, "was to set back the cause of

---

[11] Ingrid Kirsch, '80 Jahre Denkmal zu Ehren der im Ersten Weltkrieg gefallenen Mitglieder der Dresdener jüdischen Gemeinde auf dem Friedhof Dresden-Johannstadt', *Sächsische Heimatblätter* 6 (1996), pp. 363-368; Sabine Hank and Hermann Simon (eds.), *"Bis der Krieg uns lehrt, was der Friede bedeutet" Das Ehrenfeld für die jüdischen Gefallenen des Weltkrieges auf dem Friedhof der Berliner jüdischen Gemeinde*, (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2004); Judith Prokasky, 'Treue zu Deutschland und Treue zum Judentum – das Gedenken an die deutschen jüdischen Gefallenen des Ersten Weltkrieges', *Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 9 (2) (1999), pp. 503-516; Judith Prokasky, 'Das jüdische Kriegerdenkmal in Berlin-Weißensee. Suche nach Identität und Kampf gegen das Vergessen', *Menora*, 11 (2000), pp. 103-118; Judith Prokasky, 'Gestorben wofür? Die doppelte Funktionalisierung der deutsch-jüdischen Kriegerdenkmäler am Beispiel Guben', in Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener and Julius Schoeps (eds.), *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg: Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart*, (Berlin: be.bra, 2003), pp. 203-214; Israel Schwierz, *Für das Vaterland starben: Denkmäler und Gedenktafeln für jüdische Soldaten in Thüringen: Dokumentation*, (Aschaffenburg: Eduard Krem-Bardischewski, 1996); Israel Schwierz, 'Für das Vaterland starben: Denkmäler und Gedenktafeln bayerisch-jüdischer Soldaten', http://www.hdbg.de/gedenktafeln, Summer 2006.

[12] James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p.5.

full emancipation by decades and to open the way to disaster."[13] Gershom Scholem's condemnation of any notion of a symbiotic relationship between Germans and Jews compounded this negative view of Jewish wartime sacrifice.[14] The German-Jewish war veterans, in particular, have often been portrayed as the most misguided for their naïve faith in the existence of a genuine relationship. "Many recognised only in the ghettoes and extermination camps of the East", laments Wolfgang Benz, "that their First World War decorations were not worth the metal they were made of."[15] Similarly, Rivka Horwitz has criticised the "intoxicated patriotism" of German Jews who fought in the war, while praising those "heroic and meaningful" Jews who opposed the conflict.[16] If the war was such a complete disaster for German Jewry, as much of the historiography suggests, then it would be easy to presume that Germany's Jewish communities paid little attention to its commemoration at the war's end.

The lack of scholarly literature on the Jewish fallen, though, is not confined to Jewish historical accounts. The German historiography on the remembrance of the First World War also ignores the existence of the Jewish war dead.[17] While many studies examine the commemorative process of a particular town or region in considerable depth, the focus is often only on non-Jewish remembrance sites.[18] Susanne Brandt's detailed study of the interwar memorialisation process in Düsseldorf, for example, discusses the tremendous variety of memorials constructed, but makes no mention of the

---

[13] Donald Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany*, (Manchester: MUP, 1980), p.10.
[14] Gershom Scholem, 'Against the Myth of the German-Jewish Dialogue', in Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis. Selected Essays*, (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 61-64, p.62.
[15] Wolfgang Benz, 'The Legend of German-Jewish Symbiosis', *LBIYB*, 37 (1992), pp. 95-102, pp. 97-98.
[16] Rivka Horwitz, 'Voices of Opposition to the First World War among Jewish Thinkers', *LBIYB*, 33 (1988), pp. 233-259, p.234.
[17] Eckhard Gruber, '"...death is Built into Life" War Memorials and War Monuments in the Weimar Republic', *Daidalos*, 49 (September, 1993), pp. 72-81; Michael Hütt, Hans-Joachim Kunst, Florian Matzner and Ingeborg Pabst (eds.), *Unglücklich das Land, das Helden nötig hat. Leiden und Sterben in den Kriegerdenkmälern des Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieges*, (Marburg: Jonas, 1990); Meinhold Lurz, *Kriegerdenkmäler in Deutschland. Band 4, Weimarer Republik*, (Heidelberg: Esprint, 1985); Martin Bach, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kriegerdenkmals in Westfalen und Lippe*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1985).
[18] For one exception, see: Gerhard Schneider, *'...nicht umsonst gefallen?' Kriegerdenkmäler und Kriegstotenkult in Hannover*, (Hanover: Hahnsche, 1991).

city's Jewish war memorials.[19] This is in spite of the fact that Düsseldorf's Jewish community erected a memorial for the city's 112 Jewish fallen in its *Ulmenstraße* burial ground in late 1925. The city's mayor and delegations from several non-Jewish veterans' organisations, moreover, all attended the dedication ceremony.[20]

This marginalisation of the German-Jewish experience is a common trait in much recent scholarship which uses the work of memory to approach German history.[21] Because there is often a tendency to explore a homogenous form of German collective memory, the approach taken in many existing studies is unsuitable for considering German Jewish / non-Jewish relations. In this context, Till van Rahden's reproach of the narrow focus of many German historical accounts seems particularly relevant. In "reflecting a liberal Protestant legacy that homogenises modern German history and neglects diversity", van Rahden complains that mainstream German historiography "continues to marginalise German-Jewish history".[22]

The national approach that van Rahden criticises is particularly evident in memory studies, which have often followed Pierre Nora's path breaking work on the places of French national identity. In his seven-volume project, Nora argues that the "acceleration of history" has replaced actual social memory.[23] As real environments of memory (*milieux de mémoire*) have declined, society has constructed sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) in their place.[24] These sites of memory, argues Nora, range from objects and places

---

[19] Susanne Brandt, 'Trauer und fortgesetzter Krieg. Totengedenken zwischen Trauer und Kriegsverherrlichung in Düsseldorf nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', in Jost Dülffer and Gerd Krumeich (eds.), *Der verlorene Frieden. Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, (Essen: Klartext, 2002), pp. 243-260.

[20] '"Den Treuesten der Treuen." Die Denkmalsenthüllung in Düsseldorf', *CV-Zeitung*, 06/11/1925, p.718.

[21] For an overview of recent memory studies in German history, see: Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche, 'Introduction: Noises of the Past', in Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche (eds.), *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), pp. 1-21.

[22] Till van Rahden, 'Mingling, Marrying, and Distancing: Jewish Integration in Wilhelminian Breslau and its Erosion in Early Weimar Germany', in Wolfgang Benz, Arnold Paucker and Peter Pulzer (eds.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 197-222, p.199.

[23] For an English translation of this project, see: Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-1998).

[24] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (Spring 1989), pp. 7-24, p.7.

through to events and people. Recognising the complex nature of collective memories, Nora notes that an individual may identify with any number of these sites.[25] Superficially, then, this suggests an understanding of the plurality of national memory. In his choice of sites, however, Nora actually presupposes the existence of some homogenous form of Frenchness. There is, for example, no place for minority sites of memory in the collection. Instead minority groups within French society are subsumed into an all-pervasive sense of national memory.[26]

Similarly narrow definitions of national identity underpin many studies of German national memory. Although a survey of German sites of memory, which was published in the wake of Nora's volumes, defines national identity more broadly, it still suffers from presupposed notions of Germanness.[27] The themes that unify the project, for example, are viewed as distinctly German and as such untranslatable into other languages.[28] An alternative survey of German memory is provided by Rudy Koshar's exploration of Germany's memory landscape from 1870 until reunification in 1990. In the introduction to his study, Koshar states that his aim is to trace strands of memory, which have "united Germans across the generations."[29] In accepting that all Germans held similar notions of Germanness, this approach too pays little attention to minority groups within society. Indeed, in Koshar's study, Germany's Jewish population is placed outside of German national memory. Rather than contributing to German sites of memory, German Jews created a separate memorial culture that "could be used to recall a history of persecution and segregation."[30]

---

[25] Peter Carrier, 'Places, Politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de memoire*', in Susannah Radstone (ed.), *Memory and Methodology*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000), pp. 37-57, p.40.
[26] Carrier, 'Places, Politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory', p.54.
[27] Etienne Francois and Hagen Schulze (eds.), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001).
[28] Rudy Koshar, 'Where does German Memory Lie?', *Central European History*, 36 (3) (2003), pp. 435-445, p.440.
[29] Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
[30] Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, p.77.

The nation state is also at the centre of many studies which focus more specifically on the memory of war.[31] Benedict Anderson and Antoine Prost, for example, argue that the nation state employs the commemoration of past wars to encourage future national sacrifice.[32] As Anderson suggests, there are "no more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism [...] than cenotaphs and the tombs of Unknown Soldiers."[33] This functionalist approach to the memory of war has been adopted widely. George Mosse's study of the politics of remembrance exemplifies this approach. Mosse termed the phrase the "Myth of the War Experience" to explain how extremist groups appropriated the First World War experience to legitimise their own political aims.[34] Reflecting the devastating impact of the First World War on German society, a number of studies on Germany's interwar remembrance culture have focused specifically on the politics of commemoration. Although most of this research explores the construction of war memorials, studies have also focused on literary representations and the state's censorship of German soldiers' letters from the front.[35]

One way to overcome the limitations of approaches which have focused on the political machinations of a homogenous form of national memory, is to place greater attention on the actual agencies of memory. It is important, moreover, to recognise that a range of infrastructures are involved in memory work.[36] A stress on the diversity of memory follows the French

---

[31] On memory and national identity, see: John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
[32] Antoine Prost, 'Monuments to the Dead', in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 2., trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 307-330.
[33] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, [org 1983] 1991), p.9.
[34] George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990), p.7. See also: Ulrich Linse, '"Saatfrüchte sollen nicht vermahlen werden": Zur Resymbolisierung des Soldatentods', in Klaus Vondung (ed.), *Kriegserlebnis. Der Erste Weltkrieg in der literarischen Gestaltung und symbolischen Deutung der Nationen*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 262-274.
[35] Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne*, (Munich: Fink, 1994); Christian Saehrendt, *Der Stellungskrieg der Denkmäler. Kriegerdenkmäler im Berlin der Zwischenkriegszeit (1919-1939)*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2004); Wolfgang Natter, *Literature at War, 1914-1940: Representing the "Time of Greatness" in Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Bernd Ulrich, *Die Augenzeugen: Deutsche Feldpostbriefe in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit 1914-1933*, (Essen: Klartext, 1997).
[36] On the dichotomy between individual and collective memory, see: Susan Crane, 'Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory', *American Historical Review*, 102 (5) (December

sociologist Maurice Halbwachs's influential work on collective memory. Halbwachs argued that different social groups, including the family and social classes, formed their own collective memories.[37] A recognition of the multiplicity of memory is particularly important for examining Jewish / non-Jewish relations in twentieth century Germany. Rather than locating memory in a distinct notion of German identity, this approach enables a more fluid understanding of national memory, which is based on smaller overlapping groups situated below the level of the nation state.[38] The interactions of which combine to create a discourse that is more varied, multilayered and contested than homogenous national approaches suggest.

For Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, this social agency model offers a useful framework for examining the collective remembrance of war. Central to Winter and Sivan's work on war and remembrance is the role played by "individuals and groups who come together [...] because they have to speak out."[39] In contrast to scholars who have emphasised the politics of remembrance, this approach refocuses attention onto how the shock of war affected everyday life. For Winter, then, war memorials are first and foremost "places where people grieved, both individually and collectively" and only second sites of political manipulation.[40] Other historians to have considered the role played by small groups in the remembrance of war have focused on the committees behind the construction of permanent remembrance sites and on the act of pilgrimage and tourism to the actual sites of battle.[41] In this way, this thesis follows the social agency approach to the memory of war, but it is also careful to recognise the role of the state in remembrance activity. As a recent volume on war memory makes clear, the politics of war

---

1997), pp. 1372-1385; Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory*, 41 (May 2002), pp. 179-197.

[37] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.53.

[38] Alon Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review*, 102 (5) (December 1997), pp. 1386-1403, p.1399.

[39] Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, 'Setting the Framework', in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 6-39, p.9.

[40] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p.79.

[41] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998); David Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

commemoration always "has to engage with mourning and [...] wherever people undertake the tasks of mourning and reparation, a politics is *always* at work."[42]

By focusing on the agents of remembrance, moreover, this thesis moves away from the first generation of research which had a tendency to detach memory from social experience.[43] As Alon Confino bemoans, "there is too often a facile mode of doing cultural history, whereby one picks a historical event or a vehicle of memory, analyzes its representation [...] and draws conclusions about 'memory'."[44] Instead, this study situates itself between the second and third generation of memory studies. While the former explores "memory as embedded in social networks", the latter approach considers "how memory *forms* social relations".[45] In this way, the thesis examines the process of commemorating the German fallen of the First World War fallen as a means for reconsidering Jewish / non-Jewish relations in twentieth century Germany. At the same time, its scope from 1914 until the late 1970s also leads it to question how the memory of the conflict formed communities and affected social relations.

German-Jewish History in the 'Short Twentieth Century'

This thesis's focus on Jews' and non-Jews' remembrance of the fallen soldiers of the First World War reveals German-Jews to have played a significant part in the wider commemoration of the war dead. The entanglement of Jews and non-Jews in this process forms a thread that runs through the three periods discussed in this thesis: the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and post-1945 Germany. The study, then, complicates existing research into German-Jewish history, which has tended to focus on social divisions, rather than on areas of engagement and contact. In taking this approach, it adds weight to Till van Rahden's work on nineteenth century

---

[42] T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 'The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics', in T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 3-85, p.9. See also: Stefan Goebel, 'Re-membered and Re-mobilized: The "Sleeping Dead" in Interwar Germany and Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 (4) (2004), pp. 487-501.

[43] Confino and Fritzsche, 'Introduction: Noises of the Past', p.4.

[44] Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History', p.1388.

[45] Confino and Fritzsche, 'Introduction: Noises of the Past', p.5.

German society, which has emphasised the diversity of the German-Jewish experience and its place within wider German histories. The "history of German-Gentile relations in Germany", as van Rahden stresses, "is not just a story of antisemitic ideology and exclusion, but is also characterised by ambivalence and inclusion."[46]

The most common approach when writing German-Jewish history is to consider Jewish life to be a distinctive part of German society. Most prominently, David Sorkin advanced the idea of a Jewish subculture. Sorkin argued that in the first half of the nineteenth century as Jewish hopes of emancipation were dashed, German Jews began to create their own distinct spheres of life separated from wider German society. The emerging Jewish bourgeoisie, maintained Sorkin, "succeeded in thoroughly transforming German-Jewish society by establishing a parallel associational life."[47] Although Sorkin's thesis concerned a specific moment in the German-Jewish experience, historians have applied his theory of separate Jewish and German spheres far more broadly. Rainer Liedtke's comparison of Jewish voluntary welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, for example, uses the concept of a Jewish subculture to claim that the Jewish populations of these cities promoted their own group distinctiveness.[48]

Many scholars, though, have begun to move away from Sorkin's earlier approach. Without dismissing the idea of a subculture in its entirety, Jacob Borut suggests that German Jewry actually formed a more porous sphere of life, which he labels a *Teilkultur* (partial culture). Borut describes a *Teilkultur* as a "system of organizations encompassing only a limited number of realms" or a system in which the members "do not desire self-imposed isolation from the majority society."[49] Yet underlying Borut's approach remains the belief that Jews and non-Jews inhabited separate spheres. While the two groups occasionally overlapped, they remained predominantly separate.

---

[46] Van Rahden, 'Mingling, Marrying, and Distancing', p.199.
[47] David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780-1840*, (Oxford: OUP, 1987), p.113.
[48] Rainer Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, 1850-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), pp. 240-243.
[49] Jacob Borut, '"Verjudung des Judentums": Was there a Zionist Subculture in Weimar Germany?', in Michael Brenner and Derek Penslar (eds.), *In Search of Jewish Community: Jewish Identities in Germany and Austria, 1918-1933*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 92-114, p.95.

More recently, Till van Rahden, in his study of Jewish / non-Jewish relations in Breslau, has forwarded a concept of a situation-specific ethnicity (*situative Ethnizität*).[50] Van Rahden contends that German Jews' Jewish identity was not all encompassing but rather "situation specific and part of a plurality of identities."[51] Depending on the circumstances, Jews could be involved in both Jewish and non-Jewish spheres of life. In Breslau at the start of the twentieth century, for example, almost two thirds of all Jews involved in Jewish associational life were also members of non-Jewish associations.[52] Clearly, then, Breslau's Jewish population was not restricted to a specifically Jewish sphere of society. While van Rahden's notion of situation-specific ethnicity offers a far more fluid way of approaching the German-Jewish experience, he only applies it to the period before 1914. During the First World War, argues van Rahden, the relationship between Jews and other Germans declined dramatically.[53] Van Rahden's account, then, adheres to a standard narrative of German-Jewish history which contends that the First World War marked a negative turning point in Jewish / non-Jewish relations.

Clemens Picht's exploration of the Jewish response to the outbreak of hostilities is typical of many studies. German Jews, as Picht maintains, responded to the events of August 1914 "with the same patriotic enthusiasm with which German society as a whole reacted to the declaration of war." He adds that this was true "for liberal Jewry, as well as for Zionism and orthodoxy."[54] For German Jewry, as many historians argue, the war appeared to herald the final stage of their integration into wider German society.[55] As

---

[50] Till van Rahden, *Juden und andere Breslauer: Die Beziehungen zwischen Juden, Protestanten und Katholiken in einer deutschen Großstadt von 1860 bis 1925*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000). See also: Till van Rahden, 'Weder Milieu noch Konfession: Die situative Ethnizität der deutschen Juden im Kaiserreich in vergleichender Perspektive', in Olaf Blaschke and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (eds.), *Religion im Kaiserreich. Milieus - Mentalitäten – Krisen*, (Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1996), pp. 409-434.

[51] Van Rahden, *Juden und andere Breslauer*, p.133.

[52] *Ibid.*, p.138.

[53] *Ibid.*, p.317.

[54] Clemens Picht, 'Zwischen Vaterland und Volk: Das deutsche Judentum im Ersten Weltkrieg', in Wolfgang Michalka (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse*, (Munich: Piper, 1994), pp. 736-755, p.736. See also: Paul Mendes-Flohr, 'The "Kriegserlebnis" and Jewish Consciousness', in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 225-237, p.228.

[55] Peter Pulzer, 'The First World War', in Michael Meyer (ed.), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times: Volume 3, Integration in Dispute 1871-1918*, (New York: Columbia University

Michael Brenner contends, Germany's Jewish population hoped that through the war "the bonds of solidarity among Christian and Jewish soldiers [...] would eliminate the remaining barriers and stereotypes."[56] Convinced of the justness of the war, all sections of German Jewry called upon their members to fight for the defence of the fatherland.[57]

Despite fighting bravely at the front, however, Jews began to suffer from an increasing number of antisemitic attacks. Most of the existing historical accounts locate this change in the German army's Jewish census (*Judenzählung*). In November 1916, reacting to charges that Jews were avoiding frontline service, the German army announced a census of Jewish soldiers. Although the results of the census were never published, the fact that Jewish patriotism had been questioned seemingly demoralised Germany's Jewish population.[58] Christhard Hoffmann, for example, suggests that after the *Judenzählung*, "the rift between Christians and Jews, which had seemed at least partially healed, was opened up again."[59] Ulrich Sieg, who has studied the response of German-Jewish intellectuals to the war, is one of the few historians to question the significance of the *Judenzählung*. He argues that Jewish intellectuals, in particular, had become disillusioned with the war long before the census was instigated.[60] Although Sieg criticises the dominant

---

Press, 1997), pp. 360-384, p.361; Egmont Zechlin, *Die deutsche Politik und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p.516.

[56] Michael Brenner, 'The German Army Orders a Census of Jewish Soldiers, and Jews Defend German Culture', in Sander Gilman and Jack Zipes (eds.), *Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture, 1096-1996*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 348-354, p.348.

[57] Christhard Hoffmann, 'Between Integration and Rejection: The Jewish Community in Germany 1914-1918', in John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 89-104, p.92.

[58] On the *Judenzählung*, see: Werner Angress, 'The German Army's "Judenzählung" of 1916 Genesis – Consequences – Significance', *LBIYB*, 23 (1978), pp. 117-135; Werner Angress, 'Das deutsche Militär und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg', *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*, 19 (1976), pp. 77-146.

[59] Hoffmann, 'Between Integration and Rejection', p.98; See also: Jay Winter, 'All Quiet on the Eastern Front: German Jews, the Eastern Front, and the First World War', in Leo Baeck Institute (ed.), *Fighting for the Fatherland: The Patriotism of Jews in World War I*, (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1999), pp. 3-12.

[60] Ulrich Sieg, *Jüdische Intellektuelle im Ersten Weltkrieg: Kreigserfahrungen, weltanschauliche Debatten und kulturelle Neuentwürfe*, (Berlin: Akademie, 2001), p.92; Ulrich Sieg, '"Nothing more German than the German Jews"?: On the Integration of a Minority in a Society at War', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality?: Acculturation and Modern Germany*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 201-216.

narrative of the war for its "simplistic drawing of events", he continues to maintain that the conflict was a disaster for German Jewry.[61]

Yet these existing studies, whether their focus is on Jewish intellectuals or on a broader Jewish war experience, pay little attention to those Jews who actually fought and died in the war. Where the war dead are mentioned, it is often only to stress that they performed their patriotic duty for Germany.[62] Every fallen Jewish soldier, though, left behind friends and family, who had somehow to cope with their losses. A focus on how these individuals attempted to transcend their grief, rather than on high politics, offers a way of considering longstanding relations between Jews and non-Jews in the immediate post-war years.[63] If the war is viewed as less of a catastrophe for Jewish / non-Jewish relations, as this thesis contends, then this must also lead to a reconsideration of the existing historiography for the period following the armistice.

After the disillusionment of the war, many assimilated German Jews, as much of the historiography suggests, began to form a new sense of Jewish solidarity.[64] "The experience of setbacks during the world war sparked a new awareness", argues Christhard Hoffmann, "which, for many, led to a greater emphasis on the Jewish aspect of their identity."[65] The war helped to shape a more cohesive form of Jewish community, as a large number of acculturated Jews turned inwards and sought protection from the existing structures of Jewish communal life.[66] Effectively, many Jews began to recreate a separate subculture during the Weimar Republic. Although the turmoil of the war years is seen as the main reason for this internal turn, much of the historiography contends that a wave of antisemitism in the immediate post-war years

---

[61] Ulrich Sieg, 'Empathie und Pflichterfüllung: Leo Baeck als Feldrabbiner im Ersten Weltkrieg', in Georg Heuberger and Fritz Backhaus (eds.), *Leo Baeck 1873-1956: Aus dem Stamme von Rabbinern*, (Frankfurt: Jüdischer Verlag, 2001), pp. 44-59, p.44.
[62] Howard Sachar, *Dreamland: Europeans and Jews in the Aftermath of the Great War*, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2002), p.219.
[63] On the importance of considering personal grief, see: Winter, *Sites of Memory*.
[64] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Mendes-Flohr, 'The "Kriegserlebnis" and Jewish Consciousness', p.232.
[65] Hoffmann, 'Between Integration and Rejection', p.102.
[66] Brenner, 'The German Army Orders a Census', p.349.

heightened the divisions between Jew and non-Jew.[67] During the war "the Judenzählung", maintains Frank Bajohr, "gave a clue as to the direction that antisemitism would evolve after 1918."[68]

It is often argued that disgruntled soldiers returning from the front played a central role in the growth of violence at the war's end.[69] Robert Whalen, for example, maintains that the inability of the war wounded, widows and orphans to deal with a bureaucratic pensions' system led to their disillusionment with Weimar politics.[70] The disunity of veterans' associations is also central to James Diehl's study of paramilitary organisations, which examines how war and defeat "militarized and brutalized the political mentality of many Germans."[71] By questioning the centrality of war veterans in these narratives of interwar violence, however, more recent studies have provided a welcome corrective to this older set of historiographical approaches.[72] Indeed, as Richard Bessel notes, the vast majority of veterans managed to return to their families and settle back into their pre-war lives.[73] Similarly, Benjamin Ziemann stresses the need to move beyond viewing veterans' organisations as primarily right-wing militaristic groups, but to consider ex-servicemen's associations on the left as well as on the right.[74] A number of studies,

---

[67] Peter Pulzer, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority 1848-1933*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 271; Cornelia Hecht, *Deutsche Juden und Antisemitismus in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2003), p.76; Eva Reichmann, 'Der Bewusstseinwandel der deutschen Juden', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971), pp. 511-612; Dirk Walter, *Antisemitische Kriminalität und Gewalt. Judenfeindlichkeit in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 1999), p.26.

[68] Frank Bajohr, *Unser Hotel ist Judenfrei: Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2003), p.53.

[69] Alexandra Richie, *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*, (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1998), p.319; Jürgen Reulecke, 'Männerbund versus the Family: Middle-Class Youth Movements and the Family in Germany in the Period of the First World War', in Richard Wall and Jay Winter (eds.), *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp. 439-452; Peter Merkl, *Political Violence under the Swastika*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p.139.

[70] Robert Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War 1914-1939*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

[71] James Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany*, (London: Indiana University Press, 1977), p.291.

[72] See for example: Bernd Ulrich and Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Krieg im Frieden: Die umkämpfte Erinnerung an den Ersten Weltkrieg*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1997); Dirk Schumann, *Politische Gewalt in der Weimarer Republik 1918-1933: Kampf um die Straße und Furcht vor dem Bürgerkrieg*, (Essen: Klartext, 2001).

[73] Richard Bessel, *Germany After the First World War*, (Oxford: OUP, 1993), pp. 257-258.

[74] Benjamin Ziemann, 'Republikanische Kriegserinnerung in einer polarisierten Öffentlichkeit. Das Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold als Veteranenverband der sozialistischen Arbeiterschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 267 (1998), pp. 357-398; Benjamin Ziemann, 'Die

moreover, have emphasised a generational shift, arguing that it was a younger generation, too young to have fought at the front, which was most prone to extremism.[75]

The literature on the post-war Jewish experience, however, has generally failed to engage with the nuances of the individual veterans' associations, tending to view all ex-servicemen's groups as right-wing.[76] Jewish veterans' organisations, in contrast, are generally regarded as a defensive counter to the right-wing ex-servicemen's groups. This is the case with Ruth Pierson's and Ulrich Dunker's important studies of the Jewish veterans' association, the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (RjF). Pierson argues that the RjF moved from working solely to defend the honour of German-Jewish soldiers to attempting to protect German Jewry as whole.[77] Similarly, Dunker examines the RjF's efforts to promote self-defence through sport and through agricultural training.[78] Developing this initial work, Gregory Caplan utilises the history of the RjF to argue that German Jewish veterans adopted a form of military masculinity during the interwar years which helped them to defend against antisemitic attacks.[79]

Konstruktion des Kriegsveteranen und die Symbolik seiner Erinnerung 1918-1933', in Jost Dülffer and Gerd Krumeich (eds.), *Der verlorene Frieden. Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, (Essen: Klartext, 2002), pp. 101-118; Benjamin Ziemann, *Front und Heimat. Ländliche Kriegserfahrungen im südlichen Bayern 1914-1923*, (Essen: Klartext, 1997).

[75] Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903-1989*, (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), pp. 42-45; Richard Bessel, 'The "Front Generation" and the Politics of Weimar Germany', in Mark Roseman (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Formation in Germany 1770-1968*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 121-136; Michael Wildt, *Generation des Unbedingten: Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes*, (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 41-46.

[76] Anthony Kauders, *German Politics and the Jews: Düsseldorf and Nuremberg 1910-1933*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 56-57; Martin Liepach, 'Das Krisenbewusstsein des jüdischen Bürgertums in den *Goldenen Zwanzigern*', in Andreas Gotzmann, Rainer Liedtke and Till van Rahden (eds.), *Juden, Bürger, Deutsche*, (London: J.C.B. Mohr, 2001), pp. 395-417; Steven Katz, '1918 and After: The Role of Racial Antisemitism in the Nazi Analysis of the Weimar Republic', in Sander Gilman and Steven Katz (eds.), *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 227-256.

[77] Ruth Pierson, 'Embattled Veterans: The Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten', *LBIYB*, 19 (1974), pp. 139-154, p.140.

[78] Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 1919-1938: Geschichte eines jüdischen Abwehrvereins*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977), p.77.

[79] Gregory Caplan, 'Wicked Sons, German Heroes: Jewish Soldiers, Veterans and Memories of World War I in Germany', (PhD Thesis, Georgetown University, 2001), p.103. See also: Gregory Caplan, 'Germanising the Jewish Male: Military Masculinity as the Last Stage of Acculturation', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, (London: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 159-184; Brian Crim, '"Was it All Just a Dream?" German-Jewish Veterans and the Confrontation with *völkisch* Nationalism in the Interwar Period', in Greg Eghigian and Matthew Paul Berg (eds.), *Sacrifice and National*

However, by focusing solely on the RjF's defensive activity, these existing studies obscure the complexities of the Jewish ex-servicemen's relationship with the wider veteran community. Although the RjF found itself increasingly marginalised from national memorial projects during the Weimar Republic, it was never completely excluded from the wider remembrance process.[80] A committee formed to plan a national war memorial, for example, included the RjF and three other veterans' groups.[81] On a local level, moreover, Jewish veterans were often involved in the organisation of large commemorative projects with other ex-servicemen's associations. The divisions between different social groups, which Peter Fritzsche and Rudy Koshar suggest led to the radicalisation of local politics, appear to have had less of an effect, at least in the early to mid 1920s, on remembrance activity than standard accounts of the RjF's role suggest.[82]

If Jewish war veterans were entangled in the wider commemorative process during the Weimar Republic, then it seems possible that some engagement continued after the Nazi regime's rise to power. Much of the existing historiography, though, draws a decisive break in 1933, which cements the divisions between Jew and German.[83] Amos Elon's comprehensive survey of Jewish life in Germany, for example, grinds to a sudden halt in January 1933, when Hitler was appointed Chancellor.[84] With the divisions between Jews and non-Jews seemingly sealed, many scholars of German-Jewish history, alongside studying the development of the Holocaust, have instead turned their attention to internal disputes within Germany's Jewish population.[85]

Belonging in Twentieth-Century Germany, (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), pp. 64-89.

[80] On the RjF's exclusion from the Tannenberg national memorial project, see: Jürgen Tietz, *Das Tannenberg-Nationaldenkmal: Architektur, Geschichte, Kontext*, (Berlin: Bauwesen, 1999), p.54.

[81] Peter Bucher, 'Die Errichtung des Reichsehrenmals nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte*, 7 (1981), pp. 359-386, p.363.

[82] Peter Fritzsche, *Rehearsals for Fascism: Populism and Political Mobilization in Weimar Germany*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990); Rudy Koshar, *Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

[83] David Bronsen (ed.), *Jews and Germans from 1860 to 1933*, (Heidelberg: Winter, 1979); Pulzer, *Jews and the German State*; Niewyk, *Jews in Weimar Germany*.

[84] Amos Elon, *The Pity of it All: A Portrait of Jews in Germany, 1743-1933*, (London: Penguin, 2004).

[85] Jacob Boas, 'German-Jewish Internal Politics under Hitler 1933-1938', *LBIYB*, 29, (1984), pp. 3-25; Francis Nicosia, 'The End of Emancipation and the Illusion of Preferential

Yet some recognition of German Jews' wartime sacrifice must have remained. This is clear from the Nazi regime's earliest legislation, which placed particular emphasis on the Jewish war veterans. The anti-Jewish laws of April 1933, for example, exempted Jewish ex-servicemen, while in July 1934 the regime issued new war medals to both Jewish and non-Jewish veterans of the First World War.[86] Historians have offered a number of different explanations for the regime's decision to exempt the Jewish soldiers from these first legal measures. Many regard the clauses to have been an attempt to secure public support for the measures by softening antisemitic legislation, while other scholars regard it as merely a sign of the Reich President, Paul von Hindenburg's continued influence.[87] None of these suggestions, though, seems entirely adequate. It is important to consider why the Nazi regime chose to exempt this particular group of German Jews and also what these clauses reveal about the position and status of Jewish veterans in the Third Reich.

Where studies have examined the German-Jewish war veterans during the Third Reich, they have tended to condemn the RjF for its criticism of Zionist groups. Arnold Paucker, for instance, reproaches the RjF's "besotted leadership", while clearing the group's ordinary members, who he writes, would certainly never "have approved of such lunacy."[88] Marion Kaplan, in contrast, stresses the need to consider the Germanness of this Jewish group. Their strong sense of patriotism, she suggests, led them to believe that they would be safe in Germany, even as the Nazis' persecution of German Jewry gathered pace.[89] Kaplan's view of the ex-soldiers' deep feelings of patriotism

---

Treatment: German Zionism, 1933-1938', *LBIYB*, 36 (1991), pp. 243-265; Hajo Bernett, 'Die jüdische Turn- und Sportbewegung als Ausdruck der Selbstfindung und Selbstbehauptung des deutschen Judentums', in Wolfgang Benz, Arnold Paucker and Peter Pulzer (eds.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 223-237.

[86] See: Karl Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz: Nazi Policy Toward German Jews, 1933-1939*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, [org 1970] 1990), p.104; Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1972), p.64.

[87] Horst Göppinger, *Juristen jüdischer Abstammung im 'Dritten Reich': Entrechtung und Verfolgung*, (Munich: Beck, 1990), p.69; Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.43.

[88] Arnold Paucker, 'Responses of German Jewry to Nazi Persecution 1933-1943', in Edward Timms and Andrea Hammel, *The German-Jewish Dilemma: From the Enlightenment to the Shoah*, (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1999), pp. 211-227.

[89] Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, (Oxford: OUP, 1998), pp. 65-66.

is reinforced by the continuation of Jewish remembrance activity during the late 1930s. In Germany, the RjF continued to construct new war memorials until 1937, while many Jewish ex-servicemen who succeeded in fleeing Nazi Germany formed new veterans' associations abroad.[90] The survival of small communities of German-Jewish war veterans outside of Germany, moreover, ensured that remembrance activity for the fallen Jewish soldiers of the First World War continued even after the Nazis' genocide of European Jewry.

Existing historical accounts, though, pay almost no attention to the remembrance of the Jewish war dead after 1945. Much of the historiography on Jews in post-war Germany focuses on the predominantly East European Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs) who remained in Europe while waiting to emigrate either to the USA or to Israel.[91] Far less research has been conducted into the small Jewish communities which German Jews and those DPs who chose to stay in Germany gradually reformed.[92] Because of their small size and aged population, much of the earliest literature viewed these centres of Jewish life as merely temporary.[93] Many of the surviving members of Berlin's Jewish community, for example, were in poor health and more than a quarter were aged over sixty.[94] Another consequence of this demographic profile, though rarely mentioned, is that many members of the reformed communities were veterans of the First World War. In a large number of Jewish cemeteries, moreover, Jewish war memorials also survived the Third Reich unscathed.[95] Because both the material culture and the personal network of remembrance survived, at least in part, the process of

---

[90] The last Jewish war memorial was erected in 1937: Stadtverwaltung Słubice (ed.), *Kurze Geschichte des jüdischen Friedhofes Frankfurt (Oder) – Słubice*, (Słubicach: Urząd Miejski, 1999), p.25. On the establishment of a German-Jewish war veterans' association in New York, see: Steven Lowenstein, *Frankfurt on the Hudson: The German-Jewish Community of Washington Heights, 1933-1983, Its Structure and Culture*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), p.183.

[91] Angelika Königseder and Juliane Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal. Die jüdischen DPs im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1994); Zeev Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

[92] On the reformed German-Jewish communities, see: Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 111-113; Eva Kolinsky, *After the Holocaust: Jewish Survivors in Germany After 1945*, (London: Pimlico, 2004).

[93] Monika Richarz, 'Jews in Today's Germanies', *LBIYB*, 30 (1985), pp. 265-274, p.266.

[94] Hagit Lavsky, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945-1950*, (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2002), p.30.

[95] Prokasky, 'Gestorben wofür?', p.212.

commemorating the fallen Jewish soldiers after 1945 offers an important way of considering continuities and discontinuities between the pre-war and post-war Jewish communities.

After 1945, the First World War also loomed large in Germans' initial confrontation with the legacy of the Second World War. In many towns and cities, as Sabine Behrenbeck notes, the fallen of the most recent conflict were commemorated on small plaques affixed to older war memorials.[96] Although now in less heroic terms, the interwar Day of National Mourning (*Volkstrauertag*) was resuscitated in West Germany too, where it became a focus for the remembrance of the dead of both world wars.[97] Even the earliest memorial sites constructed in the concentration camps utilised commemorative practices from the First World War. Following existing models, those killed in the camps were remembered in a uniform fashion according to their nationality.[98] The racial victims of Nazism, though, as many studies contend, rarely encroached into these nascent narratives of the war.[99] During the 1950s, West Germans acknowledged elements of the war that emphasised German loss and suffering, while simultaneously distancing themselves from the National Socialist state.[100]

Although historians are correct to stress the marginalisation of the Nazis' racial crimes from these early narratives of the war, there was, nonetheless, some recognition of Jewish victimhood. If Germany's post-war memorial culture was based on interwar remembrance practices, which had included the German-Jewish war dead, then it is important to consider their position in this process after 1945. Recognition of these continuities in the remembrance of the Jewish fallen must lead to a reconsideration of the way,

---

[96] Sabine Behrenbeck, 'Between Pain and Silence: Remembering the Victims of Violence in Germany after 1949', in Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (eds.), *Life After Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe During the 1940s and 1950s*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 37-64, p.56.

[97] Karin Hausen, 'The "Day of National Mourning in Germany"', in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 127-146, pp. 140-141.

[98] Insa Eschebach, *Öffentliches Gedenken: Deutsche Erinnnrungskulturen seit der Weimarer Republik*, (Frankfurt: Campus, 2005), p.114.

[99] Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Elizabeth Heinemann, 'The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's "Crisis Years" and West German National Identity', *American Historical Review*, 101 (2) (April 1996), pp. 354-395.

[100] Robert Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*, (London: University of California Press, 2001), p.3.

in which Germans began to engage with their Nazi past. Many existing historical accounts tend to examine Germans' gradual acknowledgement of the fate of German Jewry through tangible sites of memory, such as the construction of Holocaust memorials.[101] Yet, as Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche argue, scholars need to broaden their focus beyond commemorative sites.[102] The remembrance of the fallen of the First World War after 1945, then, should be viewed as another topic where memory work for the Holocaust operated.

If the entanglement of the Jewish war dead with the victims of Nazi persecution was true of the immediate post-war years, then this entwinement intensified further during the 1960s. At the end of the first full post-war decade the West German Ministry of Defence took a sudden interest in the German-Jewish fallen of the First World War. It reissued a book of Jewish war letters, which the RjF had first published in 1935, and called for the restoration of Jewish soldiers' names to non-Jewish war memorials.[103] The gradual engagement of some West Germans with the suffering of German Jews, then, was driven not just by left-wing students, who came to prominence in the 1968 student revolts, but also by established, more conservative groups.[104] The Ministry of Defence's concern for the Jewish fallen, moreover, reveals the continuities of a national conservative narrative of the war dead, which privileged patriotic German Jews over the fate of European Jewry as a whole. This was typical of West Germans' initial encounter with the victims of the Final Solution. While the fate of German Jews was gradually recognised, foreign Jews, as Lutz Niethammer contends, remained absent.[105]

Any study of the remembrance of the Jewish fallen, though, must also consider how the entanglement of the war dead with the victims of Nazi persecution affected the existing commemorative process. The term "negative

---

[101] Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Sybil Milton, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), pp. 7-18.
[102] Confino and Fritzche, 'Introduction: Noises of the Past', p.3.
[103] 'Jewish Soldiers in First World War', *AJR-Information*, May 1961, p.7.
[104] On the student generation of 1968 and Germany's Nazi past, see: Caroline Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p.80; Dorothee Wierling, 'Generations and Generational Conflict in East and West Germany', in Christoph Kleßmann (ed.), *The Divided Past: Post-War German History*', (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp. 69-89, p.85.
[105] Lutz Niethammer, 'Jews and Russians in the Memory of the Germans', in Neil Gregor (ed.), *Nazism*, (Oxford: OUP, 2000), pp. 377-380.

symbiosis", which Dan Diner used to describe the German-Jewish relationship after the Holocaust, is particularly apt for examining the post-war remembrance of the Jewish war dead. "For both of them, for Germans as for Jews", remarked Diner, "the result of mass destruction has become the basis of their self-understanding, a kind of opposed reciprocity, whether they want it or not."[106] Although the Jewish soldiers died fighting for Germany in the First World War, their sacrifice has increasingly come to represent the suffering of German Jewry as a whole during the Third Reich. In a 1994 exhibition on German-Jewish soldiers, for example, the German Minister of Defence, Volker Rühe (CDU), related the Jewish soldiers' wartime patriotism to the Holocaust. "Those, who served their country loyally", bemoaned Rühe, "became victims of a barbarous dictatorship, which no longer counted the patriotism of the German Jews."[107]

Methodological Approaches

This thesis focuses on a wide variety of towns and cities, spread geographically across Germany, to consider both local and national changes in the representation of the German-Jewish First World War dead. The geographic diversity is partly a consequence of what Prokasky calls the "desperate state of source material" relating to the history of German-Jewish soldiers.[108] Both the RjF's and the German War Graves Commission's (*Volksbund deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge*, VDK) archives, which would have undoubtedly provided valuable material for this thesis, were sadly destroyed during the war.[109] This study's wide geographic focus, however, is also a reflection of the diversity of German-Jewish life. Although by 1925 over half of all Jews lived in communities numbering 10,000 or more, there remained great differences between these centres of organised Jewish

---

[106] Dan Diner, 'Negative Symbiose – Deutsche und Juden nach Auschwitz', in Micha Brumlik et al., *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland seit 1945*, (Frankfurt: Jüdischer Verlag, 1986), pp. 243-257, p.243.
[107] Volker Rühe, 'Grußwort des Bundesministers der Verteidigung', in Frank Nägler (ed.), *Deutsche jüdische Soldaten: Von der Epoche der Emanzipation bis hin zum Zeitalter der Weltkriege*, (Hamburg: E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1994), p.vii.
[108] Prokasky, 'Gestorben wofür?', p.204.
[109] Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, p.4.

community and Jewish life in more rural areas.[110] Any consideration of the remembrance of German-Jewish soldiers, therefore, must also take into account these structural differences.

The large cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden and Cologne form important focal points for this study. In 1925, Berlin, as Germany's capital, boasted the largest Jewish population with around 172,000 Jewish residents. Hamburg counted 19,000 Jews, Cologne 16,000 and Dresden 6,000.[111] Further south, the smaller cities of Würzburg, which in 1925 had 2,261 Jews among its population of 89,910, and Heilbronn, in Württemberg, with a Jewish community of less than 1,000, also form case studies for this thesis.[112] Besides variances in the size of each Jewish community, there were also other factors which led to great differences in the Jewish experience in each city. Würzburg and Heilbronn, for example, are both regional cities in the rural south of Germany, while Hamburg, Cologne and Berlin, as industrial centres, contained a more diverse population. Moreover, religious differences between the predominantly Protestant cities of North Germany and the more Catholic centres of Cologne, Würzburg and the mixed city of Heilbronn in the South and West are also significant, particularly as National Socialism attracted greater support in the strongholds of Protestantism.[113]

Nonetheless, during the Third Reich, German Jews in all six cities faced the same horrific experience of discrimination, persecution and final deportation. The residents of Würzburg, for example, who had been generally less amenable to the Nazi cause than those in the Protestant parts of Franconia, proved equally as compliant after 1933, deporting the city's Jewish population to their deaths in six separate transports between 1941 and 1943.[114] For three years, from October 1941, over 11,000 Jews were deported from Cologne, while the Jewish populations of the other cities under

---

[110] Avraham Barkai, 'Jewish Life in its German Milieu', in Michael Meyer (ed.), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times: Volume 4, Renewal and Destruction 1918-1945*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 45-71, p.55.
[111] Barkai, 'Jewish Life', p.56.
[112] Baruch Ophir und Falk Wiesemann, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern, 1918-1945: Geschichte und Zerstörung*, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979), p.433; Ze'ev Wilhelm Falk, 'Heilbronn', in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), pp. 263-364.
[113] Norbert Frei, *National Socialist Rule in Germany: The Führer State 1933-1945*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 1993), p.66.
[114] Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933-1945*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p.100 and p.212.

discussion were also sent to their deaths during the Third Reich.[115] The slow and painful process of re-establishing these destroyed Jewish communities started at the war's end. Since then, small Jewish communities, often formed from East European Jewish refugees, have re-emerged in all six cities. In Würzburg, 59 Holocaust survivors helped to rebuild the city's Jewish community, while in Cologne around 40 survivors resumed community activities in 1945.[116] Elsewhere, the task of re-establishing the Berlin, Hamburg and Dresden Jewish communities was started immediately at the war's end, while a tiny Jewish community has recently been re-founded in Heilbronn.[117]

The thesis attempts to give equal weight to each of these cities, but owing to the destruction of source material during the war, some areas are inevitably examined to a greater extent than others. An Allied bombing raid on Heilbronn in December 1944, for instance, damaged the city's main archive, destroying much of its pre-war collection. Nonetheless, this thesis has been able to compensate for these losses by referring to broader archival collections on German-Jewish history. The remains of the former German-Jewish Central Archive (*Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden*) in Berlin's Centrum Judaicum has provided important sources for the period of the war and its immediate aftermath. The Wiener Library's collection in London has helped with researching the period of the Third Reich, while the vast collections of the Leo Baeck Institute (LBI) in New York have been particularly useful for the post-1945 period. In addition, copies of the RjF's detailed newspaper, *der Schild*, a near complete run of which is available on microfilm, have helped to contextualise archival sources.

Yet, when examining the responses of both Jews and non-Jews to the commemoration of fallen Jewish soldiers of the First World War, it is insufficient to focus only on Jewish archival collections. Indeed, David

---

[115] Elfi Pracht, *Jüdisches Kulturerbe in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Teil I: Regierungsbezirk Köln*, (Cologne: Bachem, 1997), p.249.
[116] Roland Flade, 'Die Würzburger Juden: Alltag, Religion, Brauchtum', in Christoph Daxelmüller and Roland Flade (eds.), *Ruth hat auf einer schwarzen Flöte gespielt: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur der Juden in Würzburg*, (Würzburg: Echter, 2005), pp. 43-88, p.87; Pracht, *Jüdisches Kulturerbe*, p.249.
[117] On Berlin: Ulrike Offenberg, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin 1945-1953', in Julius Schoeps (ed.), *Leben im Land der Täter: Juden im Nachkriegsdeutschland (1945-1952)*, (Berlin: Jüdische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), pp. 133-156, p.133.

Bankier's study of Jewish life during the Third Reich takes a similar approach, relying on Gestapo and *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) reports to offset a lack of Jewish source material.[118] Accordingly, this thesis makes considerable use of non-Jewish sources from town and state archives in each of the cities under discussion, focusing in particular on the records of local cemetery and town planning departments. In addition, the records of the German state archive (*Bundesarchiv*) in Berlin and its military department in Freiburg have helped to broaden the project's national focus.

The first three of this thesis's five chapters focus on the interwar period, while the final two consider developments after 1945. The interwar chapters adhere to Sabine Behrenbeck's contention that there were two waves of memorial construction in Germany, the first from the time of the war until 1923 and the second from the late 1920s onwards.[119] Following this structure, chapter one examines the first remembrance wave from 1914 until the early 1920s. By emphasising shared aspects of the war, such as the horrific scale of wartime losses, it challenges commonly held notions of a distinct German-Jewish war experience. The chapter contends, moreover, that the Jewish war dead were an integral part of a post-war remembrance process which embraced all sections of German society. The entangled nature of the initial commemorative process suggests that in the immediate post-war years, German Jews remained a part of wider society, rather than occupying a separate Jewish subculture.

The second chapter focuses on the Weimar Republic's years of supposed stability from 1923 until 1929. During this period veterans' associations, which had gradually grown in strength in the immediate post-war years, began to dominate the remembrance process. At the same time, the state's commemorative activity, which included an annual Day of National Mourning and a national war memorial, began to break down. For German Jews, the veterans' associations' usurpation of the commemorative process led to their gradual exclusion from the remembrance of the war on a national

---

[118] David Bankier, 'Jewish society Through Nazi Eyes 1933-1936', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 6 (2) (1991), pp. 111-127, p.122.
[119] Sabine Behrenbeck, 'Heldenkult oder Friedensmahnung? Kriegerdenkmale nach beiden Weltkriegen', in Gottfried Niedhart und Dieter Riesenberger, *Lernen aus dem Krieg: deutsche Nachkriegszeiten, 1918 und 1945: Beiträge zur historischen Friedensforschung*, (Munich: Beck, 1992), pp. 344-364, p.348.

level. While the Republic had sought to honour all of the war dead in a single site, the ex-servicemen's organisations' tended to promote more exclusive narratives of the conflict.

When a second wave of remembrance began at the end of the 1920s, German Jews found that their position in commemorative activity on a local level was also threatened. The Jewish fallen, though, were only gradually excluded from the wider remembrance of the war. Even after the Nazis' rise to power, as the final chapter on the interwar period argues, the persistence of a more inclusive national conservative understanding of sacrifice ensured that the Jewish fallen were not fully excluded. During the 1930s, the remembrance of the Jewish war dead also moved outside of Germany's borders, as some veterans continued to uphold the memory of the Jewish war dead from abroad. Nonetheless, German Jewry's wartime sacrifice was not enough to protect them during the Third Reich. As with six million other European Jews, Jewish war veterans were horrifically persecuted and then brutally murdered by the Nazi regime.

The two post-war chapters focus on the gradual entanglement of the Jewish First World War fallen with nascent narratives of the Nazis' crimes. The first explores the formation of West Germany's post-war memorial culture from the period of Allied occupation through to the late 1950s. Because much of the post-war remembrance process was based on interwar commemorative practices, which had included the Jewish war dead, the chapter maintains that some Jewish victims were remembered in the immediate post-war years. Although they were commemorated principally as victims of the First World War, their sacrifice gradually began to be juxtaposed with the fate of German Jewry during the Third Reich.

During the 1960s, West German society witnessed a more thorough, though still limited, engagement with the Nazis' crimes. The Ministry of Defence, as the final chapter explores, sought to rehabilitate the German-Jewish fallen of the First World War as a sign of moral reconciliation. It argues that as public interest in the German-Jewish soldiers increased, the remembrance process for the Jewish war dead gradually changed. The Jewish fallen were now remembered within an emerging narrative of Jewish suffering during the Third Reich, rather than as victims of the First World War.

By the late 1970s, as most of the Jewish veterans had passed away, a younger generation of Germans and Jews re-remembered the Jewish fallen according to a different narrative of the twentieth century German-Jewish experience.

At the core of this study, then, is an account of the vicissitudes of German-Jewish memory. While this history is inevitably shaped by the horror of the Holocaust and the processes of exclusion which gave rise to it, the thesis argues for a more nuanced understanding of the twentieth century German-Jewish experience. By taking different social dynamics into account, such as local political cultures and generational change, it considers interactions and shared experiences between Jews and non-Jews as well as the exclusions which loom large in German-Jewish history.

Chapter 1 – War, Mass Death and the Formation of a Remembrance Culture, 1914-1923

In her study of the Jewish war memorial in Guben, Judith Prokasky suggests that "honouring the German-Jewish fallen [...] took place solely and exclusively on the Jewish side."[1] Sabine Hank and Hermann Simon make a similar claim in their detailed survey of the Jewish First World War burial ground in Berlin Weißensee. They argue that the importance of their research lies in the fact that this cemetery is probably the only remaining site of remembrance for almost 3,500 Jewish soldiers from Berlin killed in the war. Although "all of the gravestones in the war cemetery have survived", note Hank and Simon, "most [...] offer the only public mention of these Jewish soldiers." They lament that this situation came about as all other Jewish war memorials and remembrance sites were destroyed during the Third Reich.[2]

Yet Hank and Simon's assessment of the remembrance process in Berlin, as with Prokasky's study of Guben, overlooks non-Jewish memorial sites, which were also dedicated to fallen Jewish soldiers. In Berlin, the Jewish war dead were commemorated in numerous Jewish and non-Jewish memorial sites simultaneously. A remembrance book produced for the fallen soldiers from the Berlin suburb of Weißensee, for example, listed the district's Jewish and non-Jewish war dead together.[3] Philipp Witkop's well-known collection of German student's war letters, which was published in several versions both during and after the war, provides another example of the non-Jewish commemoration of the Jewish war dead.[4] In the anthology, letters from Otto Heinebach, a Berlin Jew killed in the war, are published alongside those from other non-Jewish students.[5] By focusing solely on Berlin's Jewish

---

[1] Judith Prokasky, 'Gestorben wofür? Die doppelte Funktionalisierung der deutsch-jüdischen Kriegerdenkmäler am Beispiel Guben', in Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener and Julius Schoeps (eds.), *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg: Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart*, (Berlin: be.bra, 2003), pp. 203-214, p.206.

[2] Sabine Hank and Hermann Simon, 'Einleitung', in Sabine Hank and Hermann Simon (eds.), *"Bis der Krieg uns lehrt, was der Friede bedeutet" Das Ehrenfeld für die jüdischen Gefallenen des Weltkrieges auf dem Friedhof der Berliner jüdischen Gemeinde*, (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2004), pp. 7-13, p.12.

[3] 'Unsern 1585 Tapferen gefallen für Volk u. Vaterland zur Ehre und zum Gedenken!', (Berlin, 1925), LAB, A Rep. 048-08, Nr.297.

[4] Philipp Witkop (ed.), *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1918).

[5] On Otto Heinebach's letters, see: Wolfgang Natter, *Literature at War, 1914-1940: Representing the "Time of Greatness" in Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p.116.

war cemetery, then, Hank and Simon's approach appears to be based on the premise that non-Jewish Germans failed to remember the sacrifice of the Jewish First World War servicemen: their findings confirm the assumptions they brought to the question in the first place.

This view adheres to a set of historiographical approaches which contend that the First World War marked a negative turning point in German Jewish / non-Jewish relations.[6] Michael Brenner's contribution to the historiography is typical. "World War I brought forth a decisive change in the development of German-Jewish relations", argues Brenner. "Instead of resulting in the social acceptance of the Jews, the war led to their brutal disillusionment."[7] Most of these existing historical accounts argue that the war, and in particular the German army's Jewish census (*Judenzählung*) of November 1916, encouraged German Jews to strengthen their links to Judaism.[8] As Paul Mendes-Flohr contends, for many Jews the war was a "critical moment in the crystallisation of a new direction to their Jewish identity."[9]

In these historical narratives, then, German Jews began to recreate a separate sphere of Jewish life, whether a subculture or *Teilkultur*, during the First World War. It is on the premise of the existence of two distinct groups that many scholars approach German-Jewish history during the Weimar Republic. In his study of the renaissance of Jewish life after the war, Michael Brenner suggests that a growing number of German Jews sought to strengthen their sense of community as a means of revitalising Jewish

---

[6] Eva Reichmann, 'Der Bewusstseinwandel der deutschen Juden', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971), pp. 511-612; Peter Pulzer, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority 1848-1933*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p.207; Cornelia Hecht, *Deutsche Juden und Antisemitismus in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2003), p.71.

[7] Michael Brenner, 'The German Army Orders a Census of Jewish Soldiers, and Jews Defend German Culture', in Sander Gilman and Jack Zipes (eds.), *Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 348-354, pp. 348-349.

[8] Christhard Hoffmann, 'Between Integration and Rejection: The Jewish Community in Germany 1914-1918', in John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 89-104, p.102; Paul Mendes-Flohr, 'The "Kriegserlebnis" and Jewish Consciousness', in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 225-237.

[9] Mendes-Flohr, 'The "Kriegserlebnis" and Jewish Consciousness', p.232.

culture.[10] Other historians have examined the interwar Zionist movement or the immigration of Eastern Jews (*Ostjuden)* to argue that Jewish life constituted a separate sphere of German society during the 1920s.[11] In much of the existing historiography, the First World War had seemingly led to the permanent separation of Jew from non-Jew in German society.

Examination of the remembrance activity for the Jewish fallen in post-1918 Germany, though, contradicts the concept of a separate Jewish sphere in German society. Focusing on Jews and other Germans' initial efforts to mourn and commemorate their war dead, this chapter argues that most German Jews had a multiple sense of belonging that crossed religious and ethnic divides. The notion of multiple belonging follows the social theorist Nancy Fraser's writing on the public sphere. As Fraser suggests, people can "participate in more than one public" and thus the "memberships of different publics may partially overlap."[12] By exploring the initial remembrance process, this chapter demonstrates that until the early 1920s, most Jews participated in both Jewish and non-Jewish commemorative activity. More broadly, then, the chapter challenges the notion that the First World War led to an immediate and complete turning point in Jewish / non-Jewish relations in Germany. For if German Jews remembered their war dead together with non-Jewish Germans, as the example of Berlin suggests, then it would be hard to contend that German Jews were forced to form their own parallel communal institutions during and after the conflict.

The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 forms the backdrop to the opening section of this chapter. While many Jews greeted the chance to fight for Germany's freedom with enthusiasm, others held a far more ambivalent view of the conflict. Nonetheless, as the war took an increasingly bloody course, almost all Germans, whether Jew or non-Jew, had to confront mass death. In attempting to transcend their losses, most

---

[10] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p.6.
[11] Michael Berkowitz, 'Zion's Cities: Projections of Urbanism and German-Jewish Self-consciousness, 1909-1933', *LBIYB*, 42 (1997), pp. 111-121; David Brenner, *Marketing Identities: The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost und West*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998).
[12] Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 25/26 (1990), pp. 56-80, p.70.

Germans, as the second section argues, sought comfort in small communities of mourning. Religious groups, for example, offered the bereaved a space in which to grieve, while pre-existing groups and associations, such as schools, universities and sport clubs, also became the centre of local communities of mourning. In these non-denominational groups, Jews and non-Jews tended to draw strength from the longstanding bonds of community and mourned their war dead together.

It was only in burying their fallen that German Jews were separated from non-Jewish Germans. On the home front, the Jewish communities generally laid all of their war dead to rest in provisional war cemeteries. Yet even this practice drew on the same structures and symbols as non-Jewish military burials. The fourth section explores German Jews' commemoration of the fallen at the war's end. Although all segments of German-Jewish life took part in the remembrance process, there were marked differences in the aspects of the war that each group emphasised. The fragmented nature of Jewish remembrance activity made it difficult for the Jewish communities to construct a single memorial site for all of the Jewish fallen from a specific town or city. In contrast to the existing historiography, the final part of the chapter contends that the process of commemorating the Jewish war dead also overlapped with non-Jewish memorial activity. In the immediate post-war years, remembrance was a deeply entangled process, rather than a separate activity for Jews and non-Jews.

A Common Experience of Death

On 1 August 1914, triggered by events in the Balkans, the German Empire declared war on Russia and two days later on France. A bloody conflict of unprecedented scale had been set in motion. In Germany, the supposed unity of Kaiser Wilhelm II's declaration of a civil truce (*Burgfrieden*), in which he sought to gain the population's support for the war, helped to encourage many Jews to volunteer to fight at the front.[13] As the material conditions declined and food shortages set in, though, this unity quickly dissolved. Although the participation of German Jews in the war did not lead to their complete

[13] Hoffmann, 'Between Integration and Rejection', p.92.

integration as some had initially hoped, many aspects of the war, this section maintains, affected all segments of German society equally. In particular, all those serving on the frontline, whether Jew or non-Jew, faced the prospect of death or injury on a daily basis. During more than four years of grim fighting, the war cost the lives of some two million Germans, including almost 12,000 of the country's 550,000 Jews.[14]

Since its formation in 1893, the acculturated Central Union of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (*Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*, CV) had grown to become Germany's largest Jewish association. Its guiding aims were to combat antisemitism and to push for the rights of its members in a German state.[15] With the outbreak of war, the CV declared its wholehearted support for Germany's struggle in the national press.[16] Even the main Zionist organisation, the Zionist Organisation for Germany (*Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland*, ZVfD), which had been founded four years after the CV in 1897, printed a call to arms.[17] "We call on you", declared the ZVfD, "to give yourself [...] to serve the fatherland."[18] These public declarations were repeated by many of Germany's more marginal Jewish organisations. The small Zionist *Herzl-Bund* too announced that it expected each of its members to "fulfil loyally his duty for the fatherland."[19]

A number of German-Jewish intellectuals also publicly backed Germany's wartime struggle.[20] Several Jewish academics numbered among 93 prominent intellectuals who signed an open letter in support of the war. The letter, which was published in the main German newspapers, argued that Germany was culpable neither for the war's outbreak, nor for the attack on

---

[14] Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Die jüdischen Gefallenen des deutschen Heeres, der deutschen Marine und der deutschen Schutztruppen 1914-1918. Ein Gedenkbuch*, (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1932), pp. 419-422.
[15] For the standard history of the CV, see: Avraham Barkai, *"Wehr Dich!" Der Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens 1893-1938*, (Munich: Beck, 2002).
[16] 'An die deutschen Juden!', *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 03/08/1914, p.2.
[17] On the ZVfD, see: Hagit Lavsky, *Before Catastrophe: Distinctive Path of German Zionism*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996); Stephen Poppel, *Zionism in Germany, 1897-1933: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1977).
[18] 'Deutsche Juden!', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 07/08/1914, p.343.
[19] 'Bundesbrüder!', *Herzl-Bund-Blätter*, November-December 1914, p.162.
[20] On the German-Jewish intellectuals and the war, see: Ulrich Sieg, *Jüdische Intellektuelle im Ersten Weltkrieg: Kreigserfahrungen, weltanschauliche Debatten und kulturelle Neuentwürfe*, (Berlin: Akademie, 2001).

Belgian neutrality in 1914.[21] One of the most significant voices of support came from the Jewish philosopher, theologian and Zionist Martin Buber. Buber dismissed fears that the conflict would pit Jew against Jew on the battlefield. He declared that this prospect was justified, as all Jewish soldiers were fighting "together for their Judaism."[22]

In an essay entitled 'Germanness and Jewishness' (*Deutschtum und Judentum*), Hermann Cohen, the respected German-Jewish philosopher, expressed his pride in Germany's wartime struggle.[23] For Cohen, the war revealed the strength of a long-standing cultural symbiosis between Germans and Jews.[24] In an appeal to the Jews of America, he stressed his belief that the war would provide an opportunity to spread German cultural standards to other European countries. "We are fighting for our German fatherland", declared Cohen, "carried at the same time by the pious confidence that we will fight with a large part of our co-religionists for their human rights."[25] Elsewhere, a separate group of German-Jewish intellectuals believed that the war would be of benefit to European Jewry. A committee formed in support of East European Jews (*Komitee für den Osten*), for example, backed the central powers' campaign, as they hoped the defeat of Russia would help to improve conditions for the Jews of Eastern Europe.[26]

Yet, as with the non-Jewish population, not all German Jews shared this initial euphoria.[27] Understandably, for many people the outbreak of war brought with it fears of change, as well as uncertainty for the future. A small minority of Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals, moreover, openly expressed their reservations concerning the onset of war. Albert Einstein, who opposed Germany's invasion of neutral Belgium, became a convinced pacifist, while

---

[21] Sieg, *Jüdische Intellektuelle im Ersten Weltkrieg*, pp. 70-71.
[22] Martin Buber, 'Die Tempelweihe', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 01/01/1915, p.2.
[23] Micha Brumlik, 'In *Deutschtum und Judentum* Hermann Cohen applies neo-Kantian Philosophy to the German Jewish Question', in Sander Gilman and Jack Zipes (eds.), *Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 336-342.
[24] Hermann Cohen, *Deutschtum und Judentum*, (Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1915).
[25] Hermann Cohen, '"Du sollst nicht einhergehen als ein Verleumder". Ein Appell an die Juden Amerikas', in Bruno Strauß (ed.), *Hermann Cohens Jüdische Schriften*, (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke, 1924), pp. 229-236, p.236.
[26] On the *Komitee für den Osten*, see: Zosa Szajkowski, 'Jewish Relief in Eastern Europe 1914-1917', *LBIYB*, 10 (1965), pp. 24-51.
[27] On the conservative myth of war enthusiasm, see: Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth and Mobilization in Germany*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2000).

the young Gershom Scholem argued that the Jews should not be concerned with Germany's war.[28] In a letter to the editor of the *Jüdische Rundschau*, he demanded that German Zionists refrain from glorifying the war in their publications.[29] Interspersed among German Jewry's wider support of the conflict, then, there were also a number of prominent voices of dissent.

However, even those German Jews who stood in opposition to the war and the consequent upsurge in patriotic spirit were affected by the onset of hostilities. In a 1919 essay, Ernst Simon, the younger contemporary of Martin Buber, described how the horror of the war had led him to Zionism. Despite his post-war rejection of the war, he had at first been caught up in the euphoria of the war's outbreak and had volunteered to fight at the front. "We sensed above all the tremendous experience", he later recalled, "to be able to swim along as one of millions upon millions of people in the great stream of patriotic destiny."[30] Even Gershom Scholem, who had rejected the war from the start, remembered how "profoundly everyone was affected by it," including those like himself "who had an entirely negative attitude towards its events."[31]

It was above all the public nature of the conflict that ensured it pervaded the everyday lives of all Germans regardless of their personal attitude towards the war. With the outbreak of hostilities, Germans had to live with the conflict in their midst. Hamburg's Jewish *Talmud-Tora* School proudly reported that its "pupils live and mingle with the daily events." The school even placed maps on the classroom walls so that the pupils could follow the conflict.[32] Many German Jews also had maps of the battlefields at home. They made a note of the German army's advances and used pins to mark its victories.[33]

The main German newspapers also followed the war closely. To supplement its accounts of the conflict's progress, the press began to publish soldiers' frontline letters (*Feldpostbriefe*). During the war, a large quantity of

---

[28] Rivka Horwitz, 'Voices of Opposition to the First World War among Jewish Thinkers', *LBIYB*, 33 (1988), pp. 233-259, p.238 and p.257.
[29] Gershom Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem: Memories of My Youth*, (New York: Schocken, 1980), p.60.
[30] Ernst Simon, 'Unser Kriegserlebnis', in Ernst Simon (ed.), *Brücken: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965), pp. 17-23, p.19.
[31] Scholem, *Berlin to Jerusalem*, p.51.
[32] 'Talmud Tora Realschule. Bericht über das Schuljahr 1914-1915', StAHH, 522-1, Nr.534d.
[33] Sieg, *Jüdische Intellektuelle im Ersten Weltkrieg*, p.76.

letters was sent between the soldiers at the front and their friends and family at home.[34] As these letters came from the hand of those actually fighting, the public tended to trust these accounts, viewing them as authentic witnesses of the war.[35] Much of the German-Jewish press, including the newspapers of the CV and the ZVfD, also published soldiers' letters from Jewish frontline servicemen.[36] In October 1914, the CV printed its first small selection of German-Jewish war letters and promised its readers that future issues would contain many more of the "large number of war letters" that it had already been sent.[37]

In Würzburg, meanwhile, the Jewish student fraternity *Salia* also garnered information about the war from its members' war letters. The *Salia*, which had been formed at the University of Würzburg in 1884, was open to students of all confessions, but its membership remained predominantly Jewish.[38] The fraternity's members would often gather over coffee to discuss the "eagerly awaited" letters from their "fraternity brothers" in the field. The letters were then later collected and published in the *Salia*'s monthly War Report (*Kriegsbericht*).[39] These first publications quickly spawned the production of special collections, containing a selection of the most inspiring letters. In the first edited Jewish collection, the letters were thematically titled and arranged chronologically. Placed together, the separate letters, with titles such as "Farewell", "Metz in Wartime" or "Iron Cross First Class", formed a 'complete' account of life at the front.[40]

---

[34] Approximately 6.8 million items passed daily between the German frontline and the home front. Bernd Ulrich, *Die Augenzeugen: Deutsche Feldpostbriefe in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit 1914-1933*, (Essen: Klartext, 1997), p.40.
[35] Ulrich, *Deutsche Feldpostbriefe*, p.28.
[36] 'Zwei Feldpostbriefe', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 02/10/1914, pp. 383-384.
[37] 'Feldpost-Briefe', *IDR*, October-December 1914, pp. 388-392, p.392.
[38] On the *Salia* fraternity, see: Roland Flade, 'Die Würzburger Juden: Alltag, Religion, Brauchtum', in Christoph Daxelmüller and Roland Flade (eds.), *Ruth hat auf einer schwarzen Flöte gespielt: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur der Juden in Würzburg*, (Würzburg: Echter, 2005), pp. 43-88, pp. 58-59; Thomas Schindler, '"Was Schandfleck war, ward unser Ehrenzeichen...: Die jüdischen Studentenverbindungen und ihr Beitrag zur Entwicklung eines neuen Selbstbewußtseins deutscher Juden', in Horm-Hinrich Brandt and Matthias Stickler (ed.), *"Der Burschen Herrlichkeit": Geschichte und Gegenwart des Studentischen Korporationwesens*, (Würzburg: Schönigh, 1998), pp. 337-354.
[39] *Kriegsbericht der Salia*, 01/01/1915, p.3.
[40] Eugen Tannenbaum, *Kriegsbriefe deutscher und österreichischer Juden*, (Berlin: Neuer Verlag, 1915).

Photographs of soldiers taken before they left for the front provide further evidence of the war's intrusion into German everyday life. Many soldiers visited photographic studios, where they posed before the camera wearing their neat military uniforms. The staged backgrounds, often of a local countryside scene, provided a stark contrast with the mud and craters that awaited the servicemen on the frontline (see figure1). Photographs of soldiers with their regimental comrades were also frequently sent from the front. These provided those at home with a picture of their loved ones fighting in defence of their German fatherland. In these images, the Jewish and non-Jewish soldiers, bedecked in identical German military uniform, were indistinguishable.

Figure 1. Sally Brandes, a German-Jewish soldier from Bamberg.[41]

The idea, however, that there existed a single war experience, whether this was Jewish or non-Jewish, is of course a canard. Every individual experienced the war uniquely. As Richard Bessel rightly notes: "There was no typical experience of the First World War, no uniform experience of the front

[41] Herbert Loebl, *Juden in Bamberg. Die Jahrzehnte vor dem Holocaust* (Bamberg: Fränkischer Tag, 1999), p.206.

generation."[42] Nonetheless, it is equally true that certain wartime experiences held greater resonance with some groups than with others. For many German-Jewish soldiers, the encounter with East European Jewry (*Ostjuden*) in their eastern homelands affected their own self-perception. At times this was a predominantly negative confrontation. As Arnold Tänzer, an army rabbi from Göppingen, later recalled, when he encountered Jews in Chelmno in Russian Poland during the war, he was struck by the "poor, careworn appearance" of the conspicuous Jewish population.[43] Other Jewish servicemen, meanwhile, started to glorify the eastern Jews. Franz Rosenzweig, for example, enthused about the simple ghetto Jews, whose vivacity stood in strong contrast to bourgeois western Jewry.[44] Whatever their personal view of the eastern Jews, this confrontation clearly affected the Jewish soldiers far more than their non-Jewish comrades.

There was, though, one horrific experience, which all those serving on the frontline, whether Jew or non-Jew, faced on a daily basis. The encounter with death, injury or mutilation was a very real prospect for all combatants. When Gottfried Sender, a thirty-three year-old Jewish teacher and Berlin community member, volunteered for service, he dedicated himself to Germany's struggle. "I am fighting for something which is, in my opinion, justified", pronounced Sender, "and will fight till the last drop of blood."[45] Similarly committed views can be found in many of the earliest published soldiers' letters. Rudolf Stern, a twenty-two year-old Jewish student from Würzburg and member of the *Salia* fraternity described in precise detail how he won the Iron Cross commanding a mission against the British line.[46] Yet the bravado displayed in Sender and Stern's letters was not enough to protect either from becoming early casualties of the war. On 14 March 1915, Stern

---

[42] Richard Bessel, 'The "Front Generation" and the Politics of Weimar Germany', in Mark Roseman (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Formation in Germany 1770-1968*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 121-136, p.126.
[43] Arnold Tänzer, 'War Memoirs', in Monika Richarz, *Jewish Life in Germany: Memoirs From Three Centuries*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 270-279, p.275.
[44] On East European Jewry during the First World War, compare: Steven Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p.205; Trude Maurer, *Ostjuden in Deutschland 1918-1933*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1986), pp. 26-29.
[45] Letter, Gottfried Sender, 12/02/1915, cited in 'Bücherschau', *IDR*, October 1915, pp. 236-239, p.238.
[46] Letter, Rudolf Stern to *Salia*, 14/03/1915, cited in *Kriegsbericht der Salia*, 01/04/1915, pp. 4-7.

was killed in fighting near the French town of Bousbecque and immediately buried in the nearby German war cemetery. Sender suffered a similar fate. He succumbed to a head wound on 13 June 1915 and was also buried at the front soon after his death.[47]

Where bodies could be identified, soldiers who fell at the front, as in the case of Sender and Stern, were immediately buried, usually under a Christian cross.[48] A letter to the orthodox newspaper *der Israelit* sharply criticised this practice. "For us the Iron Cross is purely a symbol of bravery and is worn without objection even by law-abiding Jews", complained the reader, "but as a gravestone the cross is a symbol of the Christian Church."[49] The use of Christian markers, though, reflected the exigencies of the frontline situation. The space and time constraints of the battlefield meant that burial was generally a luxury rather than a right. Often the bodies of the fallen were never recovered. Their corpses simply shattered in the carnage of the battle or vanished under the repeated shellfire. Some bodies were used to patch up trenches or floated from the earth during heavy rain.[50] In these circumstances, it was impossible to perform a decent burial according to the religious beliefs of a particular soldier. The war, then, which had started with such an upsurge in patriotism soon descended into a theatre of mass death that affected Jew and non-Jew alike.

Communities of Mourning

Each soldier killed at the front left behind friends and family, who had somehow to overcome the death of their loved ones. Even Gershom Scholem, who had rejected the war from the start, had to cope with the experience of irreparable loss. His brother Werner was wounded on the eastern front in 1916, while his closest non-Jewish school friend, Erwin Briese, was killed on the frontline.[51] Although death in war began to be

---

[47] *Kriegsbericht der Salia*, 01/04/1915, p.3.
[48] *Ibid.* For other cases of Jewish soldiers being buried under Christian Crosses, see: Ortsgruppe München des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Unseren Gefallenen Kameraden: Gedenkbuch für die im Weltkrieg Gefallenen Münchener Juden*, (Munich: B. Heller, 1929), p.212.
[49] 'Soldatengräber', *Der Israelit*, 16/11/1916, p.2.
[50] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*, (London: Reaktion, 1996), pp. 214-215.
[51] Scholem, *Berlin to Jerusalem*, pp. 63-64, p.83.

portrayed as a glorious sacrifice for the fatherland, this was often inadequate for those families whose son or father never returned home. Most of the bereaved, as this section contends, sought comfort from close friends and family. For many individuals, the process of working through and attempting to come to terms with their personal grief extended into larger communities of mourning. Because these communities were generally formed on a local level within existing groups, such as schools, places of worship and work places, Jews and non-Jews often mourned their loved ones in a shared space.

Central to the dominant wartime discourse on military death in Germany was the belief that the dead had fallen for a noble cause. After being fatally wounded on the Western Front, twenty-three year-old Julius Holz, a Jewish soldier from Berlin, asked a comrade to tell his parents that "like everyone else, I have done my duty as a soldier and am happy to die."[52] Whether Holz's final words were so reverential in reality is debateable. The idea of a dutiful and gentle death, though, permeated the language of a war characterised by the horror of mass slaughter. For many, the number of casualties could only be understood through a "re-symbolisation of military death"; turning it from a horrific into a sacred event.[53] Relatives were to be proud of their loved one's death, as they had "taken part and sacrificed in a noble cause."[54] In a standard letter of condolence from the Prussian Minister of War, Hermann von Stein, Holz's parents were supposed to find comfort in the knowledge that in "the defence of the German fatherland" their son had suffered a "hero's death" fighting "on the field of honour".[55]

For many people, the thought that their loved ones had died a dutiful death in the service of their country did little to allay their personal sense of grief. When Julius Hirsch, a Jewish soldier from Wandsbek in Hamburg, was killed on the eastern front in August 1915, his wife clearly took little comfort from his heroic sacrifice. On numerous occasions, Wandsbek's rabbi

---

[52] Letter, Lieutenant Leunissen, 09/07/1918, in *Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden mit einem Geleitwort von Franz Josef Strauß*, (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1961), pp.17-18, p.18.
[53] Ulrich Linse, '"Saatfrüchte sollen nicht vermahlen werden": Zur Resymbolisierung des Soldatentods', in Klaus Vondung (ed.), *Kriegserlebnis. Der Erste Weltkrieg in der literarischen Gestaltung und symbolischen Deutung der Nationen*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 262-274, p.263.
[54] George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990), p.6.
[55] 'Gedenkblatt' from War Minister von Stein, 08/08/1918, BArch Freiburg, BW 1/21633.

attempted to discover more details about Hirsch's death and his last resting place from the War Ministry: "The widow would like to have, if it is at all possible, a photograph of the grave and maybe to visit her husband's gravesite with her two children."[56] Unfortunately, the War Ministry was unable even to provide the exact location of Hirsch's grave. "The fallen soldier", noted the War Ministry, "probably lies with the unidentified members of the Res. I.R. 332, who were reburied from Sztgljongi to Borowtzy." It added helpfully that "Borowtzy is situated in the Military Governorate of Lomza."[57]

In the midst of war, of course, it would have been almost impossible for Hirsch's widow to travel from northern Germany to Borowtzy in eastern Poland. Her search for information about her husband's fate, though, was not in vain. Although Hirsch's widow could not visit the actual gravesite, she still sought to create a physical attachment to her husband by acquiring a photograph of his burial site. This was part of a very personal grieving process. In contacting her local rabbi and the war ministry, she was attempting to collect any traces of information relating to the fighting on the eastern front. These small details allowed her to piece together her husband's military service and final resting place.

Where the grave was out of reach, as in Hirsch's case, the bereaved had to search for alternative modes of grieving. Personal artefacts of the deceased, for example photographs or their final letters from the front offered one source of comfort. Mass-produced memorial books, which could be purchased to mark the anniversary of a soldier's death, were also popular. Space was usually provided for relatives to personalise each book by adding photographs, the text on the headstone and even their loved one's final words. Jewish versions of these books contained additional information, including the Hebrew calendar, prayers to be said at the anniversary of death and in one even a photograph of the Tombs of the Kings in Jerusalem.[58]

These acts of private sorrow and reflection were only one small part of the mourning process. As Jay Winter suggests, many of the bereaved also

---

[56] Letter, to Zentral-Nachweisungsbureau des Kriegsministeriums, 09/03/1917, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.946.
[57] Letter, Kriegsministerium to Geistlicher der Israelitischen Gemeinde Wandsbek, 06/09/1917, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.946.
[58] 'Dem Andenken meines unvergeßlichen Sohnes, Adolf Stern', *LBINY*, AR5454.

began to come together on a local level to form small communities of mourning. In these groups people could seek consolation and support from those suffering similar losses.[59] Although the members of these communities had no familial ties, a group's association often replicated these bonds. Winter terms this relationship "fictive kinship".[60] As each person, of course, held an individual memory of the war, the result of these communities' interactions was not so much a "collective memory" of the war but rather a "collective remembrance" of it.[61]

Winter's definition of communities of mourning is certainly useful for exploring the initial process of mourning during the war, but the term itself requires further clarification. As to the appearance of these communities or as to how they formed, Winter offers little explanation. He focuses primarily on communities of mourning formed as a result of the conflict, such as French associations of wounded veterans, *mutilés de guerre*, or the local activities of the Red Cross.[62] By examining the form of remembrance activity undertaken within Germany, it becomes clear that communities of mourning were also typically based around pre-existing social structures. In most towns and cities, individuals created communities of mourning from a wide variety of pre-war groups, including religious groups, schools and universities. It was within these that the bereaved began to form a collective remembrance of the war, both as Jews and as members of a wider community simultaneously.

Religious communities offer the clearest example of how individuals came together in small groups to mourn their loved ones. Conventional forms of religious worship in Jewish synagogues and Christian churches provided both Jews and Christians with a familiar structure in which to seek comfort for their losses. Throughout the war, special religious services were held, which focused specifically on the fallen soldiers. In Hamburg's synagogues special memorial services for those killed and wounded in the war were held on the

---

[59] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p.30.
[60] Jay Winter, 'Forms of Kinship and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Great War', in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 40-60, pp. 40-41.
[61] Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, 'Setting the Framework', in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 6-39, p.9.
[62] Winter, *Sites of Memory*, pp. 36-46.

last day of Passover in 1915.[63] In the city's main *Bornplatz* Synagogue, meanwhile, the leadership of Hamburg's community ordered that all the *Trauerjahr* candles be lit in remembrance of the fallen.[64] This activity, which was staged in memory of the Jewish war dead, provided the German-Jewish bereaved with a public space, in which they could reflect upon their losses.

Jewish clubs and associations also acted as communities of mourning for the bereaved. In memory of each of its members killed at the front, for example, the Zionist *Herzl-Bund* published short obituaries in its newsletter.[65] The Jewish *Salia* student fraternity in Würzburg provided a similar network of support. It published biographical details, poetry and even war letters from each of its fallen members.[66] When the *Salia* received news that its member Rudolf Stern had been killed at the front, for instance, it printed his final letter from the front under the proud title: "Stern's Final Greeting".[67] In publicly honouring its fallen, the organisation helped to create a community in which the friends and companions of the fallen could seek consolation.

These communities of mourning also provided the families of the war dead with support. When Rudolf Stern's parents decided that they wanted to repatriate their son's body, members of the *Salia* managed to secure the necessary permits from the authorities in Würzburg. In April 1915, only one month after being buried at the front, Stern's remains were returned to Germany. Members of the *Salia* accompanied the family to the funeral, which was held in Stern's hometown of Kaiserslautern. "On Tuesday afternoon at 3 o'clock", reported the organisation, "a whole crowd of *Salier* paid their last respects to our precious dead."[68]

These Jewish groups were just one small part of a much wider process of mourning in wartime Germany. The University of Würzburg, for example, provided the friends and relatives of all of its students killed in the war, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, with comfort and support. Besides large public remembrance services held in the institution, the university community also offered a place for the bereaved to express their personal sorrow. Many

---

[63] 'Seelenfeier für gefallene Krieger', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 12/04/1915, p.4.
[64] 'Zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 29/09/1914, p.3.
[65] 'Nachruf', *Herzl-Bund-Blätter*, February-March 1915, p.1.
[66] *Kriegsbericht der Salia*, 01/12/1914, p.2; 'Beilage', *Kriegsbericht der Salia*, 01/12/1917, p.5.
[67] *Kriegsbericht der Salia*, 01/04/1915, pp. 4-7.
[68] 'Wie wir Rolf Stern in heimatlicher Erde borgen', *Kriegsbericht der Salia*, 01/05/1915, p.4.

relatives wrote to the university authorities informing them of the death of their loved one at the front.[69] This, though, was more than simply an administrative courtesy. The university authorities also replied to these letters, sending their own condolences to the relatives. They even asked the parents of one fallen Jewish student to send them information about "everything that appears intrinsic and significant from the life of your dear son", as they intended to create a book detailing all of the institution's war dead.[70] In this way, the university came together to form a community of the bereaved that included both its Jewish and non-Jewish members.

The situation in Würzburg, where Jews and non-Jews participated in the same community of mourning, was repeated throughout Germany. A community of the bereaved that emerged out of Hamburg's *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*, for instance, included all of the school's former members, whether Jew or non-Jew. During the war, the school held regular remembrance services for all of its fallen members and reported on their deaths in its regular newsletter. "Their deaths are a glowing example for the current and future pupils", announced the school authorities. "The school mourns them with their parents and friends."[71] The director of the *Wilhelm-Gymnasium* also expressed his sorrow to a wider audience. When Joseph Koch, a senior teacher at the school and member of Hamburg's Jewish community, was killed at the front in 1915, the school published an obituary in a local newspaper. "In the departed, we mourn a genial colleague", declared the school's director, "who through his friendly manner and his loyal fulfilment of duty had earned [...] the respect of his fellow staff and the love of his pupils."[72]

As the communities of mourning that emerged in Würzburg and Hamburg demonstrate, the mourning process did not divide Jew from non-Jew. In many areas, Jews and other Germans belonged to several different communities of mourning. The bereaved sought comfort from individuals who were either already familiar to them or who shared a similar set of beliefs.

---

[69] Letter, M. Rotschild to Rectorat Universität Würzburg, 05/07/1915, UAW, ARS, Nr.1457.
[70] Letter, Rektorat der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg to Aron Goldschmidt, 21/02/1917, UAW, ARS, Nr.1457.
[71] 'Wilhelm-Gymnasium zu Hamburg. Bericht über das 35. Schuljahr 1915/16', WGA (uncatalogued).
[72] Joseph Koch Obituary, StAHH, 362-2/20, Nr.216.

While this was often in specific religious communities, whether Christian or Jewish, people also returned to the groups and associations of civil society to which their loved one had once belonged. Because Jews in Imperial Germany had often played a significant roll in German society, whether this was through shared schooling, membership in clubs or participation in political associations, these non-Jewish groups also mourned their Jewish members killed in the war.[73] Hamburg's *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*, for example, which was located in the traditionally Jewish Rothenbaum district of the city, enjoyed high-levels of Jewish patronage before the war. Accordingly, it helped both Jewish and non-Jewish relatives of the fallen to transcend their losses during the conflict.

Sites of Mourning

During the war years, the communities of mourning were rarely able to construct permanent war memorials. Instead military cemeteries within Germany became the focus of public commemoration. In Cologne, to the chagrin of the police, the public even broke through wire fences to take a closer look at the newly laid war cemetery. "Women and children in particular", complained Cologne's Police President, "hustle around the grave[s] in an irksome way."[74] The formation of military cemeteries gave the different religious communities the freedom to bury their fallen according to their own religious practices. Although the Jewish and non-Jewish war dead were buried in separate burial grounds, common symbols and principles of design dominated all war cemeteries. In burying their war dead, then, the Jewish communities were not separated from non-Jewish society, but were a part of a much wider commemorative process.

Most of the different communities of mourning in Germany planned to construct a permanent site of remembrance for their fallen members. These offered a place for the bereaved to mourn and an alternative to the gravesite,

---

[73] On Jewish participation in everyday German society, see: Till van Rahden, 'Mingling, Marrying, and Distancing: Jewish Integration in Wilhelminian Breslau and its Erosion in Early Weimar Germany', in Wolfgang Benz, Arnold Paucker and Peter Pulzer (eds.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 197-222.

[74] Letter, Polizei-Präsident to Regierungs-Präsidenten, 14/12/1914, HStAD, Nr.7843, Vol.IV.

when the actual bodies of the war dead remained outside of Germany.[75] Unfortunately, for the bereaved, the state discouraged the erection of permanent war memorials during the war. In December 1916, Germany's Interior Minister issued an order, in which he called for a complete halt to all memorial activity: "All efforts during the war are to be focused on the achievement of victory and all available resources are to be devoted to today's massive tasks."[76] With the fighting ongoing and the casualty figures continually rising, it also proved inopportune to construct a war memorial during the war.

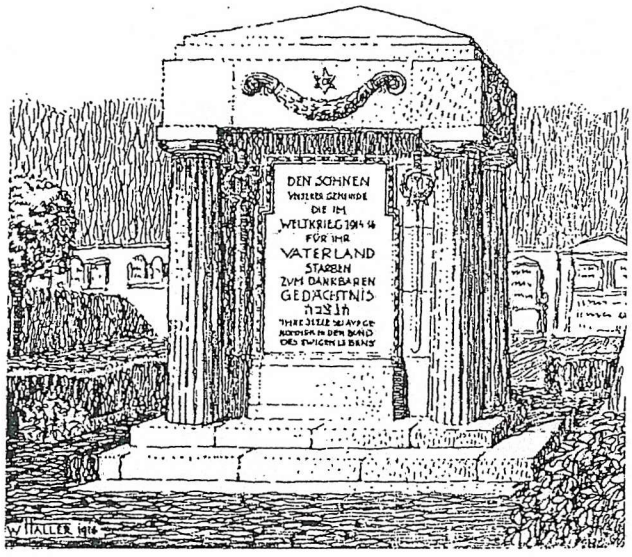

Figure 2. Dresden, Jewish Community War Memorial, 1916.[77]

This problem was evident in Dresden, where the city's Jewish community erected Germany's first Jewish war memorial in its Johannstadt burial ground in May 1916.[78] As the community had sufficient funds, the memorial, designed by the Saxon architect Wilhelm Haller, could be

[75] Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p.159.
[76] Letter, Minister des Innern to Regierungspräsidenten, 12/12/1916, BArch Berlin, R1501 / 113066.
[77] Judith Prokasky, 'Treue zu Deutschland und Treue zum Judentum - das Gedenken an die deutschen jüdischen Gefallenen des Ersten Weltkrieges', *Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 9 (2) (1999), pp. 503-516, p.512.
[78] On the Dresden memorial, see: Ingrid Kirsch, '80 Jahre Denkmal zu Ehren der im Ersten Weltkrieg gefallenen Mitglieder der Dresdener jüdischen Gemeinde auf dem Friedhof Dresden-Johannstadt', *Sächsische Heimatblätter*, 6 (1996), pp. 363-368.

constructed at this early stage.[79] Four plaques on each side of the cubed structure reflected the memorial's premature construction (see figure 2). The first erroneously dated the war, "1914-1916", while the remaining three, onto which the names of the fallen were to be engraved, remained blank until after the war.[80] Sadly, this proved to be an astute decision, as at the time of the memorial's dedication only fifteen Jewish soldiers from Dresden had died: by 1918 the number totalled sixty.[81]

There was, however, one sphere of remembrance activity in which the religious communities were able to act during the war. In burying the war dead on the home front, all religious communities were allowed to construct their own war cemeteries. As the vast majority of Germany's war dead were never brought home, these cemeteries were principally for those soldiers who had succumbed to their wounds in hospitals or whose families had received permission to return their bodies from the battlefield.

At the start of the conflict, the main Jewish associations had worked to ensure that fallen Jewish soldiers would be buried in Jewish cemeteries. In August 1914, the German-Jewish Communities Alliance (*Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund*, DIGB), which offered advice and financial subsidies mainly to the smaller communities, received permission from the War Ministry to perform burials in Jewish cemeteries.[82] At the same time the DIGB circulated a letter to the different communities in which it called on them to ensure that "in these difficult times" all Jewish servicemen are buried in communal cemeteries.[83] The DIGB's efforts appear to have been a success, as almost all of the Jewish fallen, including those from the opposing armies, were buried in Jewish cemeteries. By the war's end the Jewish cemetery in Cologne-Deutz, for example, contained the bodies of eleven allied soldiers.[84] "They lie peacefully side by side", wrote the Community's newspaper,

---

[79] 'Verwaltungsbericht und Jahresbericht der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde zu Dresden', 1915, HStADD, Kreishauptmannschaft Dresden Nr.352.
[80] 'Rundschau', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 05/06/1916, p.2.
[81] Kirsch, '80 Jahre Denkmal', p.366, p.367.
[82] 'Korrespondenzen und Nachrichten', *Gemeindebote, Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 18/09/1914, p.1.
[83] Letter, Der Ausschuß des Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebundes, 24/08/1914, CJA 1,75A Bl1, Nr.4, Bl.4 #816.
[84] Oberbürgermeister Köln to Regierungspräsidenten Köln, 28/03/1919, HASK, Bestand 750, Nr.94.

"Germans with Frenchmen, Russians, Turks and Englishmen."[85] There were clearly occasions in the war, then, where a sense of belonging crossed national boundaries.

Although the DIGB sought permission to bury the Jewish war dead separately, this was not an attempt to create a subculture within German society. The DIGB's aim was driven purely by religious considerations. In laying the fallen to rest in Jewish war cemeteries, the Jewish communities were able to ensure that their fallen members were buried according to Jewish law. Militaristic inscriptions and insignia, for example, were generally considered inappropriate for Jewish war graves. In 1915, Berlin's Jewish community wrote to the committee of the Hamburg community with guidance on how to bury the war dead. It advised against using the symbol of the Iron Cross on gravestones, although it deemed the inscription, "Holder (Knight) of the Iron Cross", acceptable.[86] Hamburg's Jewish community later shared these guidelines with other German-Jewish communities, to ensure that all of the fallen were buried in an appropriate manner.[87] The Jewish communities, then, were not seeking to isolate themselves from wider German society. Indeed, far from separating themselves from non-Jewish German life, the Jewish communities actually shared military burial practices that were embraced by all sections of German society.

The process of burying Germany's war dead was dominated by the notion that the soldiers had died heroically fighting for a noble cause. If death in war was to be considered a heroic act, then it was important that the war cemeteries symbolised this. There was a demand, therefore, for all military burial grounds, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, to reflect the heroic ideals for which their occupants had supposedly died.[88] During the war, architects and art historians sought to promote this new form of cemetery design. Alternative forms of war cemetery design were widely debated, with the results disseminated throughout Germany in countless articles, pamphlets and exhibitions. To help people dissect this flood of information, most German

[85] 'Vom Kriege', *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 14/07/1916, p.8.
[86] Minutes, 'Sitzung des Vorstandes der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde', 24/10/1915, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.297, Vol.18.
[87] Minutes, 'Sitzung des Vorstandes der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde', 15/07/1917, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.297, Vol.18.
[88] Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, pp. 80-82.

states formed advisory centres for honouring fallen soldiers (*Landesberatungsstellen für Kriegerehrungen*). These centres sought to ensure that the war dead received "as dignified a grave form as possible."[89]

During the war, however, most of the new burial grounds were only provisionally set. Landscaping of the war graves in Cologne's five main city cemeteries, for instance, was to be postponed until the cessation of hostilities, at which point proper headstones and permanent war memorials were to be constructed.[90] This was also the case with the Berlin Jewish community's proposed war cemetery in Berlin-Weißensee. In 1915, the community agreed in principle to the architect Max Grünfeldt's design for a war cemetery and central memorial, but "only under the proviso that structural work on the field of honour (*Ehrenfeld*) be avoided during wartime."[91] Yet even these provisional military burial grounds had to be laid according to specific guidelines.

For the local advisory centres, the most important principle underlying the design of war cemeteries was simply that, "war graves should be recognisable as such."[92] Military graves, then, had to be distinguishable from civilian graves: to die in battle was very different to dying in civilian life. Two main methods were used to achieve this distinction. First, war graves were placed together in their own cemetery. Often a separate area of an existing civilian burial ground was adapted for this purpose. Second, as all soldiers had "sacrificed their lives for the same noble idea", each war grave was expected to conform to the same design.[93] The uniformity of the gravestones also reflected the supposed wartime camaraderie of the trenches, which in these cemeteries continued into death.[94]

---

[89] Preußische Beratungsstelle für Kriegsehrungen (ed.), *Kriegergräber in der Heimat: Flugblatt der preußischen Beratungsstellen für Kriegsehrungen*, (Berlin, Sittenfeld, 1917), p.8. On the advisory centres, see: Udo Gentzen and Kristina Hübener, 'Staatliche Kriegerehrungen: Das Wirken der brandenburgischen Provinzialberatungsstelle für Kriegerehrungen seit 1916', in Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener and Julius Schoeps (eds.), *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg: Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart*, (Berlin: be.bra, 2003), pp. 115-132.

[90] Letter, Oberbürgermeister Köln, 10/06/1915, HStAD, Nr.7843, Vol.IV.

[91] 'Das Ehrenfeld für jüdische Kreiger auf dem Gemeindefriedhof in Berlin-Weißensee', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 11/10/1915, p.3.

[92] Die staatlichen Beratungsstellen, 'Leitsätze über Kriegergräber', in Heeresverwaltung (ed.), *Kriegergräber im Felde und Daheim*, (Munich: Bruckmann, 1917), pp. 11-12, p.11.

[93] Preußische Beratungsstelle, *Kriegergräber in der Heimat*, p.6.

[94] Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, p.84.

In Hamburg, both of these principles were quickly implemented. Most of those of Hamburg's war dead who could be buried in Germany were laid to rest in the city's main cemetery, located in the outlying suburb of Ohlsdorf.[95] Within the first few weeks of the war, Hamburg's city Senate was called upon to create a separate section of the burial ground solely for war graves.[96] Approval was promptly given and construction began in autumn 1914.[97] The cemetery authorities then attempted to impose a sense of unity and order on the cemetery's design. By placing identical stone plinths containing bronze name plaques over each grave, the authorities hoped "to create a uniform [...] decoration of the graves."[98]

These two principles of war cemetery design were also evident in the Jewish community's plans to create a war cemetery in the Jewish section of the Ohlsdorf burial ground. Apart from seven members of Hamburg's orthodox community, who were laid to rest in their community's Langenfelde burial ground, the majority of Hamburg's Jewish fallen were buried in Ohlsdorf. Here, the Jewish community also decided early in the war to set aside military graves from the remainder of the burial ground. In November 1914, the leadership of the community asked the cemetery authorities to mark out an area of land for "heroes' graves for fallen Israelite soldiers."[99] The area chosen, next to the Jewish cemetery's main entrance and alongside the neighbouring *Ilandkoppel* road, ensured that "with every visit to the cemetery" the victims' sacrifice "entered people's consciousness."[100] As a reflection of the supposedly homogenous frontline experience, Hamburg's Jewish community also sought to ensure that all headstones were of an identical design. While the graves would eventually be marked with matching

[95] For a historical overview of the large Ohlsdorf cemetery, see: Helmut Schoenfeld, *Der Friedhof Ohlsdorf*, (Hamburg: Christians, 2000).
[96] Minutes, Hamburg Senate, 13/08/1914, StAHH, 325-1, Nr.206.
[97] 'Jahresbericht des Friedhofsdeputation 1914/25', StAHH, 325-1, Nr.63.
[98] Letter, Friedhofsdeputation, 17/11/1914, StAHH, 325-1, Nr.205.
[99] Letter, Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde to Friedhofsbüro, 13/11/1914, StAHH, 325-1, Nr.272.
[100] *Festschrift zur Feier des 125 jährigen Bestehens der Beerdigungs-Brüderschaft der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde in Hamburg 1812-1937*, (Hamburg, 1937), p.20.

headstones, noted the community's chairman in 1916, "in the interim they are [only] being covered with provisional iron plaques."[101]

Although the Jewish fallen were buried in separate war cemeteries, they were not isolated from wider German society. Jews and non-Jews regularly took part in military funerals in the burial grounds. When Bertram Ascher was buried in Ohlsdorf, for example, the crowds that gathered for his funeral were "so large that only a tiny portion could find space in the cemetery building."[102] As chairman of the local Jewish Youth Group, Ascher had held a prominent role in the community. He was also a Doctor of Law and had been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant shortly before his death. Besides prominent guests from Hamburg's Jewish community, a large number of non-Jews were present at Ascher's funeral. Representing the German army, a high-ranking general attended, while Ascher's regimental comrades fired a three-gun salvo over his coffin.[103] During the war, then, the fallen Jewish soldiers were buried in separate war cemeteries, but were commemorated as a part of the wider remembrance of the war. The cemeteries shared the common iconography of military death, while both Jews and non-Jews often attended the funerals for the Jewish and non-Jewish fallen alike.

The German-Jewish Communities' Remembrance of the War Dead

After four years of horrific fighting, Germany was finally forced to face defeat in autumn 1918. A series of failed offensives had left morale at the front in tatters, while within Germany demonstrations and revolution engulfed the country. This turmoil led to the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II on 9 November 1918 and two days later to the signing of the armistice, which brought hostilities to an end. A system of parliamentary democracy, which had replaced the Emperor, faced an inauspicious start. In June 1919, republican delegates were forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Versailles, which stripped Germany of land, curtailed its armed forces and forced it to admit full responsibility for the war. This section focuses on the gradual dissolution of

[101] Letter, Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg to Vorstand der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde Leipzig, 08/09/1916, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.313a.
[102] 'Trauerfeier für Dr. Bertram Ascher', (newspaper cutting), 22/11/1915, StAHH, ZAS, A680.
[103] 'Trauerfeier für Dr. Bertram Ascher', *Neue Hamburger Zeitung*, 22/11/1915, StAHH, ZAS, A680.

German society as the country faced defeat. It argues that, although the internal unity of the *Burgfrieden* came to an end, the sheer scale of human loss ensured that all sections of German Jewry continued to remember the war dead. In commemorating the fallen, though, each community emphasised a different aspect of the conflict. The diversity of remembrance activity made it difficult for German Jews to create a single Jewish memorial site for an entire town or city.

As Germany gradually edged towards defeat, the cracks in the *Burgfrieden* became more acute. A number of radical right-wing groups, for example, suggested that Jewish war profiteers were responsible for the growing material shortages on the home front. The Prussian War Ministry also received a number of letters during 1916, which accused Jews of shirking frontline military service.[104] In October of the same year, under the pressure of these complaints, the War Ministry ordered a census of Jewish soldiers (*Judenzählung*) at the front. The reaction of the various German-Jewish associations to the count was mixed. The CV merely demanded that the statistics be acquired in a fair and accurate way, while the orthodox newspaper, *der Israelit*, hoped that the census would find accusations of Jewish war shirking to be false.[105] The main Zionist newspapers, however, were far more open in their criticism of the War Ministry's plans. "It [the *Judenzählung*] is a flagrant abuse of the honour and of the civic equality of German Jewry", complained the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau*.[106]

Many scholars of German-Jewish history contend that the *Judenzählung* marked a clear turning point for Jewish life in Germany.[107] Peter Pulzer, for example, opens his account of the Jewish First World War experience by declaring that the war "brought about a dramatic change in the relationships between Jews and their governments in both the German and

---

[104] Werner Angress, 'The German Army's "Judenzählung" of 1916 Genesis – Consequences – Significance', *LBIYB*, 23 (1978), pp. 117-135, p.121.
[105] 'Die Glaubens-Statistik in Heer', *IDR*, November 1916, pp. 242-245; 'Eine Zählung der deutschen Juden', *Der Israelit*, 09/11/1916, p.2.
[106] 'Jüdenzählung', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 27/10/1916, p.351.
[107] Reichmann, 'Der Bewusstseinwandel der deutschen Juden', pp. 526-527; Till van Rahden, *Juden und andere Breslauer: Die Beziehungen zwischen Juden, Protestanten und Katholiken in einer deutschen Großstadt von 1860 bis 1925*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), p.14.

the Austro-Hungarian-Empires."[108] Angered at their rejection by majority German society and disheartened by their negative experiences of the war, many Jews began to place greater emphasis on their Jewishness at the conflict's end. "The alienation and sense of setback that many Jews experienced on the battlefield", maintains Christhard Hoffmann, "led to a new sentiment of Jewish solidarity and togetherness."[109] This large group of disillusioned Jews, it is argued, either turned to Zionism or renewed their ties with the German-Jewish communities.[110]

Certainly some Jews began to emphasise their Jewishness as a result of their own war experience. The German-Jewish novelist Jakob Wassermann, for example, though too old to have fought at the front, began to affirm his Jewishness with renewed vigour. After the disappointment of the war, Wassermann's Jewish identity provided him with a sense of defiant pride.[111] For Ernst Simon, the disillusionment of the conflict drew him into the Zionist movement. "We were now Zionists", recalled Simon at the war's end. "We soon learnt that the only path leading our people from their wretched spiritual, mental and material duality is the path to Zion."[112]

Yet while some Jews began to reject their wartime sacrifice, others continued to embrace the memory of the war. Whatever German Jews' personal stance towards the conflict, all sections of Jewish life began to take part in the post-war commemoration of the fallen. At the war's end the state eased its wartime restrictions on the construction of permanent remembrance sites. War memorials could now be constructed, as long as they followed the requirements of German planning regulation. In most German states, special war remembrance authorities were formed to inspect all memorial plans. In Hamburg, for example, the city's planning office established a war remembrance department, which ensured that proposed memorials abided by existing legislation. "It is not just about erecting worthy war memorials", noted

---

[108] Peter Pulzer, 'The First World War', in Michael Meyer (ed.), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times: Volume 3, Integration in Dispute 1871-1918*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 360-384, p.360.
[109] Hoffmann, 'Between Integration and Rejection', p.102.
[110] David Brenner, *Marketing Identities: The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost und West*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), p.144.
[111] Mendes-Flohr, 'The "Kriegserlebnis" and Jewish Consciousness', p.232.
[112] Simon, 'Unser Kriegserlebnis', p.22.

the planning office, "but they [must] also fit artistically into the building and its surroundings."[113]

With permission to erect permanent war memorials for their fallen members, the different communities of mourning formed during the war triggered a massive wave of memorialisation. In a single town or city, a multitude of different groups began to erect their own memorial sites. By November 1921 in Hamburg, for example, 112 permanent sites of remembrance had already been built or were in the planning stage. This figure included nineteen war memorials, eighty-five memorial plaques, six books of honour, one glass window and one memorial sheet.[114] Emphasising German Jewry's sense of multiple belonging, several different Jewish communities of mourning were a part of Hamburg's memorial boom. Among others, this included, the Mekor Chajim study society, which dedicated a memorial in its synagogue at Grindelhof 46 in October 1920.[115] A memorial plaque in the Jewish *Talmud-Tora* school for its 125 fallen former pupils and teachers was dedicated in March 1921, and a plaque was erected in 1919 in the synagogue of the *Israelitische Tempel-Verband.*[116]

Although almost all sections of Jewish life began to construct their own memorial sites, the different Jewish communities of mourning tended to stress aspects of the war closest to the concerns of their own members. Many German-Jewish groups continued to frame the war dead within an existing language of heroic sacrifice for the fatherland. Berlin's main Jewish community, for example, erected a memorial plaque in its Oranienburger Straße administration building in memory of sixteen Jewish officials killed in the war. On 17 December 1922 relatives of the fallen and members of the Berlin community gathered together to witness rabbi Leo Baeck, one of the leading figures in German-Jewish religious life, dedicate the new memorial.[117] The plaque emphasised both the Jewishness and Germanness of the war dead. Above a depiction of a menorah, the Star of David marked the two

---

[113] Letter, Baupflegekommission Hamburg, 14/04/1919, StAHH, 324-4, Nr.176.
[114] 'Statistik Kriegerehrung', StAHH, 324-4, Nr.183.
[115] Letter, Verein Mekor Chajim to Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg, 11/12/1921, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628b.
[116] 'Die Enthüllung der Gedenktafel', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 04/04/1921, p.2; 'Lokale Nachrichten', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 03/03/1919, p.1.
[117] *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin*, 12/01/1923, p.3.

corners of the stone memorial, while a German inscription was engraved into the top of the plaque (see figure 3).

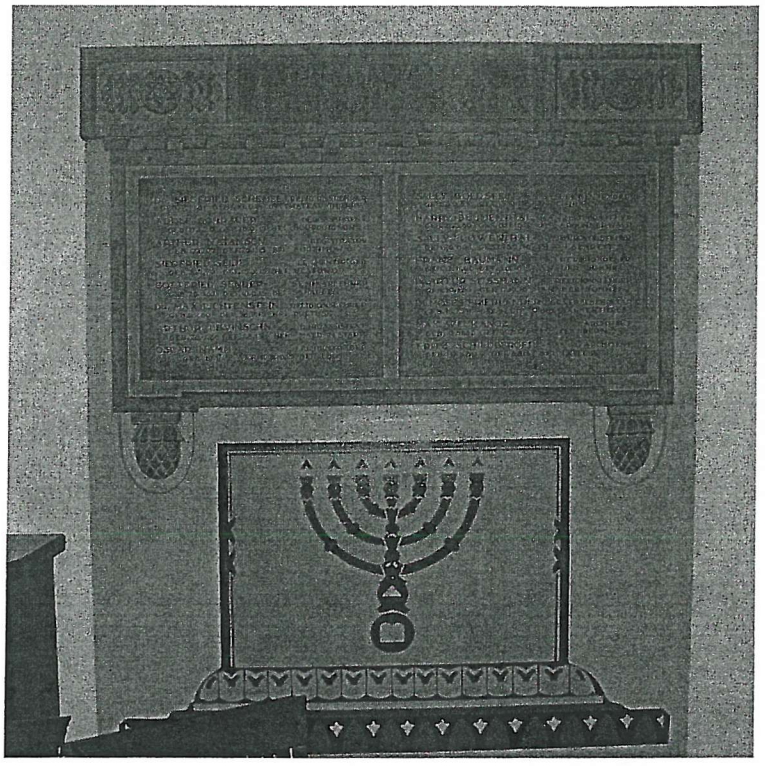

Figure 3. Berlin Oranienburger Straße Memorial Plaque, December 1922 (Photograph 2004).[118]

A similarly heroic interpretation of the war could be evinced, when Berlin's Reform Jewish Community dedicated a bronze memorial plaque in its Johannisstrasse synagogue in September 1919. A rendition of Beethoven's Funeral March (*Trauermarsch*) opened the religious service. Beethoven's music, which during the war had received popular acclaim for its supposed nationalist ideology, helped to set the ceremony's patriotic tone.[119] Two speeches, which followed the dedication of the memorial, also used heroic language to stress the soldiers' patriotic sacrifice for Germany. "Filled with love of the fatherland, glowing with enthusiasm, carried by pure idealism" enthused one speaker, "they marched off in the struggle for Germany's greatness."[120] In his speech, the community's rabbi, Felix Coblenz, also exalted the sacrifice of the community's war dead for Germany. "In spirit the

[118] Photograph in possession of the author.
[119] David Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 66-72.
[120] 'Ehrentafel für die Gefallenen' *Mitteilungen der jüdischen Reformgemeinde zu Berlin*, 01/10/1919, p.15.

entire German people [...] mourns our fallen with us and in wistful pride pays homage to their brave, courageous deaths", he declared.[121]

In orthodox communities, permanent expressions of remembrance often espoused a more traditional vocabulary. Rather than emphasising the ideals of a heroic death, Berlin's Ohel Jizchok community dedicated a bronze memorial plaque for its thirteen fallen members as a sign of the "community's readiness to bring sacrifice."[122] Here, the war was remembered simply as a sign of the community's continual dutifulness to Germany. The orthodox communities also sought to discourage what they considered to be inappropriate displays of remembrance. When the Jewish community in Halle planned to erect a memorial plaque in its synagogue, it received religious instruction from several orthodox communities.[123] Berlin's Adaß Jisroel community, for example, advised the Halle community against placing its plaque above the synagogue's Holy Ark. "This most sacred place [...] is dedicated solely to the honour of God [...]", declared the Adaß Jisroel group. It added that the Holy Ark should not "be weakened by any distracting thoughts."[124]

Instead the orthodox communities encouraged the use of more traditional modes of Jewish remembrance. The Hamburg-Altona community, for instance, used the traditional *Memorbuch* as a sign of remembrance, adding the names of its twenty-nine fallen soldiers to one page of the book.[125] Elsewhere in Hamburg, a war memorial dedication service held for the fallen members of the Mekor Chajim study society occurred within existing frames of remembrance. Using the Hebrew calendar, the remembrance service was set for the 3. Heshvan 5681 (14 October 1920), to coincide with the anniversary of the death of Samson Philip Nathan who was a former member of the society. After first celebrating Nathan, whose death was not related to the war,

---

[121] Felix Coblenz, 'Den Gefallenen', *Mitteilungen der jüdischen Reformgemeinde zu Berlin*, 01/10/1919, p.1.
[122] 'Korrespondenzen und Nachrichten', *Gemeindebote, Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 21/05/1921, p.1.
[123] Letter, Rabbinat Halle, 05/03/1920, CJA, 2A2, Nr.1214.
[124] Letter, Adaß Jisroel Berlin to Rabbiner Dr. Kahlberg Halle, 09/03/1920, CJA, 2A2, Nr.1214.
[125] Altona Synagogue Memorbuch, StAHH, 522-1, Nr. 67, p.64a.

the war memorial plaque was dedicated with an extra *Hesped* for the fallen and a reading of the Psalms.[126]

Zionist groups also created permanent sites of remembrance for their members who had been killed in the war. The Zionist *Herzl-Bund* produced a large remembrance book containing a long list of its war dead with their place of birth and date of death. Examples of their final letters sent from the front constituted the book's final section. In contrast to other Jewish groups, the *Herzl-Bund* openly interpreted the war as a negative event for German Jewry. It regretted that its members had died for Germany rather than Zion. "There was [...] no camaraderie and we Jews had to suffer the most from this", it complained.[127]

There was, then, no homogenous form of Jewish remembrance. All Jewish communities remembered their war dead differently. Because of these divisions within the large German-Jewish communities, it often proved difficult to consolidate these groups' commemorative activity into a single site of remembrance representative of all the Jewish fallen from a particular town or city. Indeed, these were the difficulties facing German Jews in Hamburg, when they set an architectural competition to design a permanent war cemetery and memorial for the city's Jewish cemetery in Ohlsdorf.[128] To overcome these divisions within the city's German-Jewish population, the main Jewish community worked to ensure that the process of planning the site of remembrance involved all sections of Hamburg Jewish life.

Rather than administering the memorial project itself, the main community invited a number of different interested parties to form a memorial committee. This included members representing the community's main committee, the parallel representative council (*Repräsentantenkollegium*), the synagogue communities as well as Jewish student and ex-servicemen's groups.[129] Accumulating the funds for the project also involved all sections of the city's Jewish population. Collection lists were distributed and the memorial committee wrote directly to relatives of the fallen, asking them to help with the

---

[126] Letter, Verein Mekor Chajim to Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg, 11/12/1921, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628b.
[127] Der Herzl-Bund (ed.), *Den gefallenen Brüdern*, (Berlin: Siegfried Scholem, 1919[?]), p.9.
[128] *Festschrift der Beerdigungs-Brüderschaft*, p.19.
[129] 'Aufruf', February 1921, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628b.

collection of funds. "We are [...] making a polite request for you to dedicate a contribution to the memory of your departed son", wrote the committee to one relative. It added, though, that it would also appreciate it, if they could "promote our cause among your circle of relations and friends."[130]

The main community also ensured that the memorial remembered all of Hamburg's Jewish war dead without distinction. If a memorial is to be representative of an entire community, then it must include the names of all the war dead. In large communities with fluctuating populations this was in itself a complex task. The Jewish community in Mainz, for example, had to consult with the DIGB, as it was unsure whether to include those fallen members, "who had only been resident for a short time."[131] The DIGB advised that in these circumstances, the names of the fallen "should of course be left off."[132] The Hamburg community appears to have also followed this guidance. The name of Joseph Koch, who had been a teacher at the *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*, for example, is absent from the final memorial.[133] Although Koch had worked in Hamburg, he had only moved to the city in April 1914 and was, therefore, not viewed as a permanent resident of the city.

Despite this omission, the list of names for the memorial was representative of Hamburg's Jewish population. In compiling the list, the German-Jewish community had turned to the existing small communities of mourning, asking each of them to supply it with details of their fallen members.[134] Among the names collected are those of the orthodox fallen, who had been buried separately in the Hamburg-Langenfelde cemetery.[135] The list also included the names of soldiers who had left the Jewish community. John Borchardt, for instance, who was killed in June 1916, had left the community before the war. After a request from his father, though, the

---

[130] Letter, Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde in Hamburg to Albert Beer, 31/03/1921, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628b.
[131] Letter, Vorstand der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde Mainz to DIGB, 21/11/1919, CJA 1,75C, Ge1, Nr.960 #10850, Bl.56.
[132] Letter, DIGB to Vorstand der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, 01/04/1920, CJA 1,75C, Ge1, Nr.960 #10850, Bl.57.
[133] The name of Joseph Abraham Koch, born 02/10/1892 is listed on Hamburg's memorial, but this is a different soldier, as Joseph Koch of the Wilhelm-Gymnasium was born in 1884.
[134] The Hamburg community sent letters dated 29/11/1921 to Jewish groups within Hamburg, asking them to list their fallen members, see: StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628b.
[135] For example, the names of David Rubin and Moses Hildesheim, who are both buried in Hamburg-Langenfelde, appear on the memorial in Hamburg-Ohlsdorf.

community agreed that Borchardt's remains could be laid to rest in the Jewish cemetery.[136] Because he was buried in the cemetery, his name was also inscribed on the war memorial erected at the war's end.

Figure 4. Hamburg-Ohlsdorf Memorial, October 1922 (Photograph 2004).[137]

The memorial committee also selected an architectural design for the site that could unite all elements of the Jewish community. The plan produced by the architects, Fritz Block and Ernst Hochfeld, allowed for eighty-seven identical gravestones set in six rows for those buried in the war cemetery.[138] Nine limestone slabs, four on the southern and five on the northern side, were to list the names of all of Hamburg's Jewish fallen.[139] Finally, in the centre, a 5.8-meter high obelisk supported "an invisible roof, which spanned the whole site" (see figure 4). According to Hochfeld, the roof symbolically united the cemetery's individual graves with the names on the surrounding memorial plaques.[140] Above all, the design sought to integrate all of Hamburg's Jewish groups around the idea of wartime heroism. "The unity of the low headstones,

---

[136] Minutes, 'Sitzung des Vorstandes der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde', 13/08/1916, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.297, Vol. 18.
[137] Photograph in possession of the author.
[138] On Fritz Block and Ernst Hochfeld, see: Roland Jaeger, *Block & Hochfeld, die Architekten des Deutschlandhauses: Bauten und Projekte in Hamburg 1921-1938, Exil in Los Angeles*, (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1996).
[139] Jaeger, *Block & Hochfeld*, pp. 65-67.
[140] Ernst Hochfeld, 'Erlebnisse und Beobachtungen', in Jaeger, *Block & Hochfeld*, pp. 24-36, p.24.

[...] and the powerful column in the centre of the site", praised Hamburg's Jewish veterans' organisation, "express in the most vivid form the notion of simple heroism [...]."[141]

Not all relatives, though, responded with enthusiasm to the impersonal nature of the design. Each headstone was simply to contain the soldier's full name, date of birth, date of death and military rank. The only choice for the relatives was whether to have the inscriptions in German, Hebrew or both.[142] Most of the 87 headstones erected in the cemetery were in German; only one family chose a Hebrew inscription, while fourteen opted for the text to be in German and Hebrew. Even the floral arrangements of the graves were to be identical. "The head gardener has been instructed," noted Block and Hochfeld, "that as long as the uniformity of the site permits, to pay attention to [...] the special wishes of relatives."[143] One widow, whose husband was buried in Ohlsdorf, complained about the inscription and quality of the new headstone. She demanded that her husband's stone contain, "in legible script", the inscription: "In memory of our unforgettable husband and father."[144] Her request, though, went unheeded. It appears that the unity of the design took precedence over the needs of those individuals who had lost relatives in the war.

Overlapping Remembrance

When Hamburg's Jewish community completed its Ohlsdorf war cemetery in 1922, the family of Max Bing, whose name was inscribed on the central memorial, had a permanent site at which to grieve. This, though, was not the only memorial commemorating Bing. As a former pupil of Hamburg's *Realgymnasium des Johanneums*, Bing's name also appeared on the school's war memorial plaque.[145] The Jewish community's remembrance of Max Bing in Hamburg was clearly a small part of a much wider

---

[141] 'Die Gedächtnisfeier zu Ehren unserer gefallenen Kameraden in Ohlsdorf', *Zeitschrift des Vaterländischen Bundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, November 1922, pp.1-2, p.2.
[142] Letter, Architekten Dr. Ing. Block, D.W.B. Dipl. Ing. Hochfeld, 30/08/1921, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628d.
[143] Letter, Architekten Dr. Ing. Block, D.W.B. Dipl. Ing. Hochfeld to Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde Hamburg, 30/06/1922, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628b.
[144] Letter, Frau Aron to Architekten Dr. Ing. Block, D.W.B. Dipl. Ing. Hochfeld, 29/08/1922, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628b.
[145] 'Gedenktafel der 1914/18 Gefallenen', StAHH, 362-2/1, N20.

commemorative process which involved all segments of German society. This section applies a model of "overlapping remembrance" to argue that the Jewish war dead were generally entangled in both Jewish and non-Jewish memorial activity. If Jews and non-Jews remembered their fallen together, then this must also suggest that post-war antisemitism did not affect all areas of Jewish / non-Jewish relations to the extent assumed in some of the historiography.

Much of the existing historiography argues that the turmoil of Germany's defeat in 1918 led to a wave of antisemitism which spread through the newly formed Weimar Republic.[146] Indeed, there is much evidence to support this view. Following Germany's collapse, leaflets and pamphlets asserting that the Jews had avoided the worst of the fighting circulated widely. In Erlangen, for example, a group of university students distributed a leaflet in which they accused the Jews of shirking their patriotic duty at the front. "Many Jews during the war and also after the war", protested the students, "did not fulfil their duty for our German fatherland."[147] Most prominently, Alfred Roth, writing under the pseudonym of Otto Armin, published what he claimed to be the results of the War Ministry's 1916 *Judenzählung*. In his publication, Armin maintained that for every Jewish soldier killed in the war, over 300 non-Jews had died.[148] For Armin, this proved that the German Jews, as foreigners, were unwilling to sacrifice themselves for Germany. "The notion of selfless devotion to the people and the fatherland has no place among them [the Jews]", declared Armin. "Because they want to be foreigners."[149]

Yet this antisemitic wave did not initially affect all spheres of German society. The remembrance process, for example, reveals that in the immediate post-war years Jews and non-Jews generally commemorated the war dead together. In commemorating their fallen, the Jewish communities

---

[146] Hecht, *Deutsche Juden*, p.88; Steven Katz, '1918 and After: The Role of Racial Antisemitism in the Nazi Analysis of the Weimar Republic', in Sander Gilman and Steven Katz (eds.), *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 227-256; Frank Bajohr, *Unser Hotel ist Judenfrei: Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2003), p.53.

[147] 'An die Bevölkerung von Erlangen!', *Erlanger Tageblatt*, 31/07/1919, Stadtarchiv Erlangen, XIV.9.H.61l.

[148] Otto Armin, *Die Juden im Heere: Eine statische Untersuchung nach amtlichen Quellen*, (Munich: Deutscher Volks-Verlag, 1919), p.47.

[149] Armin, *Die Juden im Heere*, pp. 7-8.

were not isolated associations, rather they interacted and intersected with non-Jewish groups to create a form of overlapping remembrance. Core to the term overlapping remembrance is the notion that the membership of the individual communities of mourning was shared. As with the initial mourning process, Jews had a multiple sense of belonging and often took part in remembrance activity with both Jews and non-Jews. Several different groups, then, could potentially remember an individual fallen Jewish soldier.

Overlapping remembrance emerged principally because of the fragmented nature of the initial memorialisation process. The separate groups erecting permanent sites of remembrance tended to be based around the multiple and various communities of mourning formed during the war. In Dresden, for instance, the diversity of remembrance service invitations sent to the city council shows that schools, sport clubs and long established military associations were prominent among the local communities erecting war memorials and conducting remembrance services.[150] Because the remembrance process was based in small local groups which had existed before the war, they generally honoured all of their fallen, whether Jew or non-Jew, after the war too. What is striking about this process, then, is the continuity in relations from pre-war to post-war German society.

When Hamburg's *Wilhelm-Gymnasium* began the process of honouring its members killed in the war, it remembered all of the school's fallen together. Nineteen Jewish pupils and teachers, including the senior teacher Joseph Koch, numbered among its 161 war dead.[151] Through the community of the school, the relatives of the fallen were able to come together to grieve their personal losses. This occurred through physical acts of remembrance, such as a memorial service held in March 1919 "to honour the fallen pupils and teachers", as well as through the process of memorialisation itself.[152] In November 1919, the school's parents' association decided "to form a working party from parents, teachers and pupils", to raise money for a permanent war

[150] For example, 'Gedächtnisfeier für Dresdner Turnlehrer-Verein', 15/06/1919; "Gedächtnisfeier im Vitzhumschen Gymnasium', 22/10/1919; 'Gedächtnisgottesdienst, Sächsischer Militär – Vereins – Bund, Bundesbezirk Dresden', 29/11/1920, DStA, E59, Vol.III.
[151] Hermann Lüssenhop, 'Das Wilhelm-Gymnasium 1881-1931', in Franz Bömer (ed.), *Wilhelm Gymnasium Hamburg 1881-1956*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1956), pp.9-16, p.13.
[152] Wilhelm-Gymnasium, 'Einladung zur Gedenkfeier', 29/03/1919, WGA, Feste und Feiern.

memorial.[153] By the following February, the funds totalled 17,800 Marks, which the committee hoped to augment with further donations and by holding special fundraising events.[154] In the *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*, therefore, all those with a connection to the school were involved in the process of memorialisation, whether this was through the giving of financial donations, helping in the working committee, or simply supporting remembrance services.

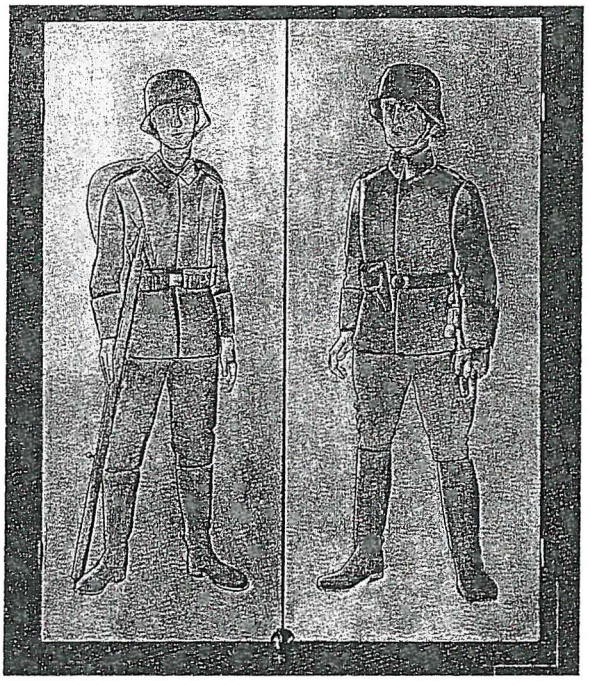

Figure 5. *Wilhelm-Gymnasium* Hamburg, Memorial Plaque (closed), 1921.[155]

The completed memorial plaque, erected in the foyer of the school building, consisted of a wall mounted memorial tablet with closing doors. Under the heading, "suffered death for the fatherland", were engraved the names of Ascher, Koch and the other fallen Jewish and non-Jewish members of the school.[156] With the doors shut, the memorial depicted two soldiers in uniform: "On the one side the youthful form of a war volunteer, on the other side a young lieutenant as a responsible leader of young pupils" (see figure 5).[157] Remembering the fallen as soldiers rather than as uniformed citizens,

[153] Wilhelm-Gymnasium, 'Sitzung des Elternrates', 04/11/1919, WGA, Elternrat.
[154] Wilhelm-Gymnasium, 'Sitzung des Elternrates', 18/02/1920, WGA, Elternrat.
[155] Peter-Rudolf Schulz, *Wilhelm-Gymnasium Hamburg 1881-1981: Eine Dokumentation über 100 Jahre Wilhelm-Gymnasium*, (Hamburg: Hower, 1981), p.97.
[156] Schulz, *Wilhelm-Gymnasium Hamburg*, p.96.
[157] 'Krieger-Gedächtnisfeiern', *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 26/09/1921, p.5.

as was common in France, was a typical motif in German memorials.[158] This military language emerged again in a speech given by Dr Uetzmann, a senior teacher, for the memorial's dedication on 25 September 1921. "Today, on the day of our memorial plaque's unveiling, we are a defeated, slain, impotent people", complained Uetzmann, "whilst just a few years ago the German sword and German ways afforded law and order from Finland to the [...] furthest Orient." To find meaning for so many German dead was difficult, he admitted, but "our hope is in the future of our youth, who we want to embrace the spirit of the fallen."[159]

Although this was a bitter, vengeful speech, Uetzmann did not seek to blame elements within Germany, such as the Jews or the socialists, for the country's defeat. Instead he stressed the sacrifice of all of the school's fallen, even laying particular emphasis on the loss of Joseph Koch: "In quite melancholy, we welcome you, parents, widows and children of our fallen colleagues Möller, Koch, Dethloff and Flemming." Moreover, during a break in the speech, a senior student read out the names of each of the 161 fallen pupils and teachers.[160] The school had hoped that many of the "relatives, friends and former pupils" of the fallen "would be united at the service."[161] Clearly, this wish was fulfilled, as all of the *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*'s fallen were remembered together, in a single site of mourning for both the Jewish and non-Jewish war dead.

The practice of overlapping remembrance was not restricted to the *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*. In the immediate post-war years, it occurred elsewhere in Hamburg as well as in large urban centres throughout Germany. In 1919, for instance, the Association of Senior Teachers at Hamburg's State Schools (*Verein der Oberlehrer an den höheren Staatsschulen Hamburgs*) published a book of remembrance for its fallen members. In this, Joseph Koch and the three other fallen teachers from the *Wilhelm-Gymnasium* were remembered in

---

[158] Michael Jeismann and Rolf Westheider, 'Wofür stirbt der Bürger? Nationaler Totenkult und Staatsbürgertum in Deutschland und Frankreich seit der Französischen Revolution' in Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne*, (Munich: Fink, 1994). pp. 23-50, p.36.
[159] Dr Uetzmann, Memorial Dedication Speech, 25/09/1921, WGA, (uncatalogued).
[160] *Ibid.*
[161] *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 11/09/1921, StAHH, 324-4, Nr.180.

a further Hamburg community of mourning.[162] Elsewhere, all of the University of Breslau's fallen members were mourned in a single remembrance service held in the city's Centennial Hall (*Jahrhunderthalle*), which was followed by religious ceremonies in the Catholic and Protestant churches and in the city's main synagogue.[163] Similarly, in March 1919 the University of Bonn held remembrance services in the religious houses of all three confessions, which were attended by the Chancellor and Senate members.[164]

In the immediate post-war years, this entangled remembrance process also involved the architects commissioned to design the memorial sites. Non-Jewish design experts, for example, routinely planned Jewish war memorials and burial grounds. When the Berlin Jewish community began to plan its military cemetery in Weißensee in 1918, it called a number of respected architects to a meeting held in the cemetery's administrative building.[165] Three non-Jewish cemetery design experts, Hans Grässel, Georg Hannig and Franz Seeck, who had little previous experience of Jewish cemetery design, advised at the meeting.[166] This was also the case in Cologne, where the Jewish community relied on the architect Franz Brantzky for their memorial designs. Brantzky was a serial enterer of architectural competitions, winning ninety-six design competition prizes between 1896 and 1933.[167] The Jewish community awarded him first prize in 1923 for his war memorial design for the Bocklemünd cemetery.[168] The following year he designed a memorial plaque for the city's liberal Roonstraße synagogue. During the dedication ceremony, Brantzky personally handed the community the plaque, which contained the names of Cologne's 230 fallen Jewish soldiers.[169]

---

[162] Der Verein der Oberlehrer an den höheren Statatsschulen Hamburgs (ed.), *Unsern für das Vaterland 1914-1918 gefallenen Brüdern zum Gedächtnis!*, (Hamburg: Petermann, 1919).
[163] Letter, Rektor Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Breslau to Rektor Universität Würzburg, 20/08/1919, UAW, ARS Nr.265.
[164] Letter, Rektor Rheinsche-Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität to Rektor Universität Würzburg, 26/08/1919, UAW, ARS Nr.265.
[165] 'Gutachten. Der Kriegerehrenfeld auf das Friedhof der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin-Weissensee', 10/06/1918, CJA (uncatalogued).
[166] Fiona Laudamus and Jörg Kuhn, 'Das Ehrenfeld auf dem III. Friedhof der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin in Berlin-Weißensee, Herbert-Baum-Straße 45. Kunsthistorisches und gartendenkmalpflegerisches Gutachten zur Umsetzung gartendenkmalpflegerischer Maßnahmen', (Berlin: Unpublished Manuscript, 2001), pp.18-19.
[167] Käthe Menne-Thomé, *Franz Brantzky 1871-1945: Ein Kölner Architekt in seiner Zeit*, (Cologne: Abteilung Architektur an Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Köln, 1980), p.23.
[168] Brantzky Photograph, 1923, HASK, Bestand 1020, Nr.14.
[169] 'Eine Gedenktafel für die gefallenen Kölner Israeliten', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 22/09/1924, p.2.

In many places, this situation was reversed and Jewish design experts helped to plan non-Jewish remembrance sites. In Hamburg, for example, the Jewish architects Fritz Block and Ernst Hochfeld's plan for a permanent Jewish war cemetery in Ohlsdorf was well received in both the Jewish and non-Jewish press.[170] Because of the success of their burial ground for the fallen Jewish soldiers, moreover, Hamburg's city authorities asked Block and Hochfeld to advise on the design of the city's Christian war cemetery, which had been repeatedly delayed due to financial shortages. The two architects shared their experience of designing the Jewish burial ground with the city authorities, supplying it with complete details of their design and budget. [171]

The process of overlapping remembrance, however, was far more limited in communities where relations between Jews and non-Jews were poor. At the University of Würzburg, for example, a long history of student antisemitism resulted in Jews being completely banned from non-Jewish student fraternities by 1920.[172] These tensions were reflected in the university's post-war remembrance activity, which overlooked the Jewish *Salia* fraternity's eighteen fallen members. When the university constructed a memorial for its war dead in 1922, it included the names of the *Salia*'s war dead.[173] The university, nevertheless, tended to be dismissive of their sacrifice, even omitting *Salia* representatives from a ceremony held in November 1920 to remember all of the institution's fallen.[174] Such omissions forced the *Salia* fraternity to use statistics to emphasise its wartime sacrifice. We "deeply regret now having to exploit the memory of our fallen as a statistic", noted *Salia*'s newsletter, "but believe we owe this step to all of our living and dead fraternity brothers."[175]

The Jewish community in Berlin too found itself excluded from the city's wider remembrance of the war dead. When the state issued subsidies for the construction and maintenance of war graves, it received no financial

---

[170] Jaeger, *Block & Hochfeld*, p.67.
[171] Letter, Friedhofsverwaltung Hamburg to Architekten Dr. Ing. Block, D.W.B. Dipl. Ing. Hochfeld, 06/11/1922, StAHH, 325-1, Nr.205.
[172] Flade, 'Die Würzburger Juden', p.59.
[173] Letter Salia to Rectorat Universität Würzburg, 06/08/1921, UAW, ARS Nr.1457.
[174] Letter Gesamtphilisterverband der Verbindung Salia to Rektor der Universität Würzburg, 30/05/1921, UAW, ARS Nr.2996.
[175] 'Unsere Kriegsverluste', *Bericht der Salia*, March 1921, p.11.

contributions, while the Christian cemeteries were fully funded.[176] Yet in Hamburg the situation was different. Here the Jewish community received annual payments for the upkeep of its war graves. In 1925, for example, the community accepted subsidies for eighty-five German-Jewish war graves in the city's Ohlsdorf cemetery and for the grave of Benjamin Braunstein, a Russian-Jewish prisoner of war who had died in German captivity. Significantly, these figures made no mention of the seven orthodox war graves in the separate Hamburg-Langenfelde cemetery.[177]

It seems that the location of Hamburg's Jewish war cemetery ensured it funding, while Berlin's community had to finance its graves itself. The Berlin community's war cemetery in the district of Weißensee was isolated from the city's non-Jewish burial grounds and was administrated independently. In Hamburg the situation was different. Although the community had virtual autonomy in its administration of the Jewish Ohlsdorf cemetery, it remained ultimately a part of the city's main cemetery complex and was included in the cemetery authorities' planning.[178] For this reason, the separate Hamburg-Langenfelde orthodox cemetery in the west of the city was also passed over in the distribution of war grave subsidies. A tradition of cooperation stretching back before the war, therefore, existed between the Jewish and non-Jewish Ohlsdorf cemeteries; something that was absent in Berlin.

Conclusion

In August 1914, following the main Jewish organisations' call to arms, German Jews of all political and religious persuasions volunteered to fight at the front. This apparent war enthusiasm, though, was not shared by all. As with German society as a whole, a tiny minority of German Jews expressed their reservations about the conflict. Yet even those who dissented from the war were affected by the conflict's catastrophic outcome. During more than four years of grim fighting, the war caused death and destruction on a previously unprecedented scale. As the number of casualties mounted,

---

[176] Prokasky, 'Treue zu Deutschland', p.508.
[177] Letter, Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde Hamburg to Friedhofsverwaltung Ohlsdorf, 13/07/1925, StAHH, 325-1, Nr.218.
[178] Ina Lorenz, *Die Juden in Hamburg zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik: Eine* Dokumentation, (Hamburg: Christians, 1987), p.516.

almost every person living in Germany, regardless of their personal view of the war, suffered the loss or injury of close friends or relatives at the front.

Jews and non-Jews applied similar modes of mourning in an attempt to transcend their losses. Most of the bereaved sought solace from friends or from those who had held a connection to their loved one. For individuals, then, the process of grieving took place in small groups on a local level. Although some of these communities of mourning were based in religious groups, many were formed from existing organisations, such as schools, societies and sports clubs. In these, Jews and non-Jews came together to remember the fallen and to receive the support of those suffering similar losses. Many German Jews, then, had a multiple sense of belonging that crossed ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries. It was only in burying their war dead on the home front that the Jewish communities were separated from non-Jews. Despite the creation of their own war cemeteries, however, German Jews remained a part of the wider mourning process. In their design and form, the burial grounds shared a common iconography of military death.

After the armistice of 1918, Jewish and non-Jewish remembrance activity continued to be deeply entangled. Because of the fragmented nature of the commemorative process, the different Jewish communities were able to remember their fallen members according to their own concerns. While the reform communities tended to stress the heroism of the soldiers' defence of Germany, Zionists emphasised the dissolution and divisions of the war. The Jewish war dead, though, were also remembered by a number of non-Jewish groups. In creating permanent memorial sites, the communities of mourning formed during the war generally remembered all of their fallen members at the war's end. The commemorative process, then, formed a type of overlapping remembrance, in which Jews and non-Jews were generally remembered together as well as separately.

If the Jewish and non-Jewish fallen were commemorated in shared memorial spaces, as this chapter argues, then this must question the notion that the First World War brought about the immediate dissolution of relations between German Jews and non-Jews. Although the war led some Jews to place greater emphasis on their Jewishness, this was certainly not the case for most German Jews. Again the rise in antisemitism, which stemmed from

the *Judenzählung* and Germany's defeat, clearly did not lead to the complete separation of Jews from non-Jewish society. At the war's end, Jews remained a part of German society and as with all Germans, they faced the difficult task of transcending four years of mass slaughter.

Chapter 2 – The Rise of the War Veterans' Organisations, 1923-1930

Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, in their seminal work on war and remembrance, contend that during the Weimar Republic, "German war veterans obscured the sacrifices of Jewish soldiers in the First World War."[1] Winter and Sivan's casual comment is buried, admittedly, within a deeper analysis of the vicissitudes of memory. Nonetheless, the notion that Germany's non-Jewish veterans positioned themselves in direct opposition to the country's Jewish ex-servicemen seems to pervade much of the existing historiography on Jewish / non-Jewish relations during the Weimar Republic. In his study of antisemitism in Nuremberg and Düsseldorf, Anthony Kauders cites veterans' organisations' election posters to argue that "anti-Semitism remained an important electoral device."[2] Similarly, the late George Mosse contended that wartime camaraderie "assumed an aggressive posture after the war", which excluded "the so-called racial enemy from the comradeship of German veterans organizations."[3] Alexandra Richie, meanwhile, states simply, and without any clarification, that the exclusion of Jewish veterans from the *Stahlhelm* ex-servicemen's association made "it the first national veterans' organization to ban former comrades at arms."[4]

These existing approaches appear to rest on two premises. The first of these is the notion that Jewish and non-Jewish veterans inhabited separate spheres, which rarely intersected. This belief is effectively a continuation of the prevalent narrative of the Jewish war experience. If German Jews "were made to feel – and felt – like outsiders" during the war, then it is easy to suppose that German veterans continued to disregard their Jewish comrades after the conflict.[5] Yet the process of remembrance was far more entangled than the existing historiography suggests. Indeed, in the immediate post-war

---

[1] Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, 'Setting the Framework', in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 6-39, p.33.
[2] Anthony Kauders, *German Politics and the Jews: Düsseldorf and Nuremberg 1910-1933*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p.147.
[3] George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990), p.177.
[4] Alexandra Richie, *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*, (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1998), p.373.
[5] Marion Kaplan, 'As Germans and as Jews in Imperial Germany', in Marion Kaplan (ed.), *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004), pp. 173-269, p.269.

years, a form of overlapping remembrance, in which Jews and non-Jews were remembered together, dominated. If the remembrance of the Jewish war dead actually overlapped with the non-Jewish fallen after the war, then this must also lead to a reassessment of the commemorative process during the Weimar Republic's middle years.

The second premise underlying the existing historiography on this period is the notion that there was internal cohesion within the separate Jewish and non-Jewish veteran communities. In practice, however, the process of remembrance during the Republic's middle years was deeply fragmented.[6] German Jewry did not form a single homogenous block, but was rather a diverse collection of overlapping communities, which constituted a multitude of German speaking Jewries.[7] The different veterans' organisations were similarly disjointed. While many veterans' groups could be considered politically conservative and right-wing, there were still other ex-servicemen's associations which situated themselves on the political left. Even those ex-servicemen's associations which held fairly extreme right-wing views followed an inconsistent course in their relations with Jewish veterans. The right-wing *Stahlhelm* veterans' association, in particular, oscillated between including and excluding Jewish veterans in its associational activity. For example, in 1927, three years after the *Stahlhelm* had banned Jews from joining its organisation, Jewish veterans were reportedly still members in some of its local branches.[8]

Although such inconsistencies were common, the existing historiography has generally struggled to offer an explanation. George Mosse argued that contradictions in the veterans' organisations' behaviour revealed a wider separation between Jews and non-Jews, based solely on the experience of the war. Although both groups had fought and died in the war, the war experience, which Mosse argued was purely Christian, was

---

[6] Sabine Behrenbeck, 'Zwischen Trauer und Heroisierung. Vom Umgang mit Kriegstod und Niederlage nach 1918', in Jörg Duppler and Gerhard Groß (eds.), *Kriegsende 1918: Ereignis, Wirkung, Nachwirkung*, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 315-339, p.323; Richard Bessel, *Germany After the First World War*, (Oxford: OUP, 1993), p.268.

[7] Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter, 'Introduction: German Jewry and the Search for Normality', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, (London: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 1-12, p.3.

[8] 'Antisemitismus und Verbände', *Der Schild*, 17/01/1927, p.439.

something that only non-Jews could fully appreciate. As a result, "a clear separation between Germans and Jews was now part of the 'spirit of the trenches'."[9] More recently, Gregory Caplan, in his PhD thesis on Jewish wartime masculinity, contends that "nationalist veterans' associations" sought to keep their Jewish comrades "guessing with arbitrary and inconsistent treatment."[10] For Caplan, then, the veterans' groups' contradictory behaviour was a malicious ploy, designed to discourage the participation of Jewish ex-servicemen in the remembrance process. Yet neither Caplan's nor Mosse's interpretations of the complex relations between Jewish and non-Jewish veterans appears adequate.

Focusing on the Weimar Republic's so-called 'years of stabilisation', from 1923-1929, this chapter considers why remembrance in this period both included and excluded Jewish veterans. Rather than viewing remembrance activity as uniform, it differentiates between the various agencies and arenas involved in the process of commemorating the war dead. As the cultural historians T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper assert, the nation-state generally strives to adapt existing national narratives to form an official memory of a recent conflict from above.[11] Other segments of society, meanwhile, such as veterans' associations, often shape their own sectional narratives of war, which, though articulated publicly in similar spaces, remain distinct from official narratives.[12] This chapter argues, broadly, that the state sought to include all fallen, whether Jew or non-Jew, in its dominant memory of the war, while sectional narratives, which often originated from veterans' associations, were far more exclusionary. It contends that towards the end of the decade, sectional narratives of the war gradually usurped the state's own remembrance framework. As a result, the position of German-Jewish groups in the commemorative process increasingly came under threat.

---

[9] George Mosse, 'The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914-1918', *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture*, 21 (1977), p.18.
[10] Gregory Caplan, 'Wicked Sons, German Heroes: Jewish Soldiers, Veterans and Memories of World War I in Germany', (PhD Thesis, Georgetown University, 2001), pp. 211-212.
[11] T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 'The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics', in T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 3-85, p.25.
[12] The term "sectional" here concurs with its usage in: Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, 'The Politics of War Memory', p.20.

The chapter begins by examining how in the early to mid 1920s veterans' associations began to replace small existing communities of mourning as the instigators of permanent sites of remembrance. Despite the rise of the veterans' organisations, however, German Jews continued to play a significant role in the commemorative process. On a local level, as the second section argues, German Jews often supported the veterans' associations' construction of war memorials, even when they were militaristic in design. The state's narratives of the war, meanwhile, which were propagated through events such as the annual Day of National Mourning (*Volkstrauertag*) or its proposed national war memorial, sought to unify all segments of society. The fourth section examines the increasingly exclusive nature of remembrance sites. In the late 1920s, the state's official memory of the war began to lose purchase in the face of the veterans' associations' stronger sectional narratives. The final section argues that at the end of the decade, as the Republic lost influence in the commemorative process, German Jews were, in turn, increasingly excluded from national remembrance activity.

The Formation of Veterans' Organisations

In 1923, a dramatic slump occurred in the construction of German war memorials. The authorities in Upper Bavaria granted planning permission for some 200 memorials in 1922; by 1924 this figure had dropped to only 39.[13] While the post-war economic conditions were the principal factor for the slow down in the construction of war memorials, this chapter argues that the gradual politicisation of the remembrance process also contributed to this slump. In the immediate post-war years, most war memorials had been erected by small pre-existing communities of mourning, whether schools, work places or sports clubs. In the early to mid 1920s, this changed, as larger veterans' associations began to replace the initial small-scale commemorative activity. For German Jews, this change had a dramatic effect on their position in the remembrance process. While the communities of mourning had tended to commemorate all of the fallen, the membership of the veterans'

[13] Benjamin Ziemann, *Front und Heimat. Ländliche Kriegserfahrungen im südlichen Bayern 1914-1923*, (Essen: Klartext, 1997), p.440.

organisations, which were formed after the conflict, was generally based on the post-war political situation.

Germany's post-war inflationary crisis was the primary reason for this initial caesura in the memorialisation process. Between 1914 and 1923, Germany suffered a 100 trillion percent inflation, which hit those with savings and paper assets particularly hard.[14] The perilous economic situation of the early 1920s delayed many remembrance schemes, including the Berlin Jewish community's plans to construct a memorial in its Weißensee war cemetery. When the government finally stabilised the economy in November 1923, the financial contributions that the community had collected for its site of remembrance were no longer sufficient to erect a worthy memorial.[15]

There was, however, a more complex reason for this break in the construction of war memorials. If in the immediate post war years, the commemoration of the war had generally been shaped by an overwhelming sense of grief, by the early to mid 1920s, people increasingly sought a deeper explanation for their losses.[16] From the mid to late 1920s, as Richard Bessel maintains, "a more conservative and militarist set of values made a comeback and shaped public discussion of the war."[17] As the war began to be interpreted in a variety of different ways, it became harder for the German population to reach a consensus on the form that the remembrance of the war should take. Beset by disagreements and intransigence, the commemorative process gradually slowed. The 1923 break in memorialisation, then, should also be seen as a reflection of the growing politicisation of the memory of the war.

From the first days of the conflict, politics had of course always shaped how the public remembered the war. As one historian suggests, the "world war was less of an experience [...] than a linguistic and pictorial production formed by propaganda."[18] For German Jews, politics, of course, also played a

---

[14] Michael Hughes, 'Economic Interest, Social Attitudes, and Creditor Ideology: Popular Responses to Inflation', in Gerald Feldman (ed.), *The German Inflation Reconsidered: A Preliminary Balance*, (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1982), pp. 384-408, p.384.
[15] 'Das Gefallenen-Denkmal in Weißensee', *Der Schild*, 17/07/1925, p.257.
[16] Behrenbeck, 'Zwischen Trauer und Heroisierung', p.338.
[17] Bessel, *Germany After the First World War*, p.265.
[18] Gerd Krumeich, 'Konjunkturen der Weltkriegserinnerung', in Rainer Rother (ed.), *Der Weltkrieg 1914-1918. Ereignis und Erinnerung*, (Berlin: DHM, 2004), pp. 68-73, p.68.

prominent role in their remembrance of the war. When in 1919 the Jewish community of Landau in der Pfalz decided to erect a memorial plaque for their fallen members, they elected to place the plaque on their synagogue's outer wall, rather than inside the building. This, they hoped, would counter "antisemitic slander", by making the community's sacrifice "visible to every passer-by."[19] However, in the early post-war years, the immediacy of grief and loss dampened such blatant attempts to politicise the memory of the war. "The Jews of that south German town", criticised the *Hamburger Familienblatt*, "have surely earned themselves a better fate, than [...] to serve as a protective advertisement for their anxious surviving brothers."[20]

By 1924, this situation had changed. Instead of criticising the political use of remembrance, Jewish organisations themselves started to employ the remembrance of the war. For example, the CV's longstanding policy of enlightenment (*Aufklärung*), an attempt to educate and to correct defamation with facts, began to refer to the Jewish war record.[21] In its educational pamphlet *Anti-Anti*, which was published regularly from 1923 onwards, the CV listed the percentage of Jewish fallen in comparison to the non-Jewish war dead and provided quotes from prominent military figures attesting to Jewish soldierliness.[22] Similarly, in advance of the Weimar Republic's December 1924 national elections, the CV also published information designed to demonstrate that Jewish soldiers had died in equal measure for Germany.[23] Non-Jewish groups too began to employ their war service record in the political arena. Gustav Stresemann, the Republic's long serving Foreign Minister, for instance, used to cite the Social Democrat's record during the war, as a demonstration of their patriotism.[24]

The move towards a more politicised form of commemoration was largely driven by a change in the agencies of remembrance. In the immediate

---

[19] 'Gedenktafeln für jüdische Gefallene', *IDR*, September 1919, p.301.
[20] 'Mehr Würde!", *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 01/12/1919, p.1.
[21] Arnold Paucker, 'Der jüdische Abwehrkampf', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Entscheidungsjahr 1932: Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1965), pp. 405-499, p.413.
[22] Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (ed.), *Anti-Anti-Blätter zur Abwehr: Tatsachen zur Judenfrage*, (Berlin: Philo, 1924).
[23] 'Die deutschen Juden als Soldaten im Kriege', *CV-Zeitung*, 21/11/1924, p.724.
[24] Hans Mommsen, *The Rise and Fall of Weimar Democracy*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p.214.

post-war years friends and relatives of the fallen came together to create small communities of mourning. These communities were generally formed from pre-existing groups, such as schools or sports clubs. However, as remembrance was never their prime function, after completing a memorial site, most groups gradually began to concentrate on their primary role. The fading of these communities was inevitable. As Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan suggest: "Other tasks take precedence; other issues crowd out the ones leading to public work."[25] Indeed, this was the case for Hamburg's *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*. After its memorial plaque had been constructed in 1921, education again took precedence. Although the plaque remained a site for private grieving and the focus of annual memorial services, the committee that had originally been formed to organise its construction had dissolved.[26]

At the same time, as these longstanding groups lost influence in, or withdrew from, the remembrance process, newly formed organisations began to dominate commemorative activity. Veterans' associations formed after the war contributed to a rapid growth in German associational life. In the Hessian town of Marburg alone, the number of voluntary organisations expanded from one for every 100 citizens in 1913, to one for every seventy-three citizens in 1925.[27] This change in the agencies of remembrance, though, weakened the position of the German Jews in the commemorative process. Whereas pre-existing organisations generally included all of their fallen members in their remembrance activity, whether Jew or non-Jew, groups formed after the war tended to be more exclusive. Membership of veterans' organisations was determined not by a soldier's pre-war position in society, but rather by his post-war political stance.

Jewish ex-servicemen were generally welcomed into veterans' associations on the political left. The main left-wing veterans' organisation, the *Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold: Bund republikanischer Kriegsteilnehmer*, was formed in 1924 to defend the Republic from paramilitary groups on the

---

[25] Winter and Sivan, 'Setting the Framework', p.10.
[26] See: Lehrkollegium des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums (ed.), *Festschrift zum 50jährigen Jubiläum des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums zu Hamburg 1881-1931*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1931).
[27] Rudy Koshar, *Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p.130.

political right.[28] German Jews played a significant role in the *Reichsbanner*.[29] Indeed, Jewish veterans were among the founders of local *Reichsbanner* branches established in Hamburg and Würzburg.[30] The main wounded and disabled veterans' organisations could also count a large number of German-Jewish ex-servicemen among their members. The largest war wounded organisation, the *Reichsbund der Kriegsbeschädigten, Kriegsteilnehmer und Kriegshinterbliebener*, which had been formed in 1919 from a number of smaller groups, welcomed Jewish veterans.[31] Elsewhere, the membership of an association of German officers, the *Deutscher Offiziersbund*, included many Jewish soldiers.[32]

The position of Jewish ex-servicemen in associations on the political right was more ambiguous. The conservative *Kyffhäuserbund*, which had been founded in the Imperial era as an umbrella organisation for many of Germany's smaller veterans' associations, continued to count many Jewish members after the First World War.[33] The largest right-wing group, the *Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten*, which had been formed in Magdeburg in 1918, was less consistent in its attitude to Jewish ex-servicemen.[34] At first it allowed Jewish ex-servicemen to become members. Indeed, the first attempts to outlaw Jews from joining the organisation failed. At the *Stahlhelm*'s annual gathering in 1922, the membership were asked to vote on the motion: "Should the Jewish question be debated, yes or no?" Out of 421 votes cast, only 108

---

[28] The history of the *Reichsbanner* is well documented in: Karl Rohe, *Das Reichsbanner Schwarz Rot Gold: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Struktur der politischen Kampfverbände zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1966). See also: Benjamin Ziemann, 'Republikanische Kriegserinnerung in einer polarisierten Öffentlichkeit. Das Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold als Veteranenverband der sozialistischen Arbeiterschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 267 (1998), pp. 357-398; Roger Chickering, 'The Reichsbanner and the Weimar Republic', *Journal of Modern History*, 40 (4) (December 1968), pp. 524-534.

[29] Rohe, *Das Reichsbanner Schwarz Rot Gold*, p.17.

[30] Jacob Toury, 'Jewish Aspects as Contributing Factors to the Genesis of the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold', *LBIYB*, 37 (1992), pp. 237-257, p.242 and p.249.

[31] Robert Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War 1914-1939*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 121-126. See also: Christian Weiß, '"Soldaten des Friedens". Die pazifistischen Veteranen und Kriegsopfer des "Reichsbundes" und ihre Kontakte zu den französischen *anciens combatants* 1919-1933', in Wolfgang Hardtwig (ed.), *Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1918-1939*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 183-204.

[32] 'Antisemitismus und Verbände', *Der Schild*, 17/01/1927, p.439.

[33] Christopher Elliott, 'The Kriegervereine and the Weimar Republic', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 10 (1) (January 1975), pp. 109-129, p.114.

[34] Volker Berghahn, *Der Stahlhelm: Bund der Frontsoldaten 1918-1935*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1966), p.14.

members supported the motion.[35] After 1924, though, it abandoned its initial non-political stance and, to the detriment of its Jewish members, took a more aggressive anti-Republican stance.[36]

There was far less ambiguity in the stance of organisations on the extreme right towards the Jewish veterans. The *Wehrwolf* group, which was particularly active in central Germany, tended to outlaw Jewish membership, while the *Frontkriegerbund*, which had been formed in Munich in 1919, banned Jewish membership completely. Paragraph three of its constitution stated that "members of the *Frontkriegerbund* must only be those of the German blood."[37] A large number of small right-wing organisations, moreover, which also attracted veterans, were openly antisemitic. The National Socialists, as one of the most prominent of these small groups, banned Jewish membership entirely, openly attacked Germany's Jewish population and continued to disparage German Jews' war record.

In response to the exclusive nature of a number of right-wing veterans' associations, a Jewish ex-servicemen's group was also established at the end of the war. Under the leadership of Leo Löwenstein, a chemist and retired army captain, around fifty former soldiers gathered in Berlin in January 1919 to form the *Vaterländischer Bund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (VjF).[38] Löwenstein, who had won the Iron Cross First Class for his efforts in perfecting sonar technology, remained the organisation's driving force throughout the interwar period.[39] After its formation in Berlin, the VjF called on Jewish ex-servicemen in other areas of Germany to establish similar organisations.[40] In Hamburg, for instance, their plea was heeded in early 1919, when Siegfried Urias, a severely disabled Jewish veteran and Hamburg lawyer, helped to found a new section of the VjF.[41] Finally in late 1919, these nascent groups merged to form

---

[35] Letter, Stahlhelm to Stahlhelm Brandenburg, 28/03/1927, BArch Berlin, R72/71.
[36] Peter Fritzsche, *Rehearsals for Fascism: Populism and Political Mobilization in Weimar Germany*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990), p.166.
[37] 'Nachkriegsverbände', *CV-Zeitung*, 10/12/1926, p.649.
[38] 'Erster Aufruf zur RjF-Gründung', *Der Schild*, 05/07/1929, p.221.
[39] 'Zur Erinnerung an Leo Löwenstein', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 16/09/1960, p.49.
[40] 'Ein Vaterländischer Bund jüdischer Frontsoldaten', *CV-Zeitung*, May 1919, p.232.
[41] 'Vaterländischer Bund jüdischer Frontsoldaten', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 01/12/1919, p.2.

the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* (RjF), although confusingly the Hamburg section retained the original VjF name. [42]

Among German Jews, the RjF claimed to espouse strict neutrality. It encouraged all Jewish veterans to join irrespective of an individual's "political party or religious inclination."[43] Indeed, the RjF repeatedly stressed that its constitution forbade it from entering into "discussions over internal Jewish political matters."[44] The only proviso was that all members had to have served in a combat unit. "Frontline service for only a temporary period is out of the question", stressed the group's constitution.[45] As with the non-Jewish veterans' organisations, one of the RjF's main activities was the commemoration of the war dead. "Upholding the memory of the more than 12,000 German Jews who died for their German fatherland [is] an obligation of honour", declared the association in 1921.[46]

It took several years, though, for the RjF to be in a position to direct the remembrance process. The RjF's leadership first had to establish the organisation among the existing Jewish associations and broaden its support base across Germany. When an RjF branch was first formed in Cologne in 1920, for instance, it had only nine members. By the mid 1920s, this had risen to several hundred and by 1929 the branch's membership stood at over 700.[47] On a national basis, the RjF expanded at a similar rate. By 1926, its national membership stood at 40,000 in some 360 local branches.[48] The other main veterans' associations experienced similar levels of growth, as they gradually spread from the regions to become national organisations. In 1923 and 1924, for example, the *Stahlhelm* also experienced extraordinary growth, more than

---

[42] On the RjF, see: Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 1919-1938: Geschichte eines jüdischen Abwehrvereins*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977); Ruth Pierson, 'Embattled Veterans: The Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten', *LBIYB*, 19 (1974), pp. 139-154.
[43] 'Erster Aufruf zur RjF-Gründung', *Der Schild*, 05/07/1929, p.221.
[44] 'Die Wahlen zum Preußischen Landesverband jüdischer Gemeinden', *Der Schild*, 01/01/1925, p.1.
[45] 'Satzungen des Vaterländischen Bundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten', (Berlin, 1919), Wiener Library, 340/W559.
[46] 'Ehrung jüdischer Gefallener', *Der Schild*, November 1921, p.4.
[47] 'Wie die RjF-Ortsgruppen gegründet wurden', *Der Schild*, 24/05/1929, p.174
[48] Pierson, 'Embattled Veterans', p.141.

doubling its membership in some areas. As a result, the *Stahlhelm* could count some 500,000 members by the late 1920s.[49]

As the different veterans' associations became more established, they were increasingly able to dominate the remembrance process. However, although all of the newly formed veterans' groups sought to remember the fallen, they tended to frame the war in divergent ways, emphasising elements closest to their own members.[50] These contested narratives of the war led to a slowing of the remembrance process, as the disparate veterans' groups often failed to agree on how the fallen should be commemorated. In Heilbronn, for instance, plans for a memorial to honour the city's 2,080 fallen were debated during the 1920s, but only realised in 1936.[51] Elsewhere, Hamburg's city memorial was finally completed in 1930 and a long-planned memorial for Würzburg's war dead was not completed until 1931.

Veterans' Associations and Local Memorialisation

Many of the newly formed paramilitary and veterans' organisations, particularly those on the racist right, began to charge German Jews of shirking the war effort. Julius Streicher's virulently antisemitic publication *der Stürmer*, for instance, protested that "Jews declared fit for frontline service were not to be found at the front, but rather in their thousands behind the lines in cosy, safe [...] occupations."[52] Yet, as this section contends, the growth in antisemitic attacks initially had little effect on the remembrance process. On a local level, German Jews generally supported the main veterans' organisations in the planning and construction of permanent war memorials, even when these were of a strongly militaristic design. Although the small size of the Jewish communities meant that they had little influence over the design, many German Jews shared the nationalistic language of the remembrance process.

---

[49] Fritzsche, *Rehearsals for Fascism*, p.167.
[50] Winter and Sivan, 'Setting the Framework', p.33.
[51] 'Mahnmal ewiger Treue', *Heilbronner Morgenpost*, 09/03/1936, p.3.
[52] 'Jüdische Denkmalsenthüllungen', *Der Stürmer*, February 1925, p.2.

During the Weimar Republic's middle years, allegations that German Jews had shirked military service became more prevalent.[53] In 1924, Dietrich Eckart, the editor of the NSDAP's party newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, offered a 1000 Mark reward to anyone who could name a Jewish mother who had had three sons at the front for more than three weeks.[54] The clear accusation underlying this reward was the charge that the Jews had shirked their wartime duty. Eckart's allegations, of course, were easy to counter. A rabbi from Hanover, armed with a list of twenty mothers who fitted the criteria, took Eckart to court, forcing him to pay the 1000 Mark reward.[55] When Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was first published in 1925, this work contained similarly inflammatory statements. Behind the lines "the offices were filled with Jews", complained Hitler. "Nearly every clerk was a Jew and nearly every Jew a clerk."[56]

Increasingly, though, such attacks came from organisations which had hitherto been less openly antisemitic. In March 1924, the committee of the *Stahlhelm* changed the group's constitution to ban Jewish membership entirely. From now on, as the *Stahlhelm*'s revised handbook stated, "only those of German stock can be accepted in the Stahlhelm."[57] To the anger of the RjF, the group's newsletter also began to denigrate the Jewish war effort.[58] In 1925, it published an antisemitic joke, which implied that Jewish soldiers had spent their time during the war feigning injury behind the frontline. When the RjF demanded an immediate apology, the *Stahlhelm*, on this occasion, obliged.[59] It retracted the joke and apologised for offending "the feelings of men [...] who fought together with us at the front."[60]

Faced with this growing hostility, German Jews took steps to defend their wartime record. In the mid 1920s, the CV began to collect details of the Jewish fallen from Württemberg and Hohenzollern, which it later collated into a remembrance book. The CV hoped that this information would help to

---

[53] See for example: 'Ein jüdischer Frontsoldatentag', *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 1925, p.2.
[54] Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, p.73.
[55] RjF Pamphlet, '1000 Mark Belohnung', Wiener Library, Y32.
[56] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, translator Ralph Manheim, (London: Hutchinson, 1974), p.175.
[57] Stahlhelm, 'Rundschreiben Nr.87', 18/09/1928, BArch Berlin, R72/273.
[58] See: Donald Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany*, (Manchester: MUP, 1980), p.48.
[59] 'An den "Stahlhelm", Bund der Frontsoldaten!', *Der Schild*, 01/02/1925, p.1.
[60] 'Der "Witz" im Stahlhelm', *Der Schild*, 15/02/1925, p.71.

counter growing allegations of Jewish wartime shirking. "Every objective person can see from the [...] list of names", declared the CV, "how many of us risked our lives and how many sadly lost theirs."[61] Although the RjF regretted that the CV rather than its own organisation had produced the remembrance book, it nonetheless praised the publication. "It is to be hoped that this slim volume [...] will be promoted in Christian circles", added the RjF, "so that the lies of Jewish wartime shirking will be silenced for once and for all."[62]

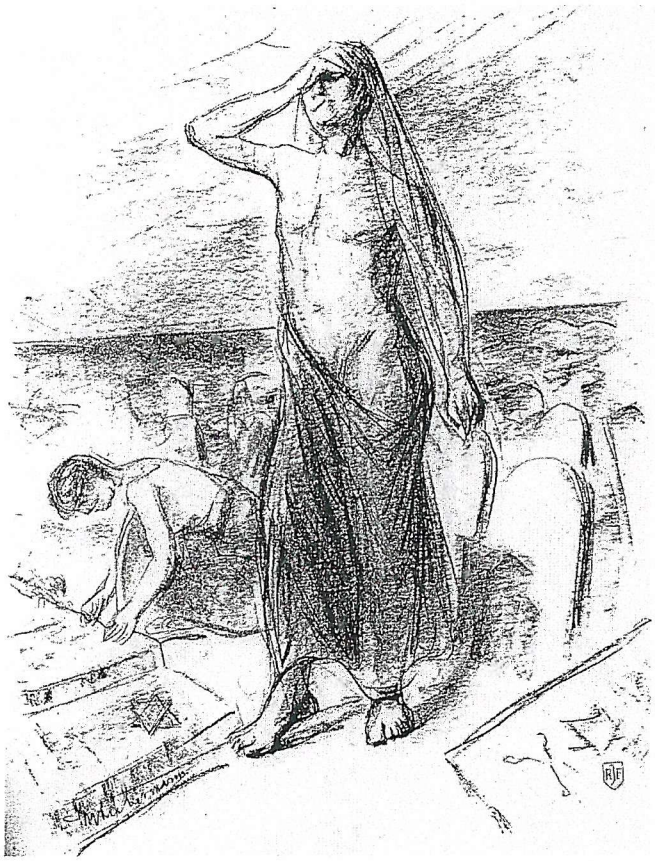

Figure 6. Max Liebermann, "Den Müttern der Zwölftausend", 1924.[63]

To refute allegations that Jews had avoided their patriotic duty, the RjF also encouraged the distribution of objects produced ostensibly to mourn the Jewish fallen. In 1924, the Jewish impressionist artist Max Liebermann, who was President of the prestigious Prussian Academy of Arts, dedicated a painting to the "Mothers of the 12,000 fallen" Jewish soldiers. Liebermann

[61] Württembergischen Landesverband des Centralvereins deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (ed.), *Jüdische Frontsoldaten aus Württemberg und Hohenzollern*, (Stuttgart: J. Fink, 1926), p.3.
[62] 'Jüdische Frontsoldaten in Württemberg', *Der Schild*, 25/10/1926, p.339.
[63] Vera Bendt (ed.), *Judaica Katalog*, (Berlin: Berlin Museum, 1989), p.69.

sketched a drawing of a mother wracked with grief, standing beside her son's grave. Behind her, the gravestones of the fallen Jewish soldiers disappeared over the horizon, emphasising the scale of the German Jewry's wartime sacrifice (see figure 6). Liebermann's sketch, which drew upon a common narrative of wartime loss, was widely publicised. The RjF even advertised copies of the print in its newsletter.[64] The Liebermann print, declared the veterans' organisation, "should be missing from no Jewish home, from no Jewish library and from no Jewish home."[65]

Despite rising antisemitism, the German-Jewish communities continued to play a full part in commemorative activity for the war dead. On a local level, the main effect of the veterans' organisations' growing strength was to complicate the remembrance process. In most areas, ex-servicemen's associations were the main initiators of large memorial schemes for all of the dead of a particular town or city.[66] When organised groups of veterans, particularly those on the political right, directed the construction of war memorials, they tended to favour heroic, "Germanic" or natural designs.[67] This was the case in Eberswalde in Brandenburg, for example, where the town's veterans' organisation was behind plans to construct a heroic memorial for the town's 826 war dead.[68]

The memorial, which the town's National Socialist mayor later described as a "Germanic pillared round hall", was strongly nationalistic in design (see figure 7).[69] It contained eight pillars, on which plaques listing the names of the war dead were attached. Although a large stone altar inscribed with the years "1914-1918" stood at its centre, the memorial was not overtly Christian in design. For the town's memorial committee, the structure's austerity helped to situate it within its natural surroundings. "It must be

---

[64] 'Das Liebermann Gedenkblatt', *Der Schild*, 15/01/1925, p.43.
[65] 'Theilhaber-Buch und Liebermann-Blätter', *Der Schild*, 01/02/1925, p.58.
[66] Michael Jeismann and Rolf Westheider, 'Wofür stirbt der Bürger? Nationaler Totenkult und Staatsbürgertum in Deutschland und Frankreich seit der Französischen Revolution', in Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne*, (Munich: Fink, 1994). pp. 23-50, p.35.
[67] Christian Saehrendt, *Der Stellungskrieg der Denkmäler. Kriegerdenkmäler im Berlin der Zwischenkriegszeit (1919-1939)*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2004), p.80.
[68] Letter, Generalmajor von Donop to Oberbürgermeister Eberswalde, 26/05/1921, KrABar, Nr.A.II.8243.
[69] Letter, Oberbürgermeister Eberswalde to Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, 03/06/1942, KrABar, Nr.A.II.9607.

German, like the oaks, which rustle around it, and [German] like the *Heimat* earth on which it will be built", proclaimed the committee.[70] Reflecting the importance ascribed to the Germanness of the design, the memorial's symbolic qualities were again emphasised during its dedication in November 1925. "We have built for them [the fallen] a German memorial", announced the town's police superintendent in his dedication speech, "born from the German spirit, spoken with German hearts, a holy temple of a German kind."[71]

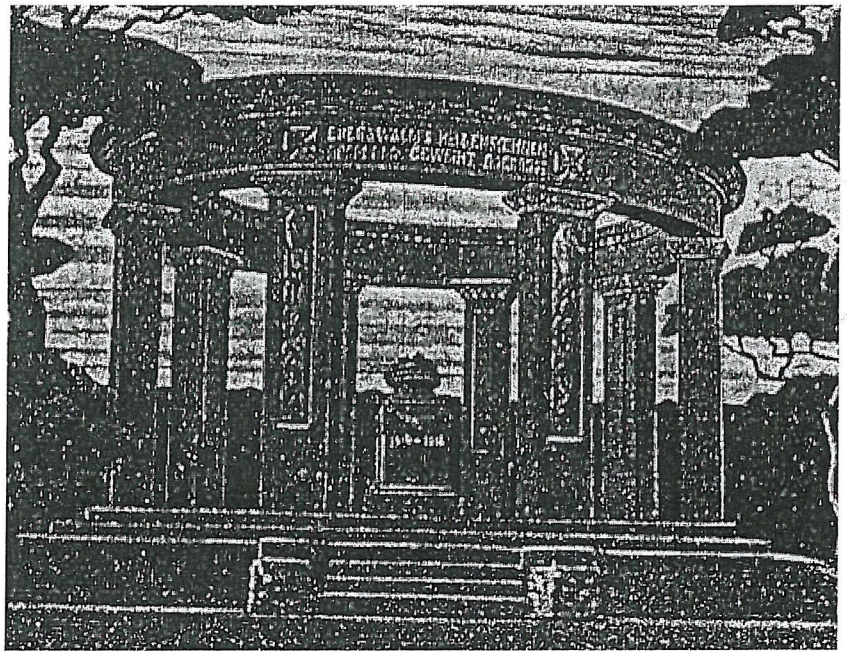

Figure 7. Eberswalde Town Memorial, 1925.[72]

Yet the erection of the strongly nationalistic design, favoured by the war veterans' organisation, did not lead to the neglect of the Jewish war dead. The memorial committee worked to ensure that it involved all sections of Eberswalde's population that had lost members in the war. It wrote to the Jewish community directly to ask for the details of its war dead, so that it could make a complete list "of our fallen heroes for the roll of honour."[73] The community responded by supplying information about three fallen soldiers from Eberswalde and two from the outlying areas.[74] At the same time, it

[70] Certificate, Der Denkmalausschuss, CJA 1,75A Eb1, Nr.4, Bl.211 #2214.
[71] 'Weihe des Gefallenen-Denkmals im Eberswalde Heldenhain', *Beilage zum Märkischen Stadt- und Landboten*, 24/11/1925, KrABar [uncatalogued].
[72] Der Denkmalausschuss, 'Baustein zum Denkmal im Eberswalder Heldenhain', [undated], KrABar, A.II.8243.
[73] Letter, Der Denkmalausschuss, 10/07/1925, CJA 1,75A Eb1, Nr.4, Bl.209 #2214.
[74] Letter, Synagogengemeinde Eberswalde, 15/07/1925, CJA 1,75A Eb1, Nr.4, Bl.208 #2214.

donated one hundred Marks towards the memorial's cost.[75] It seems that a national conservative understanding of the war drove plans for the town's site of remembrance. As all of the fallen had sacrificed their lives for Germany, the committee sought to commemorate all of the war dead in a single site. A service held to dedicate the memorial in November 1925 confirmed this national conservative view of sacrifice, as a rabbi was included on the official list of speakers.[76]

In Eberswalde, then, German Jews were clearly supportive of, and also fully involved in, the plans for the town's nationalistic war memorial. This was also the case in Hamburg, where the Jewish community backed proposals for a militaristic war memorial, dedicated to the city's 40,000 war dead. In 1921, an independent war memorial committee, which had been formed at the war's end, charged the Hamburg architect Walter Puritz with designing a war memorial for the city's Ohlsdorf war cemetery.[77] Puritz envisaged an immense heroes' memorial hall (*Heldengedächtnishalle*), which would form the centrepiece of the burial ground. The hall was to be surrounded by small memorial chapels and a massive wall containing the names of every soldier from Hamburg killed in the war.[78] However, Puritz's plan, although backed by a powerful memorial committee, did not meet with widespread approval. In 1925, the different organisations representing the war disabled rejected the scheme. "No state funds should be made available for the proposed heroes' memorial hall", complained the war-wounded veterans' organisations, "until the misery of the living [...] has been expunged."[79]

Despite the reservations of the war wounded associations, Hamburg's Jewish community gave its full support for Puritz's grand site of remembrance. Along with the *Stahlhelm* and the *Kyffhäuserbund*, Max Nathan and Dr Plaut, as representatives of the city's Jewish community, signed a petition calling for the swift realisation of the design.[80] The community also launched a large

---

[75] Certificate, Der Denkmalausschuss, CJA 1,75A Eb1, Nr.4, Bl.211 #2214.
[76] 'Weihe des Gefallenen-Denkmals im Eberswalde Heldenhain', *Beilage zum Märkischen Stadt- und Landboten*, 24/11/1925, KrABar [uncatalogued].
[77] On the war memorial committee, see: Bärbel Hedinger, *Ein Kriegsdenkmal in Hamburg*, (Hamburg: Tutor Verlag, 1979), pp. 12-13.
[78] 'Jahresbericht des Friedhofsdeputation 1914/25', StAHH, 325-1, Nr.63.
[79] Letter, Wohlfahrtsamt to Senatskanzlei Hamburg, 11/03/1925, StAHH, 321-2, Nr.B1942.
[80] 'Resolution', StAHH, 321-2, Nr.B1942.

campaign to collect the details of every Jewish soldier from Hamburg killed in the war, so that their names could be inscribed alongside the other fallen soldiers on the memorial.[81] The Jewish community's campaign was well supported by the friends and families of the fallen. The brother of one soldier killed in the war praised the proposed memorial hall as a "splendid proposal", which he hoped would be quickly realised.[82] Another Jewish resident of Hamburg, meanwhile, asked if his son's name could be included on the memorial, even though the family had only moved to the city from Posen in 1921.[83] German Jews who had left the territories ceded under the Treaty of Versailles, faced continual difficulties in erecting permanent sites of remembrance for their loved ones.[84]

The German-Jewish communities' support of staunchly nationalistic memorial schemes in Hamburg and Eberswalde was largely pragmatic. Clearly, the small size of the Weimar Republic's Jewish population made it difficult for German Jews to greatly influence the design of local memorials. In Eberswalde, for instance, out of a population of 31,000, there were only 270 Jewish residents.[85] Moreover, as only five of the 826 names on the memorial were of Jewish soldiers, the community had less influence over the final design. Although the size of the Jewish communities precluded them from greatly influencing larger memorial schemes, German Jews did not necessarily view nationalistic forms of remembrance as an anathema. In contrast to Mosse's assertions, these war memorials, although heroic and militaristic in design, were not overtly Christian. German Jews, therefore, could share the symbolism of these structures without having to adopt an exclusively Christian understanding of the war experience.[86]

---

[81] 'Heldengedächtnishalle', *Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg*, 10/07/1925, p.1; Letter, Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde Hamburg, 21/07/1925, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628a.

[82] Letter, Hermann Hirsch to Vorstand der deutsch-israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg, 03/08/1925, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628a.

[83] Letter, Isidor Becher to Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde Hamburg, 12/07/1925, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.628a.

[84] In 1929, German Jews from the town of Neustadt bei Pinne in Posen erected a war memorial for their fallen in the Berlin-Weißensee Jewish cemetery: 'Für die Gefallenen. Denkmalsweihe des Vereins "Neustadt bei Pinne"', *Der Schild*, 27/09/1929, pp. 314-315.

[85] Ludwig Arendt, *Zur Geschichte der Eberswalder Synagogen-Gemeinde*, (Eberswalde: Stadt- und Kreismuseum Eberswalde, 1993), p.75.

[86] Mosse, 'The Jews and the German War Experience', p.19.

German Jews' support of nationalistic memorial projects in Eberswalde and Hamburg, moreover, reflected existing trends in the Jewish remembrance process. Jewish community remembrance books, for example, often drew on nationalist language to frame the war.[87] When the RjF's Essen group produced a short remembrance book in memory of the city's seventy Jewish fallen, it praised those soldiers who had fulfilled their duty in the war and used heroic terms to describe their deaths defending "the honour of the fatherland." It also included the names of two Jewish soldiers who had been killed during the Kapp-Putsch violence in the Ruhr in 1920, thus placing the Jewish war dead into a larger narrative of sacrifice for Germany.[88]

This invocation of nationalistic language was not unique to the RjF. It can also be found in publications from other sections of German-Jewish life. In 1924, for example, Felix Theilhaber, a Berlin physician and convinced Zionist, published a book detailing the exploits of Jewish airmen during the war. After a general introduction, in which he praised those who had "sacrificed themselves heroically for the national idea", Theilhaber sketched out the lives of several Jewish pilots.[89] He used heroic language to describe their exploits. In one account, a Jewish pilot had a dogfight with "two Spads", after shooting "one down in flames", he got so close to the second "that he felt the stream of its propeller."[90] Theilhaber used similarly valiant language to describe Jewish pilots killed in battle. "He died a hero's death", wrote Theilhaber for one pilot, "in the loyal fulfilment of duty."[91] German Jews, then, were not initially excluded from the veterans' organisations' commemoration of the war, even when they constructed particularly nationalistic war memorials.

---

[87] See: Ortsgruppe Dortmund des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Statistik des Bundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten Dortmund-Hörde (Stadt und Land)*, (Dortmund: Gebrüder Wolff,192[?]); Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, Ortsgruppe Düsseldorf (ed.), *Gedenkbuch zu Ehren der im Weltkrieg 1914/1918 gefallenen jüdischen Krieger der Stadt Düsseldorf*, (Düsseldorf: Ed. Lintz, 1923).

[88] Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, Ortsgruppe Essen (ed.), *Ehrentafel: Unseren gefallenen Kameraden zum Gedenken*, (Essen: Fredebeul & Koennen, 1924).

[89] Felix Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg*, (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1924), p.12.

[90] Theilhaber, *Jüdische Flieger*, p.36.

[91] *Ibid.*, p.85.

The State's Official Narratives of the War

On a national level, German Jews were also involved in the state's commemorative activity. The Weimar Republic's annual Day of National Mourning and its plans for a national war memorial both included representatives from Germany's Jewish population. For the Weimar Republic, born out of defeat and revolution, developing an official memory of the war was important for uniting a divided population behind the Republican idea.[92] In contrast to the fragmented local remembrance process, the Republic's official narratives of the war sought to unite all segments of society. Yet, as this section argues, the state's narratives lacked the integrative strength to unify the population. Although the Republic's own remembrance activity involved wide sections of German society, including German Jewry, the commemorative framework it formed was extremely fragile. The Day of National Mourning came under repeated attack, while the veterans' organisations began to dominate plans for a national war memorial.

In the immediate post-war years, the German War Graves Commission (*Volksbund deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge*, VDK), which had been formed in 1919 to design and maintain military cemeteries, was the main advocate for the establishment of an inclusive national remembrance day.[93] When the VDK staged Germany's first unofficial Day of National Mourning in November 1923, it used the occasion to call on the state to make it an official event.[94] The following year, the state submitted to the VDK's demands and organised its own remembrance ceremony to mark the tenth anniversary of the war's outbreak. Planning for the event focused on the Reichstag in Berlin, which was to be specially decorated for the occasion. It was intended that a short speech by the Reich President to "proclaim the significance of the day" would follow hymns and a series of religious addresses. Finally, at the stroke of

---

[92] Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth and Mobilization in Germany*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p.207.

[93] On the VDK, see: Johann Zilien, 'Der "Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V." in der Weimarer Republik: Ein Beitrag zum politischen Denkmalkult zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 75 (1993), pp. 445-478; Monika Kuberek, 'Die Kriegsgräberstätten des Volksbundes deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge', in Michael Hütt, Hans-Joachim Kunst, Florian Matzner and Ingeborg Pabst (eds.), *Unglücklich das Land, das Helden nötig hat. Leiden und Sterben in den Kriegerdenkmälern des Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieges*, (Marburg: Jonas, 1990), pp. 75-90.

[94] Fritz Schelleack, *Nationalfeiertage in Deutschland von 1871 bis 1945*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990), p.191.

midday, those attending ceremonies around the country were to observe a two-minutes' silence in memory of the war dead.[95] The government hoped that "the whole population, [...] regardless of political and economic differences, would participate" in the ceremony.[96]

Although the state sought to use the Day of National Mourning as a means to unite the nation, its plans merely heightened existing divisions. When the official list of speakers was announced, representatives from the Protestant and Catholic Churches were included but a rabbi was absent. The liberal German Democratic Party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei*, DDP) urged the German Chancellor, Wilhelm Marx, to change the government's position as "clergymen from all three confessions [had] served during the war."[97] Understandably, many of Germany's Jewish organisations also regarded the absence of a rabbi to be a deliberate snub. The CV and the RjF wrote to the government on separate occasions to request that a Jewish representative be allowed to speak.[98] Even the ZVfD noted with surprise that "considering the many Jewish war victims" a rabbi had not been invited to address the public.[99]

Karl Jarres, the Weimar Republic's Interior Minister (DVP), attempted to justify the absence of a Jewish representative in two ways. First, the invited chaplains were drawn from the current army, in which rabbis no longer served. Second, to invite a Jewish representative, argued Jarres, would mean having to include "members from other religious groups." He hoped therefore that "in the interest of the remembrance service's unified impression" to be able "to count on the participation of [Germany's] Israelite fellow citizens."[100] Under the title, "Jarres against Jewry", the Social Democrat's party organ, *Vorwärts*, criticised Jarres's intransigence, seeing it as an attack "on the defenceless [war] dead."[101] Britain's *Jewish Chronicle* also noted its

---

[95] Edwin Redslob, 'Denkschrift über die Grundgedanken zur Feier für die Gefallenen des Deutschen Vaterlandes am 3. August 1924', [undated], BArch Berlin, R32/221.
[96] [Edwin Redslob], 'Gedenkfeier am 3. August 1924', 09/07/1924, BArch Berlin, R32/222.
[97] Letter, Reichstagsfraktion des Deutschen demokratischen Partei to Reichskanzler Dr. Marx, 26/07/1924, BArch Berlin, R43 I/710.
[98] Letter, CV to Reichskanzler Dr. Marx, 21/07/1924, BArch Berlin, R43 I/710; letter, RjF to Reichsminister Dr. Jarres, 10/07/1924, BArch Berlin, R1501/116866.
[99] 'Aus der jüdischen Welt', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 29/07/1924, p.435.
[100] Letter, Reichsminister Dr. Jarres to CV, 29/07/1924, BArch Berlin, R43 I/710.
[101] 'Im Zeichen des Hakenkreuzes. Jarres gegen das Judentum', *Vorwärts*, 31/07/1924, p.3.

displeasure that the "German Government has refused to allow Rabbis to deliver memorial addresses."[102]

It is necessary to consider whether the state's actions were part of a deliberate attempt to exclude German Jews from the official remembrance of the war. Certainly, this is how Gregory Caplan interprets the 1924 ceremony. "The state itself excluded the Jewish community", regrets Caplan, "from its national commemoration of the German war-dead."[103] Caplan's repeated use of the word "excluded" and his focus on alternative Jewish ceremonies implies that the German Jews were forced to remember their war dead alone. Yet although Jarres' actions were clearly insensitive, they appear to fit more closely into the general disarray that accompanied the Day of National Mourning. As Jeffrey Verhey suggests, "in the weeks leading up to the ceremony the preparations were accompanied by dissonance." Besides the protests of German Jews, pacifists complained that this was a military event and conservatives argued that the Republic's Social Democratic President, Friedrich Ebert, would not stage a suitably dignified ceremony.[104]

The main Jewish organisations, moreover, still played a full role in the 1924 event itself, which suggests that the state did not wilfully aim to prohibit Jewish participation. The Prussian Federation of Jewish Communities (*Preussischer Landesverband jüdischer Gemeinden*), for instance, thanked Jarres for sending it entrance tickets to the formal ceremony in Berlin. We will "without changing our basic standpoint [...] gladly make use of them", wrote the organisation.[105] Elsewhere, German-Jewish organisations participated in many regional events held across Germany to mark the Day of National Mourning. In Frankfurt (Oder), for example, Dr Salomonski, a former army rabbi, spoke at the town's remembrance service together with Catholic and Protestant clergymen, while in Hamburg, the city authorities and the *Reichsbanner* both laid wreaths on the Jewish community's war memorial in the Ohlsdorf cemetery.[106]

---

[102] 'German War Memorial Demonstration', *Jewish Chronicle*, 01/08/1924, p.18.
[103] Caplan, 'Wicked Sons', p.198.
[104] Verhey, *Spirit of 1914*, p.208.
[105] Letter, Preussischer Landesverband jüdischer Gemeinden to Karl Jarres, 01/08/1924, BArch Berlin, R1501/116866.
[106] 'Helden-Gedächtnisfeiern', *CV-Zeitung*, 14/08/1924, pp. 492-494; Letter, Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg to Senat Hamburg, 05/08/1924; Letter, Vorstand

Far from being completely excluded, it appears that sections of Germany's Jewish population actively participated in the state's remembrance of the war. This can be seen further when services held for the Day of National Mourning both before and after 1924 are also considered. Although all other ceremonies were not official, they were supported to varying degrees by the state. For the annual event, public buildings throughout Germany flew their flags at half-mast and a grand memorial service, attended by the Reich President, was held in the Reichstag.[107] Before 1924, the VDK's planning for an annual remembrance service generally included a Jewish representative. Its first working committee formed in 1921 involved governmental agencies, as well as Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives among others.[108] In a 1922 letter, for instance, in which the committee called for the introduction of an annual Day of National Mourning, rabbi Dr Blumenthal signed his name alongside representatives of the Catholic and Protestant churches.[109]

The service for the Day of National Mourning in 1925 also included the main German-Jewish associations. Following the exclusion of a rabbi in 1924, the Reich President, Friedrich Ebert, received a Jewish delegation formed from representatives of the main Jewish communities. He assured the group that there had "never been any intention to offend the Jews" and that such a view could not "be inferred from the circumstances."[110] Reflecting Ebert's assertions, the VDK and the national government considered the preferences of both the Jewish and the Christian communities when attempting to set a date for the 1925 service.[111] During the Day of National Mourning itself, Jewish representatives also played a full role. This year, reported the CV, "the ceremony in the Reichstag, to which Jewish representatives had been invited, breathed a different spirit."[112]

---

der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde to Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold, 06/08/1924, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.869.

[107] 'Unser diesjähriger Volkstrauertag', *Kriegsgräberfürsorge*, April 1927, p.50.

[108] 'Niederschrift über die Verhandlungen betreffend Festsetzung eines Volkstrauertages', 17/02/1922, BArch Berlin, R43 I/710.

[109] Letter, VDK to Reichskanzler Wirth, 17/02/1922, BArch Berlin, R43 I/710.

[110] Letter, Büro des Reichspräsidenten, 24/11/1924, BArch Berlin, R1501/116867.

[111] Letter, Reichsminister des Innern to Reichspostminister, 04/02/1925, BArch Berlin, R43 I/710.

[112] 'Die Trauer des deutschen Volkes', *CV-Zeitung*, 06/03/1925, p.174.

For German Jews, the Day of National Mourning helped to reinforce their position in the state's narrative of the war. It was important, therefore, that their commemorative activity was also integrated with non-Jewish services of remembrance. The Jewish community in Breslau even timed its synagogue service to allow people to attend both the Jewish and non-Jewish ceremonies. "The memorial service is to finish early enough", assured the community's newspaper, "that the devoted can take part in the general ceremony on the *Schloßplatz*."[113] German Jews also sought to involve non-Jews in their remembrance calendar. When Hamburg's Jewish veterans in the VjF staged a memorial service in Ohlsdorf, they invited a number of city dignitaries to the service, including members of the Senate and the city's mayor, Carl Petersen.[114] The ceremony matched the formality of non-Jewish remembrance events. It included formal speeches, a ceremonial wreath laying and finally Ludwig Uhland's poem 'I had a comrade' (*Ich hatt' einen Kameraden*), which was set to a musical score and widely played at German memorial services.[115] The ceremony's style and the VjF's invitation to city dignitaries reflected the importance which many German Jews placed on their involvement in the state's annual Day of National Mourning.

Yet German Jews' willing involvement in the state's annual Day of National Mourning was not enough to keep them at the centre of Germany's remembrance process. The state's remembrance framework, of which German Jews had sought to be a part, was extremely weak and came under repeated attack from right-wing groups. During the Day of National Mourning in 1925, for example, the *Stahlhelm* and the *Jungdeutscher Orden*, among others, interrupted the ceremony with antisemitic chants and physical attacks on *Reichsbanner* members.[116] Increasingly, the Republic began to lose control of its own remembrance activity to the veterans' organisations on the political right. The growing domination of these ex-servicemen's associations can be witnessed most clearly in the Republic's plans to build a German national memorial dedicated to all of its wartime fallen. While most European

[113] 'Der Volkstrauertag', *Breslauer jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*, 23/02/1925, p.1.
[114] Minutes, Senat Hamburg, 09/09/1925, StAHH, Senat Cl. VII Lit Lb, Nr.18, Vol.76, Fasc. 2, Inv. 78.
[115] Memorial Service Programme, 13/09/1925, StAHH, Senat Cl. VII Lit Lb, Nr.18, Vol.76, Fasc. 2, Inv. 78.
[116] 'Die Trauerfeier der Drückeberger', *Der Schild*, 15/03/1925, p.125.

countries managed to construct a site of national remembrance soon after the war, in Germany plans for a similar memorial were debated throughout the years of the Weimar Republic but never realised.[117]

In a speech held on Germany's Day of National Mourning in 1924, Friedrich Ebert, the Reich President, announced the government's intention to construct a national war memorial. "A worthy memorial is still missing", regretted Ebert, "therefore on this day, we are calling for a collection for such a memorial."[118] Initially, a political committee was to oversee the project, but its position was gradually usurped by the main veterans' organisations, which demanded to be involved in a scheme of such national importance.[119] In December 1925, the government's Interior Minister succumbed to the veterans' groups' demands, inviting one representative from the *Stahlhelm*, *Kyffhäuserbund*, *Reichsbanner* and the RjF to discuss their plans for a memorial.[120] This meeting enabled the four veterans' associations to take a leading a role in the memorial's planning.

Although the veterans' organisations came to dominate the memorial project, the scheme was still beset by disagreements over its location and form. The government received more than 200 design suggestions, ranging from a grand memorial building in Berlin through to the symbolic burial of an unknown soldier on an island in the Rhine.[121] In contrast, the veterans' associations, which generally had an acrimonious relationship with one another, worked together amicably on the project. All four agreed with the *Stahlhelm*'s proposal that the national memorial be erected in the "heart of Germany", in the hills surrounding Bad Berka in Thuringia. "They [the veterans] want to commemorate their comrades," argued the *Stahlhelm*, "in the open countryside, where their fallen rest."[122] Highlighting the veterans' close cooperation, the RjF and *Stahlhelm* also sent identically worded letters

---

[117] For example on Britain's cenotaph in London, see: Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998), pp. 141-143.
[118] 'Den Toten des Weltkrieges', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 03/08/1924, p.1.
[119] Peter Bucher, 'Die Errichtung des Reichsehrenmals nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte*, 7 (1981), pp. 359-386, pp. 359-363.
[120] Letter, Reichskommissar Kuezner, 29/12/1925, StAHH, 111-2, AIIIz21.
[121] Behrenbeck, 'Zwischen Trauer und Heroisierung', p.331.
[122] Letter, Bundesführer des Stahlhelm to Reichsminister des Innern, 09/12/1925, in Bernd Ulrich and Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Krieg im Frieden: Die umkämpfte Erinnerung an den Ersten Weltkrieg*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1997), p.137.

to the Republic's Interior Minister, urging for the swift realisation of their plan.[123] Moreover, on a separate occasion, the four veterans' associations made a joint train trip to Bad Berka, where they inspected their favoured memorial site.[124]

The *Stahlhelm*'s close level of cooperation with the RjF and the *Reichsbanner*, in particular, was clearly at variance with the organisation's national policies. On a number of occasions, its members even attacked the *Stahlhelm*'s national leaders for maintaining a relationship with Jewish veterans. When in April 1926, an article appeared in the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* suggesting that all residents, no matter what their background, were welcome to join Cologne's *Stahlhelm*, the group's leadership was strongly criticised. The right-wing *der Hakenkreuzler* newspaper mocked the article, as it suggested that "Jews and other races are most welcome in the 'Stahlhelm'."[125] These accusations clearly alarmed the *Stahlhelm*'s membership. A Berlin dentist and *Stahlhelm* member named Bremer wrote to the group's national leadership, demanding to know the truth behind allegations, which had "caused great consternation among [his] extended circle of friends."[126] Bremer was assured that there were no Jews in the Cologne *Stahlhelm*, for "the admission of Jews in the Stahlhelm is strictly forbidden."[127]

The *Stahlhelm* clearly faced criticism for any involvement with the RjF and other Jewish organisations. Why, then, did the *Stahlhelm* choose to work so closely with the Jewish veterans' organisation in planning a national memorial? Crucially, the *Stahlhelm* placed such weight on its "great aim" of constructing a national memorial that it was willing to forsake its own opposition to the Republic and its supporters. The *Stahlhelm*, which held a national conservative view of wartime sacrifice, believed that a national memorial had to include every fallen German soldier, "who had worn the field

---

[123] Letter, RjF Bundesleitung to Reichsminister des Innern, 19/02/1926; Letter, Stahlhelm to Reichsminister des Innern, 19/02/1926, BArch Berlin, R1501/116917.
[124] Letter, Reichskunstwart to Reichsminister des Innern, 26/03/1926, BArch Berlin, R1501/116917.
[125] 'Juden und Plattfußindianer im "Stahlhelm"', *Der Hakenkreuzler*, [Undated Newspaper Clipping], BArch Berlin, R72/93.
[126] Letter, Zahnpraxis Bremer to Franz Seldte, 08/06/1926, BArch Berlin, R72/93.
[127] Letter, Stahlhelm to Bremer, 11/06/1926, BArch Berlin, R72/93.

grey uniform." It would be "a national disaster", argued the organisation, if individual veterans' associations were "to erect a special memorial [solely] for themselves."[128] The *Stahlhelm* clearly believed that the state, which had already committed itself to constructing a national memorial, was best placed to achieve its own aim of honouring every single German soldier.

However, by agreeing to participate in the state's commemorative activity, the *Stahlhelm* was compelled to follow the Republic's agenda. Since the Weimar Republic's narrative of the war included the Jewish fallen, as the example of the Day of National Mourning showed, the *Stahlhelm* was obliged to collaborate with the RjF. Hindenburg also emphasised the importance of the veterans' cooperation. He praised the four ex-servicemen's organisations involved in the project and hoped that their "spirit of camaraderie and unified feeling will grow and spread further."[129] Therefore, although the *Stahlhelm* knew that "the inclusion of the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* [...] would not be greeted with excessive sympathy" among its own members, it had little option but to follow the state's demands. "In a project, which could be borne solely by former frontline soldiers", noted the *Stahlhelm*, "it was not very possible, in front of Reich President Hindenburg, to reject a joint appearance with the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten.*"[130]

In 1926, the Republic's narrative of the war was clearly still strong enough for the *Stahlhelm* to feel compelled to work with the *Reichsbanner* and the RjF. Yet both the *Stahlhelm*'s own members as well as rival right-wing organisations attacked it for working so closely with these two groups. The Hamburg branch of the *Stahlhelm*, for instance, complained that the national leadership's cooperation with these veterans' organisations had "caused a certain anxiety in [its] circle of comrades."[131] The National Socialists' party newspaper, the *Völkische Beobachter*, meanwhile, ridiculed the *Stahlhelm* for its involvement with the RjF, publishing a mocking article under the title: "They

[128] Letter, Stahlhelm to Gau Nordmark des Stahlhelm Hamburg, 25/02/1926, BArch Berlin, R72/93.
[129] Letter, Reichsministerium des Innern, 12/02/1926, BArch Berlin, R1501/116917.
[130] Letter, Stahlhelm to Gau Nordmark des Stahlhelm Hamburg, 25/02/1926, BArch Berlin, R72/93.
[131] Letter, Gau Nordmark des Stahlhelm Hamburg to Stahlhelm Bundesleitung, 13/02/1926, BArch Berlin, R72/93.

want to build a 'Heroes' Grove' together."[132] This form of attack, as Brian Crim suggests, clearly discouraged the *Stahlhelm* from working with the RjF and *Reichsbanner.*[133] Therefore, rather than consolidating the state's position in remembrance activity, the national memorial project actually considerably weakened it. Now, instead of working within the state's narrative of the war for which it was criticised – the *Stahlhlem*, along with other groups on the right – increasingly circumvented the state's commemorative activity altogether.

Sectional Narratives of the War

In May 1926, the *Reichsbanner* wrote to the Republic's Interior Minister, Wilhelm Külz (DDP), urging him to agree on a plan for a national memorial, before the veterans' unity disintegrated. "If there is a long delay over a final decision," feared the *Reichsbanner*, then "hindrances could occur, which [could] jeopardise the unity of the four groups involved."[134] By 1927, the *Reichsbanner*'s apprehension appeared to have been confirmed. Cracks in the remembrance process, which had been present since the war's end, as this section argues, were now increasingly visible. Although the national memorial committee remained intact and continued to work towards the realisation of the memorial, sectional narratives of the war, which contested the state's official narratives, gained further support. If the state generally sought to commemorate all fallen soldiers, including the Jewish war dead, then increasingly powerful sectional narratives on the right often excluded the Jewish war dead.

In 1927, for the first time since 1924, the sites of Jewish remembrance were physically attacked.[135] In Kuppenheim in Baden, eighteen Jewish graves and the community's war memorial were vandalised, while in Stuttgart an RjF wreath, laid during the dedication of a memorial for the 7th Württemberg

---

[132] 'Stahlhelm, Mahraun u. jüdische Frontsoldaten', *Völkische Beobachter*, [undated], BArch Berlin, R72/93.

[133] Brian Crim, 'From *Frontgemeinschaft* to *Volksgemeinschaft*: The Role of Antisemitism within the German Military and Veteran Community, 1916-1938', (PhD Thesis, Rutgers University, 2003), p.95.

[134] Letter, *Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold* to Dr Külz, 03/05/1926, BArch Berlin, R1501/116917

[135] In autumn 1924, the Jewish names on a village memorial in Puderbach (Westerwald) had been vandalised. See: 'So ehrt man die Gefallenen!', *CV-Zeitung*, 07/11/1924, p.681.

Regiment, was destroyed the night after the ceremony.[136] Although Dirk Walter, in his study of antisemitic criminality, implies that these attacks were a calculated attempt "to exclude the Jews from the [...] cult of the war dead", it seems more likely that they were a part of a wider wave of cemetery desecrations.[137] Between 1923 and 1929 over sixty-nine Jewish burial grounds and twenty-three synagogues were desecrated and it is into this pattern that these two attacks appear to fit.[138] This is, indeed, how the Hamburg branch of the CV perceived them. In May 1927, the group wrote to the Mecklenburg Ministry of Education asking that it "make the relevant authorities aware of these shameful incidents." A list of cemetery desecrations included with the letter simply noted all attacks, making no differentiation between those against civilian graves and those against Jewish war memorials.[139]

The biggest threat to German Jews' position in the commemorative process, however, came not from cemetery desecrations, but rather from the exclusion of Jews from remembrance ceremonies. If a particular section of society was absent from a memorial event, then its members' wartime sacrifice was concealed to the wider public. The nature of the remembrance process in Germany, where local associations rather than state bodies tended to initiate memorials, made it easier for sectional narratives of the war to dominate.[140] As the groups establishing memorials were independent from the state, they also had the freedom to determine which organisations could attend remembrance events staged at their memorial.

The *Reichsbanner*, for instance, often found itself excluded from remembrance events staged by the *Kyffhäuserbund*. As Benjamin Ziemann suggests, "the [*Reichsbanner*'s] involvement in dedication ceremonies [generally] depended on the willingness of other veterans' associations."[141]

---

[136] 'Wieder eine Friedhofsschändung', *CV-Zeitung*, 18/02/1927, p.88; 'Schändung des Andenkens der jüdischen Kriegsopfer', *Der Schild*, 14/06/1927, p.171.
[137] Dirk Walter, *Antisemitische Kriminalität und Gewalt. Judenfeindlichkeit in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 1999), p.176.
[138] Walter, *Antisemitische Kriminalität*, p.157f30.
[139] Letter, CV Ortsgruppe Hamburg-Altona to Staatsministerium für Unterricht, Kunst geistliche und Medizinalangelegenheiten Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 31/05/1927, Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 5.12-7/1, Nr.9047a.
[140] See, Jeismann and Westheider, 'Wofür stirbt der Bürger?', p.35.
[141] Ziemann, 'Republikanische Kriegserinnerung', p.385.

Moreover, groups holding sectional memories of the war could also exclude the state from remembrance activity. In June 1928, for example, the Mayor of Cologne, Konrad Adenauer, invited a visiting dignitary to lay a wreath on a veterans' association's memorial in the city's Hindenburg Park (today's *Friedenpark*). After the event, the Cologne section of the Prussian State veterans' association, which had constructed the memorial, complained that the city authorities had used its memorial without prior permission. "It astonishes us all the more", protested the ex-servicemen's group, "because the association together with its [local] groups erected the memorial with donations from its comrades and it is [...] the owner of the memorial."[142] Adenauer apologised but reminded the group that as the city had yet to construct its own war memorial, he had had little option but to use the veterans' association's site. In future, though, Adenauer promised to consider inviting a representative from this group to all official memorial ceremonies.[143]

Sectional narratives of the war also increasingly excluded German Jews. In Leipzig in 1927, for example, veterans' organisations on the political right staged a remembrance service at the city's grandiose Battle of Nations Memorial (*Völkerschlachtdenkmal*). As the RjF was not invited to the event, it chose to stage its own remembrance ceremony at the Jewish war memorial in the community's old *Berliner Straße* burial ground.[144] The exclusion of Jews from remembrance events, however, was most common in places with a history of poor Jewish / non-Jewish relations. Universities, in particular, where nationalist student fraternities were dominant, often restricted which groups could partake in their commemorative activity.[145]

In the early 1920s, universities experienced a huge generational shift. As the wartime generation graduated from universities, younger, more radical

---

[142] Letter, Preußischer Landes-Kriegerverband to Konrad Adenauer, 01/08/1928, HASK, Bestand 902, Nr.2.
[143] Letter, Konrad Adenauer to Preußischer Landes-Kriegerverband, 07/09/1928, HASK, Bestand 902, Nr.2.
[144] 'Gedenkfeier für die im Kriege Gefallenen', *Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, Leipzig*, 11/03/1927, p.4.
[145] Michael Steinberg, *Sabers and Brown Shirts: The German Students' Path to National Socialism, 1918-1935*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p.40. See also: Michael Wildt, *Generation des Unbedingten: Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes*, (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002).

members replaced them.[146] These new students, although too young to have fought at the front, were charged with the task of remembering the large number of fallen from Germany's student body. University war memorials constructed during the mid to late 1920s, which were often of a revanchist design, reflected this change. At Berlin's Friedrich Wilhelm University, for example, a memorial erected in July 1926 for the institution's fallen members celebrated their youthful sacrifice, depicting a large warrior figure carrying a sword and shield.[147] Although the university's Jewish student organisations were invited to the dedication ceremony, the RjF noted with regret that National Socialist student members had mockingly raised their swastika flags in a provocative manner.[148]

The following year in Würzburg, Jewish students were even banned from a memorial dedication ceremony. During the immediate post-war years, the University of Würzburg had already omitted the Jewish *Salia* student fraternity from several of its remembrance events. By the late 1920s, the remembrance process at the university had become even more exclusionary. In 1927, the radical *Deutsche Studentenschaft* organisation, which had been founded in Würzburg in 1919 as a national representative body, held its tenth Student Assembly (*Studententag*) in the city. To celebrate the occasion, the group decided to dedicate a memorial in honour of Germany's 20,000 fallen students.[149] The memorial, known as the *Studentenstein* (student stone) because of its cubed form, reflected the group's nationalist sentiments. Shaped from a massive piece of granite, the memorial was topped by a golden eagle and sited among trees in Würzburg's *Ringpark*. Finally, two lines of Heinrich Lersch's nationalist poem were inscribed on the memorial's rear:

---

[146] Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903-1989*, (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p.54.
[147] Christian Saehrendt, 'Antisemitismus und politische Gewalt an der Berliner Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität 1918 bis 1933', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 13 (2004), pp. 139-160, pp. 149-150.
[148] 'Einweihung eines Gefallenen-Denkmals in der Berliner Universität', *Der Schild*, 26/07/1926, p.234.
[149] Walter Brod, 'Der Studentenstein, das Mahnmal der deutschen Studentenschaft in Würzburg', in Rolf-Joachim Baum (ed.), *Studentenschaft und Korporationswesen an der Universität Würzburg 1582-1982,* (Würzburg: Becher, 1982), pp. 80-88, p.83.

"Germany must live, even if we have to die" (Deutschland muß leben, sogar wenn wir sterben müssen).[150]

For the dedication of the memorial, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* sought the participation of students from across Germany. "It is a duty of respectful remembrance for [our] fallen fellow students", wrote the organising committee, "that also the university student bodies in the areas surrounding Würzburg [...] take part in all possible strength."[151] Yet this invitation clearly did not extend to the Jewish communities, as the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* refused to allow a rabbi to speak at the event or the Jewish fraternities to participate.[152] Würzburg's Jewish *Salia* fraternity, which had lost eighteen members in the war, now found itself excluded entirely from the commemoration of the university's fallen. Rather than seeking to unify the student body in remembrance of the war dead, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* used the event to promote its nationalist agenda. Students representing the universities in Germany's former territories laid wreaths on the memorial bedecked in their regional colours.[153] For the RjF, the dedication represented the disrespect of a more youthful student body: "Not even the dead, who knew [...] no difference between race and religion, could put a stop to the fanaticism of today's student generation."[154]

An increasing number of attacks on the Jewish war record and reports of exclusions from commemorative events naturally concerned German Jews. The dedication of the Berlin Jewish community's war memorial, for instance, was dominated by fears over German Jewry's increasing marginalisation from the wider process of remembrance.[155] Plans for a memorial, which was to be the focal point of the community's war cemetery in Berlin-Weißensee, were

---

[150] Brod, 'Der Studentenstein', p.80.
[151] Letter, Würzburger Studentenschaft to Einzelstudentenschaften, 15/02/1927, Staatsarchiv Würzburg, RSF IV 1-04/4.
[152] Roland Flade, *Juden in Würzburg, 1918-1933*, (Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 1985), p.288.
[153] Minutes, 'Sitzung der Deutschen Studentenschaft in Würzburg', 19/06/1927, Staatsarchiv Würzburg, RSF IV 1-04/4.
[154] 'Der Studententag in Würzburg', *Der Schild*, 01/08/1927, p.236.
[155] On the Berlin Jewish Community's memorial, see: Sabine Hank and Hermann Simon (eds.), *"Bis der Krieg uns lehrt, was der Friede bedeutet" Das Ehrenfeld für die jüdischen Gefallenen des Weltkrieges auf dem Friedhof der Berliner jüdischen Gemeinde*, (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2004); Judith Prokasky, 'Das jüdische Kriegerdenkmal in Berlin-Weißensee. Suche nach Identität und Kampf gegen das Vergessen', *Menora*, 11 (2000), pp. 103-118.

first proposed during the early years of the war.[156] Due to financial problems, though, construction of the memorial appears to have only begun in the autumn of 1926. In a photograph of a remembrance service held in Weißensee in September 1926, the memorial's foundation stone is clearly already in place.[157] The memorial, when finally built, consisted of a cubed altar-like structure, with a single lion sculpted on the front. A simple inscription dedicated the memorial to the Berlin Jewish community's "fallen sons" (see figure 8).

Figure 8. Berlin-Weißensee Memorial, 1927 (Photograph 2005).[158]

Although the memorial was principally for Berlin's 3,500 Jewish war dead, it was in fact promoted as a memorial for all of Germany's Jewish fallen. During his dedication speech, rabbi Leo Baeck declared that it was "for our community's 12,000 fallen."[159] This emphasis on the memorial's national importance helped to improve its stature. Rather than noting the 3,500 fallen

[156] 'Das Ehrenfeld für jüdische Kreiger auf dem Gemeindefriedhof in Berlin-Weißensee', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 11/10/1915, p.3.
[157] 'Ich hatt' einen Kameraden...', *Der Schild*, 13/09/1926, pp. 290-291.
[158] Photograph in possession of the author.
[159] Speech, Leo Baeck, 27/06/1927, CJA 1,75D, Ba1, Nr.5 #13227, Bl.6.

Jewish soldiers from Berlin, the non-Jewish press reported on the "solemn dedication of a memorial for the 12,000 Jewish frontline soldiers killed in the war."[160] Because of the memorial's national importance, Berlin's Jewish community invited the Reich Chancellor, Wilhelm Marx, to attend the June 1927 dedication ceremony.[161] Marx's presence, of course, would have given the memorial official endorsement and helped to reinforce the German Jews' position within the state as a whole. The Berlin Jewish community, therefore, was particularly perturbed when their invitation was rejected, and wrote to the government for a second time. "In these circumstances", implored the community, "we would value it highly if the Reich Chancellor would allow himself to be represented at our ceremony."[162] However, allegedly owing to the government's heavy workload, their request was again rejected.[163]

The Berlin Jewish community's insistence that the Reich Chancellor attend the dedication highlighted German Jewry's fears that it was being excluded from the wider commemoration of the war. While their concerns were well founded, it is important to note that the exclusion of Jews from the remembrance process on a local level was still relatively rare. Where Jews were excluded from memorial services, it was mainly in places which had a long history of poor Jewish / non-Jewish relations, such as universities. When the Berlin Jewish community's war memorial was finally unveiled in June 1927, the community was far from isolated from wider German society. Although Wilhelm Marx failed to attend, a number of non-Jewish dignitaries were present. Representatives from the armed forces, the government and the Berlin city authorities all attended, while several of the main veterans' organisations, including the *Kyffhäuserbund*, the *Reichsbanner* and the *Preußische Landeskriegerverband*, sent small delegations to the dedication.[164]

---

[160] 'Für 12 000 Gefallene', *Acht Uhr Abend-Blatt*, 27/06/1927, p.8.
[161] Letter, Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin to Reichskanzler, 10/06/1927, BArch Berlin, R43 I/711.
[162] Letter, Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin to Staatssekretär in der Reichskanzlei, 17/06/1927, BArch Berlin, R43 I/711.
[163] Letter, Staatssekretär in der Reichskanzlei to Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin, 22/06/1927, BArch Berlin, R43 I/711.
[164] 'Ehrenmalweihe in Weißensee', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28/06/1927, p.3; 'Enthüllungsfeier des Gefallenen-Denkmals', *Der Schild*, 04/07/1927, pp. 197-198.

The Disintegration of the State's Narratives of the War

Although right wing sectional narratives of the war had gained prominence during the mid 1920s, German Jews generally remained within the local remembrance process. On a national level, the situation was different. By the end of the decade, right-wing groups began to dominate the national remembrance process. In turn, official narratives of the war, which tended to remember both the Jewish and non-Jewish war dead, slowly disintegrated. As this section contends, these developments increasingly led to the marginalisation of German Jews from national commemorative activity. This change can be most clearly demonstrated in the construction of the Tannenberg memorial in East Prussia. The dedication of the memorial in late 1927, which took place without a Jewish rabbi, led to growing debates among German Jews over how to uphold the memory of the Jewish fallen.

Unlike most German remembrance sites, the Tannenberg memorial commemorated a victory. In August 1914, the commanders of the German Eastern Armies, Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff secured Germany's greatest success of the war, when they defeated the Russian Army at Tannenberg. Plans for a memorial to commemorate the famous victory galvanised nationalist groups, in what the art historian Sergiusz Michalski describes as "a wholesome and unabashed exercise in right-wing mythology."[165] When a design competition was announced in December 1924, for instance, the rules stipulated that only "German and German [...] blooded architects" could apply.[166] The winning design, by the brothers Walter and Johannes Krüger, was again not explicitly Christian. Symbolically, though, it was strongly militaristic. The Krügers envisaged an octagonal fortress like structure, enclosed by a vast wall and interspersed with eight brick towers (see figure 9).[167]

---

[165] Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*, (London: Reaktion, 1998), p.86.
[166] 'Öffentlicher Wettbewerb zum Erlangen von Entwürfen für das Tannenberg-Nationaldenkmal', December 1924, LAB, B Rep. 142/1, Nr.3378.
[167] Kuratorium für das Reichsehrenmal Tannenberg (ed.), *Tannenberg. Deutsches Schicksal – Deutsche Aufgabe*, (Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1939), p.203.

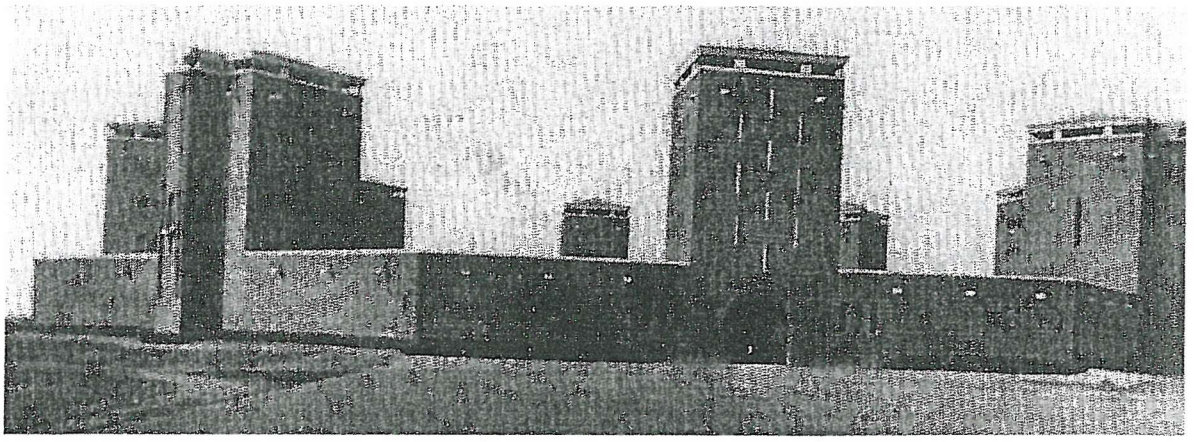

Figure 9. Tannenberg Memorial, 1927.[168]

Despite the nationalistic nature of the design, the Tannenberg Committee, which administered the project, initially promoted it as a memorial for the German population as a whole. Reflecting the dominance of the state's narrative of the war, the committee emphasised the supposed unity of the project. In August 1924, for example, it planned to mark the laying of the memorial's foundation stone with a grand ceremony, which would "allow for the participation of all sections of the population".[169] When the ceremony actually took place, though, the socialist *Reichsbanner* was excluded and some attendees also carried swastika flags.[170] On a separate occasion, the committee asked the German Association of Cities and Towns (*Deutscher Städtetag*) to make a financial contribution to the memorial's construction. Again, the committee realised that its case would be best served by adhering to the state's official narrative of the war. It assured the Association of Cities and Towns, therefore, that the funding for the memorial involved "all strata of the population and all professional circles".[171]

However, by the time of the memorial's dedication in September 1927, the committee had effectively abandoned its policy of stressing the memorial's inclusiveness. This suggests that reactionary narratives of the war were now strong enough for the state's official memory of the war to be challenged. When the dedication itinerary was first announced, Reich President Hindenburg was due to unveil the memorial before a delegation, which

---

[168] Michalski, *Public Monuments*, p.88.
[169] Report, Preussischer Minister des Innern, 03/08/1927, BArch Berlin, R43 I/834.
[170] *Ibid.*
[171] Letter, Tannenberg Nationaldenkmal Verein to Deutscher Städtetag, 16/12/1926, LAB, B Rep. 142/1, Nr.3378.

included Protestant, Catholic and Jewish speakers.[172] However, this unity quickly fragmented. First, the *Reichsbanner* withdrew from the ceremony, after the *Stahlhelm* declared that it would not march with a "pacifist" organisation.[173] Soon after, the committee retracted its invitation for a rabbi to speak at the service, claiming that the rabbi's four-minute speech made the event too long for the aged Hindenburg.[174] Their decision, though, actually appears to have been in response to demands by the National Socialists and other groups on the extreme right for the rabbi's exclusion.[175]

After the rabbi's enforced withdrawal, Kurt Sabatzky, the CV's lawyer, in East Prussia travelled to Berlin, where he met representatives of the Prussian Federation of Jewish Communities, the CV and the RjF. As the dedication was ostensibly a private function, the three organisations were unable to appeal to the state for help. Instead, they elected to withdraw their members from the ceremony in protest.[176] Many republican politicians boycotted the ceremony too. Albert Grzesinski, the Prussian Interior Minister (SPD), for instance, argued that due to the militaristic nature of the memorial, "the participation of the Prussian state government [...] should no longer be considered."[177] However, the absence of many republican politicians, as well as the RjF and *Reichsbanner*, allowed the dedication to be shaped entirely by veterans' organisations on the right. As the *Berliner Tageblatt* suggested, "'national' elements [had] taken possession of the event."[178]

Despite right-wing veterans' organisations dominating the dedication, the Republic failed to extricate itself from the ceremony completely, as a number of state dignitaries attended. Besides Hindenburg, as Reich President, German Chancellor Wilhelm Marx, Defence Minister Otto Geßler, Interior Minister Walter von Keudell and Oberpräsident Ernst Siehr were all present at the event. The Republic's politicians, who had a few years earlier attempted to unite the country with their own national memorial project, now

---

[172] 'Einweihung des Tannenbergdenkmals', *Der Schild*, 29/08/1927, p.271.
[173] Report, Preussischer Minister des Innern, 03/08/1927, BArch Berlin, R43 I/834.
[174] 'Tannenberg', *CV-Zeitung*, 23/09/1927, p.534.
[175] Kurt Sabatzky, 'Meine Erinnerungen an den Nationalsozialismus', [undated], LBI JMB, MM65.
[176] Sabine Thiem, 'Kurt Sabatzky: The C.V. Syndikus of the Jewish Community in Königsberg during the Weimar Republic', *LBIYB*, 44 (1999), pp. 191-204, p.199.
[177] Report, Preussischer Minister des Innern, 03/08/1927, BArch Berlin, R43 I/834.
[178] 'Das Denkmal von Tannenberg', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 18/09/1927, p.1.

looked on as the dedication of a private memorial attracted crowds in excess of 80,000.[179] By late 1927, then, as the dedication of the Tannenberg memorial revealed, even representatives of the state were unable, or unwilling, to challenge sectional narratives of the war.

For Germany's Jewish groups, the growing strength of the extreme right's narrative of the war seemed to undermine their efforts to remain within national narratives of the war. The RjF declared the exclusion of German Jews to be "a severe infringement of our religious sensibility and our civic equality."[180] From its annual conference in Breslau, it sent the German Chancellor, Wilhelm Marx, a draft resolution, in which it expressed its anger over this slight. "The general assembly lodges sharp protest against this shocking breach of camaraderie", exclaimed the RjF, "which at the same time constitutes a defamation of the memory of the fallen."[181] Meanwhile, the ZVfD argued that the Tannenberg affair demonstrated the futility of "negative defence" work, when all efforts should instead be concentrated on "self-help to strengthen the Jewish community."[182]

If the Tannenberg dedication showed the increasing dominance of right-wing sectional narratives of the war, then during 1928 and 1929 the Republic's own remembrance activity was, in turn, pushed onto the defensive. In November 1928, during remembrance services held on the Protestant *Totensonntag* (Day of the Dead), National Socialist wreaths were laid on a number of town war memorials.[183] The swastika was also visible the following February, when the VDK staged the Republic's annual service to mark the Day of National Mourning in the Reichstag. Carrying a swastika flag, uniformed National Socialist students attended the semi-official ceremony. The CV declared that this occurrence was an insult to the relatives of the Jewish fallen. "The Day of National Mourning only makes sense", protested the CV, "if it is a day of mourning for the entire German people."[184] Meanwhile, the RjF bemoaned the right's usurping of the Republic's

---

[179] 'Die Tannenberg Feier', *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 20/09/1927, p.1.
[180] 'Tannenberg und eine nicht gehaltene Predigt', *Der Schild*, 19/09/1927, p.1.
[181] RjF, 'Resolution', 02/11/1927, BArch Berlin, R43 I/834.
[182] 'Tannenberg', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 23/09/1927, p.552.
[183] 'Totensonntag', *CV-Zeitung*, 07/12/1928, p.683.
[184] 'Selbst am Volkstrauertag... Das Hakenkreuz im Reichstag', *CV-Zeitung*, 01/03/1929, p.107.

remembrance ceremonies: "Up to now, we Jewish front soldiers had believed that the Day of National Mourning at the very least would be dominated by [...] melancholy commemoration."[185]

As the Republic's official memory of the war declined in the face of sectional narratives from the extreme right, German Jews struggled on a national level to remain within the wider remembrance process. Two books published at the turn of 1928-1929, which were ostensibly to remember the Jewish fallen, demonstrate how German-Jewish groups began to connect remembrance of the war dead to the position of German Jews in the state.

The first, a remembrance book published by Munich's RjF group, claimed to simply remember the Jewish fallen. "This book is not supposed to serve our present struggle", stressed the editors.[186] Certainly, this is how the publication initially appears. It opens with biographical details of the war dead and closes with extracts from their personal correspondence. Yet the remembrance book also contained a strongly political message. The introduction emphasised that there were now 180 fallen Jewish soldiers from Munich, five more than on the community's synagogue memorial. As the editors stressed, "it would not be unthinkable, if [this figure] did not rise further."[187] Above all, though, the book revealed a more militaristic spirit. Published extracts were interspersed with frontline photographs and pictures of war memorials in Germany, while the closing words from a soldier killed at the front in 1914, underlined the book's message of patriotism: "We the volunteers will loyally fulfil our duty for our beloved German fatherland, even if we have to pay for this great duty with death!"[188] Despite the editors' assertion that this was purely a remembrance book, their closing aside hinted at the work's broader purpose: "Nonetheless, everyone who is able to see it will realise that Munich's Jews fulfilled their patriotic duty in the war."[189]

---

[185] 'Die Hakenkreuzfahne. Unfriede selbst am Volkstrauertag', *Der Schild*, 01/03/1929, p.75.
[186] Ortsgruppe München des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Unseren Gefallenen Kameraden: Gedenkbuch für die im Weltkrieg Gefallenen Münchener Juden*, (Munich: B. Heller, 1929), p.8.
[187] *Ibid.*, p.8.
[188] *Ibid.*, p.246.
[189] *Ibid.*, p.8.

A second publication from 1929 was more explicit in its use of the Jewish war record.[190] The book, by Adolf Eckstein a Bavarian rabbi, drew a direct link between wartime service and the position of Jews in the Bavarian state. For Eckstein, remembering the fallen was secondary to protecting the rights of the German-Jewish communities. "This is not a remembrance book", wrote the chairman of the RjF's Bavarian section in the volume's foreword, "it is rather a collection of evidence."[191] As with the RjF's Munich memorial book, Eckstein's main evidence was again soldiers' war letters, photographs of war memorials and statistics. Eckstein, though, juxtaposed his information with unambiguous statements regarding the threats currently facing German Jewry. "Is it not a tragic fate that the survivors of those young people [the fallen]", asked Eckstein, "now find themselves compelled to fight [...] for their right to domicile [*Heimatrecht*]?"[192]

Eckstein's book revealed German Jews' growing uncertainty over their position, not just in the remembrance process, but in Germany as a whole. Faced with this threat, the RjF attempted to reassert the memory of the Jewish fallen, by emphasising, through statistics, the scale of German Jewry's wartime sacrifice. Between April 1928 and April 1929, the RjF's newspaper, *der Schild*, progressively published the names of 8,680 fallen Jewish soldiers, whose names had been recorded.[193] Publication of the statistics also allowed Germany's individual Jewish communities to check this material for inaccuracies and omissions. Once the details had been authenticated, the RjF intended to produce a memorial book containing all 12,000 names of the Jewish fallen. "The statistics are of incredible importance for Jewish historical meaning", stressed the RjF, "but also an important political necessity."[194]

The RjF's records, though, lacked information for Hamburg, Posen and Alsace and Lorraine. The VjF in Hamburg, under its longstanding leader

---

[190] Adolf Eckstein, *Haben die Juden in Bayern ein Heimatrecht? Eine geschichtswissenschaftliche Untersuchung mit kriegsstatistischen Beilagen*, (Berlin: Philo, 1929).
[191] Alfred Werner, 'Zum Geleit', in Adolf Eckstein, *Haben die Juden in Bayern ein Heimatrecht? Eine geschichtswissenschaftliche Untersuchung mit kriegsstatistischen Beilagen*, (Berlin: Philo, 1929), pp. 41-42, p.41.
[192] Eckstein, *Haben die Juden in Bayern ein Heimatrecht?*, p.39.
[193] 'Zwölftausend' *Der Schild*, 05/04/1929, p.113.
[194] Letter, RjF to Vorstand der jüdischen Gemeinde Wandsbek, 14/05/1929, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.900.

Siegfried Urias, attempted to correct this omission by conducting its own statistical survey of Hamburg's Jewish war dead. In December 1928, Urias wrote to the committee of the Jewish community asking them to donate 500 Marks to help fund the necessary research.[195] The committee, however, rejected Urias's request, as it had "grave misgivings" about Urias's "investigation as well as the intended publication of the findings." Instead, it offered the VjF 300 Marks to help support deprived members of the veterans' association.[196] Despite growing differences among Hamburg's Jewish population over the remembrance of the fallen, Urias persevered with the project. In November 1929, he published his own list of Hamburg's Jewish fallen, which also marked ten years since the VjF's founding.[197]

By the end of the decade, as the RjF gathered in venues across Germany to celebrate its ten-year anniversary, the remembrance of the Jewish war dead was marked by both internal and external discord. The celebrations, which began with a religious service in Berlin's New Synagogue (*Neue Synagoge*), provided the Jewish veterans' organisation with an opportunity to confront its critics.[198] During a remembrance service held at the Hamburg's Jewish community's war cemetery in Ohlsdorf, the reform community's rabbi, Bruno Italiener, reminded the attendees of the Jewish wartime sacrifice. Attacks on the Jewish communities, Italiener proclaimed, "are not just an abuse against us, the living, but above all against our dead."[199] Moreover, revealing internal disputes among German Jews in Hamburg, Siegfried Urias made a scathing attack on the community's treatment of the RjF. "Within the Jewish community, this organisation [...] is treated as the stepchild of all Jewish federations", complained Urias, which can be "laughed off as a military parody, [as] a Jewish 'Stahlhelm'."[200]

---

[195] Letter, Siegfried Urias to Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg, 24/12/1928, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.869.
[196] Letter, Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg to Siegfried Urias, 24/01/1929, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.869.
[197] Siegfried Urias, *Die Hamburger Juden im Kriege 1914-1918*, (Hamburg, 1929).
[198] 'Die Zehn-Jahr-Feier des RjF in der Neuen Synagoge', *Der Schild*, 15/02/1929, p.65.
[199] 'Den Gefallenen zum Gedächtnis', *Der Schild*, 15/11/1929, p.363.
[200] 'Zehn Jahre Frontbund', *Gemeindeblatt der deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg*, 10/11/1929, p.2.

Conclusion

In 1923, the Weimar Republic's economic crises tempered an initial wave of memorial construction. At the same time, the agencies of remembrance began to change. Instead of small communities of mourning, which in the immediate post-war years had been at the centre of remembrance activity, newly formed veterans' organisations began to direct the memorialisation process. For German Jews, this change had a dramatic effect on their position within the commemoration of the war dead. While German Jews had often been members of both Jewish and non-Jewish communities of mourning in the immediate post-war years, there was a clearer demarcation in the membership of the post-war veterans' organisations. The RjF had an exclusively Jewish membership, while many right-wing veterans' associations outlawed Jews entirely.

Yet the division of Germany's ex-servicemen into Jewish and non-Jewish veterans' associations did not end relations between the different groups. Crucially, during the Weimar Republic's middle years German Jews were generally still involved in the wider remembrance of the war dead. On a local level, as the example of Eberswalde and Hamburg suggests, the Jewish communities were often involved in the planning of town war memorials. Even when these sites of remembrance were of a particularly nationalistic design, German Jews tended to support their construction. Because the designs were often not overtly Christian, German Jews could share the memorials' heroic iconography. Meanwhile, the state's official narratives of the war, as Germany's Day of National Mourning revealed, sought to include all of the country's war dead. When the Republic announced its plans to construct a national war memorial, the inclusiveness of the state's narratives ensured that the different veterans' associations had to work together on the project.

Increasingly, however, official narratives of the war began to disintegrate, as the veterans' associations grew in strength. These organisations' sectional narratives of the war generally proved to be far more exclusive and often restricted Jewish involvement in the remembrance process. The Tannenberg memorial dedication in 1927, from which Jewish organisations were banned, revealed the impotence of the state to restrain sectional narratives of the war. Without the state's protection, German Jews

found themselves increasingly excluded from national remembrance activity. At the end of the decade, then, German Jews feared for their place not just in the commemoration of the war, but in the state as a whole.

Chapter 3 – Nazism and the Remembrance of the Jewish War Dead, 1930-1945

In 'The Myth of the Twentieth Century', the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg expanded an existing narrative of the German First World War fallen to project the party's racial theories. "The strength which was sacrificed from 1914-18 must now shape things", declared Rosenberg. "It must fight against all forces which do not want it to become the foremost and highest value."[1] This cult of the fallen, as exemplified by Rosenberg, played a central role in National Socialist ideology. As Sabine Behrenbeck argues, the Nazis' idealisation of the war dead turned the fallen into national heroes.[2] Yet the Nazis' heroic myths of the war were selective. Their virulently antisemitic ideology ensured the exclusion of the Jewish war dead. Indeed, Jewish veterans of the First World War and the families of the German-Jewish fallen counted among almost 200,000 German Jews and some six million European Jews horrifically murdered by the Nazis in the Holocaust.

Throughout the 1920s, Nazi publications repeatedly challenged the level of Jewish sacrifice in the First World War.[3] Despite their denigration of the Jewish war dead, however, the Nazis never denied that some German Jews had fought and died for Germany. Even at the height of their genocidal campaign, an implicit knowledge of the Jewish soldiers remained. The Wannsee Conference protocol of January 1942, for example, mentioned "the war-disabled Jews and Jews with war decorations."[4] This is not to suggest that the Nazis' treatment of Jewish war veterans was any less horrific than that of German Jewry as a whole. It is important, nonetheless, to consider how Nazi ideology was able to acknowledge the existence of German-Jewish war veterans, while at the same time exclude the Jewish war dead from its mythologisation of the fallen.

---

[1] Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, (Munich: Hoheneichen, 1937), p.701.
[2] Sabine Behrenbeck, *Der Kult um die toten Helden. Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten und Symbole 1923-1945*, (Vierow: S-H Verlag, 1996), p.18.
[3] Dennis Showalter, *Little Man What Now?: Der Stürmer in the Weimar Republic*, (Hamden: Archon, 1982), pp. 142-144.
[4] Minutes, Wannsee Conference, 20/02/1942, Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919-1945: Vol. 3 Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997), pp. 1127-1134, p.1131.

The existing historiography seeks to explain this contradiction by drawing two different myths of the war experience.[5] The first myth, which appealed to conservative and nationalist groups, was based on romantic notions of dying for the fatherland. It emphasised the importance of heroism and personal sacrifice for the nation. In contrast, the second myth bestowed a far more aggressive and militaristic meaning on the war. From this, the Nazis constructed the image of a new man, an emotionless, hardened modern warrior.[6] Because the Nazis viewed the war experience in narrow terms, it was easy, as Omer Bartov suggests, to exclude "veterans with different political views or those considered not 'truly' German–namely the Jews."[7] Rather than attempting to engage with the Nazis' myth, German Jews, as most historians argue, tended to place their faith in conservative narratives of the war. They believed that patriotism not race would guarantee their position in the nation.[8] Unfortunately their faith was misplaced. The Nazis' political rise enabled their more exclusive myth of the war experience to usurp conservative narratives, leaving the Jews outside of the official memory of the war as a result.

The broad thesis underlying these existing studies, which contends that a distinct National Socialist myth of the war experience excluded the Jews, is compelling. Nevertheless, several points merit further discussion. First, the relationship between the two war narratives requires qualification. Rather than viewing remembrance as an entangled process, in which different organisations competed, these studies tend to construct a neat dichotomy between conservative and Nazi myths. In Brian Crim's account, for instance, the Jewish veterans viewed the war "under the rubric of liberalism", while their

---

[5] Brian Crim, '"Was it All Just a Dream?" German-Jewish Veterans and the Confrontation with *völkisch* Nationalism in the Interwar Period', in Greg Eghigian and Matthew Paul Berg (eds.), *Sacrifice and National Belonging in Twentieth-Century Germany*, (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), pp. 64-89; Omer Bartov, '"Fields of Glory": War, Genocide, and the Glorification of Violence', in Moishe Postone and Eric Santner (eds.), *Catastrophe and Meaning: The Holocaust and the Twentieth Century*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 117-135; Gregory Caplan, 'Germanising the Jewish Male: Military Masculinity as the Last Stage of Acculturation', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, (London: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 159-184.

[6] Bernd Hüppauf, 'Langemarck, Verdun and the Myth of a *New Man* in Germany after the First World War', *War & Society*, 6 (2) (September 1988), pp. 70-103, p.70.

[7] Bartov, 'Fields of Glory', p.124.

[8] Crim, 'Was it All Just a Dream?', p.75; George Mosse, 'The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914-1918', *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture*, 21 (1977).

non-Jewish comrades interpreted it solely in terms of "*völkisch* nationalism."[9] Second, the Nazis' seizure of power forms a rigid turning point in much of the historiography. Accordingly the Nazis' myth of the war completely subjugated conservative narratives after 1933. Here, again, a more nuanced view of this change is required. For in many respects, the "continuity between 1933 and 1939", as Robert Whalen rightly notes, "is as striking as the obvious change."[10]

The focus of this chapter is on the question of continuity and change in the commemoration of the Jewish fallen during the 1930s. It argues that the exclusion of the Jewish war dead from Germany's remembrance of the First World War was a gradual process, which encompassed many turning points. In this narrative, the tumultuous events of 1933 represent only one of a number of decisive moments. Indeed, evidence of a conservative narrative of the war, which continued to include the Jewish fallen, remained visible in some areas until at least the end of 1935. For this reason, this chapter seeks to challenge the widely held belief that during the Third Reich all signs of Jewish wartime sacrifice were banished.

A second wave of memorial construction, which began at the end of the 1920s, provides an obvious starting point for this chapter. If the first wave of memorialisation in the immediate post-war years was dominated by grief and loss, then this second wave was characterised by an aggressive honouring of the fallen.[11] While this change did not always lead to the marginalisation of the Jewish fallen, remembrance on a local level now became far more exclusive. The second section considers how the Nazis' seizure of power intensified the exclusion of the Jewish fallen. This, though, remained a gradual process. While the Nazis increasingly curtailed Jewish freedom, they also honoured Jewish veterans with new war medals. An explanation for this paradoxical attitude lies in the continued strength of older conservative narratives of the war. Nonetheless, by the mid 1930s, as the third section argues, the Nazis' myth dominated and German Jews had to

---

[9] Crim, 'Was it All Just a Dream?', p.65.
[10] Robert Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War 1914-1939*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), p.167.
[11] Sabine Behrenbeck, 'Zwischen Trauer und Heroisierung. Vom Umgang mit Kriegstod und Niederlage nach 1918', in Jörg Duppler and Gerhard Groß (eds.), *Kriegsende 1918: Ereignis, Wirkung, Nachwirkung*, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 315-339, p.336.

remember their fallen alone. The final part of the chapter considers how the remembrance of the Jewish war dead gradually moved abroad. Those German Jews who were able to escape the Nazis' genocidal horror often took objects of remembrance abroad. Crucially, the commemoration of the Jewish war dead did not end with the Holocaust but continued to exist in a fragmented form outside of Germany.

The Second Wave of Memorialisation

During the late 1920s, major acts of national remembrance became increasingly contentious. Planning for a national war memorial stalled, while the exclusion of the RjF and socialist *Reichsbanner* from the dedication of the Tannenberg memorial revealed the contested nature of German remembrance. At the same time, memorial schemes on a local level were rarely realised, as consensus over the form of commemoration proved hard to reach. By the end of the 1920s, this situation changed. In a second wave of memorialisation, long planned sites of remembrance in towns and cities across Germany were finally completed. The renewed boom in war memorial construction, which stretched from the late 1920s until the mid 1930s, coincided with a wider revival of public interest in the war. This was sparked, above all, by the publication in January 1929 of Erich Maria Remarque's novel 'All Quiet on the Western Front'.[12] New exhibitions of war photographs, the release of war films and increased press coverage of war related stories soon followed the literary explosion initiated by Remarque's novel.[13]

Within this new wave of remembrance, discord remained. Growing social and political divisions within Germany, which the onset of the global depression intensified, were reflected in the commemoration of the war. The grievances of the wounded veterans, for example, grew, as the government repeatedly cut the war pensions budget.[14] In Berlin, meanwhile, the cinematic version of Remarque's novel was banned, after Joseph Goebbels led a

[12] Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, (London: Putnam, 1929).
[13] Modris Eksteins, 'All Quiet on the Western Front and the State of a War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15 (2) (April 1980), pp. 345-366, p.345.
[14] Whalen, *Bitter Wounds*, p.170.

campaign against the film for supposedly denigrating the German spirit.[15] The construction of war memorials from the late 1920s, as this section argues, also revealed the usurpation of a conservative understanding of the war by a more aggressive form of remembrance. While some memorials of a conservative form were initially constructed, during the early 1930s remembrance throughout Germany became increasingly exclusive. German Jews, though, continued to place their faith in traditional notions of patriotism. In 1932 the RjF, supported by most of the German-Jewish organisations, published a remembrance book for the Jewish fallen.

Figure 10. Hamburg City Memorial, 1931 (Photograph, 2005).[16]

The construction of war memorials on a local level often merely masked deep divisions over the meaning of the war. In 1931, the SPD dominated governments of Hamburg and Berlin dedicated new sites of

[15] Martin Broszat, *Hitler and the Collapse of Weimar Germany*, (Oxford: Berg, [org. 1984] 1993), pp. 32-36.
[16] Photograph in possession of the author.

remembrance. In Berlin, the Prussian government converted Karl Friedrich Schinkel's *Neue Wache* guardhouse into a site of remembrance, while the Hamburg Senate arranged for the construction of a memorial alongside the *kleine Alster* near the city's town hall. Both memorials were conservative in design. In Hamburg, the Senate arranged for the erection of a simple limestone stele engraved with the laconic words: "Forty Thousand Sons From the City Gave Their Lives for You 1914-1918". On its rear, the expressionist artist, Ernst Barlach, etched a grieving mother protectively cradling her child (see figure 10).[17] In Berlin, meanwhile, Heinrich Tessenow, who was charged with redesigning the *Neue Wache*, planned an enclosed room lit only by a circular hole in the ceiling. Under this opening, he placed a dark granite block topped by a golden oak wreath (see figure 11).[18]

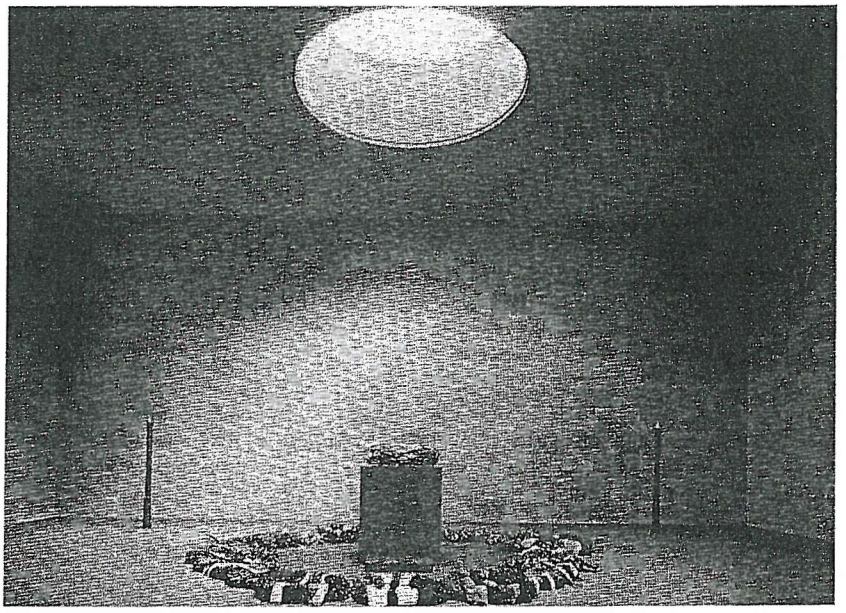

Figure 11. *Neue Wache* Memorial Berlin, 1931.[19]

Right-wing groups severely criticised both designs. They attacked Barlach's memorial for supposedly depicting a Slavic woman rather than the masculine spirit of the war experience, while the entire Prussian general staff

[17] Volker Plagemann, *Vaterstadt, Vaterland, schütz dich Gott mit starker Hand: Denkmäler in Hamburg*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1986), pp. 138-140.
[18] Sean Forner, 'War Commemoration and the Republic in Crisis: Weimar Germany and the Neue Wache', *Central European History*, 35 (4) (2002), pp. 513-549, pp. 526-529.
[19] Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*, (London: Reaktion, 1998), p.89.

and the *Stahlhelm* boycotted the dedication of the *Neue Wache*.[20] Nonetheless, both Hamburg's and Berlin's German-Jewish communities took part in the unveiling ceremonies. As the dedication of Hamburg's memorial involved only members of the Senate, a Jewish delegation laid wreaths on the new memorial at a later date.[21] In Berlin, meanwhile, ten members of the RjF took part in the main ceremonial event and laid a wreath at the *Neue Wache*.[22] In other cities, local Jewish communities also played a direct role in this second wave of remembrance. Leipzig's rabbi, Dr Goldmann, for example, was invited onto a committee formed in 1930 to plan a memorial for city's 18,000 war dead.[23]

Figure 12. Würzburg City Memorial, 1931 (Photograph, 2005).[24]

While German Jews were still involved to varying degrees in the remembrance process in Hamburg, Berlin and Leipzig, the situation differed

---

[20] Antje Rhauderwiek, *Ernst Barlach: Das Hamburger Ehrenmal*, (Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 2004), p.22; Bernd Buchner, *Um nationale und republikanische Identität: Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Kampf um die politischen Symbole in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2001), p.231; Peter Paret, *An Artist Against the Third Reich: Ernst Barlach, 1933-1938*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 46-47; 'Ein Nachklang zur Feier', *Der Schild*, 11/06/1931, p.84.

[21] 'Kleine Mitteilungen', *Gemeindeblatt der deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg*, 11/12/1931, p.3.

[22] 'Die feierliche Einweihung des preußischen Ehrenmals für die Gefallenen des Weltkrieges', *Der Schild*, 11/06/1931, p.83.

[23] Letter, Denkmals-Ausschuß, 05/10/1930, Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Kap.19, Nr.270.

[24] Photograph in possession of the author.

vastly in other cities. In Würzburg, the dedication of the city's war memorial in November 1931 proved more contentious. As in the other cities discussed, plans for a central memorial in Würzburg to commemorate its 2,335 war dead were debated during the 1920s but never realised. It was only in the early 1930s that the authorities agreed on a design from the Würzburg architect, Fritz Heuler, for a memorial in the city's *Volksgarten* park.[25] Heuler proposed a wall containing the names of the fallen, in front of which he designed a central memorial of six soldier figures carrying a fallen comrade aloft (see figure 12). For the dedication ceremony in November 1931, the town authorities invited the relatives of the fallen, as well as the war veterans' associations, local sports clubs and the student fraternities.[26]

Despite the inclusion of thirty-four Jewish names on the memorial, the presence of German Jews at the dedication alarmed several right-wing groups. In protest, the *Waffenring*, a student fraternity umbrella organisation, boycotted the ceremony completely.[27] The RjF, in response, instructed its members to march in formation with their Jewish comrades rather than with their regimental associations, as a visible sign of Jewish wartime patriotism.[28] After the dedication, debates over Jewish participation in the commemoration of the war in Würzburg continued. In the week after the city's memorial dedication, the main student groups again refused to parade with the Jewish associations for a *Langemarck* remembrance service. Even when the National Socialist student group was reminded that "an entire line of Jewish names" was inscribed on the city war memorial, their only response was to "erupt in high-pitched laughter."[29]

In comparison to Berlin, Hamburg and Leipzig, the memorialisation process in Würzburg was far more aggressive. This difference was reflected clearly in the form of memorial constructed in each city. The *Neue Wache*, for instance, fitted an established, conservative understanding of the war. National symbols, such as oak leaves and the Iron Cross, placed the

---

[25] 'Würzburg weiht sein Helden-Ehrenmal', *Würzburger General-Anzeiger*, 02/11/1931, p.3.
[26] 'Öffentliche Einladung', Würzburg Stadtarchiv, Ratsprotokoll 1931 (11), Nr.113.
[27] 'Aus den Landesverbänden und Ortsgruppen', *Der Schild*, 26/11/1931, p.176.
[28] Roland Flade, *Juden in Würzburg, 1918-1933*, (Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 1985), p.320.
[29] 'Ehrfurcht vor den Gefallenen', *Der Schild*, 26/11/1931, pp. 172-173.

memorial within dominant nationalist forms of war commemoration.[30] In contrast, Würzburg's memorial presented a far more aggressive image of the war. Six soldier figures, bedecked with *Stahlhelm* helmets, represented a new generation ready to march in a future conflict (see figure 12). By the early 1930s, then, two forms of remembrance existed: a conservative form based on individual sacrifice in the service of the nation, and an aggressive type of war remembrance which tended to exclude German Jews.

Increasingly the second of these remembrance forms, long evident in places such as Würzburg, began to spread throughout Germany. In 1932, Jewish groups found themselves excluded from non-Jewish Day of National Mourning (*Volkstrauertag*) services in cities where German Jews had previously participated fully. The VjF in Hamburg was forced, at the last minute, to stage its own memorial service in the Ohlsdorf Jewish war cemetery. "[After we] had been made aware of the character of the general ceremony," reported the VjF, "we believed that to protect our honour [we] should not participate."[31] In Leipzig, meanwhile, the Day of National Mourning in 1932 had to be postponed, after several right-wing groups complained about the inclusion of the RjF in the service.[32] Although the development of an aggressive, less inclusive, form of remembrance was widespread, in some places, it should be noted, Jews continued to take part in non-Jewish remembrance activity. In Constance, for example, the town rabbi even held the annual Day of National Mourning service in 1932.[33] Despite such examples of continued Jewish exclusion, it is necessary to consider why, by 1932, Jews often found themselves excluded, not just from Würzburg, but also from remembrance services in previously liberal areas such as Hamburg and Leipzig.

An explanation for this change can be found in national political developments. After the collapse of the Weimar Republic's last parliamentary government in 1930, national politics became increasingly aggressive, as the country lurched further to the right. In this tumultuous atmosphere, German

---

[30] Forner, 'Weimar Germany and the Neue Wache', pp. 539-541.
[31] Letter, Siegfried Urias to Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde Hamburg, 29/02/1932, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.869.
[32] RjF, 'Bericht für das Jahr 1931 zur Bundeshauptversammlung am 20. März 1932 in Berlin', CJA 1,75D, Gr1, Nr.7 #13319, Bl.136.
[33] 'Kleine Chronik', *CV-Zeitung*, 04/03/1932, p.90.

Jews suffered more antisemitic provocation, weakening their position in the non-Jewish remembrance process as a result. However, it was the increasing radicalisation of conservative groups, such as the *Stahlhelm*, which most affected the commemoration of the Jewish fallen. If the *Stahlhelm* had worked with the RjF to remember the war dead during the mid 1920s, then by the late-1920s it had begun to distance itself from the RjF as it strengthened its ties with groups on the extreme right. The *Stahlhelm*'s political foray culminated in the formation of the short-lived 'Harzburg Front' with the NSDAP and the DNVP (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*) in 1931, which sought to unite the nationalist right against Heinrich Brüning's government.

The *Stahlhelm*'s national policies significantly affected relations between its members and Jewish ex-servicemen on a local level. When a Catholic veteran applied to join the Koblenz branch of the *Stahlhelm*, for example, his application was rejected on the basis that his wife was Jewish. Although this did not contravene the organisation's rules, the leadership felt compelled to make a stand. "On the one hand our opponents would be given a point of attack", explained the leadership, while "on the other, the inclusion of such people could lead to differences in our ranks; [particularly] from members who belong to the NSDAP."[34] Locally, then, the *Stahlhelm*'s wish to cooperate with the NSDAP led it to abandon relations with German Jews. The *Stahlhelm* also maintained this distance during remembrance events. In Mannheim and in Dierdorf, the RjF was forced to stage its own Day of National Mourning ceremonies, after the *Stahlhelm* refused to participate in a joint service.[35] The *Stahlhelm*'s close alignment with the NSDAP, then, also led it to adopt their narrow view of the war experience.

The RjF's response to its exclusion from general remembrance events remained consistent. Using patriotism as a means of defence, it continued to stress the Jewish war record within a conservative narrative of the war. In 1932, with the publication of its long-planned remembrance book for the 12,000 Jewish fallen, the RjF finally had a powerful defensive weapon at its

[34] Letter, Stahlhelm Kreis Neuwied to Stahlhelm Gau Koblenz, 18/12/1931, BArch Berlin, R72/273.
[35] Letter, Bundesleitung RjF to Bundesamt des Stahlhelm, 09/12/1931, BArch Berlin, R72/273.

disposal.[36] Its publication represented the culmination of concentrated statistical work; every name listed in the book had been checked against the German army's own records held in Berlin-Spandau.[37] Although the CV and most German-Jewish communities contributed funds towards the book's publication, the ZVfD and orthodox Jewry criticised the process of collecting the names of the fallen.[38] For as *der Israelit* argued, no matter how many Jews were killed in the war, "it was too many!"[39] Nonetheless, the RjF hoped and believed that the memorial book offered "the best proof that German Jewry had [...] fulfilled its duty in the world war."[40] The *Hamburger Familienblatt* adding its support, calling the book "one of the most important documents for the defensive struggle that has ever been placed in our hands."[41]

The memorial book fitted into a conservative narrative of the war. With over 400 pages of names, arranged both alphabetically and by place, its emphasis was on individual sacrifice for the fatherland. The language of the RjF's chairman, Leo Löwenstein, in the book's preface was in the same vein. "The most noble German blood", wrote Löwenstein, "is that which was shed by German soldiers for Germany."[42] The opening page of the book, moreover, contained a photographed copy of a letter from the conservative Reich President, Paul von Hindenburg. "In reverential memory of those comrades, who also fell for the fatherland from your ranks", noted Hindenburg in praise of the publication, "I accept the book and will incorporate it into my war library."[43]

The RjF promoted the memorial book vigorously. In Hamburg and Berlin, the organisation staged grand ceremonies to launch the book. Among the attendees in Berlin were representatives of the *Stahlhelm*, the *Kyffhäuserbund* and the *Reichsbanner*, as well as Lieutenant Colonel Ott from

---

[36] Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Die jüdischen Gefallenen des deutschen Heeres, der deutschen Marine und der deutschen Schutztruppen 1914-1918. Ein Gedenkbuch*, (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1932).
[37] Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Die jüdischen Gefallenen*, p.419.
[38] RjF, 'Bericht für das Jahr 1931 zur Bundeshauptversammlung am 20. März 1932 in Berlin', CJA 1,75D, Gr1, Nr.7 #13319, Bl.136; 'Nach Hitlers Abweisung', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 29/11/1932, pp. 461-462.
[39] 'Zu wenig Tote!', *Der Israelit*, 26/02/1931, p.3.
[40] 'Ein Aufruf und eine Mahnung aus Anlaß der Herausgabe unseres Gedenkbuches', *Der Schild*, 29/09/1932, p.138.
[41] 'Unseren Gefallenen zur Ehre!', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 22/09/1932, p.1.
[42] Leo Löwenstein in Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Die jüdischen Gefallenen*, p.5.
[43] Letter, Hindenburg to RjF, 03/10/1932, in *ibid.*, p.3.

the Ministry of Defence.[44] The ceremony in Hamburg, meanwhile, took place in February 1933, seven days after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.[45] The attendees, who included among others representatives from the army and the city Senate, witnessed Senator Curt Platen (DDP) accept the book on behalf of the city.[46] As a means to bring the book to a wider audience, the RjF also donated copies to major Jewish and non-Jewish organisations. In a letter to Hamburg's Jewish community, for example, the VjF emphasised the book's religious significance, as "a dignified and indispensable addition to the *Memorbücher*."[47] The Cologne branch of the RjF even sent the publication to many non-Jewish organisations. "We hope knowledge of this work", the RjF emphasised, "will deepen awareness that German Jews fulfilled their wartime duty."[48]

The letters, which Cologne's RjF branch received in response to its distribution of the memorial book, were mainly positive. Most, though, came from conservative minded individuals and groups. Konrad Adenauer, Mayor of Cologne, Karl Schulte, Catholic Archbishop of Cologne and retired General Major Friedrich Samwer, for example, all thanked the RjF for sending it the publication.[49] The response of groups on the extreme right, however, was far more critical. Streicher's *der Stürmer* labelled the statistics: "The Fairy-Tale of the Twelve Thousand Fallen Jews".[50] In publishing and promoting the book, this was the RjF's greatest shortcoming. The book's language of sacrifice and patriotism appealed to conservative circles, rather than to the more extreme right-wing groups, which most threatened the position of German Jews in the commemorative process. By 1932, remembrance was based not on actual sacrifice – as the RjF believed – but on a mythologised version of the war.

---

[44] 'Feierstunde des RjF', *Der Schild*, 24/11/1932, p.169; '12,000 tote Kameraden', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 18/11/1932, p.6.
[45] VjF Invitation to Book Ceremony, 06/02/1933, Wiener Library, 340/W558.
[46] 'Uebergabe des Gefallenengedenkbuches an die Hamburger Behörden', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 09/02/1932, p.1.
[47] Letter, VjF to Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde, 09/09/1932, StAHH, 522-1, Nr.869.
[48] Letter, RjF Ortsgruppe Köln, [November 1932], CJA 1,75A, Ko1, Nr.7 #4096, Bl.9.
[49] Letter, Konrad Adenauer to RjF Ortsgruppe Köln, 19/11/1932; Letter Karl Schulte to RjF Ortsgruppe Köln, 16/11/1932; Letter Friedrich Samwer to RjF Ortsgruppe Köln, 18/11/1932, CJA 1,75A, Ko1, Nr.7 #4096, Bl.10, 17, 20.
[50] 'Das Märchen von den zwölftausend gefallenen Juden', *Der Stürmer*, January 1931, p.4. See also: 'Die deutschen Juden im Weltkrieg', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 22/10/1933, in HStADD, Zeitungsausschnittsammlung, Nr.582.

Patriotism was no longer enough. As Arnold Paucker argues, the memorial book "came too late and failed to have almost any [lasting] effect."[51]

The National Socialist Seizure of Power

With Hitler's accession to the German chancellorship in January 1933, German Jews lost the protection of the democratic Weimar Republic. Over the coming years, antisemitism and terror became fixtures of Jewish life in Germany. Yet this change was not instantaneous. At first, Communists, rather than Jews, were the Nazis' primary targets.[52] The process of excluding Jews from the remembrance of the First World War certainly intensified after 1933, but again change was gradual. Indeed, the commemoration of the Jewish fallen during the Third Reich continued to reflect ongoing struggles between conservatives and National Socialists over the memory of the war. Therefore, while Jewish ex-servicemen at times faced growing persecution, in other areas of their lives they gained increased rights as war veterans.

Following their rise to power, the Nazis quickly placed greater emphasis on the war veterans and on the remembrance of the war in general. In April 1933, as part of the new regime's "coordination" (*Gleichschaltung*) of power, Germany's various war wounded associations merged into a single National Socialist war victims' organisation.[53] Above all, though, the Nazis improved the general mood of the war veterans by offering extra entitlements. For example, ex-servicemen were allowed to move to the front of shop queues, to receive the best theatre seats, and children were supposed to salute them on the street.[54] Although these measures had little financial value, they served to improve the veterans' worth in society. The Nazis' first Day of National Mourning, held in February 1933, also reflected the increased prominence of the war. Hindenburg attended the ceremony in full military

---

[51] Arnold Paucker, 'Der jüdische Abwehrkampf', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Entscheidungsjahr 1932: Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1965), pp. 405-499, p.483.
[52] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jew: The Years of Persecution, 1933-39*, (London: Phoenix, 1998), p.17.
[53] Whalen, *Bitter Wounds*, p.175.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

uniform, high-ranking army officers were also present and the swastika flag replaced the Republic's colours.[55]

German-Jewish ex-servicemen, however, could take little comfort from the Nazis' admiration of the war generation. Their war veteran status was immediately challenged. The Nazi party organ, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, for example, questioned whether Jews, who it claimed had "had mostly cushy [wartime] jobs", could even be classed as frontline soldiers.[56] In autumn 1933, the *Kyffhäuserbund* appeared to follow this line of thinking, when it banned 'non-Aryans' from its organisation.[57] The following February, the National Association of Blinded Soldiers also refused to allow blind Jewish veterans membership.[58] This legislation curtailed an aspect of the Jewish ex-servicemen's social activity, which for many had formed a significant part of their daily lives. The rabbi, Arnold Tänzer, for example, who had served on the Eastern Front, had belonged to the Göppingen branch of the *Kyffhäuserbund* since the end of the First World War. He had even written the group's fifty-year anniversary pamphlet in 1921.[59] Yet the branch had no hesitation in withdrawing his membership in 1933. "We offer our sincere thanks for your service to the association", wrote the group's chairman. "From today we have removed you from our membership list."[60]

Although the *Kyffhäuserbund* in Göppingen acted with great zeal to 'Aryanise' its organisation, in other areas Jewish veterans managed to remain within the wider veteran community. Adolph Asch, a Jewish veteran from Berlin, for instance, recalled that his own branch of the *Kyffhäuserbund* remained loyal to its Jewish members, while to Himmler's chagrin a Bavarian officers' association even refused to dismiss German Jews from its ranks.[61] After January 1933, the RjF also maintained some relations with a number of non-Jewish veterans' organisations. An RjF member, for example, continued

---

[55] Behrenbeck, *Der Kult um die toten Helden*, p.292.
[56] 'Jüdische Frontsoldaten?', *Völkischer Beobachter*, 25/04/1933, Wiener Library, 40/107.
[57] 'Kyffhäuser-Bund schliesst Nichtarier aus', *CV-Zeitung*, 04/10/1933, p.1.
[58] 'Die Betreuung der jüdischen Kriegsblinden', *CV-Zeitung*, 01/02/1934, p.2.
[59] Aron Tänzer, *Die Geschichte des Veteranen- und Militärvereins "Kampfgenossenschaft" in Göppingen 1871-1921. Eine Festschrift zur Feier seines 50 jährigen Bestehens*, (Göppingen, 1921).
[60] Letter, Vet & Militärverein "Kampfgenossenschaft" to Arnold Tänzer, 30/10/1933, LBINY, AR485.
[61] Adolph Asch, 'Erinnerungen aus Posen und Berlin', LBI JMB, MM3; Letter, Heinrich Himmler to Adolf Hitler, 22/11/1934, BArch Berlin, R43/II 602.

to sit alongside representatives of the *Stahlhelm* and the *Kyffhäuserbund* on the German National Memorial committee.[62] There were continuities in the remembrance of the Jewish war dead too. The VDK noted in its newsletter that it had laid a wreath on the Jewish war memorial in Berlin-Weißensee to mark the Day of National Mourning in 1933.[63] The following year it again laid a wreath on the Weißensee memorial, while in Hamburg it laid wreaths annually on the Jewish community's war memorial in Ohlsdorf until 1935.[64]

The continued involvement of German Jews in non-Jewish remembrance activity after January 1933 raises the question: Why did a small number of conservative German associations persist in honouring the Jewish fallen during the early years of the Third Reich? Regional differences were, of course, a big factor. The situation for Jews in the small Protestant town of Göppingen, where Tänzer was expelled from the *Kyffhäuserbund*, was very different to circumstances in the large Jewish centres of Berlin and Hamburg. The continued participation of Jews in non-Jewish remembrance activity also depended on how quickly and how extensively a particular organisation was coordinated into the Third Reich. For example, while parts of the *Stahlhelm* were quickly integrated into the SA, relations between the VDK and the new regime were at first limited.[65]

Above all, though, it was the persistence of older, more conservative narratives of the war, which enabled German Jews to participate in the wider process of remembrance during the Third Reich. Many of the organisations which initially stood by their Jewish members believed that wartime sacrifice demanded inclusion. The Bavarian officers' association, for example, whose stance had so aggravated Himmler, referred to its Jewish members as "our comrades."[66] Similarly, Asch's branch of the *Kyffhäuserbund* in Berlin wrote him letters stressing that his "soldierly feats and [his] valour [were]

---

[62] 'Liste der Mitglieder des Vorstandes der Stiftung Reichsehrenmal und ihrer Vertreter', 04/05/1933, BArch Berlin, R43/II 1288.
[63] 'Volkstrauertag 1933', *Kriegsgräberfürsorge*, April 1933, pp. 50-52, p.52.
[64] 'Gedenkgottesdienste für die Kriegsgefallenen', *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin*, 03/03/1934, p.5; 'Im Gedenken an unsere toten Helden', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 21/03/1935, pp. 1-3, p.3.
[65] Johann Zilien, 'Der "Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V." in der Weimarer Republik: Ein Beitrag zum politischen Denkmalkult zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 75 (1993), pp. 445-478, p.469.
[66] Letter, Heinrich Himmler to Adolf Hitler, 22/11/1934, BArch Berlin, R43/II 602.

exemplary."[67] The VDK, which in some areas continued to lay wreaths for the Jewish war dead, viewed the war through a comparable framework. Its leading figures came principally from the old educated elites, while its ideology was national-conservative, rather than *völkisch* national.[68]

On a national level, the same conservative notion of patriotism helped to exempt the Jewish war veterans from the Nazis' first wave of anti-Jewish legislation. When the regime introduced the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service in April 1933, for instance, non-Aryans who had fought at the front or whose fathers or sons had been killed in action were exempted.[69] Although a desire to avoid the complete breakdown of the civil service drove the exemption of the war veterans, the decision to exclude this particular group of Jews was, nonetheless, significant. During the Nuremberg Trials, the former Chancellor of the Weimar Republic, Franz von Papen, claimed to have pleaded with Hindenburg to exclude the Jewish veterans. "I always held the view", argued von Papen, "that a German, no matter of what race, who had done his duty to his country should not be restricted in his rights."[70] Whether the decision came from Hindenburg or from von Papen is largely immaterial. What the inclusion of the clause shows is that a conservative understanding of national service still existed within certain sections of the regime.

This attitude was also visible in July 1934, when Hindenburg announced the regime's intention to issue a new war medal (*Ehrenkreuz*). All German veterans of the First World War, regardless of religion or race, were eligible for the new medal.[71] Although Jewish ex-servicemen faced increasing restrictions in their daily lives, the vast majority welcomed official recognition of their wartime service. The State Police (*Stapo*) in Kassel, for instance, noted in a report that "the forthcoming conferment of the German war medal

---

[67] Adolph Asch, 'Erinnerungen aus Posen und Berlin', LBI JMB, MM3.
[68] Zilien, 'Der Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge', p.469.
[69] 'Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service', in Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919-1945: Vol. 2 State, Economy and Society 1933-39*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987), pp. 223-225.
[70] Franz von Papen, 17/06/1946, in *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945 – 1 October 1946*, Vol. XVI, (Nuremberg, 1948), p.276.
[71] 'Das Ehrenkreuz für Frontkämpfer', *Der Schild*, 20/07/1934, p.2.

has provoked great joy amongst the Jews."[72] In Göppingen, meanwhile, rabbi Arnold Tänzer was equally enthusiastic about the new medal. When his application for the decoration was rejected on the basis that he had not been a combatant, he contested the decision with the local police department.[73]

Many German Jews were initially bemused by the Nazi regime's mixed signals.[74] While the regime honoured Jewish veterans with new medals, most Jews faced increasing limitations in their daily lives. Inge Deutschkron, who grew up in 1930's Berlin, recalled the confusion that accompanied the Nazis' anti-Jewish measures. Her family was one of the thousands of Jewish families that faced economic misery after the Nazis' civil service legislation of April 1933. While her parents suffered, some of their Jewish friends who had been exempted because of their war veteran status held a more positive view of the regime. They "tapped my parents on the shoulder", remembered Deutschkron, "and told them that they would find some solution or other to their miserable situation."[75] In these confused circumstances, where the war veterans received greater advantages than other Jews, it is hardly surprising, as Marion Kaplan suggests, that many men continued to place their faith in an anachronistic notion of wartime service.[76]

The RjF, in particular, chased the last vestiges of conservative militarism with great vigour. Buoyed by the exemption of Jewish veterans from the Nazis' April laws, the RjF sent a series of letters between April 1933 and August 1934 to senior government figures.[77] A common theme running through much of this correspondence was a stress on wartime values. In a letter to the Interior Minister, Wilhelm Frick, for instance, the RjF enclosed a copy of the group's Jewish remembrance book and several examples of its

---

[72] Stapostelle Regierungsbezirk Kassel, 04/08/1934, in Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel (eds.), *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten, 1933-1945*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004), Document Nr.174.
[73] Letter, Polizeiamt Göppingen to Arnold Tänzer, 04/10/1935; Letter, Arnold Tänzer to Polizeiamt Göppingen, 03/01/1936, LBINY, AR485.
[74] Peter Gay, *My German Question: Growing Up in Nazi Berlin*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p.71.
[75] Inge Deutschkron, *Ich trug den gelben Stern*, (Cologne: Wissenschaft und Politik, 1978), p.16.
[76] Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, (Oxford: OUP, 1998), p.66.
[77] Gregory Caplan, 'Wicked Sons, German Heroes: Jewish Soldiers, Veterans and Memories of World War I in Germany', (PhD Thesis, Georgetown University, 2001), p.273.

newspaper, *der Schild*.[78] When corresponding with Hindenburg, it also emphasised the oft-quoted Jewish war statistics. "In the world war German Jewry [...] provided 100,000 men for military service", noted the RjF. "At least 12,000 died."[79]

In this stream of correspondence, however, the RjF not only emphasised Jewish wartime sacrifice defensively, but also used this information offensively. Because Jewish soldiers had demonstrated their patriotism for Germany, the RjF argued that they should be accorded extra rights in the Nazi state. In these letters, the RjF outlined ways in which the association could fit into the new racial order on the basis of patriotic service. These included a demand that former frontline soldiers be excluded from all economically debilitating legislation, a request that the RjF be given a leading role in the reorganisation of German Jewry and a plea that Jews be allowed to serve in the German army.[80] The RjF even went so far as to adopt some of the Nazi regime's methods and practices. When it adopted the leadership principle in June 1933, for example, Löwenstein used the Nazis' own linguistic terms to praise its introduction. "For Germany, the leadership principle is an achievement of the national revolution", declared Löwenstein. "If this is unfortunately directed against us German Jews [...], this should not prevent us from accepting this principle's great advantages."[81]

The RjF's efforts to align itself with the new regime, however, were always doomed to fail. Many of its letters to leading Nazi figures went unanswered and the organisation faced increasing restrictions. In July 1934, for example, the Gestapo forced the RjF to dismiss all members who had not served at the front.[82] As a result, it had to withdraw membership from forty veterans in Dresden alone.[83] A new military service law of May 1935, which confined conscription to 'Aryans', was particularly disheartening for the RjF.

---

[78] Letter, RjF to Wilhelm Frick, 12/05/1933, in Klaus Herrmann, *Das Dritte Reich und die deutsch-jüdischen Organisationen, 1933-1934*, (Munich: Heymanns, 1969), pp. 105-106.
[79] Letter, RjF to Hindenburg, 23/03/1934, BArch Berlin, R43/II 602.
[80] Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 1919-1938: Geschichte eines jüdischen Abwehrvereins*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977), pp. 133-134.
[81] Leo Löwenstein, 'Führung!', *Der Schild*, 22/06/1933, p.87.
[82] RjF Rundschreiben, 15/08/1934, Wiener Library, Nr.609.
[83] Report, Polizepräsident Dresden, 29/11/1934, in Kulka and Jäckel (eds.), *NS-Stimmungsberichten*, Document Nr.456.

"The noble duty [of military service]", wrote Löwenstein, "is for us, alongside the right to our homeland (*Heimat*), the most important possession."[84]

Although the Nazi regime paid little attention to the RjF's patriotic pronouncements, the group's actions were severely criticised by the other main German-Jewish organisations. Both the CV and the ZVfD condemned the RjF for attempting to gain privileges for the Jewish veterans at the expense of the wider German-Jewish population.[85] The RjF's actions, remarked the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau*, "must be seen as a desecration of Jewish community."[86] By early 1934, relations between the RjF and the ZVfD had deteriorated to such an extent that both groups banned their members from belonging to the other organisation.[87] Scholarly literature on Jewish life during the Third Reich has generally followed the lines of this contemporary debate and severely censured the RjF's leadership. Arnold Paucker, for instance, described the RjF as having an "entirely one-sided dialogue" with the Nazi regime, which only ended when "the Nuremberg laws put paid to these farcical efforts of misguided individuals."[88] Similarly, Paula Hyman argued that "but for Nazi anti-Semitism", the RjF "would have become avid followers of Hitler."[89] In focusing so resolutely on the RjF's supposed failings, however, there is a danger of overlooking how widespread conservative values of sacrifice among German Jews actually were.

During the first years of the Nazi regime, Jewish individuals and most of the main Jewish organisations stressed German Jewry's wartime sacrifice as a means of defence. In April 1933, for example, a number of Jewish

---

[84] Letter, Leo Löwenstein, 23/03/1935, in Herbert Michaelis und Ernst Schraepler (eds.), *Ursachen und Folgen: deutschen Zusammenbruch 1918 und 1945 bis zur staatlichen Neuordnung Deutschlands in der Gegenwart: Eine Urkunden- und Dokumentensammlung zur Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. XI, (Berlin: Dokumenten-Verlag, 1958-1979), pp. 161-162.
[85] Caplan, 'Wicked Sons', pp. 280-281.
[86] 'Absage an den R.J.F.', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 16/06/1933, p.259.
[87] 'Beschlüsse der ZVfD', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 12/06/1934, p.6. On the dispute between the RjF and the ZVfD, see: Francis Nicosia, 'The End of Emancipation and the Illusion of Preferential Treatment: German Zionism, 1933-1938', *LBIYB*, 36 (1991), pp. 243-265, pp. 252-256.
[88] Arnold Paucker, 'Jews for the Fatherland', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 28/07/1978, p.869.
[89] Paula Hyman, 'The History of European Jewry: Recent Trends in the Literature', *Journal of Modern History*, 54 (2) (June 1982), pp. 303-319, p.309. See also: Herbert Levine, 'The Jewish Leadership in Germany and the Nazi Threat in 1933', in Carole Fink, Isabel Hull and MacGregor Knox, *German Nationalism and the European Response, 1890-1945*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 181-206, pp. 194-195.

businessmen responded to the Nazis' boycott of Jewish shops by emphasising their personal contribution to the German war effort. In Wesel, one Jewish veteran handed leaflets stating the number of Jewish war dead to passers by, while elsewhere many ex-servicemen stood in front of their businesses wearing their wartime uniforms and medals.[90] This act reminded passing Germans of the Jews' patriotism during the First World War and offered a visible contrast to the Nazi regime's own brand of nationalism (see figure13).

Figure 13. Richard Stern outside his shop in Cologne, April 1933.[91]

On an institutional level, meanwhile, the Berlin Jewish community used the Jewish war record to condemn the Nazi boycott. In a letter to Hitler, the community emphasised that "in the Great War from a population of 500,000, 12,000 German Jews gave their lives."[92] Even an orthodox Jewish group, the Free Union for the Interests of Orthodox Judaism, drew attention to this

---

[90] Erich Leyens and Lotte Andor, *Die fremden Jahre: Erinnerungen an Deutschland*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991), p.17.
[91] Trude Maurer, 'From Everyday Life to a State of Emergency: Jews in Weimar and Nazi Germany', in Marion Kaplan (ed.), *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, pp. 271-373, p.315.
[92] Letter, Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin to Adolf Hitler, 29/03/1933; Letter, RjF to Adolf Hitler, 04/04/1933 in Herrmann, *Das Dritte Reich*, pp. 60-61, 66-67.

conservative idea of sacrifice. Almost a quarter of a four-page document which it compiled on the history of German Jewry was dedicated to outlining Jewish service in the First World War. "The Remembrance Book for the Jewish Fallen [...]", emphasised the orthodox group, "rebuts forever in the most harrowing way the charge of Jewish shirking."[93]

Figure 14. Dedication of Jewish War Memorial, Cologne-Bocklemünd, 1934.[94]

The process of commemorating the Jewish war dead also involved most sections of German Jewry. For the 1935 Day of National Mourning, by now renamed Heroes' Remembrance Day (*Heldengedenktag*), prayers for the Jewish fallen were said in all of Hamburg's main synagogues, while the Jewish community in Dresden held a joint memorial service with the RjF to remember the city's Jewish war dead. [95] Even the construction of new Jewish sites of remembrance involved wide sections of German Jewry. In July 1934, for instance, the RjF erected a new war memorial in the Jewish Bocklemünd cemetery in Cologne. The pyramid shaped memorial contained the simple

---

[93] Freie Vereinigung für die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums, 'Denkschrift an den Herrn Reichskanzler', 04/10/1933, BArch Berlin, R43/II 602.
[94] Horst Matzerath (ed.), *Jüdisches Schicksal in Köln 1918-1945: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Historischen Archivs der Stadt Köln / NS-Dokumentationszentrum*, (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1988), p.190.
[95] 'Im Gedenken an unsere toten Helden', *Hamburger Familienblatt*, 21/03/1935, p.1; 'Gefallenen-Gedenkfeier', *Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, Dresden*, 01/04/1935, p.5.

inscription: "To Our Fallen. Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten". Despite this inscription, Cologne's Jewish community was also heavily involved in the project. It contributed to the financing and design of the new memorial.[96] Indeed, the architect Robert Stern, who planned the RjF's memorial, had previously designed a memorial for the Jewish community on the same site.[97] Moreover, at a well-attended dedication ceremony (see figure 14), the RjF handed custody of the memorial to the city's Jewish community. "The 8th July is a historic day for the Cologne synagogue community", noted the city's Jewish newspaper proudly.[98]

Although wide sections of German Jewry were involved in the Cologne dedication ceremony, reports in the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau* and the German exile newspaper, *Pariser Tageblatt*, focused almost exclusively on an RjF meeting that followed the service, at which Löwenstein called for the inclusion of the Jews in the German army. "The Jewish community can never be satisfied leading a ghetto existence [...] within non-Jewish society", complained the *Jüdische Rundschau*.[99] The *Pariser Tageblatt* also reacted with indignation to Löwenstein's suggestion, labelling RjF members "would be National Socialists."[100] While it is understandable why these reports criticised the RjF's activities, they overshadow the extent of Jewish involvement in the remembrance of the First World War. If Jewish memorial activity is seen solely in relation to the RjF's efforts to reach an understanding with the Nazi regime, then it would be very easy, as much of the existing historiography does, to presume that remembrance activity was the preserve of the RjF. Yet, as this section has argued, most segments of German Jewry continued to emphasise the sacrifice of the Jewish war dead during the first years of the Third Reich.

---

[96] 'Unseren Gefallenen', *Gemeindeblatt für die jüdischen Gemeinden in Rheinland und Westfalen*, 13/07/1934, p.5.
[97] Robert Stern's name appears on the Jewish Community's memorial plans, dated 08/01/1930, HASK, Bestand 1020, Nr.14; Stern is also credited with designing the RjF's memorial: 'Heldengedenkfeier. Die Enthüllung des Gefallengedenkmals in Köln', *Der Schild*, 13/07/1934, pp. 1-4, p.2.
[98] 'Unseren Gefallenen', *Gemeindeblatt für die jüdischen Gemeinden in Rheinland und Westfalen*, 13/07/1934, p.5.
[99] 'RjF und Zionisten', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 13/07/1934, p.6.
[100] 'Verhinderte Nazis', *Pariser Tageblatt*, 16/07/1934, p.1.

The Marginalisation of the Jewish Fallen

During the first years of the Nazi regime, the Jewish war dead were often commemorated within a conservative narrative of the war experience. Most of the main German-Jewish organisations continued to remember the fallen, while the new regime even honoured Jewish war veterans with medals and exempted them from its anti-Jewish legislation. However, the brutal purge of June 1934, when Hitler moved against the SA leadership, and the death of the aged Hindenburg in August 1934, changed these practices.[101] First, the remembrance of the Jewish war dead increasingly became an inner Jewish activity, as German Jews recognised the futility of using Jewish wartime sacrifice to gain influence with the regime. Second, the Nazi regime began to attack the memory of the Jewish war dead with greater vehemence, which ultimately led to the removal of some Jewish names from non-Jewish war memorials.

After its successful publication of the Jewish remembrance book in 1932, the RjF planned to produce a book of war letters (*Feldpostbriefe*) from fallen Jewish soldiers. The group first announced its intention in summer 1933, when it called on the relatives of the war dead to contribute letters and poems.[102] "This collection", proclaimed the RjF, "shall forever be a document of German Jews' love for the fatherland and proof of their affiliation to the homeland [*Heimat*]."[103] The RjF's plan, then, was a further attempt to frame the Jewish fallen within a conservative narrative of the war. It also clearly fitted German Jewry's attempt to defend its position within the state by stressing Jewish wartime patriotism.

When the book was finally published in 1935, this conservative view of commemorating the Jewish war dead was still evident.[104] The collection contained poems, war letters and diary entries, all arranged under the simple heading: "We died for Germany!" In this work the personal and individual characteristics of the war dead were no longer visible. Unlike earlier

---

[101] On this second seizure of power, see: Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Consequences of National Socialism*, (London: Penguin, [org. 1970] 1991), pp. 298-311.
[102] 'Eines Buch des RjF im Werden', *Der Schild*, 08/06/1933, p.84.
[103] 'Kriegstagebücher gesucht', *CV-Zeitung*, 27/07/1933, p.301.
[104] Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Deutsche Juden*, (Berlin: Vortrupp, 1935).

collections, which used the soldiers' war letters to sketch out the life history of each fallen serviceman, the book gave only the briefest of biographical details: date of birth, date of death, regiment and profession. The editors appear to have selected many of the extracts simply for their ability to express Jewish wartime heroism. Emil Lewinsohn is a typical example. Born on 20 July 1893 and killed during August 1914, Lewinsohn fought with the 77th Infantry Regiment. The one letter of his printed in the collection foresaw his own heroic death: "If this letter ends up in your hands, I am no longer alive. For I have, like so many of my comrades, died for the fatherland."[105] Rather than commemorating individuals, the book sought to unify the 12,000 Jewish fallen around a patriotic narrative of dying for Germany.

However, although the collection reflected traditional patriotic values, it was no longer aimed directly at a non-Jewish audience. Whereas earlier RjF publications, such as the remembrance book, had been sent to German dignitaries, the war letters' collection was only marketed to German Jews. "We believe that this book is particularly suited for Rosh Hashanah, Bar Mitzvah or Hanukkah presents", suggested the RjF.[106] A service in Berlin's *Prinzregentenstraße* Synagogue for launching the book, moreover, included only Jewish representatives and was held during the Hanukkah period, rather than on the Nazi regime's renamed Heroes' Remembrance Day.[107] Reflecting this internal Jewish turn, the CV and even the ZVfD welcomed the publication of the RjF's book. The *Jüdische Rundschau*'s only criticism was that the collection could have contained letters, which "express more strongly the specifically Jewish experience of Jews in the World War."[108]

By stressing Jewish patriotism through a conservative understanding of the war, the RjF's approach to commemorating the Jewish fallen had remained constant. What had altered, though, was the group's attitude to non-Jewish Germans. By aiming its publication at Jews rather than non-Jews, the RjF showed a belated awareness that German remembrance of the war had changed. It was no longer based on sacrifice but on race. And it was on this

[105] Letter, Emil Lewinsohn, August 1914, in Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Kriegsbriefe*, p.49.
[106] RjF 'Mitteilungsblatt', 10/09/1935, Wiener Library, Nr.609.
[107] 'Heldenehrung', *Der Schild*, 07/12/1934, p.1.
[108] 'Kriegsbriefe gefallener Juden', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 14/12/1934, p.9; 'Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden', *CV-Zeitung*, 28/12/1934, p.9.

basis that the Nazis dismissed the collection. An article in the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* declared that the publication of the letters proved how "a deep unbridgeable chasm separates [the Jews] from [true] Germans." By juxtaposing the Jewish collection with Philipp Witkop's popular collection of student war letters, the article argued that the two volumes revealed fundamentally different values. While the Jewish letters are concerned with a vague concept of humanity, argued the article, the German student letters are "always concerned with their own people [*Volk*]."[109] After dismissing the value of the collection the Nazis moved quickly to banish it. They first demanded it be renamed so as to remove the word *Kriegsbriefe* (war letters) from the title before finally banning it outright.[110]

In 1935, Nazi persecution of the Jews intensified. Local party organisations throughout Germany launched a campaign of boycotts and terror against Jews.[111] This local agitation culminated in the Nuremberg Laws of September 1935. The two parts of this legislation redefined the position of Jews in the state, removing German citizenship and prohibiting sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. 1935 also marked a turning point in the Nazis' attitude to the Jewish war dead. For example, when an RjF delegation laid a wreath in Berlin's *Neue Wache* on Heroes' Remembrance Day, the Gestapo immediately removed their floral offering.[112] In protest, Magdeburg's branch of the RjF withdrew from the Soldiers' Welfare Association (*Volkskriegerfürsorgeverband*).[113]

Such direct attacks against the Jewish war veterans and the remembrance of the Jewish fallen intensified through 1935. When the Nuremberg Laws were announced, Britain's *Jewish Chronicle* wondered whether the war veterans would again be exempted. "It is not clear yet whether the large body of Jewish ex-soldiers are to be excluded from German citizenship", stated the newspaper.[114] They were. With the death of

---

[109] 'Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte', July 1936, Wiener Library, 40/107.
[110] Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Die letzten dreissig Jahre: Rückblicke*, (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1956), p.107.
[111] Noakes and Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919-1945 Vol. 2*, p.530.
[112] Walter Callmann, 'Der Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten', LBI JMB, MF52.
[113] Report, Stapostelle Magdeburg, 06/05/1935, in Kulka and Jäckel (eds.), *NS-Stimmungsberichten*, Document Nr.774.
[114] 'New Laws in Action', *Jewish Chronicle*, 20/09/1935, p.18.

Hindenburg in August 1934, the Jewish war veterans were no longer a protected minority. As if to confirm this, Jewish ex-servicemen, who had been excluded from the regime's anti-Jewish legislation in April 1933, were now also dismissed from the civil service.[115]

In October 1935, the Nazi regime demonstrated unequivocally that its policy towards the remembrance of the Jewish fallen had changed. A debate in Unna over the inclusion of Jewish names on war memorials ushered in new legislation over the memorialisation of the Jewish war dead. After a retired army officer in Unna had complained that the Jewish fallen were to be excluded from the town's new memorial, the local district leader (*Kreisleiter*), sought the advice of Rudolf Hess.[116] The matter was eventually passed to Hitler, who ruled that newly erected war memorials should no longer include Jewish names.[117] In turn, Hitler's decision led Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry to issue a vague statement on the issue, which crucially forgot to mention that the ruling only applied to new memorials. "It is forbidden", ordered the Propaganda Ministry, "to list the names of fallen Jews on memorials and memorial plaques for the fallen of the World War."[118] The Propaganda Ministry's imprecise statement caused much local confusion. When in March 1936 a new memorial was dedicated in Heilbronn, twenty-nine Jewish names were included.[119] It was only later that these were removed and replaced with the names of First World War battle sites.[120]

Historians of the Third Reich often cite the Nazis' decision to 'Aryanise' non-Jewish war memorials as evidence of an organised attempt to remove all traces of Jewish culture. Rudy Koshar suggests that the regime's attempt to remove Jewish names was part of its policy of "purification", while David Bankier uses this example to demonstrate Hitler's centrality "in all matters concerning the Jews."[121] Yet in practice the act of removing Jewish names

---

[115] Noakes and Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919-1945 Vol. 2*, p.537.
[116] Letter, Gauleitung Westfalen-Süd to Rudolf Hess, 08/08/1935, BArch Berlin, NS10 Nr.550.
[117] Letter, Wiedemann to Martin Bormann, 05/10/1935, BArch Berlin, NS10 Nr.550.
[118] Letter, Landesstelle Brandenburg des Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 17/10/1935, Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam, Rep.61A, Nr.312.
[119] 'Mahnmal ewiger Treue', *Heilbronner Morgenpost*, 09/03/1936, p.3.
[120] Günter Hoppe, 'Juden in der deutschen Provinz: Die Geschichte einer Minderheit am Beispiel der Stadt Heilbronn', *Tribüne*, 23 (1984), pp. 140-146, p.141.
[121] Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces – Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*, (London: University of California Press, 2000), p.125; David Bankier, 'Hitler and the Policy-

was never as all embracing as the historiography implies. In fact, only a small number of non-Jewish war memorials were actually 'Aryanised'.[122] Even Würzburg's city memorial, which had been at the centre of rightwing agitation, was left unmolested. Reflecting the limited effect of this first decree, the issue again resurfaced in 1938, when the Rector of Heidelberg University demanded the cleansing of the university's war memorial. "It is intolerable", he argued, "that the names of the Jewish race remain on war memorial plaques."[123] After consultation with Hitler, the original decision was confirmed: Jewish names should remain on existing memorials, but not be added to any new war memorials.[124]

Hitler's decision was typically pragmatic. By ruling that the decree only applied to newly erected war memorials, Hitler was able to circumvent opposition to the removal of Jewish names. Clearly, therefore, a conservative understanding of the war, which included all of Germany's war dead, still had some political strength. The dispute over Unna's memorial, for example, started, when a retired army officer complained that Jewish names were not included. This was also the case in Loga (Friesland), where Graf von Wedel, a local aristocrat, disputed the removal of the name of a Jewish soldier, Alex Benjamin, from a newly constructed war memorial. Following the dedication of the memorial on 14 June 1936, a Nazi functionary in the town had Benjamin's name replaced with a soldier who had died after the war.[125] Wedel protested to Wilhelm Frick, the Interior Minister, arguing that owing to Loga's proximity to the Dutch border, such actions could damage Germany's international

---

Making Process on the Jewish Question', *Holocaust & Genocide Studies*, 3 (1) (1988), pp. 1-20, p.11. See also: John van Houten Dippel, *Bound Upon a Wheel of Fire: Why so Many German Jews Made the Tragic Decision to Remain in Germany*, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996), p.143.

[122] For example, post-war investigations in Bavaria revealed only one example, see: Report, Bundesminister des Innern, 02/11/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632.

[123] Letter, Rektor der Universität Heidelberg to Minister des Kultus und Unterrichts Karlsruhe, 10/11/1938, IfZ Munich, MA 103/1.

[124] Letter, Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, 14/02/1939, BArch Berlin, R4901/12782.

[125] On the memorial's dedication, see: 'Einweihung des Ehrenmals in Loga', *Ostfriesische Tageszeitung*, 15/06/1936, p.3.

standing. "The name should not be removed", wrote Wedel, "because Loga [...] is often visited by the Dutch."[126]

Underlying these concerns, however, was a lingering sense of national conservative patriotism. Wedel reported a certain amount of disquiet surrounding the removal of the name. "Even National Socialists feel uneasy with this memorial affair", he noted. "There is injustice in the fact that the man [Benjamin] died for the fatherland just the same as every other person", continued Wedel. "Also compassion with [Benjamin's] mother, who is a widow living in the town, has been voiced."[127] The sentiment that Jews who had fought and died for Germany deserved to be honoured was visible in other conservative circles. When Herbert Sulzbach, a German-Jewish veteran, published his war memoirs in 1935, he received an enthusiastic response from a number of conservative minded individuals.[128] An aristocrat and former army officer from Cologne, for example, praised Sulzbach's person. "I judge people only by their character, their achievements, and their circle of friends", he wrote. "I don't care about anything else."[129]

Crucially, though, the support of these conservative figures concerned only those Jews who had fought for Germany. They made little or no complaint against the Nazi regime's persecution of German Jewry as a whole. The aristocrat's admiration for Sulzbach, for example, was based entirely on Sulzbach's wartime sacrifice. "For me, you are a man, who earned the right during the war to be called 'a true German'", he asserted.[130] Wedel, meanwhile, continued to stress his support for the Nazi regime in his correspondence. "I am no moaner." Wedel wrote, "Like every sensible person I support the movement."[131] It is also important to note that Wedel's concerns only applied to sites of remembrance, where a connection to the sacrifice of the Jewish fallen was visible. By 1935, a far more subtle process of

---

[126] Letter, Graf von Wedel to Wilhelm Frick, 21/06/1936, in Helmut Heiber (ed.), *Akten der Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP: Rekonstruktion eines verlorengegangenen Bestandes*, Teil 1, Band 2, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1983).
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] Herbert Sulzbach, *Zwei lebende Mauern: 50 Monate Westfront*, (Berlin: Bernhard und Graefe, 1935).
[129] Letter, to Herbert Sulzbach, 22/04/1936, BArch Freiburg, N634 / v.90.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] Letter, Graf von Wedel to Wilhelm Frick, 21/06/1936, in Heiber (ed.), *Akten der Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP.*

reconfiguring the remembrance of the war dead, which excluded Jews, was already underway.

Even where Jewish names remained on war memorials, the nature of the remembrance events held at these sites had often changed. In Hamburg, memorial services for the *Wilhelm-Gymnasium*'s war dead now also included a pupil killed in street fighting with Communists in 1933 and closed with the Nazis' 'Horst Wessel' song.[132] The absence of Jewish representatives at memorial dedication ceremonies, moreover, also served to exclude the Jewish fallen from the remembrance of the war. When a grandiose war memorial for the fallen of Hamburg's 76th Infantry Regiment was dedicated in March 1936, for example, no Jews were invited, even though many of the city's Jewish war dead had fought in the regiment.[133] The memorial itself contained no names, so the exclusion of the Jewish war dead took place more surreptitiously. Their sacrifice was simply obscured. Instead, the dedication service, which included a parade led by an SS division, focused on the next generation of soldiers.[134]

The Emigration of Jewish Remembrance

For foreign observers, the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws followed by Goebbels's decree prohibiting Jewish names on new war memorials offered visible proof of a radicalisation of Nazi anti-Jewish policy. *The Times* questioned "how the Jews in Germany" now isolated from the rest of society "are to live any kind of life", while the *Jewish Chronicle* condemned the laws under the explicit title: "Nazis Proclaim a Ghetto".[135] As a consequence of the Nazis' direct attacks on Jewish life in Germany, the commemoration of the Jewish First World War dead gradually began to move abroad. This change, though, had the effect of repositioning the focus of remembrance away from the 12,000 individual fallen soldiers and onto the persecution of German Jewry as a whole.

---

[132] 'Schul-Nachrichten', *Das Wilhelm-Gymnasium*, March 1937, p.2.
[133] 'Zur Weihe des 76-er Denkmals', *Der Schild*, 10/04/1936, p.5.
[134] 'Der Ehrentag der 76er', *Hamburger Anzeiger*, 16/03/1936, p.3.
[135] 'Isolation of Jews in Germany', *The Times*, 18/09/1935, p.9; 'Nazis Proclaim a Ghetto', *Jewish Chronicle*, 20/09/1935, p.9.

To demonstrate the unjustness of the Nazis' anti-Jewish measures, commentators outside of Germany began to draw on the same conservative notions of patriotism that the Nazis denied the Jewish war veterans. The Czech German newspaper, *Prager Presse*, for instance, felt the need to stress that the youngest wartime volunteer, aged fourteen, was Jewish and that 96,000 Jews had fought for Germany in the First World War.[136] By emphasising the patriotism of German Jews, commentators clearly hoped their reports would resonate with an audience, which very likely recognised the same values. In a letter to the London *Times*, Vyvyan Adams, Conservative M.P. for West Leeds, juxtaposed the heroism of Jews in the First World War with the Nazis' persecution of the same people twenty-years later. "To-day in Germany", lamented Adams, "the son can no longer wear the uniform in which his Jewish father fell."[137] One Viennese newspaper made a similar juxtaposition between Jewish wartime patriotism and Nazi discrimination after the proclamation of the Nuremberg Laws. Over a whole page of its newspaper, it printed a list of German Jews from Nuremberg killed in the war.[138]

News of the Nazis' decree governing Jewish names on war memorials was met with international criticism. The Hungarian newspaper, *Pester Lloyd*, posed several apt questions: "Did Jewish soldiers enter the war for a different purpose than their Christian comrades? Did their blood not flow for the same thing as the Aryans?"[139] In Austria, General Franz Weihs-Tihanyi von Mainprugg wrote that the Nazi regime's plans had left his heart more churned up than it had been for a long time. This was a measure, he declared, which "kills the dead a second time and deprives those left behind of the last comfort: the gratitude of the beloved fatherland."[140]

Aware of the passion created by the Nazis' decree, foreign commentators discussed the 'Aryanisation' of war memorials to draw public attention to events within Germany. The peace campaigner, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, for instance, noted with exasperation that such actions made it

[136] 'Der Dank des Vaterlandes', *Prager Presse*, 07/08/1934, Wiener Library, 40/107.
[137] Vyvyan Adams, 'Jewish Ex-Servicemen in Germany', *The Times*, 01/07/1935, p.12.
[138] 'Nuremberg Memorial', *The Star*, 27/09/1935, Wiener Library, 40/107.
[139] 'Helden und Heldenverehrung', *Pester Lloyd*, 30/10/1935, Wiener Library, 40/107.
[140] 'Kampf gegen Tote', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 27/10/1935, p.1.

"impossible for Germany to recover the sympathy and respect of the average Britain."[141] Speaking from his American exile, meanwhile, Max Brauer, who later became Hamburg's first post-war mayor, used this example to highlight Jewish suffering in Nazi Germany. "As if things weren't already bad enough", lamented Brauer, "in death even the memory of those Jews who gave their lives for Germany in the World War is being desecrated."[142] When the Jewish Central Information Office produced a book detailing Nazi antisemitism, it also highlighted the plight of the German-Jewish ex-servicemen. One of the book's eight chapters outlined Nazi attacks on the Jewish veterans and the Jewish fallen.[143] The Jewish Central Information Office, which was the precursor to the Wiener Library, had been formed in Amsterdam to report on the Nazi regime's treatment of Jews.[144] Returning to the theme of German-Jewish wartime sacrifice in the late 1930s, it compiled photographs of Jewish war memorials with the purpose of demonstrating Jewish patriotism for Germany.[145]

The suggestion that Jewish names were to be obliterated from German memorials led several foreign newspapers and Jewish groups to propose alternative sites of mourning for the Jewish war dead. For the foreign press, the RjF's publication of war letters from fallen Jewish soldiers proved to be a particularly popular ersatz memorial for the German-Jewish war dead.[146] The Viennese newspaper, *Die Stunde Wien*, even suggested that Goebbels be presented with the RjF's book, so that he may understand the depths of German-Jewish patriotism.[147] The most ambitious proposal for an alternative war memorial came from the Austrian Jewish veterans' association, *Bund*

---

[141] 'Jewish Names on German War Memorials', *The Times*, 26/10/1935, p.13.
[142] Max Brauer, 'Rede vor dem American Jewish Congress in New York', 16/03/1936, in Christa Fladhammer and Michael Wildt (eds.), *Max Brauer im Exil: Briefe und Reden aus den Jahren 1933-1946*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1994), pp. 264-275, p.271.
[143] Jewish Central Information Office (ed.), 'Dokumentensammlung über die Entrechtung, Ächtung und Vernichtung der Juden in Deutschland seit der Regierung Adolf Hitler', (Amsterdam, 1936), pp. 167-178.
[144] On the Jewish Central Information Office, see: Ben Barkow, *Alfred Wiener and the Making of the Holocaust Library*, (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997).
[145] '111 Photographs of German-Jewish War Memorials', in Ben Barkow (ed.), 'Testaments to the Holocaust: Archives of the Wiener Library, London', (Woodbridge, 1998), Microfilm, Reel 71.
[146] 'Gefallene deutsche Juden. Frontbriefe 1914-18', *Prager Presse*, 18/05/1936, Wiener Library, 40/107.
[147] 'Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden', *Die Stunde Wien*, 10/12/1935, Wiener Library, 40/107.

jüdischer Frontsoldaten. It suggested constructing a village in Palestine for the relatives of the German-Jewish fallen to be named "the village of the 12,000." "The names of the 12,000 Jewish German fallen will be buried, not in stone or bronze, but in our living hearts", declared the Austrian-Jewish veterans.[148] Although the RjF rejected the idea of "moving" remembrance to Palestine, the Austrian-Jewish ex-servicemen's suggestion revealed how the German-Jewish fallen began to be connected to other Jewish movements.[149]

The concern of former Austrian-Jewish soldiers with the persecution of their German-Jewish comrades reveals how a closer relationship between all Jewish war veterans developed during the mid 1930s. In 1935, the first world conference of Jewish soldiers was held in Paris, to which veterans from countries as diverse as Egypt, Britain, Australia and the USA attended. Although the RjF chose not to take part in the conference, the delegates in Paris still commemorated the German-Jewish fallen of the First World War. "The Jews of Germany have been robbed of their rights", declared the conference's final resolution, "yet at least 12,000 Jews fell on the field of honour for this land."[150]

Jewish veterans' organisations outside of Germany, then, sought to heighten awareness of their German-Jewish comrades. On Britain's annual Remembrance Day in November 1935, Anglo-Jewish ex-servicemen invited a German-Jewish veteran to march with them. In full military uniform and wearing the Iron Cross, the veteran was a visible reminder of events in Germany.[151] Anglo-Jewish veterans also attempted to steer the British Legion from its policy of reconciliation with German ex-servicemen's groups.[152] After a Legion delegation had visited Germany in 1935, Michael Adler, a senior Jewish military chaplain, complained that the Legion's policy amounted to approval "of the degradation and persecution of German Jewry. The memory of whose 12,000 dead", he continued, "is thus blotted out."[153] Despite such

---

[148] 'Das Dorf der Zwölftausend', *Jüdische Front*, 15/11/1935, p.5.
[149] 'Der "Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten" lehnt ab', *Jüdische Wochenpost*, 22/11/1935, Wiener Library, 40/107.
[150] 'Die Weltkonferenz jüdischer Frontkämpfer', *Jüdische Front*, 01/07/1935, pp. 3-5.
[151] 'The March of the Jewish Ex-Servicemen' *Jewish Chronicle*, 15/11/1935, p.8.
[152] Brian Harding, *Keeping Faith: The History of the Royal British Legion*, (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2001), p.153.
[153] Michael Adler, 'Germany and the Jewish Ex-Soldier', *British Legion Journal*, November 1935, p.195.

protests, the Legion continued to cooperate with German veterans' groups. It even opened a Hamburg branch in 1936.[154] The most direct attempt to draw attention to the German-Jewish war dead, however, was made by Isador Gennett. In 1937, Gennett, a member of the American Jewish War Veterans' organisation placed a wreath for the Jewish war dead at the *Neue Wache* memorial in Berlin. When questioned over his motives, Gennett replied: "There were 12,000 Jews who had laid down their lives for the Fatherland."[155]

From Isolation to Destruction

The protests of commentators and Jewish war veterans' organisations outside of Germany seemed to imply that the German Jews could no longer remember their fallen inside of Germany. The Austro-Jewish war veterans' association, for example, bemoaned that "German Jewry is no longer able to publicly commemorate" its 12,000 fallen.[156] Yet remembrance within Germany did continue. Although the events of 1935 marked a turning point in the Jewish war veterans' position within the Nazi state, the Jewish fallen continued to be honoured, albeit now only by Jews. Nonetheless, the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938 finally brought even this activity to an end. From this point on, German Jews struggled simply to survive in Nazi Germany.

In autumn 1936, Himmler informed the RjF's leadership that they were no longer permitted to use the abbreviated form of their organisation's name, as the letters "RjF" could be confused with the Nazi youth group, *Reichsjugendführung*.[157] The sport group of the RjF in Cologne appeared remarkably unperturbed by this legislation, simply noting that all members were to be issued with a new pin badge with the name "Schild" rather than the abbreviation "RjF". It reassured its members that the new badges would be issued at cost price.[158] In Würzburg, meanwhile, the *Salia* student fraternity also sought to continue its activities despite the Nazis' provocation. When it

[154] 'A New Branch in Germany', *British Legion Journal*, January 1937, p.259.
[155] 'Veteran Honored For Baiting Hitler', *New York Times*, 12/12/1937, p.44.
[156] 'Das Dorf der Zwölftausend', *Jüdische Front*, 15/11/1935, p.5.
[157] Report, Gestapa Berlin, 28/02/1937, in Kulka and Jäckel (eds.), *NS-Stimmungsberichten*, Document Nr.2095.
[158] Westdeutscher Landesverband "Schild", 'Rundschreiben No.19', 07/09/1936, Wiener Library, Nr.609.

was evicted from its clubhouse in late 1935, it arranged for the group's war memorial plaque to be moved to Würzburg's Jewish cemetery.[159]

For many Jews, then, the Nazis' increasingly severe treatment of German Jewry failed to dampen their pride in Jewish wartime sacrifice. This was reflected in the continued importance of remembrance services for the fallen. Jewish communities in most towns still staged memorial services in the spring and autumn to coincide with Germany's national days of remembrance. In Berlin in February 1937, some 2,000 war veterans and their families gathered by the war memorial in the Jewish Weißensee burial ground to remember the fallen.[160] In October of the same year, a similar event in the Hamburg-Ohlsdorf Jewish war cemetery attracted the city's rabbis, as well as Jewish community representatives.[161] New memorials were also constructed. The Dresden branch of the RjF donated a memorial plaque to the Jewish community in March 1936. It was placed in the city's *kleine Synagoge*, where it was to serve as an inspiration for the coming generation.[162] The last Jewish war memorial was erected in the Jewish cemetery in Frankurt (Oder). Containing the names of seventeen fallen, it was dedicated in front of local Jewish dignitaries on 12 September 1937.[163]

There was, however, a noticeable change in the style of Jewish war remembrance conducted during this period. Rather than focusing solely on the loss of the 12,000 Jewish fallen for Germany, their deaths began to be interpreted within a larger narrative of Jewish sacrifice. In February 1937, in Worms, Karl Guggenehim, the president of the town's RjF branch, called on the audience to remember not only the German-Jewish fallen of the First World War, but also "those men and women who lost their lives in building Eretz Israel."[164] This call was echoed in an RjF publication from the same year, which drew a direct line from the biblical heroes to the First World War Jewish soldiers. Over three millennia, wrote Löwenstein in the preface, "a

---

[159] Julius Frank, *Salia: Geschichte und Schicksale, 1924-1949*, (1949), p.10.
[160] 'Gedenkfeier für die Gefallenen', *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin*, 28/02/1937, p.3.
[161] 'Gefallenen-Gedenken', *Der Schild*, 05/11/1937, p.1.
[162] 'Gefallenen-Gedächtnisfeier 1936', *Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, Dresden*, 01/04/1936, p.3.
[163] 'Ehrenmal-Weihe', *Der Schild*, 24/09/1937, p.2.
[164] Karl Guggenheim, 'Toten-Gedenkfeier', 21/02/1937, Wiener Library, 340/W550.

heroic spirit manifested itself, which is passed from generation to generation in the Jewish people."[165] German Zionists also placed greater emphasis on the German-Jewish war dead. The Gestapo in Leipzig reported that during a memorial service held for Joseph Trumpeldor, a Jewish war hero killed in Palestine in 1920, the Zionist organisers connected his death to the 12,000 war dead. From fighting in the First World War, declared the Zionist group, "the fable of Jewish military inferiority was refuted."[166]

During the mid to late 1930s, the RjF also began to strengthen its links with foreign Jewish veterans' associations. In 1936 it asked the Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Legion in London to help with the emigration of German-Jewish veterans and in 1937 it also formed strong bond with various South American Jewish veterans' associations.[167] After the autumn of 1937, the RjF's links with Jewish veterans' associations abroad became increasingly important as Nazi antisemitism radicalised. The regime's plans for territorial expansion led to the imposition of new economic restrictions on German Jews, increased 'Aryanisation' of Jewish businesses and above all more antisemitic violence.[168] A radicalisation in the regime's public representation of the First World War also occurred after 1937. In Hamburg, Ernst Barlach's engraving on the city's war memorial was removed in 1938. According to the building authority, the engraving "in no way depicted the war experience as it had been remembered by the people."[169] Replacing Barlach's representation, a soaring eagle was engraved into the memorial's stone. The reaction of one local architect to the removal of what he termed, a "Jewish Bolshevik art form", confirmed that in the Nazis' racial state, the Jewish fallen played no role.[170]

In 1938, the German-Jewish communities held their final remembrance services for the fallen of the First World War. In Dresden, the ceremony

---

[165] Leo Löwenstein, 'Geleitwort', in Hans Wollenberg (ed.), *Heroische Gestalten Jüdischen Stammes*, (Berlin: Erwin Löwe, 1937), pp. vii-ix, p.viii.
[166] Gestapo Leipzig, 'Ueberwachungsbericht', 14/03/1938, StAL, PP-V, Nr.4498.
[167] Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, p.176; Report, Stapoleitstelle Munich IIP, 01/12/1937, in Kulka and Jäckel (eds.), *NS-Stimmungsberichten*, Document Nr.2302.
[168] Michael Wildt, 'Violence Against Jews in Germany 1933-1939', in David Bankier (ed.), *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews 1933-1941*, (New York: Berghahn, 2000), pp. 181-209, p.191.
[169] Letter, Hochbaudirektion Hamburg, 24/01/1938, StAHH, 321-2, B1956.
[170] Letter, Josef Hoffmann to Karl Kaufmann, 26/01/1938, StAHH, 321-2, B1956.

followed the same format as in previous years. War veterans and the relatives of the fallen filled the synagogue for a memorial service and on the following day they gathered at the memorial in Dresden's Jewish war cemetery to lay commemorative wreathes.[171] The same was true in Berlin, where the attendees at a remembrance service held in March 1938 filled the city's New Synagogue in the *Oranienburgerstraße*.[172] Similarly, the act of remembering the war dead remained important to German Jews in Hamburg, where rabbi Bruno Italiener conducted a memorial service in the *Tempel* synagogue.[173] Italiener also spoke at a synagogue ceremony in nearby Wesermünde-Geestmünde (Bremerhaven), which retained the formality of a military service. The RjF ordered its members to attend wearing "decorations, medals and association pin."[174]

A few months after the German-Jewish communities had staged these final commemorative events, the Nazis unleashed a tremendous wave of violence against the Jews. During the night of 9 November 1938, gangs of Germans led by local SA and Gestapo members destroyed synagogues, ransacked Jewish businesses and looted Jewish homes. In Nazi propaganda, this coordinated wave of violence reflected German anger at the murder of a minor German official in Paris by a young Polish Jew. The synagogues in Berlin, Hamburg and Dresden, in which the communities had recently remembered the sacrifice of their fallen members, who had died fighting for Germany, were now reduced to smouldering rubble. As these buildings burned, so did the war memorial plaques, which festooned the inside of almost every synagogue in Germany. During what became known as the *Kristallnacht* pogrom, local Nazis also arrested all Jewish males, interning them in concentration camps. Those detained were treated horrifically; over one hundred Jews were killed.[175] Although it has been recorded that Göring

---

[171] 'Gefallenen-Ehrung', *Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, Dresden*, 01/04/1938, p.4.
[172] 'Gedächtnisfeiern am letzten Sonntag', *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für Berlin*, 20/03/1938, p.9.
[173] 'Hamburg', *Der Schild*, 18/03/1938, p.3.
[174] Invitation, 'Gefallenengedenkfeier', 13/03/1938, Hartley Archive, MS 184.
[175] Wildt, 'Violence Against Jews', p.204.

ordered the release of all detained Jewish war veterans, it was clear that wartime sacrifice would not protect Jews from further violence.[176]

The *Kristallnacht* pogrom marked a major turning point in life of Jews still in living Nazi Germany. After November 1938, the Jewish press was banned and the major Jewish organisations, including the RjF, were gradually merged into the Reich Association of Jews in Germany (*Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland*), which was a body established on Nazi orders to represent all remaining Jews in Germany. The RjF's dissolution, though, was a drawn out process. In June 1939, the Leipzig branch of the RjF reported that it still had some thirty-five members.[177] It was only in November 1939 that it declared in a letter to the Gestapo that it had brought its local activities to a complete close.[178] In Berlin, the final meeting of the RjF was a dishevelled affair. Leo Löwenstein announced to the few remaining senior members of the Berlin organisation that the group was now dissolved.[179] On 21 July 1939, Löwenstein met with rabbi Leo Baeck to discuss the integration of the RjF into the *Reichsvereinigung*. Baeck and Löwenstein agreed that the RjF would cease to exist by September 1939 at the latest and that the *Reichsvereinigung* would take over the RjF's care of the war wounded and its contacts with foreign Jewish veterans' associations.[180]

During 1939, some of the RjF's former members managed to emigrate abroad. For example, the former leader of the VjF in Hamburg, Siegfried Urias, emigrated to Chile in April 1939.[181] For some veterans, the RjF's contacts with foreign Jewish ex-servicemen's organisations helped to ease their arrival in a strange land. In the USA, the Jewish War Veterans of the United State of America cared for Jewish ex-soldiers arriving from Germany.[182] Similarly, when Rudolf Apt, a Jewish veteran from Dresden, emigrated to London, the RjF sent a letter to the Jewish Ex-Servicemen's

---

[176] Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, p.177.
[177] Letter, RjF Leipzig to Gestapo Leipzig, 30/06/1939, StAL, PP-V, Nr.4508.
[178] Letter, Richard Cohen to Gestapo Leipzig, 02/11/1939, StAL, PP-V, Nr.4508.
[179] Herman Pineas, 'Erinnerungen an den Reichsbund Juedischer Frontsoldaten', 07/10/1978, LBINY, AR94.
[180] Minutes, 'Sitzung des Vorstandes der Reichsvereinigung', 24/07/1939, Wiener Library, Nr.604.
[181] Heiko Morisse, *Jüdische Rechtsanwälte in Hamburg: Ausgrenzung und Verfolgung im NS-Staat*, (Hamburg: Christians, 2003), p.163.
[182] On the Jewish War Veterans in America, see: Gloria Mosesson, *The Jewish War Veterans Story*, (Washington: Jewish War Veterans of the United States, 1971).

Legion asking them to help him with any problems. "Our request and that of our comrade", wrote the RjF, "is not for financial help but merely for spiritual support."[183] The comradeship of the RjF also helped veterans through the difficult experience of emigration. When Alfred Dienemann, a leading member of the veterans' organisation, left for England in 1939, Leo Löwenstein presented him with a personally dedicated copy of the Jewish war letters' collection. "I hope that you continue to support our cause", wrote Löwenstein, "and I wish you and your wife a happy future."[184]

Despite the Nazis' persecution of German Jewry, then, some former Jewish soldiers clearly continued to hold onto their identity as war veterans. Like Alfred Dienemann, other Jewish ex-servicemen took personal objects of remembrance abroad. When the historian Peter Gay's father fled to America in 1939, he packed his war medals among his few belongings. It was only after America's entry into the Second World War that he allowed his medals to be melted down for a new war effort.[185] The Jewish community in Danzig even rescued its own site of remembrance. In spring 1939, it negotiated with local Nazis to sell its assets to the New York Jewish Theological Seminary to help fund emigration. Packed among the ten boxes of valuables belonging to the community was the large solid stone war memorial plaque that had once hung in Danzig's *Große Synagoge*.[186]

After being forced to flee friends, family and their homeland, many German-Jewish veterans even began to remember the war dead from abroad. Jewish Refugees in Shanghai formed an ex-servicemen's organisation and in America, former German-Jewish soldiers founded an association of 'Immigrant Jewish War Veterans' (IJWV) in the late 1930s.[187] It offered help and advice to new Jewish refugees and staged remembrance services to commemorate the First World War fallen.[188] In Britain, meanwhile, German-

---

[183] Letter, RjF Bundesleitung to Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Legion, 17/03/1939, LBI JMB, MF486.
[184] Leo Löwenstein, book dedication note, 18/04/1939, in the Wiener Library's copy of: Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Deutsche Juden*, (Berlin: Vortrupp, 1935),
[185] Gay, *My German Question*, p.61.
[186] Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson, 'Preface', in Vivian Mann (ed.), *Danzig 1939: Treasures of a Destroyed Community*, (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1980), pp. 9-10, p.9.
[187] 'Uns wird geschrieben', *Aufbau*, 01/08/1939, p.18.
[188] 'Gefallenen-Gedenkfeier mit Totenehrung', *Aufbau*, 15/11/1939, p.27.

Jewish ex-servicemen took part in remembrance services with the Anglo-Jewish veterans of the British Legion. At a remembrance service held in January 1939 in Manchester, a group of German-Jewish ex-servicemen laid a wreath on the city's cenotaph. "Practically every man was wearing German war decorations", reported the *British Legion Journal*.[189]

However, although veterans maintained the remembrance of the German-Jewish First World War dead from abroad, their sacrifice was increasingly viewed in terms of contemporary German events. After Manchester's memorial event, the British Legion noted that the service had turned into a "demonstration of sympathy with Jewish comrades [...] in the trying time their race is experiencing at the present time."[190] From his home in Switzerland, another former German-Jewish war veteran, Julius Marx, used the remembrance of the war dead to bemoan the Nazis' treatment of German Jewry as a whole. In 1939, Marx published his war diaries, dedicating them not only to the 12,000 fallen Jewish soldiers but also to the "suffering of the countless people who the German state is now persecuting."[191]

For those Jews either unable or unwilling to leave Germany, this emphasis on the Jewish fallen did little to ease their suffering. During 1939, the Nazis' persecution of German Jewry intensified. 'Aryanisation' of Jewish property increased and all remaining Jews were gradually concentrated in remaining Jewish homes. In September 1941, Reinhard Heydrich issued a decree stating that Reich Jews had to wear a yellow star to identify their Jewish status. The order also prohibited Jewish veterans from wearing "medals, ribbons and other insignia".[192] From October 1941 all Jews still within Germany, irrespective of their veteran status, faced deportation to the east. Trains departing from Hamburg, Berlin, Cologne, Würzburg, Dresden and cities throughout the Reich now carried war veterans and the families of the fallen on a horrific journey, which for most only ended with their deaths.

Although some former Jewish soldiers, including Leo Löwenstein, were sent to the so-called 'privileged' ghetto at Theresienstadt, most were brutally

---

[189] 'German Jewish Ex-Service Men', *British Legion Journal*, January 1939, p.241.
[190] *Ibid.*
[191] Julius Marx, *Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden*, (Zurich: Die Liga, 1939), p.5.
[192] Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution and Axis Criminality (ed.), *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression: Opinion and Judgement*, Vol. iV, (Washington: US Government Print Office, 1946), pp. 750-751.

murdered. Even at this moment of destruction, though, some recognition of the Jewish veterans' patriotic service for Germany remained. When one thousand Jews from Berlin were murdered in Riga in November 1941, for example, Himmler reacted furiously because the transport had included a number of decorated Jewish war veterans. According to his instructions, the former soldiers should have been sent to Theresienstadt rather than being immediately liquidated.[193] In a separate incident, a member of a German police battalion involved in a massacre of Jews in Poland in July 1942 recalled shooting a decorated veteran from Bremen, who had "begged in vain for mercy."[194] On both of these occasions, the Germans involved in the killing of the Jewish ex-servicemen had recognised the Jews' status as war veterans. While this acknowledgment did nothing to ease the Jewish soldiers' suffering, it showed, nonetheless, that even the perpetrators of the genocide were aware of German Jewry's patriotic sacrifice in the First World War.

The genocide of European Jewry, moreover, did not result in the destruction of all traces of Jewish life. In most German towns and cities, Jewish war memorials appear to have survived the Third Reich, while Jewish names were only obliterated from a small number of non-Jewish memorials. This was largely due to a 1939 ruling from the German Interior Ministry, in which he stated that Jewish war graves within Germany were not subject to racial laws and should be maintained.[195] The cemetery authorities in Hamburg, for example, continued to care for the Jewish war cemetery after the community's members had been sent to their deaths. "After this organisation [*Reichsvereinigung*] was abolished last year", wrote the city's building officer in 1944, "it is necessary to manage the care of these [Jewish] war graves in a different way."[196] Although no mention was made of the reason for this change in circumstances, the authority still believed it important to maintain the graves of the Jewish war dead.

---

[193] Richard Breitman, *Official Secrets: What the Nazis Planned, What the British and Americans Knew*, (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 82-83.
[194] Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, (New York: HarperPerennial, 1993), p.67.
[195] Letter, Direktor des Zentralnachweiseamts für Kriegerverluste und Kriegergräber to Regierungspräsident Hildesheim, 19/06/1940, Stadtarchiv Göttingen, C83, Nr.157.
[196] Letter, Baurat Hamburg to Gartenbauabteilung Altona, 26/05/1944, StAHH, 325-1, Nr. 211.

This peculiar situation, which saw German Jews horrifically murdered but their war graves maintained, reveals much about the remembrance of the Jewish fallen during the Third Reich. Above all, it shows that the Nazis' policy towards the Jewish war dead was formed according to local political circumstances. There was no centrally directed plan to remove all evidence of Jewish wartime sacrifice. Instead local initiatives resulted in the removal of Jewish names from non-Jewish memorials in some areas, while in other places war graves continued to be maintained throughout the Nazi period. The clash between Nazi and conservative myths of the war experience, then, was never resolved. In Heilbronn, for example, the Nazis' interpretation of the war experience dominated and Jewish names were removed, while in Hamburg a conservative understanding of the war persisted, which led the authorities to maintain Jewish war graves.

Conclusion

By the end of the Third Reich, Nazi Germany and its allies had brutally murdered some six million European Jews in the largest scheme of genocide ever committed. However, the physical annihilation of German Jewry, as Dirk Rupnow argues, did not necessarily result in the obliteration of all traces of Jewish history.[197] Indeed, in many places, the sites of remembrance for the Jewish fallen survived Nazism unscathed. Just as it is necessary to acknowledge that the Nazis' antisemitic policies did not result in the destruction of all sites of remembrance, it is also important to recognise the complexities in the process of commemorating Jewish wartime sacrifice during the Third Reich.

When a second wave of war memorial construction occurred across Germany from the end of the 1920s, German Jews found themselves increasingly marginalised. Even on a local level, remembrance became more imbued with aggressive right wing myths of the war. Following the Nazis' seizure of power, these exclusive myths of the First World War experience spread, limiting the space for the remembrance of the Jewish war dead as a

[197] Dirk Rupnow, '"Ihr müßt sein, auch wenn ihr nicht mehr seid": The Jewish Central Museum in Prague and Historical Memory in the Third Reich', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 16 (1) (Spring 2002), pp. 23-53, p.23.

result. Meanwhile, conservative narratives of the war, which generally included the Jewish fallen, were gradually suppressed. German Jews, though, remained loyal to these interpretations of the war. RjF publications from the 1930s, such as the remembrance book and war letters' collection, connected with conservative notions of patriotism and sacrifice, rather than with the Nazis' myths. Their influence, therefore, was limited.

As the Nazis intensified their anti-Jewish measures during the mid 1930s, even the RjF was forced to recognise the futility of seeking an understanding with the Nazi regime. German Jews, nonetheless, continued to remember their fallen, only now solely within the Jewish communities. At the same time, two changes occurred to the process of commemorating the Jewish war dead. First, the sacrifice of the Jewish fallen began to be juxtaposed with the growing persecution of German Jewry, as a means to highlight the depravity of Nazism. Second, remembrance gradually began to move abroad, as some German Jews succeeded in emigrating. Significantly, then, the remembrance of the Jewish fallen did not end with the Jewish Holocaust but continued to exist, in a very different form, outside of Germany.

Chapter 4 – The Post-Holocaust Remembrance of the Jewish World War One Fallen, 1945-1960

Speaking at the 1956 Day of National Mourning (*Volkstrauertag*) in the plenary chamber of the *Bundeshaus* in Bonn, the West German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, mourned those Germans killed in two World Wars. "Our grief is deep and painful", he declared. "Our spirit is pervaded by solemn memories and by solemn admonition." In its emphasis on the horror of war, Adenauer's speech was very different to the heroising of personal sacrifice, which had marked the remembrance process during the interwar years. Yet the Chancellor's focus was only on those "who in both major wars had sacrificed their lives abroad or within Germany."[1] He made no mention of the millions of people brutally murdered as a result of the Nazi regime's racist and militarist policies.

At first glance the absence of the racial and political victims of Nazism from Adenauer's speech appears to add weight to a set of historiographical approaches, which contend that after 1945 Germans maintained a silence towards their recent past. One of the first works to make this assertion appeared in 1967, when Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich argued that West Germans were unable to mourn the Nazi era.[2] A large number of studies have followed the Mitscherlichs' thesis to contend that the German Federal Republic (FRG) in the 1950s was silent about the Nazi past.[3] In the first post-war decade, "the Germans", as Caroline Wiedmer argues, "set about breaking all affective ties to the past, so that what occurred was a collective denial of the period just ended."[4]

Yet Adenauer's 1956 speech on the Day of National Mourning also demonstrates that some public memory of the war years did exist during the 1950s. If West Germans remembered their losses during this period, then there cannot have been a complete silence towards the Nazi era. In rejecting

---

[1] Konrad Adenauer, 'Totenehrung', November 1956, BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.2238.
[2] Alexander Mitscherlich and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens*, (Munich: Piper, [org. 1967] 1977).
[3] Edgar Wolfrum, 'Die beiden Deutschland', in Volkhard Knigge and Norbert Frei (eds.), *Verbrechen erinnern: Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord*, (Munich: Beck, 2002), pp. 133-149, p.136; Ian Buruma, *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*, (London: Vintage, 1994), p.56.
[4] Caroline Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p.80.

the notion that the 1950s were solely a time of repression, more recent studies have explored the ways in which Germans remembered specific aspects of the Nazi past during this period. Continuities of personnel in state organisations or the experience of Prisoners of War and expellees from the East show how the West German public had to confront certain legacies of the war.[5] This engagement, however, was extremely limited. As with the 1956 Day of National Mourning, the emphasis was predominantly on the non-racial victims of Nazism. This has led many historians to conclude that West Germans initially emphasised their own losses over the victims of Nazi persecution.[6] "The past that dominated public discourse in the 1950s", as Robert Moeller contends, "was that of German victims who were neither Communists nor Jews."[7]

While these studies are right to stress West German society's initial marginalisation of the racial crimes committed during the Third Reich, there is a danger of overlooking the limited engagement that did occur. If the 1950s are viewed solely as a time in which German victims of the war were remembered, then it would be possible to conclude that the victims of Nazi persecution were completely absent from public memory. Yet these early years of the FRG, as Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche suggest, "may be much more important than previously thought for molding the memory of war and genocide."[8] Although West Germans' remembrance of the Nazi regime's racial crimes during the 1950s was inadequate, this was not a time of

---

[5] Ulrich Brochhagen, *Nach Nürnberg: Vergangenheitsbewältigung und Westintegration in der Ära Adenauer*, (Berlin: Ullstein, 1999); Robert Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
[6] Sabine Behrenbeck, 'Between Pain and Silence: Remembering the Victims of Violence in Germany after 1949' in Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (eds.), *Life After Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe During the 1940s and 1950s*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 37-64, p.57; Elizabeth Heinemann, 'The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's "Crisis Years" and West German National Identity', *American Historical Review*, 101 (2) (April 1996), pp. 354-395; Michael Hughes, '"Through No Fault of Our Own": West Germans Remember their War Losses', *German History*, 18 (2) (2000), pp. 193-213; Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*, (Munich: Beck, 1996).
[7] Moeller, *War Stories*, p.4.
[8] Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche, 'Introduction: Noises of the Past', in Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche (eds.), *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), pp. 1-21, p.14.

complete silence. The problem facing historians, though, has been how and where to uncover these small traces of German memory.[9]

One area in which it is possible to discover these memory traces is in the post-war remembrance of the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War. After 1945, the Jewish war dead were gradually returned to German narratives of wartime loss and suffering that began to be formed in occupied Germany. Wreaths were again laid on some Jewish war memorials and in Hamburg the city authorities began to contribute funds for the upkeep of Jewish war graves.[10] The Jewish First World War fallen who had died in a conventional war fighting for Germany, therefore, were more deeply integrated into Germany's post-war memorial culture than the six million European Jews who had been murdered in the Nazi regime's war of racial annihilation. However, although West Germans initially viewed the Jewish war dead through the prism of First World War remembrance activity, in the 1950s this changed. Instead, the war dead increasingly came to be entangled in a convoluted and complicated narrative of Nazi persecution, which slowly began to emerge during the first post-war decades.

This chapter argues that the entwinement of the German-Jewish war dead with the Jewish victims of the Final Solution forced Germans to confront, in an extremely limited way, aspects of their Nazi past. In the immediate post-war years, Jewish survivors of the Holocaust began to restore First World War sites of remembrance. This process proved important for ensuring the physical integrity of these sites but also for securing spaces of Jewish / non-Jewish engagement. Following their restoration, as the second section argues, Jews and non-Jews attempted to ascribe the restored memorial sites with meaning. This difficult task often led to the layering of different memory strands. While German Jews began to use First World War memorials to remember the Jewish victims of Nazism, non-Jewish Germans generally continued to view these purely as sites of remembrance for the fallen soldiers.

When the two German states were formed in 1949, the FRG attempted to establish its own remembrance calendar. The victim groups included in its early memorial culture, as the third section contends, were largely the non-

[9] Confino and Fritzsche, 'Introduction: Noises of the Past', p.14.
[10] Report, Baubehörde Garten- und Friedhofsamt, 27/05/1953, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.5558.

racial victims of Nazism. Yet in many areas, the Jewish war dead were included in this remembrance activity along with the other fallen soldiers of the First World War. The fourth section explores how at the same time on a national level the deaths of the Jewish soldiers began to be gradually drawn into a pre-history of the Holocaust. Jewish research projects and the pronouncements of some German politicians related Jewish sacrifice in the First World War to Jewish persecution during the Third Reich. The final part of the chapter explores how the entanglement of these two distinct Jewish victim groups on a national level and the continued public presence of the Jewish fallen in the FRG's remembrance calendar on a local level led some Germans to confront the Nazi regime's crimes through the Jewish soldiers of the First World War.

Restoration in a Landscape of Destruction

Nazi Germany's total defeat in May 1945 marked the end of almost six years of horrific violence, bitter fighting and genocide. An incalculable number of people, both soldiers and civilians, had been killed in the Second World War including almost six million European Jews brutally murdered in the Nazi regime's schemes of racial cleansing. At the war's end the German urban landscape had been reduced to rubble. "In Berlin", observed one visitor to Germany in 1946, "many an outer wall of a burnt-out building has been left in a precarious state [so that] when strong winds blow many accidents occur through brickwork collapsing onto the roads."[11] In the ruins of the bombed out cites, Germans struggled to survive. Food was in short supply and during the severe winter of 1946-1947 the population struggled to heat the frozen remains of their homes.

Yet amid these scenes of death and destruction certain communities of remembrance and many memorial sites for the Jewish war dead of the First World War survived. First, some of the estimated 80,000 German-Jewish survivors of the Nazis' genocide returned to rebuild their former communities,

[11] Louis Bondy, *Report on a Recent Journey to Germany*, (London: Wiener Library, 1946), pp. 1-2.

including a number of war veterans.[12] Second, in many towns and cities Jewish war memorials, though often badly neglected, survived wartime destruction in Jewish burial grounds. Third, the names of Jewish soldiers remained on most non-Jewish war memorials. To others they were returned soon after the war's end. This section explores how in the collapsed post-war society the sites of First World War remembrance began to be restored. On occasion local Germans assisted Jews in this process, though reconciliation was rarely a motivating factor. Indeed during this early post-war period, Germans revealed little recognition for Jewish suffering or their own role in the Nazis' racial crimes.

In June 1945, some 90,000 Jewish survivors of the Nazis' Final Solution were living in the western zones of Germany in two distinct spheres.[13] The largest of these groups comprised of Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs) from Eastern Europe. Traumatised by the Holocaust and unwilling or unable to return to their old homelands, most hoped to emigrate either to the USA or to a future Israeli state. While waiting for the opportunity to leave Germany, most Jewish DPs lived in Allied administered holding camps, situated mainly in the American occupation zone.[14] German-Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, meanwhile, formed a second much smaller sphere of Jewish life. This group of German Jews, together with some Jewish DPs who remained in Germany, doggedly sought to rebuild the destroyed Jewish communities. Cologne's Jewish community was the first to be officially reconstituted in April 1945.[15] A Berlin Jewish community restarted its communal activities in July 1945, while in Hamburg the city's Jewish community was formally re-established in September 1945.[16]

---

[12] Hagit Lavsky, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945-1950*, (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2002), p.21.
[13] Lavsky, *New Beginnings*, pp. 27-28.
[14] On the Jewish DPs, see: Angelika Königseder and Juliane Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal: Die jüdischen DPs im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1994); Zeev Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2002); Angelika Eder, *Flüchtige Heimat: jüdische Displaced Persons in Landsberg am Lech 1945 bis 1950*, (Munich: Kommissionsverlag, 1998).
[15] Jay Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany, 1945-1953*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), p.18; 'Starting Life Afresh', *Jewish Chronicle*, 03/08/1945, p.8.
[16] Ina Lorenz, *Gehen oder Bleiben: Neuanfang der Jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg nach 1945*, (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2002), p.22.

The reformed German-Jewish communities were far smaller in size and lacked the vibrancy of their predecessors. In 1947, the communities in Würzburg and Dresden had less than 200 members each, while only 800 Jews returned to Cologne.[17] Most of the Jews who returned to Germany had survived the war in mixed marriages. 70 percent of married Jews in Hamburg, for example, had a non-Jewish partner.[18] Because the remainder were either too sick or too old to leave, many contemporary observers believed that Jewish life had no long-term future in Germany. "The remnants of German Jewry", as one Jewish refugee newspaper predicted, "will, in a few years, either have emigrated or died."[19] This remains the dominant view in much of the historiography, which tends to portray the reformed Jewish communities as purely transitional, isolated from both the German population and the wider Jewish world.[20]

This demographic profile, however, was also significant for ensuring continuity between the pre-war and reformed German-Jewish communities. Because of the relatively high age of the first generation of post-war German Jews, many had fought for Germany in the First World War. Karl Marx, the founder of the most important post-war Jewish newspaper, the *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für Nord-Rheinprovinz und Westfalen*, for example, had won the Iron Cross II Class in the war.[21] Hans Grabowski, the chairman of Herford's Jewish community, had also fought and been wounded in the war, while Harry Goldstein, one of the leading figures of Hamburg's Jewish community, had also served at the front.[22] Goldstein even cited his war experience, when asked why he chose to return to Hamburg. "At the end of

---

[17] Note, Rose Henriques, 05/05/1947, Wiener Library, in Ben Barkow (ed.), 'Testaments to the Holocaust: Henriques Archive from the Wiener Library, London', (Reading: 2000), Microfilm, Reel 20.
[18] Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p.43.
[19] 'With the Jews in Germany', *AJR-Information*, February 1946, p.1.
[20] Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, pp. 66-68; Monika Richarz, 'Jews in Today's Germanies', *LBIYB*, 30 (1985), pp. 265-274, p.272.
[21] Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*, p.47.
[22] 'Ein Leben der Tat. Dem Andenken Hans Grabowskis', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 14/08/1959, p.12.

the day it is my homeland (*Heimat*)", asserted Goldstein. "I was a soldier for four-years in the First World War."[23]

Besides the return of a number of Jewish veterans, the survival of a large number of Jewish memorial sites also helped to maintain a connection to the First World War fallen. A large memorial plaque listing the names of Stuttgart's Jewish war dead still stood in the remains of the city's synagogue, while in Hamburg the Jewish war memorial in the Ohlsdorf cemetery remained in a good condition.[24] When A.Y. Greenbaum, an Anglo-Jewish aid worker, visited the burial ground in August 1945, he discovered that in comparison to the civilian graves, which were "in a very bad state", the war cemetery was "the only part in decent shape."[25] This was due to the city authorities' continual maintenance of these graves during the war years.[26]

Where Jewish war memorials and graves were badly neglected or damaged, the reformed Jewish communities often arranged for their repair, as they sought to re-establish some form of Jewish life. Indeed, Jewish cemeteries, which in Jewish tradition symbolise the permanence of a community, were generally the first communal sites to be repaired.[27] In Hamburg, for instance, the restoration of the Jewish Ohlsdorf burial ground was started in July 1945, when returning Jews complained to the British military government about its neglected state.[28] After visiting the cemetery themselves, the city authorities agreed to contribute an initial 200,000 RM to make good the damage.[29] As the war graves had been inspected during the authorities' visit, these funds must have also included the section containing the First World War memorial. This was also the case in Cologne, where the

---

[23] Uwe Lohalm (ed.), *"Schließlich ist es meine Heimat..." Harry Goldstein und die Jüdische Gemeinde in Hamburg in persönlichen Dokumenten und Fotos*, (Hamburg: Ergebnisse, 2002), p.13.
[24] Josef Warscher, 'The Reconstruction of Smaller Communities', in Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 111-113, p.113.
[25] A.Y. Greenbaum, 'Report on Work in Hamburg', 29/08/1945, in Ben Barkow (ed.), 'Testaments to the Holocaust: Henriques Archive from the Wiener Library, London', (Reading: 2000), Microfilm, Reel 24.
[26] Report, Bauverwaltung Garten- und Friedhofsamt, 06/08/1945, StAHH, 325-1, Nr.278.
[27] Jael Geis, *Übrig sein – Leben "danach": Juden deutscher Herkunft in der britischen und amerikanischen Zone Deutschlands 1945-1949*, (Berlin: Philo, 1999), p.160.
[28] Minutes, '22nd Burgomaster's Conference', 23/07/1945, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.2807.
[29] Report, Bauverwaltung Garten- und Friedhofsamt, 06/08/1945, StAHH, 325-1, Nr.278.

area around the RjF's war memorial in the Jewish Bocklemünd cemetery was repaired in 1946.[30]

The continued existence of Jewish names on non-Jewish First World War memorials provided a further connection to the sacrifice of Jewish soldiers. On the vast majority of German war memorials, the names of the Jewish war dead remained. In Heilbronn, moreover, where local NSDAP members had 'Aryanised' the town's central war memorial during the late 1930s, the town authorities even arranged for its restoration. In November 1945, Heilbronn's mayor, Emil Beutinger, informed the American occupation forces that local Nazis had removed the Jewish names from the town's main war memorial.[31] On learning of this damage, the American military government instructed Beutinger to rectify the damage. "To offset this discrimination", ordered the military commanders, "you are directed to have these names restored to the monument."[32] In July 1946, this was finally accomplished.[33] As no Jewish survivors returned to the town, what prompted the authorities in Heilbronn to act to restore the names of the Jewish fallen to the war memorial?

The town authorities described the restoration of the memorial as an important act of reconciliation with the Jews. In an article written to announce the completion of the work, they stressed that the Nazis' crimes had been reversed. "The Jewish names, which were removed on the orders of the Nazi government," wrote the city authorities, "have been chiselled back and the disgraceful actions of that time eradicated."[34] Although Heilbronn's city authorities portrayed this as an act of restitution, the continued neglect of other Jewish sites in the town suggested that reconciliation was not the primary reason for the memorial's restoration. The Jewish burial ground

---

[30] 'Die jüdische Gemeinde Köln', *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die Nord-Rheinprovinz und Westfalen*, 25/10/1946, p.9.
[31] Report, Emil Beutinger, 14/11/1945, StadtA HN, B39, Nr.187.
[32] Letter, Harry Montgomery to Emil Beutinger, 19/11/1945, StadtA HN, B39, Nr.187.
[33] Letter, Hochbauamt Heilbronn to Oberbürgermeister Heilbronn, 05/07/1946, StadtA HN, ZS1320,1B.
[34] Letter, Oberbürgermeister Heilbronn to *Heilbronner Stimme*, 15/07/1946, StadtA HN, B39, Nr.187.

remained in an appalling state of repair, for example, while the town authorities made no effort to restore Heilbronn's ruined synagogue.[35]

Rather than viewing the restoration of the memorial as an act of reconciliation, therefore, it is necessary to consider it within local political and ideological contexts. When mayor Beutinger informed the American military government that the Jewish names had been removed, he stressed the perpetrators by name. "On the memorial for the fallen of the World War 1914-1918 [...] Heilbronn's Nazis – district leader (*Kreisleiter*) Drauz, mayor Kölle and comrades – had the names of the fallen Jews etched out."[36] His emphasis on the perpetrators suggested that this was also an act of personal revenge. Beutinger, who had served as town mayor during the Weimar Republic, had been forced into retirement in July 1933, when Richard Drauz and Heinrich Kölle had conspired against him.[37] Beutinger's actions, therefore, served to implicate his predecessors while disassociating himself from the Nazis' crimes.

By choosing to confront the town's Nazi leadership through a site of Jewish persecution, moreover, Beutinger's actions seemed to reveal an underlying philosemitic attitude. This, as Frank Stern argues, was the notion that the public's behaviour towards the Jews could demonstrate the Germans' democratic convictions.[38] Yet it would be too simplistic to bracket this incident as merely an example of post-war philosemitism. For in post-war Germany, as Anthony Kauders suggests, philosemitic statements were rarely to be found.[39] Instead, Beutinger's decision to restore the town's war memorial as opposed to a specifically Jewish site, such as the synagogue, needs to be viewed within the context of longer traditions of wartime remembrance. This incident revealed the continuation of a national conservative notion of patriotism, in which all those who had given their lives for Germany, whether Jew or non-

---

[35] On the condition of the Jewish First World War memorial, see: Note, Liegenschaftsamt to Friedhofverwaltung Heilbronn, 21/09/1951, StadtA HN, Friedhofsamt (uncatalogued).
[36] Report, Mayor Beutinger, 14/11/1945, StadtA HN, B39, Nr.187.
[37] Susanne Schlösser, 'Die Heilbronner NSDAP und ihre "Führer"', in Christard Schrenk and Peter Waner (eds.), *Heilbronnica 2: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*, (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 2003), pp. 281-318, p.288.
[38] Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*, (Oxford: Pergamon, 1992), p.93.
[39] Anthony Kauders, 'History as Censure: "Repression" and "Philosemitism" in Postwar Germany', *History & Memory*, 15 (1) (2003), pp. 97-122, p.111.

Jew, should be honoured together. Returning the Jewish names to the war memorial, then, helped to restore a conservative understanding of national sacrifice destroyed by the Nazi regime.

The restoration of the war memorial in Heilbronn and the Jewish First World War burial grounds in Hamburg and Cologne, though, were isolated incidents. In most areas of Germany, the local German authorities made no effort to repair Jewish sites. When the only Jewish survivor to return to Ichenhausen, for example, emigrated to the USA, the Jewish sites were left to decay.[40] In the town's dilapidated synagogue, two First World War memorial plaques still festooned the walls either side of the Holy Ark, but nothing had been done to secure this religious site.[41] The wilful neglect of Jewish property was compounded by a renewed wave of cemetery desecrations across Germany. In May 1948, for instance, a war memorial in Warburg's Jewish cemetery was desecrated with rubbish and rubble, while two months later the headstone for an Anglo-Jewish soldier was ripped from the ground in Cologne.[42] Although some Jewish sites of wartime remembrance were restored during the immediate post-war period, the wilful neglect of many cemeteries revealed this to have been an extremely limited engagement.

The Rededication of the Jewish First World War Remembrance Sites

If the reconstituted Jewish communities could gain the support of the Allies and the local German authorities, then the process of restoring the physical integrity of Jewish First World War graves and memorials was relatively straightforward. However, to re-ascribe these sites with meaning after the experience of genocide and destruction was a far more complicated task. As James Young stresses, memorials cannot project their own meaning. Rather it is the interaction of individuals and groups with these sites that helps to

[40] Note, Bayer. Staatsministerium des Innern to Jewish Relief Unit, 02/07/1947, in Ben Barkow (ed.), 'Testaments to the Holocaust: Henriques Archive from the Wiener Library, London', (Reading: 2000), Microfilm, Reel 25.
[41] 'Lebendige Vergangenheit', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 24/11/1950, p.11.
[42] 'Kampf gegen Gräber', *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die Britische Zone*, 22/05/1948, p.4; 'In Köln-Deutz', *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die Nord-Rheinprovinz und Westfalen*, 28/07/1948, p.5.

invest them with a form of memory.[43] During the immediate post-war years, Jews, both inside and outside of Germany, and non-Jewish Germans began to impose their own meaning onto the surviving sites of remembrance. Despite these new interpretations, the First World War dead remained the central point of reference in these memorial sites.

The Jewish DPs, who mainly originated from Eastern Europe, had little personal connection to the German-Jewish war experience. If they had fought in the First World War, then most likely this would have been for either Austria-Hungary or Russia. The DPs and the foreign aid workers administering the DP camps, therefore, approached these First World War sites from the perspective of an outsider. Oscar Mintzer, a legal expert with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, for example, recorded the condition of Jewish sites in letters to his wife. These accounts suggested little attachment to the objects he discovered. When he came across a vandalised Jewish war memorial near Verdun, he stated plainly and without any sentiment that the Nazis had filled the inscription with cement. For Mintzer, the damaged Jewish memorials and cemeteries were merely a small part of a much larger scene of devastation. "The sense of recurrent misfortune, as we went through those torn towns and broken homes", he wrote, "was terrific."[44]

Their removal from interwar German-Jewish life made it easy for the DPs to impose their own ideological beliefs onto the existing First World War remembrance sites. At the centre of the DPs' ideology was the notion of Jewish solidarity. Whether they had been "heroes of the First World War" or "manual labourers", as one DP spokesman remarked, was now secondary to Jewish unity.[45] In articles on the history of Jews in Frankfurt and Berlin, the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau* framed the city's Jewish war memorials within this ideology. It juxtaposed images of ruined synagogues and vandalised cemeteries with photographs of Jewish remembrance sites.[46] By emphasising

---

[43] James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p.2.
[44] Letter, Oscar Mintzer, 31/10/1945, in Alex Grobman (ed.), *The Letters and Documents of Oscar Mintzer, AJDC Legal Advisor, Germany, 1945-46*, (Berkley: Judah Magnes Museum, 1999), pp. 35-37.
[45] Samuel Gringauz, 'Jewish Destiny as the DP's see it', *Commentary*, December 1947, pp. 501-509, p.503.
[46] 'Frankfurter Impressionen', *Jüdische Rundschau Illustrierte Zeitschrift*, March 1947, pp. 15-19; 'Berlin', *Jüdische Rundschau Illustrierte Zeitschrift*, October 1947, pp. 18-23.

the high levels of Jewish wartime sacrifice for Germany alongside the destruction of Jewish life, the articles sought to stress the detachment, rather than the attachment, of Jews to Germany. For the *Jüdische Rundschau*, then, First World War memorials represented part of a dead Jewish world that had to be abandoned for a new life in a future Jewish state.

For German Jews, though, it was far more difficult to ascribe a new meaning to sites of First World War remembrance already invested with personal memory. Certainly, some Jewish veterans of the First World War attempted to move beyond the war experience and now dismissed any commemoration of the war. Peter Gay's father, of course, allowed his war medals to be smelted down during the Second World War for the new war effort.[47] In Berlin, meanwhile, Ludwig Lewy viewed the rows of Jewish war graves in the Weißensee cemetery with deep regret and criticised those Jews, who "were blinded by the emotion of their time."[48] Yet by making such statements they demonstrated that their experience of the First World War continued to play a role in their lives even after the destruction and genocide of the Second World War.

Many German-Jewish veterans, however, evinced little wish to put their First World War experience behind them. Incredibly, they continued to remember the Jewish soldiers who had died fighting for Germany in the First World War. In New York, the German-Jewish Immigrant Jewish War Veterans (IJWV) association held an annual remembrance service at which it remembered the dead of both World Wars and the victims of Nazism.[49] This continued practice of remembering the Jewish war dead partly reflected a wish to maintain the bonds of community originally forged by the RjF. "The 'IJWV' have become a centre of our old comrades from Europe", noted the association. "Without our organization, there would be no connection between them at all."[50] Although the IJWV maintained friendly relations with its American-Jewish counterpart, the strength of its internal bonds forged by the

[47] Peter Gay, *My German Question: Growing Up in Nazi Berlin*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p.61.
[48] 'Der gute Ort', *Der Weg*, 22/07/1949, p.5.
[49] 'Gedächtnisfeier der Immigrant Jewish War Veterans', *Aufbau*, 09/11/1945, p.11.
[50] Leaflet, Immigrant Jewish War Veterans, 1948, LBINY, AR7039.

First World War, as one commentator observed, precluded any form of outright affiliation with the American-Jewish ex-servicemen.[51]

By continuing to commemorate the First World War fallen in annual ceremonies, moreover, the German-Jewish veterans also revealed a lasting need to mourn the Jewish war dead. Max Wetzler, a former RjF member, expressed this desire in an article for the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*. Wetzler stressed that his purpose was not to remember the brutal crimes committed by the German people, but rather to renew the memory of his former comrades from the First World War. "This memory", wrote Wetzler, "will remain sacred to us way into the distant future."[52] This need to mourn can also be observed in the remaining sites of remembrance within Germany. Irma Sänger a former Jewish resident of Heilbronn who now lived in New York, for example, asked Heilbronn's mayor to arrange for her brother's name to be added to her father's gravestone in the town's Jewish cemetery. Sänger's brother "had fallen for Germany on 1 November 1914" but his remains had never been recovered. By adding his name to an existing gravestone, she hoped to create a site of mourning, which her relatives could later visit.[53]

Although the war dead remained the main group commemorated in these sites, the Jewish victims of Nazism were also mourned alongside the First World War fallen. This change had started in the mid to late 1930s, when the remembrance of the Jewish war dead was used to highlight their persecution in Nazi Germany. After 1945, the IJWV's remembrance services in New York included those murdered during the Third Reich, while in Heilbronn, Sänger's letter framed her brother's wartime death with the experience of genocide. Adding her brother's name to the grave, wrote Sänger, "would be a decent act of friendship" that would prove "to the Jews here" your intention of rebuilding good relations.[54] Without displacing the First World War fallen, then, the victims of the Nazis' racial crimes began to

---

[51] Ernest Stock, 'Washington Heights' "Fourth Reich"', *Commentary*, June 1951, pp. 581-588, p.587.
[52] 'Zur Erinnerung an den Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 08/07/1949, p.14.
[53] Letter, Sänger Bauer to Oberbürgermeister Heilbronn, 12/02/1950, StadtA HN, Friedhofsamt (uncatalogued).
[54] *Ibid.*

constitute a new layer of memory in the existing remembrance sites. This process of layering, as Jan Assmann suggests, works by reconstructing or relating "immovable figures of memory" to the contemporary situation.[55]

Figure 15. Würzburg Holocaust Memorial within the original First World War site, 1945 (Photograph, 2004).[56]

In some cities this new layer of memory took the form of a physical addition to the First World War sites of remembrance. In November 1945, for instance, returning Jews to Würzburg dedicated a new memorial to the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution in the city's Jewish cemetery.[57] They erected this new site of remembrance in a central space between the two parts of the existing war memorial (see figure 15). The German-Jewish community in Nuremberg, meanwhile, listed the names of those Nuremberg Jews murdered

[55] Jan Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring-Summer 1995), pp. 125-133, p.130.
[56] Photograph in possession of the author.
[57] Roland Flade, *Die Würzburger Juden: Ihre Geschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, (Würzburg: Stürz, 1987), p.398.

by the Nazis on a parchment, which they then placed in a copper canister and sealed in the base of the city's Jewish war memorial. Speaking at the memorial's dedication service, the community's chairman, Julius Nürnberger, made a clear connection between the two victim groups. "The previous regime", lamented Nürnberger, "hunted those, whose fathers, brothers and sons gave their lives for Germany in the First World War."[58]

In other Jewish communities a connection between the First World War dead and the victims of Nazi persecution, although less obvious, could still be evinced. The Jewish communities in Dresden and Cologne, for instance, constructed new memorials for the Jewish victims of Nazism, which they placed in a direct line to the existing First World War sites of remembrance. In 1947, Leon Löwenkopf, a post-war leader of Dresden's Jewish community, received permission from the governing authorities to erect a Holocaust memorial in the city's Jewish cemetery. "We are planning to construct this memorial exactly like the memorial for the war dead," noted Löwenkopf, "and to place it on the left side of the cemetery vis-à-vis the other memorial."[59] Similarly, a memorial for the Jewish victims of Nazism erected in Cologne's Jewish cemetery in June 1948 overlooked the RjF's remembrance site erected in 1934.[60]

The juxtaposition of Jewish First World War sacrifice and Second World War victimhood suggested an attempt to establish the Germanness of the Nazis' Jewish victims. If the Jews murdered during the Third Reich could be portrayed as patriotic Germans, then it became easier for the surviving Jews to stress the enormity of their losses to non-Jewish Germans. Photographs of First World War memorials published alongside Holocaust memorials in the leading German-Jewish post-war newspaper, *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*, helped to ground the victims of Nazism in a long history of sacrifice for Germany.[61] Despite this clear connection between the Jewish First World War and the Holocaust dead, though, the fallen were still viewed primarily as the victims of a conventional war. When a memorial plaque to the

---

[58] 'Gedenktafelenthüllung in Nürnberg', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 09/09/1949, p.11.
[59] Letter, Leon Löwenkopf to Rudolf Apt, 20/04/1947, LBI JMB, MF486.
[60] 'Erinnerung – Wegweiser in die Zukunft', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 11/11/1949, p.1.
[61] *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt. Die Zeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 01/10/1948, p.13.

Holocaust was added to the Jewish war memorial in Sobernheim, for example, the two groups of dead remained separate. Guests were invited firstly to the "dedication of the restored memorial plaque for the Jewish fallen of the First World War" and secondly to the "unveiling of the memorial for the community members killed in 1933/45."[62]

The use of existing First World War memorials to mourn the racial victims of Nazism, then, did not replace the memory of the war dead. Indeed, in many ways the decision to rededicate these sites was purely pragmatic. Faced with financial constraints and shortages in building materials, it was, of course, easier for the German-Jewish communities to use an existing site of mourning than to construct a new memorial. Finding structures and sites in which it was possible to somehow remember the victims of Nazi persecution was also a difficult task. Accordingly the use of existing remembrance forms, whether physical sites or commemorative rituals, to mourn the victims of Nazism was widespread during the immediate post-war years.[63]

In the devastated landscape of post-war Germany, non-Jewish Germans also struggled to find a language to make sense of the enormity of loss and destruction. For many Germans, Christian liturgy, with its own memorial calendar, provided a familiar and comforting framework for mourning their losses. In November 1945, Hamburg's city authorities returned to the Protestant *Totensonntag* (Day of the Dead) for the basis of the city's first official remembrance day for those killed in the last war.[64] The choice of day revealed continuities between interwar and post-war commemorative practice. Although this remembrance event was staged on a Christian festival, its timing bespoke an attempt to recreate the Weimar Republic's annual Day of National Mourning, which had originally been commemorated in late November. Indeed, in the weeks leading up to the city's first remembrance event in November 1945, the Senate's lawyer received a report outlining the format of the pre-1933 Day of National Mourning. It described in detail the

---

[62] Invitation, Sobernheim Memorial Dedication, 15/10/1950, BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.2084.
[63] Insa Eschebach, *Öffentliches Gedenken: Deutsche Erinnerungskulturen seit der Weimarer Republik*, (Frankfurt: Campus, 2005), p.109.
[64] Minutes, '57th Conference with the Burgomaster Hansestadt HAMBURG', 23/11/1945, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.2807.

procedure of laying wreaths embellished with the Senate's ribbon on sites in the city and in the Ohlsdorf burial ground.[65]

When the *Totensonntag* remembrance services were held in late November, they adhered closely to the format outlined in the Hamburg Senate's report. For the German war dead, the city mayor laid wreaths at Hamburg's central war memorial near the town hall and in the Ohlsdorf German war cemetery. In the main Ohlsdorf cemetery, he also honoured the Russian and British war cemeteries, the mass graves for those killed as a result of wartime bombing and an area of the burial ground containing the remains of concentration camp victims. Finally, the mayor placed a wreath on the Jewish First World War memorial in the Jewish section of the Ohlsdorf cemetery.[66] For the remainder of the decade, this procedure was repeated annually. This ensured that the Jewish war dead were a part of the city's first official post-war remembrance activity.[67]

In the chaos of the late 1940s, then, the dead of both the First World War and the Second World War were remembered on a variety of days and at a variety of sites. In Hamburg, *Totensonntag* services were staged annually for all of the city's dead, including the Jewish First World War fallen and the victims of Nazi persecution. Each September, the main group representing those persecuted, the VVN (*Verein der Verfolgten des Nazi-Regimes*), which communists had founded at the end of the war, also remembered the victims of Nazism in remembrance services that were again held in Hamburg's main cemetery in Ohlsdorf.[68] Within this complex and disordered emerging remembrance culture, Jewish war memorials were ascribed several different functions. On the re-established *Totensonntag*, non-Jewish Germans used Jewish remembrance sites to remember the Jewish First World War dead, while for the reformed Jewish communities the memorials offered a space in which to mourn those Jews murdered during the Third Reich.

---

[65] Report, to Dr. Sieveking, 15/11/1945, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.4634.
[66] Letter, Bürgermeisteramt Hamburg to Garten und Friedhofsamt, 21/11/1945, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.4634.
[67] See minutes from 18/11/1947, 21/11/1948, 20/11/1949, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.4634.
[68] Wolf-Dietrich Schmidt, 'Wir sind die Verfolgten geblieben': Zur Geschichte der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN) in Hamburg, 1945-1951', in Jörg Berlin (ed.), *Das andere Hamburg: Freiheitliche Bestrebungen in der Hansestadt seit dem Spätmittelalter*, (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1981), pp. 329-356.

From the Local to the National

In the summer of 1949, the three western zones of occupation were merged into the Federal Republic. Soon after, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was formed from the Soviet occupation zone. When West Germany's Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, opened the newly elected Federal parliament in September 1949, the suffering of the Jews and the crimes of the Third Reich were only briefly discussed. In one short sentence, Adenauer condemned the persistence of antisemitic attitudes. Yet he made no mention of his country's central role in the persecution of European Jewry during the Third Reich.[69] For many historians, Adenauer's opening address represented an attempt by West Germany's new leaders to draw a line under the Nazi past.[70] Certainly the formation of the two German states affected how Germans responded to their recent past. This, though, did not represent a complete silence towards German Jews. In the FRG's developing memorial culture, the 12,000 Jewish war dead were a part of the almost two million German fallen of the First World War that were remembered alongside the German victims of the Second World War. At the very least, then, West Germans remembered the suffering of a small group of German Jews during this period.

With the formation of the GDR, it becomes increasingly difficult to trace the memory of the Jewish First World War fallen in the eastern half of Germany. There are two reasons for this. First, unlike in the west, the ruling SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*) communist party in the GDR viewed the First World War as an imperialist war of aggression. Its rejection of the war ensured that in the GDR all of the fallen, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, occupied only a small place in the state's official memorial culture.[71]

---

[69] Konrad Adenauer, 'Erste Regierungserklärung', 20/09/1949, in Hans-Peter Schwarz (ed.), *Konrad Adenauer: Reden 1917-1967. Eine Auswahl*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1975), pp. 153-169.

[70] Frank Stern, 'The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans and Jews in Postwar Germany', in Robert Moeller (ed.), *West Germany Under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 199-229, p.226; Moeller, *War Stories*, p.21.

[71] An example of the SED's neglect of the First World War fallen is outlined in: Dieter Hübener, '"Den 1914-1918 gefallenen Söhnen gewidmet..." Döbern, Peitz und Oranienburg als Fallbeispiele für die Gefallenenehrung in Brandenburg', in Dieter Hübener, Kristina

Second, the reformed Jewish communities in East Germany were small in size and had an even weaker public presence than the western communities.[72] Between 1952 and 1953, this fragility was compounded further when under the onset of the Cold War the SED began a purge of high-ranking Jewish officials. The SED viewed their supposed "cosmopolitanism" as a political liability.[73] As a result, Jewish remembrance practices were dissipated, as many Jewish communists were arrested or forced to flee. Leon Löwenkopf, for instance, who had championed the construction of a new Jewish memorial in Dresden along the lines of the existing First World War remembrance site, was arrested.[74]

In the western zones, meanwhile, the currency reform of June 1948, followed by the establishment of the FRG soon after, brought about a significant change in people's everyday lives. The seeds of economic recovery replaced the terrible shortages of the immediate post-war years. Looking back at the city authority's achievements during 1950, Hamburg's mayor, Max Brauer (SPD), was able to cite the construction of new housing, the reopening of schools and the creation of new jobs. The victims of fascism and the reconstituted Jewish community, though, were absent from Brauer's speech.[75] In many ways, the reconstruction of West German society increased the neglect of the remaining Jewish religious sites. In some cities where no Jewish community was reformed, some communal property was even demolished or put to a different use during the 1950s.[76] In Ichenhausen, for example, the First World War memorial plaques were removed from the

---

Hübener and Julius Schoeps (eds.), *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg: Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart*, (Berlin: be.bra, 2003), pp. 185-202, p.189.

[72] On the fluctuating size of the GDR's Jewish communities, see: Lothar Mertens, 'Schwieriger Neubeginn. Die Jüdischen Gemeinden in der SBZ/DDR bis 1952/53', in Julius Schoeps (ed.), *Leben im Land der Täter: Juden im Nachkriegsdeutschland (1945-1952)*, (Berlin: Jüdische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), pp. 171-188.

[73] On the SED's Jewish purge of 1952-1953, see: Mario Keßler, *Die SED und die Juden – zwischen Repression und Toleranz: Politische Entwicklungen bis 1967*, (Berlin: Akademie, 1995), pp. 85-99.

[74] Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*, p.174.

[75] Max Brauer, 'Es ging aufwärts. Ergebnisse des Jahres 1950 in Hamburg', 1950, PRO, FO371, Nr.93350.

[76] On the neglect of Essen's synagogue, see: Edna Brocke, 'Die Alte Synagoge in Essen', in Dirk Blasius and Dan Diner (eds.), *Zerbrochene Geschichte: Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991), pp. 187-200.

remains of the town's synagogue and the building was converted into a fire station.[77]

The neglect of Jewish sites on a local level also reflected the Federal government's increasing role in the process of Jewish restitution, which tended to remove the onus on town authorities to act. The Federal and *Länder* governments, for example, played an increasing role in the restoration and maintenance of Jewish burial grounds. And in August 1956, the West German cabinet finally agreed to maintain Jewish cemeteries on a permanent basis.[78] More significantly, in September 1951 the West German government announced its intention to negotiate reparations with Israel and with international Jewish groups. The negotiations, which resulted in the 1952 Luxembourg Agreement, provided three billion Marks of compensation to Israel and an additional 450 million for other Jewish organisations.[79]

Several members of Adenauer's cabinet opposed the terms of the Luxembourg Agreement. The Finance Minister, Fritz Schäffer (CDU), and the Labour Minister, Anton Storch (CDU), even abstained from the final cabinet vote on the agreement.[80] In negotiating war pensions for the Jewish soldiers of the First World War, though, the cabinet proved far more united. German Jews lost the right to receive war pensions in November 1941, when the eleventh ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law (*Reichsbürgergesetz*) was promulgated.[81] In 1952, as part of the ongoing negotiations resulting from the Luxembourg Agreement, Storch proposed compensating this group of Jews for their losses.[82] Storch's case received strong support from his cabinet colleagues. Even the Justice Minister, Thomas Dehler (FDP), who had vehemently opposed the Luxembourg Agreement, called it "one of the most urgent reparations Problems." The fact that the First World War veterans

---

[77] Evamaria Brockhoff (ed.), *Juden auf dem Lande, Beispiel Ichenhausen: Katalog zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Synagoge Ichenhausen – Haus der Begegnung, 9. Juli bis 29. September 1991*, (Munich: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 1991), p.45.
[78] Andreas Wirsching, 'Jüdische Friedhöfe in Deutschland 1933-1957', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 50 (1) (2002), pp. 1-40, p.35, p.38.
[79] Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*, p.244.
[80] Minutes, '245. Kabinettssitzung', 08/09/1952, 'Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung, Online'.
[81] '11. Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 25. November 1941', *Reichsgesetzblatt, Teil I*, 26/11/1941, p.722.
[82] Minutes, '256. Kabinettssitzung', 07/11/1952, 'Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung, Online'.

forced into emigration are paid less than those veterans still living in Germany, complained Dehler, "understandably provokes a great deal of disaffection among those persecuted and leads to doubt as to Germany's willingness to pursue reparations."[83] With little debate, the cabinet agreed on the draft bill in February 1953 and it became law the following August.[84]

Of course, its relatively small financial outlay helped to make this scheme attractive. Dehler calculated that an annual payment of 600,000 DM would be enough to cover the veterans' demands.[85] Yet the plight of Jewish war veterans also proved easier for West Germans to relate to than the larger scheme of reparations agreed with Israel. The Jewish soldiers' sacrifice for Germany in the First World War continued to resonate with national conservative notions of patriotism and heroism. This was particularly true for Dehler, Storch and Schäffer, who had themselves all fought in the First World War. Other commentators expressed a similar sense of empathy towards the German-Jewish ex-servicemen. An article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which argued that priority should be given to the suffering of German Jews over the Israeli state, for instance, justified its stance through the example of German-Jewish patriotism in the First World War. "As what exactly, and for what, did the ten thousand [sic!] German soldiers of Jewish faith die for in the First World War", the article asked, "when not as Germans for Germany?"[86]

The empathy of some West Germans with the German-Jewish fallen over other sections of European Jewry also helped to ensure that the German-Jewish war dead were a part of the FRG's early memorial culture. In March 1950, the German War Graves' Commission (VDK) staged its first post-war Day of National Mourning with a memorial service in Bonn.[87] In a letter to Hamburg's city authorities, the VDK sought to distance this event from the annual Heroes' Remembrance Day (*Heldengedenktag*) held during

---

[83] Thomas Dehler, 'Vermerk', 20/11/1952, BArch Koblenz, B141, Nr.8248.
[84] Minutes, '275. Kabinettssitzung', 13/02/1953, 'Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung, Online'; Note, Justice Minister, 07/09/1953, BArch Koblenz, B136, Nr.392.
[85] Thomas Dehler, 'Vermerk', 20/11/1952, BArch Koblenz, B141, Nr.8248.
[86] Erich Stückrath, 'Wiedergutmachung', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 03/04/1952, p.2.
[87] Karin Hausen, 'The "Day of National Mourning in Germany"', in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 127-146, p.140.

the Third Reich. "Naturally the ceremony will not be sustained by power political tendencies like the National Socialist government's 'Heroes' Remembrance Day'", wrote the VDK. Instead "it will serve the idea of peace."[88] Despite the VDK's assertions, the first annual Days of National Mourning held in the FRG followed a similar pattern to the interwar ceremonies. From its staging on Sunday Reminiscere (the second Sunday in Lent), through to the closing song of "I once had a Comrade", the same symbols and rituals reappeared.[89] In Hamburg, the VDK even laid a wreath at the city's 76er memorial, which had been only added to Hamburg's remembrance calendar during the Third Reich.[90]

In 1952, after much debate among the *Länder* governments over the exact timing of the ceremony, it was agreed that the Day of National Mourning would be officially staged each November.[91] The establishment of this single official day of remembrance, though, served to diminish the significance of other memorial events that had developed in the immediate post-war years. Remembrance services for the victims of fascism, which had already suffered after the banning of the VVN in August 1951, were reduced further.[92] In 1952, Hamburg's city authorities decided to postpone a remembrance service for those persecuted by the Nazis, as it clashed with the unveiling of a memorial to the victims of Allied bombing.[93] And following the success of the first Day of National Mourning, they called for the consolidation of all additional remembrance services into this single day.[94]

By remembering all those killed during both World Wars together the Day of National Mourning encompassed an array of different victim groups. In Hamburg, for instance, the city mayor laid wreaths at a number of different sites, including the city's central war memorial, the main war cemeteries, the memorial for those killed in bombing raids and finally the memorial for the

---

[88] Letter, VDK to Senat Hamburg, 09/02/1950, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.1628.
[89] '"Unsere Ehrfurcht gilt den Toten aller Völker"', *Die Welt*, 19/02/1951, p.6.
[90] 'Kränze am Volkstrauertag', *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 14/02/1951, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.1631.
[91] Letter, Bundesminister des Innern to Vertretungen der Länder beim Bund, 02/10/1952, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.1628.
[92] Schmidt, 'Zur Geschichte der Vereinigung der VVN', p.351.
[93] Letter, Senatskanzlei to Organisation ehemals Verfolgter, 06/08/1952, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.1628.
[94] Letter, Max Brauer to Bundesminister des Innern, 28/01/1953, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.1631.

victims of fascism.[95] The memory of German's non-racial victims of the Second World War, however, often subsumed the remembrance of those persecuted during the Third Reich. In its brochure for the 1953 ceremony the VDK made only one vague reference to those murdered by the Nazis. On this day, "the German population remembers the war dead", wrote the VDK. "The fallen comrades [...], those men, women and children killed during the nights of bombing and in the chaos [of wartime] and those killed for their [political] convictions."[96] The FRG's early remembrance culture, then, helped to construct a community of German non-racial victims, which marginalised the persecution of European Jewry as a result.

Although the racial victims of Nazism were increasingly overlooked in the FRG's remembrance calendar, German Jews were not entirely absent from the annual Day of National Mourning. Where wreaths were laid for the fallen soldiers of both World Wars at non-Jewish war memorials, then this act of remembrance must also have included the German-Jewish fallen of the First World War. Most town memorials, of course, had been erected after 1918 for all of the fallen, whether Jew or non-Jew. In Hamburg, the inclusion of the Jewish fallen in the Day of National Mourning, moreover, was clearly visible. Each year, the town mayor also laid a wreath from the city authorities at the Jewish war memorial in the Ohlsdorf burial ground.[97] Although the wreath was laid principally in memory of the Jewish First World War fallen rather than for those Hamburg Jews murdered during the Third Reich, this act ensured that a small number of Jews remained in the city's remembrance calendar.

The Jewish First World War Fallen and the Nazi Past

The deep entanglement of the Jewish First World War dead in non-Jewish remembrance activity before 1933 ensured that they had a far greater public presence than other groups of German Jews. This visibility made the German-Jewish fallen an obvious area of engagement for politicians such as the first Federal President, Theodor Heuss, who sought to confront the fate of

[95] Letter, Senatskanzlei to Garten und Friedhofsamt, 11/11/1952, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.4634.
[96] VDK, 'Volkstrauertag, 1953', BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.2238.
[97] Letter, Senatskanzlei to Garten und Friedhofsamt, 11/11/1952, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.4634.

Jews during the Third Reich. In a speech at the former Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, for instance, Heuss discussed the sacrifice of First World War Jewish soldiers in relation to the Nazis' racial crimes. This gradual entanglement of the two groups of Jewish victims was deepened further, when the Wiener Library and the LBI launched the first major research projects into the history of German Jewry in the mid 1950s. The Wiener Library, which was based in London, sought to disseminate information on Nazi Germany, while the LBI was established in Jerusalem in 1956 to preserve the cultural legacy of German Jewry.[98] Both these research projects and Heuss's interest in the Jewish fallen helped to draw the Jewish First World War experience into a pre-history of the Holocaust.

In November 1952, Theodor Heuss was invited to give a speech at the dedication of a memorial at Bergen-Belsen. In what turned out to be one of "the most extensive public reflection[s]" of Nazi crimes made by a West German government official, Heuss added a moral dimension to the financial reparations agreed through the Luxembourg Agreement.[99] He sought to make Germans acknowledge the crimes committed in camps such as Bergen-Belsen. The existence of these places was no secret, said Heuss. "We knew of these things." After establishing that there was widespread public knowledge of the Nazis' persecution of Jews and other minority groups, Heuss told his audience that they had to confront this terrible history. "They [the Jews] will never [and] they can never forget what was done to them", he continued. Therefore, "the Germans must [also] never forget, what their own people did in these shame filled years."[100]

Towards the end of the speech, Heuss related his discussion of the Nazis' persecution of European Jewry to the sacrifice of 12,000 German Jews in the First World War. "In the memorial in my hometown they [the Jewish fallen] were also inscribed in noble letters alongside the names of all the other

---

[98] On the Wiener Library, see: Ben Barkow, *Alfred Wiener and the Making of the Holocaust Library*, (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997). For a history of the LBI, refer to: Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[99] Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), p.321.

[100] Theodor Heuss, 'Das Mahnmal', in Martin Vogt (ed.), *Theodor Heuss, Politiker und Publizist: Aufsätze und Reden*, (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1984), pp. 407-411.

fallen", noted Heuss. "The National Socialist district leader had the names of the Jewish dead scratched out", he continued, "and the holes filled in with the names of various battles." For Heuss, this act of desecration proved that even "reverence for the dead" disappeared during the Third Reich.[101] The example clearly referred to the war memorial in Heuss's hometown of Heilbronn. Indeed, Heuss had known personally many of the soldiers from Heilbronn killed in the First World War. Two pupils, who sat their *Abitur* exams with him, were killed in the war. One of these had been the only Jewish pupil in his class, who Heuss later described as "an immensely talented young man."[102]

It was not just this personal connection, however, that led Heuss to discuss the removal of the Jewish names from the war memorial in Heilbronn. His use of this example reflected the continued visibility of the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War. While it was possible for other groups of Jews and other Jewish sites, such as cemeteries, to be neglected, the First World War fallen maintained a public presence. Their inclusion in the annual Day of National Mourning, for example, ensured that non-Jewish Germans were aware of their sacrifice for Germany. In comparison to other sections of European Jewry, the Jewish fallen were also far easier for Germans to relate to. In contrast to the seemingly distinct East European Jews, these were faithful, courageous German Jews who had nonetheless been persecuted by the Nazis. For Heuss, who maintained close contacts to a small group of German Jews both before 1933 and after 1945, moreover, the Jewish soldiers fitted into his understanding of a proud and loyal German Jewry.[103]

The reception to Heuss's speech was mixed. Many Germans criticised him for asserting that the wider population knew of the Nazi regime's atrocities. In a letter to the Federal President, one person claimed to have been unaware of Bergen-Belsen despite living only 30km from the camp, while a former soldier argued that the *Wehrmacht* "experienced nothing of the concentration camps and similar crimes."[104] Understandably, many Jewish organisations reacted far more favourably to the President's words. The

---

[101] Heuss, 'Das Mahnmal', p.410.
[102] Letter, Theodor Heuss to Franz-Josef Strauss, 30/08/1961, BArch Koblenz, N1221, Nr.71.
[103] Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*, pp. 148-149.
[104] Letter, Ludwig Fittschen to Theodor Heuss, 01/12/1952; Letter, Walter Meyer to Theodor Heuss, 01/12/1952, BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.2083.

Jewish Chronicle reported positively on the emotional occasion, while the New York newspaper, *Aufbau*, republished the speech in its entirety.[105] Heuss's discussion of the German-Jewish First World War soldiers was particularly commended. A former Jewish resident of Hamburg, who had lost a brother in the First World War and then been forced to flee Germany in 1939, praised this aspect of the speech in a letter to Heuss: "For mentioning Jewish [wartime] service and the Jewish victims of the First World War", he wrote, "I thank you from the bottom of my heart."[106]

Heuss's speech helped to place the German-Jewish war dead more firmly into a nascent narrative of the Holocaust. Discussing the sacrifice of German-Jewish First World War soldiers at the dedication of a memorial to the victims of Nazi persecution clearly led to the entanglement of different strands of memory. Heuss's recollection that the names of German-Jewish soldiers had been removed from war memorials, moreover, also helped to disseminate the belief that the Nazis had 'Aryanised' most non-Jewish remembrance sites. Indeed, Heuss's mention of the vandalised memorial in Heilbronn prompted one former Jewish resident to contact the town's mayor, Paul Meyle (FDP). Julius Scheuer, whose brother had been killed in the First World War, requested information on the current condition of Heilbronn's war memorial. "May I ask," wrote Scheuer, "whether anyone has tried in the meantime to somehow correct this disgraceful act of brutality?"[107] Meyle confirmed that the names of the Jewish fallen had been returned to the memorial. This work, he assured Scheuer, had been "one of the town authorities' earliest acts of reconciliation in 1945."[108]

When the first major research projects into the history of German Jewry were started in the mid 1950s, they also began to relate Jewish sacrifice in the First World War to the Nazis' persecution of European Jewry. With funding from the Jewish Claims Conference, the Wiener Library began a project to collect eyewitness accounts from those who had survived the Nazi regime's

---

[105] 'New Memorial Dedicated at Belsen', *Jewish Chronicle*, 05/12/1952, p.13; Theodor Heuss, 'Wenn Steine reden', *Aufbau*, 19/12/1952, pp. 1-2.
[106] Letter, R. Schleimer to Theodor Heuss, 30/11/1952, BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.2083.
[107] Letter, Julius Scheuer to Oberbürgermeister Heilbronn, 27/12/1952, StadtA HN, B21, Nr.36.
[108] Letter, Paul Meyle to Julius Scheuer, 26/01/1953, StadtA HN, B21, Nr.36.

persecution of European Jewry.[109] Although the library's aim was to assemble evidence of the Nazis' racial crimes, the testimonies generally covered the whole life experience of those interviewed. As a result, the years 1914-1918 were often included in the final testimonies. When Alfred Marcus recorded his brother's life history in 1956, for example, he paid particular attention to his brother's military service on the Eastern Front.[110] Marcus's description of the First World War as a central part of his brother's life was repeated in many other accounts. One eyewitness from Oldenbourg simply noted that her father had entered the army "like all Germans" and "fulfilled his duty until the war's end."[111]

Because the testimonies were collected for their information on Nazism, the eyewitnesses' experiences in the First World War often came to be juxtaposed with their accounts of the Nazis' persecution of German Jewry. When a witness living in London briefly described her siblings' life history, for instance, she mentioned only their war experience and their fate during the Third Reich. "My eldest brother, Rudolf," she wrote, "was badly wounded in the battle of Verdun." During the Third Reich, she continued, "he committed suicide when he was being escorted through Berlin on his way to a concentration camp."[112] Another testimony used the dedication of a new war memorial to frame the Nazis' crimes. "The beginning of the persecution of Jews [...] began in 1936, when a war memorial was dedicated" and the Nazis attacked Jews attending the ceremony, recorded the eyewitness. After this discussion of the First World War fallen, the account then jumps to recount Jewish suffering during the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938.[113]

The LBI, meanwhile, set about undertaking a much larger research project with the aim of producing a complete history of German Jewry. In comparison to the Wiener Library's collection of eyewitness testimonies, a number of the LBI's contributors consciously placed the war experience within a narrative of Nazi persecution. Robert Weltsch set the tone in his introduction to the LBI's first year book, when he questioned whether Jews had been right

[109] See: Barkow, *Alfred Wiener and the Making of the Holocaust Library*, pp. 121-123.
[110] Eyewitness Testimony, 'Martin Marcus', Wiener Library, PIb, Nr.177.
[111] Eyewitness Testimony, 'Deportation to Theresienstadt', Wiener Library, PIIIe, Nr.944.
[112] Eyewitness Testimony, 'Hedwig Witton', Wiener Library, PIb, Nr.181.
[113] Eyewitness Testimony, 'Protokoll Vater und Tochter', Wiener Library, PIId, Nr.40.

to proclaim their identity with the German nation during the First World War.[114] In a similar vein, an article in the volume placed Jewish wartime sacrifice within a long history of German rejection. "The Jewish volunteers went to the war of 1914 with the same illusion as the Jewish volunteers of 1813", noted the article, "the illusion that sacrifice would guarantee equality of rights."[115]

This condemnation of Jewish wartime sacrifice for Germany reflected the ideology of a number of the LBI's founders. Prominent representatives of the German Zionist movement, including Martin Buber and Gershom Scholem, for example, had helped to establish the organisation's Jerusalem branch.[116] Many members had also belonged to the interwar Zionist student movement, which had rejected any exaltation of the war experience, while Weltsch, who was the chairman of the London branch, had edited the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau* during the interwar years.[117] Criticism of the First World War in much of these members post-1945 writing, then, was based on ideological views that had been shaped during the Weimar Republic.

Continuing the ZVfD's attacks on the RjF, several contributors to the LBI's year book also directed much of their criticism against the Jewish war veterans. In an article on the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden*, which had represented German Jewry during the Third Reich, Mannheim's former rabbi, Max Grunewald, launched a scathing attack on the RjF's defensive work. "The stability and the character of the 'Reichsvertretung'", he wrote, were tested "by the attempt of the *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* to achieve a privileged status for non-Zionist Jewish soldiers who had fought in the World War." He concluded that in attempting to negotiate with the Nazi regime, the RjF had simply "play[ed] the game of the Nazis, to placate them by sacrificing persons or groups."[118] Grunewald's condemnation of the RjF reflected the disagreements that divided the ex-servicemen's organisation

---

[114] Robert Weltsch, 'Introduction', *LBIYB*, 1 (1956), pp. xix-xxxi, p.xxvi.
[115] Selma Spier, 'Jewish History As We See It', *LBIYB*, 1 (1956), pp. 3-14, p.9.
[116] Guy Miron, 'From Memorial Community to Research Centre: The Leo Baeck Institute in Jerusalem', in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 101-134, p.101.
[117] Ruth Nattermann, 'Diversity within Unity: The LBI's "Community of Founders", in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 59-100, p.61.
[118] Max Grunewald, 'The Beginning of the "Reichsvertretung"', *LBIYB*, 1 (1956), pp. 57-67, pp. 62-63.

from the ZVfD during the Third Reich. In this historiographical context, however, Grunewald's comments helped to perpetrate the view that the RjF and the German-Jewish veteran community had betrayed German Jewry.

Many German-Jewish veterans reacted angrily to these attacks on the RjF's defensive work and on their wartime achievements more generally. When the Israeli historian, Kurt Jakob Ball-Kaduri, who was a prolific collector of German-Jewish testimonies, asked senior members of the RjF, including Leo Löwenstein and his deputy Walter Callmann, to record their memoirs, both resisted his overture.[119] Löwenstein made a vague promise to record a testimony, while Callmann produced a short report, which barely mentioned his work for the RjF. Ball-Kaduri believed that the reason for their silence could be traced back to the RjF's supposedly embarrassing failure during the Third Reich. He concluded that in all likelihood psychological reasons lay behind this silence. "After all that happened later, it is not very pleasant for those involved to have to think back on their role in this [debacle]", he wrote.[120]

Other former members of the RjF reacted more vigorously to criticism of their association. When Siegfried Urias, the erstwhile leader of Hamburg's branch of the Jewish ex-servicemen's organisation, died in Chile in 1953, Harry Goldstein and Max Plaut of Hamburg's post-war Jewish community used his obituary as a platform to defend the RjF. They praised Urias and his Jewish wartime comrades for recognising "at an early stage the deadly danger that was facing European Jewry." Unlike the early historical writing on the RjF, they also paid tribute to Urias's defensive work. This, they concluded, would ensure that "not only his fellow comrades throughout the world but also all former Hamburg Jews would hold him in honourable memory."[121] The death of Löwenstein three-years later provoked a similarly stout defence of the RjF's achievements from the writer of his obituary. By comparing the RjF to Jewish veterans' associations in both Britain and the USA, the obituary

---

[119] On Kurt Jakob Ball-Kaduri, see: Jürgen Matthäus, 'Between Fragmented Memory and "Real History"', in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 375-407, p.400.

[120] Letter, Kurt Jakob Ball-Kaduri, July 1956, LBI JMB, MF52.

[121] 'Dr. Siegfried Urias gestorben', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 12/06/1953, p.14.

attempted to normalise perceptions of the organisation's activities. It argued that the existence of Jewish ex-servicemen's groups throughout the world meant that the RjF could not simply be dismissed as an "absurd or anachronistic" German-Jewish phenomenon.[122]

On learning of the RjF chairman's death, Heuss sent his condolences to Löwenstein's daughter who was living in Sweden. He sought to comfort her with the knowledge that her father's work for the Jewish war veterans had "set a memorial [...] that will remain in the consciousness of all decent people."[123] This memorial, though, proved extremely fragile. As the deaths of Löwenstein and Urias highlighted, by the mid 1950s increasing numbers of the First World War generation were starting to pass away. In their place, a younger Jewish generation began to interpret Jewish sacrifice in the First World War according to their own experiences and needs. Accordingly, the entwinement of the Jewish war dead within a pre-history of the Holocaust, as exemplified by Heuss's Bergen-Belsen speech, became increasingly accepted.

Entangled Remembrance and Local Reconciliation

Heuss's Bergen-Belsen speech and the large Jewish research projects suggested that there was some engagement with the racial victims of Nazism through the remembrance of the Jewish First World War fallen. On a local level, though, this confrontation was far more limited. Indeed, in most towns and cities the Jewish fallen were still remembered together with the non-Jewish victims of the First World War. On the annual Day of National Mourning, for example, Hamburg's town mayor continued to lay a wreath in memory of the Jewish community's First World War fallen at the Jewish war memorial in the Ohlsdorf cemetery.[124] Gradually, however, the entwinement of the war dead with the Jewish victims of Nazism on a national level also began to affect how West Germans perceived the Jewish war dead locally. This slow change led some West Germans to consider, through the remembrance of the war dead, the fate of German Jewry more generally.

---

[122] 'Der Mann der RjF', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 30/11/1956, p.14.
[123] '"Danklos der Qual ausgeliefert..." Professor Heuss zum Tode von Dr. Leo Löwenstein', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 14/12/1956, p.2.
[124] Letter, Senatskanzlei to Garten und Friedhofsamt, 10/11/1956, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3975.

In the mid 1950s, West Germans on a local level generally paid little attention to the growing entanglement of the Jewish war dead with the Nazi regime's crimes. The town of Heilbronn, however, proved an exception. This, though, rested more on Heuss's close ties to his hometown, than on any genuine concern for the fate of the town's Jewish population. Heuss was a frequent visitor to the town. Besides a number of private visits, Heuss also conducted several official trips to Heilbronn. The first of these was to visit two of the town's schools in September 1950.[125] Following this engagement, his next presidential trip to Heilbronn was set for June 1953 when he was due to dedicate the rebuilt town hall. Coming little more than six months after his Bergen-Belsen speech, this visit forced the town authorities to consider Heilbronn's Jewish First World War dead.

Before the schedule had been fixed, Heilbronn's town authorities feared that Heuss might ask to make a personal visit to the town's war memorial, which in the meantime had fallen into a poor state of repair. "Unknown persons have scrawled and daubed over the sandstone memorial plaques, on which the names are engraved, making the cleaning of this necessary", complained one town councillor. His greatest concern, though, was that a wreath in memory of the fallen members of the Waffen-SS had been laid at the memorial. "This does not make the best impression on a visitor from outside", he commented.[126]

However, it was left to the town's newspaper, the *Heilbronner Stimme*, to make an explicit connection between the state of the war memorial and Heuss's concern for the Jewish war dead. "Nobody wants to stop members of the former Waffen-SS from remembering their fallen", stressed the newspaper, only here it seems "somewhat out of place and obtrusive." Two photographs printed above the article, one showing the name of a Jewish soldier on the memorial and the other a picture of the Waffen-SS wreath, made this point clear. "Twenty years ago the names of the fallen Jewish fellow citizens were chiselled out", it added, "now they are all the more recognisable

[125] Letter, Oberbürgermeister Heilbronn to Hans Bott, 31/08/1950, BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.616.
[126] Minutes, 'Niederschrift über die Verhandlungen der Bauabteilung', 19/05/1953, StadtA HN, B39, Nr.187.

because the new pieces of stone with the Jewish names on [...] are of a lighter tone."[127] (See figure 16).

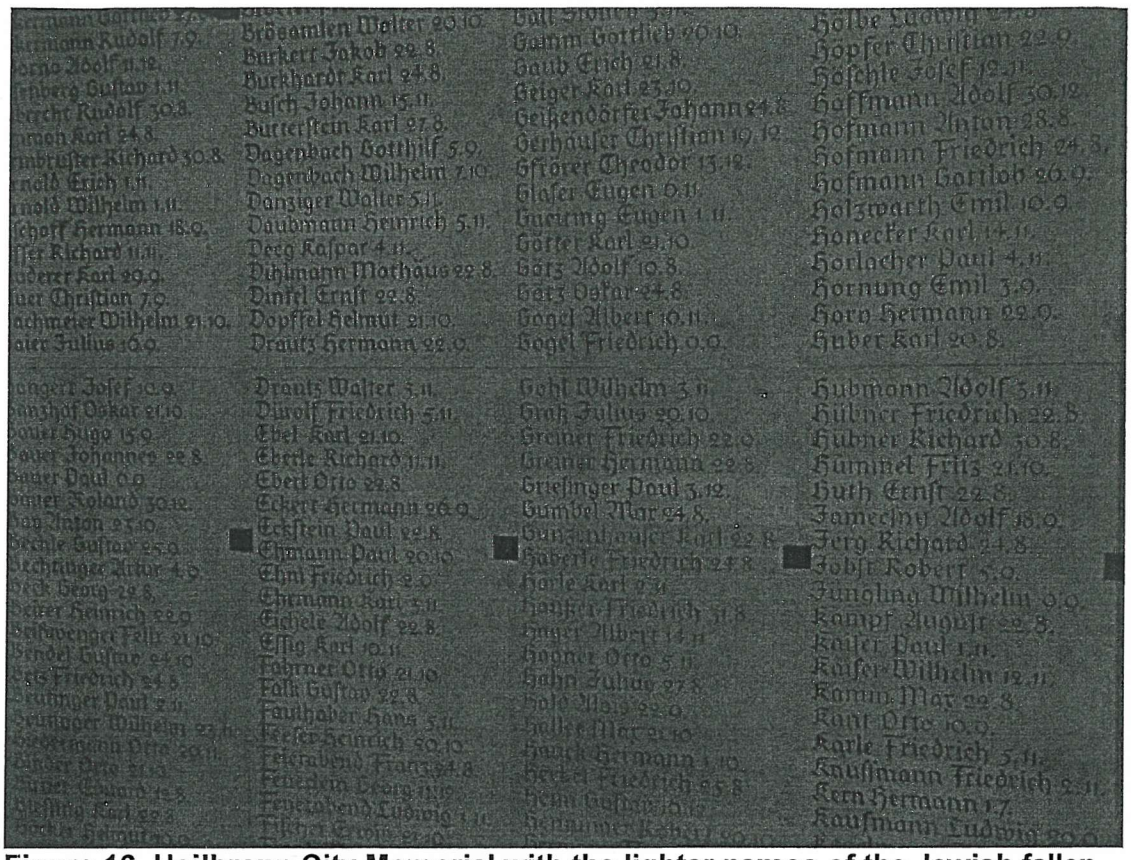

Figure 16. Heilbronn City Memorial with the lighter names of the Jewish fallen returned, 1946 (Photograph, 2004).[128]

Although the final schedule for Heuss's Heilbronn visit did not include the war memorial, their concern that he may view the scarred memorial revealed the effect his speech had had on local attitudes towards the Jewish war dead.[129] The town authorities, clearly aware of Heuss's interest in the Jewish First World War fallen, took action to restore the memorial in advance of his visit. Whether they would have acted without this prompt is doubtful, as the Waffen-SS wreath had lain at the memorial undisturbed for sometime. Although the *Heilbronner Stimme* and the town authorities juxtaposed the removal of Jewish names with the wreath for the Waffen-SS, neither explicitly discussed the difficulties of remembering them both in the same site. The Waffen-SS's role in the genocide of European Jewry was left unspoken. The

---

[127] *Heilbronner Stimme*, 29/05/1953, StadtA HN, B39, Nr.187.
[128] Photograph in possession of the author.
[129] 'Programmentwurf für den Besuch des Herrn Bundespräsidenten in Heilbronn und Stuttgart vom 5. bis 8. Juni 1953', BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.622.

cause of the names' removal and how this helped to intensify the social marginalisation of the town's Jewish population was also mentioned only in vague terms. The *Heilbronner Stimme* regarded the removal of the names to be simply a sign of the Nazis' "political – propagandistic disrespectfulness."[130]

Two years after this somewhat enforced confrontation with the Jewish fallen, Heilbronn's authorities used the war dead to attempt a more far-reaching engagement with the Nazis' crimes. This was prompted by the visit of Professor Otto Kirchheimer, a former Jewish resident of Heilbronn, to the town in 1955. During his visit, Kirchheimer discovered the Jewish cemetery in a terrible state of neglect. It was overgrown, there were holes in the perimeter fence and the inscriptions on some gravestones were missing.[131] After personally inspecting the cemetery, Heilbronn's mayor, Paul Meyle, ordered the town's Gardens Department to begin restoring the neglected burial ground. Meyle stressed in particular the need to restore the area around the cemetery's First World War memorial. "I have discovered that the Jewish cemetery is in a particularly poor condition", wrote Meyle. "Above all the area around the war memorial", he continued, "does a disservice to the memorial's character. I ask, therefore, that [this area] be brought into a dignified condition." [132] Together with the Jewish Religious Community of Württemberg, Heilbronn's town authorities arranged more formal plans for the maintenance of the cemetery. These included moving the war memorial to make it the main feature of the renovated burial ground.[133]

Through the town authorities' work on the First World War remembrance site, Meyle also sought to demonstrate his determination to make an amends for the Nazi regime's crimes. In a Christmas letter, which the mayor of Heilbronn wrote to the town's former residents living abroad each year, Meyle noted his intention to restore the Jewish war memorial. "I am writing so extensively about this", explained Meyle, "because I want to assure our friends and former fellow residents of the Jewish faith that we will

---

[130] *Heilbronner Stimme*, 29/05/1953, StadtA HN, B39, Nr.187.
[131] Minutes, 'Niederschrift über die Verhandlungen des Gemeinderates', 18/08/1955, StadtA HN, Friedhofsamt (uncatalogued).
[132] Letter, Paul Meyle to Heilbronn Stadtgärtnerei, 18/08/1955, StadtA HN, Friedhofsamt (uncatalogued).
[133] Letter, Israelitische Kultusvereinigung Württemberg und Hohenzollern to Paul Meyle, 13/09/1955, StadtA HN, Friedhofsamt (uncatalogued).

respectfully arrange and maintain this burial ground."[134] Although Meyle's concern for the Jewish cemetery appeared genuine, the Jewish victims of fascism continued to be subordinated by the non-racial victims of the Second World War. In the same letter, Meyle discussed in far greater detail the completion of a remembrance book for Heilbronn's dead of the Second World War. "In place of a stone memorial", declared Meyle, "this book shall bear witness to the heavy sacrifice, which the citizens and residents of our town made in the past war."[135] The book, though, made no mention of the town's Jewish residents murdered under the Nazi regime.[136] In official narratives, then, the non-racial victims of the war continued to take precedence.

Despite the inadequacies of this attempt at reconciliation, it revealed, nonetheless, the interaction of the remembrance of the Jewish First World War fallen and the confrontation of the Nazi past on a local level. In other cities, though less clearly than in Heilbronn, the Jewish war dead also served as a mediator in the complex process of West Germans' gradual confrontation with their past. When Rose Henriques, who had helped care for Holocaust survivors in the British zone after the Second World War, returned to Hamburg in 1955, she discovered a rebuilt city and a reconstructed Jewish community. "I realised that not only had the Jews of Hamburg thrown off the last vestiges of the effects of the trammels of serfdom", remarked Henriques. This "was patent in the new, though small Gemeinde that has arisen from the ashes of its synagogues." For her, this change was symbolised above all by the now "carefully tended" Ohlsdorf Jewish cemetery with its "beautiful war memorial."[137]

Like Henriques, other Jewish visitors to the FRG sought evidence for German reconciliation in Jewish First World War memorial sites. The *Salia* student fraternity, which after its forced dissolution during the Third Reich reformed in America, maintained a contact to Würzburg through the remembrance of its fallen members. When one *Salia* member returned to

---

[134] Letter, Paul Meyle, November 1955, BArch Koblenz, B122, Nr.2216.
[135] *Ibid.*
[136] Stadtverwaltung Heilbronn (ed.), *Die Opfer des Krieges in der Stadt Heilbronn: Unseren Toten zum Gedenken, uns Lebenden zur Mahnung, 1939-1945*, (Heilbronn, 1955).
[137] Rose Henriques, 'The re-birth of Hamburg Jewish Community', 1955, in Ben Barkow (ed.), 'Testaments to the Holocaust: Henriques Archive from the Wiener Library, London', (Reading: 2000), Microfilm, Reel 24.

Würzburg in 1952, for instance, he made a special visit to the group's war memorial plaque, which had been moved to the Jewish cemetery. "I opened it [the doors of the memorial plaque]", he wrote, "saw the familiar faces again and paused for a minute in quiet remembrance."[138] Another *Salia* member even used his stay in Würzburg to seek permission for the memorial plaque to be moved from the cemetery and erected in a more prominent place, such as a university building. "It is a duty of restitution for the Germans and a duty of love for us", he declared.[139] Although this plan was never realised, one of the university's former rectors attended the *Salia*'s regular remembrance ceremonies held at its memorial plaque.[140]

The visit of these Jewish groups and individuals to their former hometowns in Germany was indicative of the increasingly settled nature of the reformed Jewish communities in the FRG. The dedication of new synagogues in Trier in 1957, in Bonn in 1959 and in Hamburg in 1960, among others, symbolised the growing permanence of these communities.[141] The staging of the first major exhibition on Jewish life in Recklinghausen's *Kunsthalle* in 1960, moreover, revealed a growing interest on the part of West Germans with Germany's Jewish past. The exhibition, entitled Synagoga, displayed examples of synagogue art and Jewish folklore from the patriarchal age until the present.[142] Opened by the Federal President, Heinrich Lübke, the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* viewed it as a milestone in Jewish / non-Jewish relations and as an act of moral restitution.[143]

When the exhibition in Recklinghausen opened, however, it became clear that the displays made no mention of Jewish remembrance practices for the 12,000 First World War fallen. Yet as one German-Jewish war veteran observed, "there was not a single synagogue after the First World War that

---

[138] Salia, *Rundbriefe*, September 1952.
[139] Salia, *Rundbriefe*, March 1955.
[140] Letter, Julius Frank to Franz Josef Strauß, 06/06/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632.
[141] See for example: 'Eine Stätte des Friedens: Feierliche Einweihung der neuen Synagoge in Trier', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 23/08/1957, p.3; 'Neubau der Synagoge in Bonn', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 29/05/1959, p.19.
[142] Anneliese Schröder (ed.), *Synagoga: Kulturgeräte und Kunstwerke von der Zeit der Patriarchen bis zur Gegenwart. Städtische Kunsthalle Recklinghausen 3.November 1960 – 15. Januar 1961*, (Recklinghausen: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1960).
[143] '"Synagoga" Ausstellung jüdischer sakraler Kunst in Recklinghausen', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 11/11/1960, p.4.

did not have its own memorial to honour the fallen sons of its community." He felt particularly aggrieved by this oversight as the exhibition had failed to rectify the Nazis' destruction of synagogue war memorial plaques. He recalled that during the *Kristallnacht* pogrom in his hometown of Bochum, the synagogue memorial plaque had been torn from the wall and sold for scrap.[144] The absence of Jewish war memorial plaques, though, highlighted the exhibition's narrow focus. It displayed perfect examples of Jewish synagogue culture without placing them in the context of the Nazis' persecution and destruction of European Jewry.

The deficiencies in the *Synagoga* exhibition reflected larger shortcomings in the FRG's confrontation with the genocide of European Jewry. By the end of the 1950s, for example, the racial victims of Nazism had started to be included in the annual Day of National Mourning, but any mention of who had actually committed these crimes went unsaid. In a radio speech to mark the start of the remembrance week in 1959, Hamburg's mayor, Max Brauer, mentioned the dead of both World Wars before discussing the other victims of war and violence. Brauer reminded his audience that in addition to the fallen German soldiers there "are the countless dead who did not die at the front or in the bombing raids but in the concentration camps and who now lie in mass graves or whose ashes are scattered in the wind."[145] How these victims arrived in the concentration and death camps and who brutally murdered them in these sites was not discussed.

The limitations of West Germans' confrontation with the Nazi regime's crimes came to a head in late 1959, when a new wave of antisemitic desecrations swept across the state. By January 1960, some 470 antisemitic occurrences had been reported.[146] The worst incidents occurred in Cologne, where the main synagogue and a memorial to the victims of Nazism were vandalised on Christmas Day. The *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* declared that these attacks reminded all people of "what had

[144] Letter, Leo Baer to Thomas Grochowiak, 16/08/1960, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632.
[145] Speech, Max Brauer, *Norddeutsche Rundfunk*, 15/11/1959, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3975.
[146] Brochhagen, *Nach Nürnberg*, p.320.

happened across Germany and Europe during Germany's darkest history."[147] Although West German politicians and commentators declared their moral outrage at the desecrations, their proclamations only served to highlight the limits of the state's confrontation with its Nazi past. While West Germans could easily condemn this resurgence of antisemitism, they proved less willing to discuss its roots.[148] By the end of the first full post-war decade, West Germany had begun to consider the suffering of German Jewry, but had yet to fully integrate the role ordinary Germans had played in their persecution.

Conclusion

After the devastation and destruction of the Second World War, the German-Jewish fallen of the First World War were a small part of a much larger group of victims of war and violence. Besides the military dead of the most recent war, civilians killed in bombing raids or murdered in concentration camps also had to be remembered. As Germans and Jews attempted to make sense of the enormity of this mass death, additional layers of memory began to be added to Jewish war memorials. Although remembrance sites were initially restored as First World War sites, this quickly changed. Jewish survivors of Nazi violence began to use these existing memorials as provisional sites of remembrance for those murdered in the most recent war. Germans also returned to existing memorial practices. Relying on interwar commemorative practices, they incorporated the fallen of the First World War, including the Jewish war dead, into their nascent remembrance culture.

The continued presence of the Jewish fallen in German remembrance activity proved crucial for keeping Jews in public memory during the early 1950s. With the formation of the two German states in 1949 and the onset of the Cold War, Germans demonstrated only a marginal concern for the fate of the Jews. Because of their inclusion in West German remembrance activity, though, the Jewish fallen became an area of engagement for some West German politicians who favoured greater confrontation with the Nazi past.

---

[147] 'Anschlag auf die deutsche Demokratie', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 01/01/1960, p.1.

[148] Alf Lüdtke, '"Coming to Terms with the Past": Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany', *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (3) (September 1993), pp. 542-572, p.552.

Most prominently, Theodor Heuss used this Jewish group to highlight the Nazis' persecution of minorities during the Third Reich. When the LBI and the Wiener Library began to undertake the first historical research projects into the German-Jewish experience during the mid to late 1950s, the Jewish fallen gradually began to be viewed as victims of both the First World War and of Nazi persecution.

In a limited way, the entwinement of the Jewish fallen with the racial victims of Nazism forced Germans on a local level to consider the persecution of German Jewry. The town authorities in Heilbronn, for instance, began to confront the fate of town's Jewish residents through the remembrance of the Jewish soldiers of the First World War. Despite this engagement, however, Germans generally failed to consider the non-German Jewish victims of the Holocaust and their own role in the Nazi regime's crimes. The Jews had been killed, but the identity of the perpetrators was rarely discussed. Although the remembrance of the Jewish war dead did not lead to a thoroughgoing consideration of the suffering of European Jewry, these small acts, nonetheless, laid an important foundation for a deeper confrontation with the Nazi past over the coming decade. What had started out in the immediate post-war years as a disordered, confused and limited remembrance process had by the late 1950s developed into a more structured memorial culture.

Chapter 5 – Rewriting the History of the German-Jewish War Dead, 1960-1978

In July 1960 several surviving members of the *Salia* Jewish student fraternity gathered at the association's First World War memorial plaque in Würzburg's Jewish cemetery. This small group had helped to reform the organisation in New York, after the Nazi regime had forced the original *Salia* association at the University of Würzburg to disband in 1935. Their reunion in front of the fraternity's memorial plaque was an occasion for the group to strengthen its association with the city and for it to remember those members who were no longer alive. "18 of them", noted the committee member Leo Stahl, in a speech to the assembled group, "consummated their love and loyalty for the fatherland with a hero's death on the battlefields." Stahl declared that all of the fraternity's dead, whether killed in the First World War or murdered in the Second World War, would never be forgotten. Yet he was forced to admit that this practice could not continue indefinitely. "One generation will replace the last until the final *Salier* departs this world", explained Stahl.[1]

Leo Stahl's concerns were well founded, for the 1960s witnessed massive cultural, social and generational shifts, which culminated most notably in the widespread student uprisings of 1968. The 1960s were also a time of considerable change in West Germans' confrontation with the Nazi past.[2] Culturally, a new generation of German authors produced works critiquing German society and Nazism. Rolf Hochhuth's 1963 play *The Deputy*, which examined the papacy's knowledge of the Holocaust and Peter Weiss's *The Investigation* from 1965, a documentary style play of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials, are the best known examples of this political turn.[3] The judiciary, meanwhile, staged a number of major war crimes trials, which

---

[1] 'Gedenkrede Leo Stahls am 10. Juli 1960 auf dem Wuerzburger Friedhof', in Salia, *Rundbriefe*, September 1960.

[2] On generational change and West Germans' confrontation with their Nazi past, see: Norbert Frei, 'Deutsche Lernprozesse: NS-Vergangenheit und Generationsfolge seit 1945', in Norbert Frei (ed.), *1945 und Wir: Das Dritte Reich im Bewusstsein der Deutschen*, (Munich: Beck, 2005), pp. 23-40; Mark Roseman (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany, 1770-1968*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995).

[3] See: James Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequence of Interpretation*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Stephen Braese (ed.), *Deutsche Nachkriegsliteratur und der Holocaust*, (Frankfurt: Campus, 1998).

helped to focus public attention onto the Nazi regime's crimes.[4] There were also major political shifts during this period. In 1966, when the SPD joined the CDU/CSU in a Great Coalition, protest groups disgruntled with the government's overwhelming majority moved their opposition outside of parliament.[5] After this tumultuous interlude, the decade closed with the FRG's first Social Democrat government under Willy Brandt.[6]

Much of the existing historiography focuses primarily on the reasons for the public's growing engagement with the Nazi regime's crimes. The generational conflicts of 1968, when students across the world took to the streets in revolt, provides the focal point for many studies.[7] Caroline Wiedmer, for instance, states boldly that the 1968 rebellion in West Germany "prepared the way for a general reconsideration of Germany's past by post-war generations."[8] In her study of post-war German memory, Claudia Koonz takes a similar approach. "After two decades of amnesia", contends Koonz, "the student movement of the late 1960s broke through the silence about genocide."[9] Rather than concentrating on a specific moment, other historians regard West Germany's confrontation with Nazism as a series of smaller shifts. "The critical students of the late 1960s were anything but the instigators of a self-critical Nazi debate", argues Detlef Siegfried. "They merely radicalised the intensive discourse that had been occupying West German society for ten-years."[10] Similarly, Anthony Kauders labels the early 1960s the

---

[4] The war crimes trials during the 1960s are documented in: Lawrence Douglas, *The Memory of Judgement: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Rebecca Wittmann, *Beyond Justice: The Auschwitz Trial*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[5] For an introduction to the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition, see: Rob Burns and Wilfried van der Will, *Protest and Democracy in West Germany: Extra-Parliamentary Opposition and the Democratic Agenda*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

[6] On the political shifts of the 1960s, see: Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[7] For studies on the 1968 uprisings in West Germany, see: Carole Finke, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (eds.), *1968: The World Transformed*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998); Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1988), pp. 233-244.

[8] Caroline Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p.80.

[9] Claudia Koonz, 'Between Memory and Oblivion: Concentration Camps in German Memory', in John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 258-280, p.268.

[10] Detlef Siegfried, 'Zwischen Aufarbeitung und Schlußstrich. Der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten 1958 bis 1969', in Axel Schildt, Detlef Siegfried and Karl Lammers (eds.), *Dynamische Zeiten: Die 60er Jahre in den beiden deutschen Gesellschaften*, (Hamburg: Christians, 2000), pp. 77-113.

"second intensive phase" of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past). He argues that this period built on significant shifts that had already occurred during the 1950s.[11]

Yet in concentrating so intensely on the reasons behind some West Germans' more thorough engagement with the Nazis' crimes, the historiography has generally overlooked the inconsistencies and fragility of this process. One historian to have considered the voids that emerged as the public's understanding of Nazism increased is Alf Lüdtke. In an essay on West German society's shifting relationship to its Nazi past, Lüdtke argues that as West Germans revealed a greater willingness to confront one aspect of their past, they, in turn, repressed other historical legacies.[12] There was, however, another element to what Lüdtke terms the "illusions of remembering". In many areas, the development of a seemingly more thorough memory culture in the 1960s also altered existing forms of Jewish remembrance. The town authorities in Worms, for example, began to restore a number of Jewish sites during the 1960s. Yet the creation of a Jewish remembrance space in the town, inhabited only by Germans, had little to do with the original German-Jewish community that the Nazi regime had destroyed.[13]

The remembrance of the fallen German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War was particularly affected by the growth of a more nuanced memory culture. Focusing on changes in the commemorative process, this chapter argues that as the Jewish war dead became more firmly fixed in Jewish and non-Jewish narratives of the Holocaust, older longstanding forms of remembering the fallen soldiers began to fade. This change gained impetus at the start of the decade, when the West German Ministry of Defence arranged for the republication of a book of German-Jewish soldiers' war letters from the First World War, which the RjF had first published in 1935. By placing

---

[11] Anthony Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews: Munich, 1945-1965*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), p.206.

[12] Alf Lüdtke, '"Coming to Terms with the Past": Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany', *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (3) (September 1993), pp. 542-572, pp. 558-559; See also: Neil Gregor, '"The Illusion of Remembrance": The Karl Diehl Affair and the Memory of National Socialism in Nuremberg, 1945-1999', *Journal of Modern History*, 75 (3) (September 2003), pp. 590-633.

[13] Nils Roemer, 'Die touristische Konstruktion jüdischer Vergangenheit in Worms', *WerkstattGeschichte*, 36 (2004), pp. 57-72.

particular emphasis on this Jewish group, the Ministry of Defence helped to increase awareness of the German Jews' wartime sacrifice.

This publicity, as the second section maintains, helped to spark a massive interest in the Jewish fallen. For many Germans, the Jewish war dead, whose relatives the Nazis had later persecuted, symbolised the depravity of Nazism. These were German Jews who had played a significant part in German everyday life. At this time, there was little mention of the non-German Jewish victims or the scale of the Nazi regime's genocide. Yet this public concern for the German-Jewish fallen also served to alter perceptions of the Jewish soldiers. As Jewish wartime patriotism was increasingly emphasised, the fallen began, in turn, to be removed from Germany's memorial culture for the dead of the First World War and placed, instead, into a narrative of the Holocaust.

Three further developments compounded these shifts in the process of commemorating the Jewish war dead. First, after Gershom Scholem, among others, rejected the notion of a German-Jewish symbiosis in the mid 1960s, many people began to view the soldiers as naïve for sacrificing themselves for Germany. If it could be proved that there had never been a genuine dialogue between Germans and Jews, then it became increasingly difficult to celebrate German-Jewish wartime patriotism. Second, the emergence of a younger West German generation also led many people to question the remembrance of the Jewish war dead. An antimilitarist ethos that began to emerge in the 1960s served to dampen interest in German Jews' wartime sacrifice. Instead of honouring fallen soldiers, whether they were non-Jewish or Jewish, many young people began to pay greater attention to the victims of war and violence. Third, by the 1970s most of the soldiers, who had formed communities of remembrance after the war, had passed away. In their place, a younger generation, which had no direct experience of the war, began to remember the fallen. They commemorated the war dead according to their own values, rather than those of the actual veterans.

Jewish Soldiers and the West German *Bundeswehr*

At the close of the 1950s a number of incidents had surfaced to highlight the limitations of the West German public's engagement with their Nazi past. The

presence of a number of former Nazis in the government, such as the Minister for Expellees Theodor Oberländer and state secretary Hans Globke, coupled with the antisemitic wave of 1959 to 1960 had brought strong criticism from politicians and commentators.[14] These incidents forced the West German government to take a greater interest in the Nazi past and to stress more forcibly its commitment to democracy.[15] This section examines one government initiative launched in the wake of these scandals, which suggested a more critical engagement with the past. In 1961, the Ministry of Defence instigated its own project to investigate the fate of the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War. For the Ministry of Defence, the Jewish servicemen, whose service fitted a national conservative understanding of patriotism, offered an obvious way for considering Jewish suffering. Crucially, this focus on Jewish wartime sacrifice placed greater emphasis on, and increased public awareness of, this small group of German Jews.

Since being named the Federal Minister of Defence in 1956, Franz Josef Strauß, a conservative member of the Bavarian (CSU), had sought to build up West Germany's military capabilities.[16] In early 1960, Strauß's press secretary, Gerd Schmückle, met with the editor of the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* Karl Marx and the journalist Werner Katzenstein in Bonn. Although they had met to discuss the political implications of recent armaments agreements between the FRG and Israel, their conversation quickly turned to the fate of the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War.[17] As a direct result of this discussion the Ministry of Defence began to take an active interest in the history of the German-Jewish servicemen. In December 1961, Strauß issued a statement declaring that the names of the Jewish war dead removed from war memorials during the Third Reich were to be returned.[18] This national announcement forced the

---

[14] On the continuities of personnel, see: Ulrich Brochhagen, *Nach Nürnberg: Vergangenheitsbewältigung und Westintegration in der Ära Adenauer*, (Berlin: Ullstein, 1999), pp. 345-367.
[15] Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, p.205.
[16] For a comprehensive, though highly partial, biography of Strauß, see: Stefan Finger, *Franz Josef Strauß: Ein politisches Leben*, (Munich: Olzog, 2005).
[17] Gerd Schmückle, correspondence with author, 04/05/2005.
[18] 'Späte Wiedergutmachung', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 09/12/1960, p.1.

authorities on a local level to investigate whether their own memorials had been altered. The Bavarian government, for instance, instructed the local authorities to check that all Jewish names had been restored.[19]

Three months after Strauß's announcement ordering the return of the Jewish names, Schmückle discussed the fate of German-Jewish soldiers in a RIAS radio broadcast. He outlined the patriotism of the servicemen during the First World War and their subsequent persecution by the Nazi regime. In addition to reiterating the Ministry of Defence's efforts to restore Jewish names to war memorials, Schmückle announced two further projects. First, the Ministry had instructed the Federal Military Research Centre (*Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt*) in Freiburg to research the history of the Jewish soldiers. This work, declared Schmückle, was "more important than many a historical study designed to establish whether this or that formation, on this or that date [...] attacked or retreated."[20] Second, he announced in the radio broadcast that the Ministry of Defence was to arrange for the republication of the RjF's book of Jewish war letters that had first been published in 1935.[21]

When the new edition of the German-Jewish war letters collection was published in autumn 1961, it maintained the same format as the original RjF book.[22] Letters and diary extracts from the fallen soldiers, clearly selected for their heroic and patriotic language, depicted a national conservative understanding of the war. The addition of two new letters to the collection, however, shows that although the book continued to be dedicated to the Jewish soldiers of the First World War, it now also highlighted the suffering of German Jews during the Third Reich. The first additional letter came from Julius Holz who had been killed at the front in 1918. Holz's assurance that he had performed his duty "as a German and as an officer" placed this letter into the same heroic category as the collection's original letters.[23] The second

---

[19] Letter, Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern to die Regierungen, 23/12/1960, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632.
[20] For Schmückle's own account, see: Gerd Schmückle, *Ohne Pauken und Trompeten: Erinnerungen an Krieg und Frieden*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1982), pp. 220-222.
[21] Gerd Schmückle, RIAS Radio Broadcast, 30/03/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/15780.
[22] *Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden mit einem Geleitwort von Franz Josef Strauß*, (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1961).
[23] Letter, Julius Holz, 20/04/1917, in *Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden*, p.16.

additional letter, though, helped to contextualise the first. Writing from the Netherlands post-war, Holz's brother described how in 1942 the siblings' 81-year old mother was taken from the Jewish hospital in Amsterdam then "crammed into goods wagons, deported to Poland and upon arrival in Auschwitz immediately gassed."[24]

In a lengthy introduction to the new edition, Strauß discussed the fate of German-Jewish soldiers in greater depth. He acknowledged that this group of loyal German Jews, who had fought for their country in 1914, had been persecuted after 1933. As with millions of Jews, he noted, the German-Jewish ex-servicemen "were chased across the borders, thrown into concentration camps, internment sites, ghettos and gas chambers or simply shot."[25] Strauß hoped that the republication of the Jewish war letters would help to restore the image of German Jewry that the Nazis had destroyed.[26] This was a message that Strauß also preached to the surviving German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War. In New York, he presented copies of the republished book to members of the Immigrant Jewish War Veterans Association (IJWV), as a sign of the FRG's desire for moral reconciliation.[27]

Strauß's concern for the German-Jewish soldiers seemed remarkably out of character. Even West Germany's first president, Theodor Heuss, found it difficult to hide his surprise at Strauß's actions. In a letter to Strauß, he praised the book's republication and hoped it would help to improve the minister's own public image. "There is a Franz Josef Strauss legend, which is rather ambiguous", wrote Heuss. "I believe that your current effort goes someway to resolving this."[28] Indeed, before this interest in the German-Jewish soldiers, Strauß had shown little indication that he was particularly concerned for making an amends for the Nazis' crimes. He had previously been a firm opponent of the 1952 Luxembourg Agreement and had earned a reputation as a staunchly conservative politician. In a long article in April 1961, for example, the German newsweekly, *Der Spiegel*, claimed that Strauß was a danger for democracy. It argued that he was a power hungry politician,

---

[24] Letter, H.A. Holz to Franz Josef Strauß, 12/04/1961, in *ibid.*, p.20.
[25] Franz Josef Strauß, 'Zum Geleit', in *Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden mit einem Geleitwort von Franz Josef Strauß*, (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1961), pp. 5-13, p.8.
[26] Strauß, 'Zum Geleit', p.5.
[27] Franz Josef Strauß, *Die Erinnerungen*, (Berlin: Siedler, 1989), p.340.
[28] Letter, Theodor Heuss to Franz Josef Strauß, 30/08/1961, BArch Koblenz, N1221, Nr.71.

willing to risk world peace to achieve his own aims.[29] What, then, led Strauß to take such a deep interest in the fate of the German-Jewish First World War soldiers?

It is important to note that Strauß played a far lesser role in the republication of the Jewish war letters than his own assertions implied. In his reply to Heuss's letter and also in his memoirs, he discussed his joy at having had the opportunity to compose a new introduction for the book.[30] Yet it was Gerd Schmückle who actually wrote the introduction and who also arranged for the book's publication with Stuttgart's *Seewald* publishing house.[31] Although Strauß's involvement was limited, he was nonetheless responsible for sanctioning his press secretary's initiative. His willingness to support Schmückle should be seen in the context of two events dominating West German politics at the start of the 1960s.

The first was the 1961 trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem. The capture and trial of Eichmann, who had been one of the main organisers of the Final Solution, generated a tremendous amount of publicity. A survey conducted in May 1961 suggested that 95% of the West German population were aware of the proceedings.[32] Coming so soon after the antisemitic wave of the late 1950s, the Federal government feared that this awkward focus on the Nazis' crimes could damage the FRG's fragile democratic credentials. Its main aim, therefore, was to avoid being drawn into the trial and unfavourably compared to Nazi Germany.[33] For Strauß, Schmückle's interest in the Jewish war letters had clearly come at the right time. By publicly demonstrating his concern for the fate of the German-Jewish soldiers, he was able to show a different side of the German army and draw attention away from the Eichmann trial. Certainly, this is how a number of Jewish veterans viewed Strauß's actions. One ex-serviceman regarded the republication of the Jewish war letters to be a direct reply to events in Jerusalem, while Julius Marx,

---

[29] Dennis Bark and David Gress, *A History of West Germany. From Shadow to Substance, 1945-1963*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p.500.
[30] Letter, Franz Josef Strauß to Theodor Heuss, 06/09/1961 BArch Koblenz, N1221, Nr.71; Strauß, *Die Erinnerungen*, p.335.
[31] Gerd Schmückle, correspondence with author, 04/05/2005.
[32] Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, p.205.
[33] Brochhagen, *Nach Nürnberg*, p.392

whose own war diaries had been published in 1939, suggested that the book had been reprinted "to soften the bad publicity of the Eichmann trial."[34]

A second issue dominating West German political life at the time of the Jewish war letters' republication was the Ministry of Defence's ongoing process of establishing a "tradition" for the West German army (*Bundeswehr*). When the *Bundeswehr* had been reformed in 1955, its leadership had sought to stress its democratic credentials, while at the same time retaining the army's military traditions. By the late 1950s, however, it had become clear that a ministerial decree was required to clarify the army's policy on tradition.[35] As Minister of Defence, Strauß was charged with drafting a decree, which had to strike a difficult balance between the army's disastrous recent past and a positive military image.[36] Along with other supposedly honourable groups, such as the military plotters of 20 July 1944, Strauß sought to portray the Jewish soldiers as a part of the German army's positive traditions.[37] "Their fate, their deaths, their hopes", declared Strauß, "belong insolubly to the history of the German Army."[38]

For Strauß, then, the German-Jewish soldiers provided a positive image of German militarism. By placing Jewish servicemen into the tradition of the *Bundeswehr*, the Ministry of Defence was able to portray a history of the German army that included the Jewish soldiers as comrades rather than as victims. In this narrative, the German army's involvement in Hitler's ideological war and its integral role in the annihilation of European Jewry was absent.[39] Indeed, Strauß's introduction to the war letters gave little indication as to the identity of the perpetrators, even though he himself had fought on the Eastern Front and taken part in the Battle of Stalingrad during the war.[40]

---

[34] Letter, Federick Benario to Franz Josef Strauß, 17/06/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632; Letter, Julius Marx to Franz Josef Strauß, 04/04/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21633.
[35] Donald Abenheim, *Reforging the Iron Cross: The Search for Tradition in the West German Armed Forces*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p.184.
[36] Abenheim, *Reforging the Iron Cross*, pp. 194-201.
[37] On the July 20 legacy, see: David Clay Large, '"A Beacon in the German Darkness": The Anti-Nazi Resistance Legacy in West German Politics', *Journal of Modern History*, 64 Supplement (December 1992), pp. 173-186.
[38] Strauß, 'Zum Geleit', p.12.
[39] On the *Wehrmacht*'s involvement in the Holocaust, see: Jürgen Förster, 'The Relation Between Operation Barbarossa as an Ideological War of Extermination and the Final Solution', in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 85-102.
[40] Finger, *Franz Josef Strauß*, pp. 33-34.

He placed the blame for the Nazis' crimes solely on a totalitarian system of rule controlled by a small group of high-ranking Nazis. "The stated goal of Hitler and his henchmen", asserted Strauß, "was to maintain inhuman hatred way beyond their lifetime."[41] In this explanation, the specific role of German society in the Nazi regime's atrocities was lost within a general image of totalitarianism.

Strauß's focus on the victims of the Nazi regime's crimes, moreover, was also extremely narrow. He made no reference to the extent of the Nazi regime's genocide of European Jewry. His concern for Jewish suffering was limited to a small group of extremely patriotic German Jews who fitted older national conservative notions of sacrifice. "The wartime letters of fallen Jewish Germans", noted the introduction to the RjF's republished book, "show us a generation of Jewish citizens as they really were: their attitudes, their feelings, their love of the homeland."[42] The introduction, though, made no mention of the fate of those German Jews who were less patriotic. The eminent Jewish historian, Eleonore Sterling, regarded Strauß's efforts at rehabilitating the Jewish soldiers to be part of a recent West German concern with the loss of a Jewish cultural contribution. She argued that this interest portrayed an idealised relationship that overplayed Jewish participation, while ignoring German attitudes.[43]

Although Strauß's narrative of the Nazi regime's crimes contained many silences, the introduction to the book was, nonetheless, one of the first histories of German-Jewish First World War soldiers. The wide publicity given to the war letters, moreover, ensured that large sections of the West German public became aware of the soldiers through the book's republication. Encouraged by the Ministry of Defence, which had sent copies of the book to prominent organisations throughout the world, the Jewish and non-Jewish press devoted considerable print space to the new book.[44] American, British and German newspapers all reported on Strauß's plans while the conservative West German, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, republished

---

[41] Strauß, 'Zum Geleit', p.6.
[42] *Ibid.*, p.7.
[43] Eleonore Sterling, 'The Lost Contribution', *World Jewry*, May 1961, pp. 3-4.
[44] Note, Pressereferat, 30/08/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632.

Strauß's introduction to the book of war letters over one full page of its newspaper.[45]

The Ministry of Defence's success at securing wide coverage for the book was evident from the extensive correspondence it received from the surviving soldiers. Some of this was, understandably, critical. Ernst Fraenkel, a German-Jewish professor and war veteran, for example, informed the Ministry of Defence that he wanted "nothing to do with this form of reconciliation", while another former soldier declared that "the wounds are [still] too deep."[46] Nonetheless, many German-Jewish veterans viewed Strauß's actions as a genuine sign of reconciliation. A member of Berlin's Jewish community, for instance, thanked Strauß for improving German-Jewish relations.[47] Several German Jews also asked whether Strauß could check that their own relatives' names remained on specific war memorials. A letter from Daniel Schoenfaerber, a German Jew resident in America, was typical. After reading an article in the *New York Times*, Schoenfaerber wanted to know whether the names of his two uncles, who had both been killed in the First World War, were still on Würzburg's city war memorial.[48] The Ministry of Defence sent an army officer to inspect the site, who was able to inform Schoenfaerber that no Jewish names had been removed.[49]

The publicity generated by the republication of the book of war letters helped to increase public awareness of the Jewish First World War soldiers. For Schmückle, this coverage ensured that "the memory of the Jewish soldiers [would] not disappear into oblivion."[50] Yet the Jewish servicemen had not been completely forgotten. During the 1950s, the relatives of the fallen and German-Jewish veterans, such as the members of the IJWV in New York,

---

[45] 'Strauß ehrt das Andenken der jüdischen Soldaten', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 01/04/1961, p.3; '12,000 Jews Died for Germany', *Jewish Chronicle*, 07/04/1961, p.15; 'Jewish Soldiers in First World War', *AJR-Information*, May 1961, p.7; 'Sie starben für Deutschland', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 07/04/1961, p.1; 'Bonn to Hail Role of Jews in 1914-18', *New York Times*, 31/03/1961, p.5; 'Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30/08/1961, p.9.

[46] Letter, Ernst Fraenkel to Bundesminister für Verteidigung, April 1961, Wiener Library, Nr.828/2; Letter, Jakob Stein to Gerd Schmückle, 21/04/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21634.

[47] Letter, Leo Witkowski to Franz Josef Strauß, 04/04/61, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21634.

[48] Letter, Daniel Schoenfaerber to Franz Josef Strauß, 04/04/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21634.

[49] Letter, Wehrbereichskommando VI to Daniel Schoenfaerber, 30/05/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21634.

[50] Letter, Gerd Schmückle to Arthur Ansorge, 07/04/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632.

had continued to remember the war dead. By reissuing the war letters, then, the Ministry of Defence was not re-remembering the Jewish fallen, as Schmückle claimed. Rather its focus on the Jewish soldiers served to broaden a hitherto modest memorial culture, preserved in smaller, marginal spaces, into a more expansive public process of remembrance with a wider profile.

German-Jewish Patriotism and the Holocaust

The appearance of a number of exhibitions and regional studies on Jewish history during the early 1960s revealed the growing concern of some West Germans for the fate of German Jews. The public focus on the German-Jewish First World War soldiers, which Strauß's republication of the war letters had generated, ensured that many of these projects made specific reference to Jewish wartime service for Germany. By contrasting the patriotism of German Jews in the First World War with the persecution of Jews during the Third Reich, it was far easier for concerned West Germans to highlight the brutality of the Nazis' crimes. These narratives of German-Jewish sacrifice, though, differed considerably from the veterans' own interpretations of the war. As this section contends, this renewed focus on the German-Jewish soldiers helped to alter the way in which the fallen were remembered. Instead of focusing on individual losses, Germans began to commemorate the fallen Jewish soldiers as one homogenous group.

The republication of the book of Jewish war letters prompted many Jewish ex-servicemen to record their own personal experiences of the war. In a letter to the Federal Military Research Centre, S. Auerbach, a German-Jewish war veteran living in London, for example, reminisced about his own division, the 81st Infantry Regiment from Frankfurt. He noted that a number of Jewish servicemen had served with him at the front and compared their service record to that of the non-Jewish soldiers.[51] Meanwhile, Adolph Asch, who was also a Jewish war veteran, recounted his experiences in an article in the *AJR-Information* newsletter. He remembered several of his personal

[51] Letter, S. Auerbach to Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, 23/09/1961, BArch Freiburg, PH 10 II/125 – IR81.

acquaintances from the RjF and discussed the group's defensive activity in interwar Berlin.[52]

The reissuing of the Jewish war letters collection also sparked considerable interest in German-Jewish soldiers among non-Jewish groups. In the FRG, two radio stations even produced programmes about the Jews' sacrifice in the First World War. When the *Bayerischer Rundfunk* broadcast a programme on the soldiers in October 1961, it included a series of readings from the Jewish war letters collection. It used these to demonstrate to its listeners that 12,000 German Jews had actually been killed in the war. For the radio station, the extracts symbolised "how Jews, like all other Germans, had once viewed Germany as their national homeland."[53] The following April, a programme produced by the radio station *Sender Freies Berlin* took a similar approach to Jewish wartime sacrifice. It combined examples of Jewish war letters with wartime statistics to demonstrate the patriotism of German Jewry. "Germans of Jewish faith", assured the broadcast, "had [fought] as soldiers and officers in the land and air forces with bravery, patriotism and masculine strength."[54]

This repeated stress on the Jewish soldiers' patriotism suggested that the radio stations were more concerned with Jewish sacrifice for Germany during the First World War than for the fate of Jews during the Third Reich. The sacrifice of 12,000 German Jews in the First World War fitted into national conservative narratives of sacrifice and patriotism. It was clearly still far easier for Germans to relate to these German Jews who had fought and died for Germany than to other Jewish groups that had also been persecuted during the Third Reich. This interest in the Germanness of the Jewish servicemen, moreover, ensured that as West German society began to form more sophisticated narratives of Jewish suffering, the Jewish soldiers remained a point of public focus. If Jews had been loyal German citizens, as their wartime patriotism suggested, then this clearly demonstrated the absurdity and unjustness of the Nazi regime's persecution of German Jewry.

---

[52] Adolph Asch, 'Fight for German Jewry's Honour', *AJR-Information*, August 1961, p.9.
[53] 'Wehrpolitische Umschau', *Bayerischer Rundfunk*, 18/10/1961, transcript in possession of Gerd Schmückle.
[54] 'Kriegsbriefe gefallener Juden', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 27/04/1962, p.10.

When an exhibition of Jewish history and culture along the Rhine, opened in Cologne in October 1963, where less than four years earlier the city's main synagogue had been desecrated, it placed particular emphasis on Jewish patriotism in the First World War. During its five month run, the event, entitled 'Monumenta Judaica' attracted some 4,200 visitors a week.[55] Unlike the 1960 Synagoga exhibition in Recklinghausen, which made no mention of the First World War, the Monumenta Judaica contained an entire section dedicated to Jewish soldiers in the war. In this area, it displayed original artefacts, including images of the Jewish First World War memorials in Offenbach and Ichenhausen, photographs of Jewish soldiers and a service prayer book.[56] Of course in Recklinghausen the focus had been specifically on the Jewish religion rather than on Jewish culture and history in general. Nonetheless, the inclusion of the First World War in the Cologne exhibition highlighted the practice of using the history of the Jewish servicemen to increase awareness of the Nazis' persecution of German Jewry.

In the early 1960s, a number of German town authorities began to publish Jewish communal histories.[57] Many of these approached the history of the German-Jewish soldiers in a similar way.[58] In 1963 in Heilbronn, for example, a local journalist, Hans Franke, wrote an account of the town's Jewish community from the Middle Ages until its destruction during the Third Reich. Franke listed the twenty-seven Jewish soldiers killed in the war and stressed that this sacrifice was statistically the same as that of the non-Jewish population.[59] After demonstrating the patriotism of Heilbronn's Jews through the example of the First World War, the book outlined post-war antisemitism and the persecution of German Jews during the Third Reich. Franke's stress

---

[55] '"Monumenta Judaica" in Cologne', *AJR-Information*, March 1964, p.5.
[56] Konrad Schilling (ed.), *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein. Katalog*, (Cologne: J. Melzer, 1963).
[57] On this boom in local Jewish histories, see: E.G. Lowenthal, 'In the Shadow of Doom: Post-War Publications on Jewish Communal History in Germany', *LBIYB*, 11 (1966), pp. 306-335.
[58] See for example: Heinz Keil (ed.), *Dokumentation über die Verfolgung der jüdischen Bürger von Ulm/Donau* (Ulm, 1961); Stadtarchiv Nürnberg (ed.), *Schicksal jüdischer Mitbürger in Nürnberg 1850-1945*, (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, 1965); Arnd Müller, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg 1146-1945*, (Nuremberg: Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, 1968); Johannes Buecher, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde in Beuel*, (Beuel: Stadtverwaltung Beuel, 1965); Zvi Asaria (ed.), *Die Juden in Köln, von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1959).
[59] Hans Franke, *Geschichte und Schicksal der Juden in Heilbronn. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungen (1050 – 1945)*, (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 1963), pp. 97-98.

on Jewish wartime sacrifice, then, helped to emphasise that the Nazi regime had deported and murdered loyal citizens of Heilbronn.

The publication of local histories, such as Franke's study of Heilbronn, marked a new stage in the commemoration of the Jewish war dead. In these local studies, the remembrance of the fallen soldiers was placed in a broader history of antisemitism and Jewish suffering. Their history now served as an important way for West Germans to engage with the fate of German Jews who had once lived in their own towns and cities. Significantly, though, these publications generally made no attempt to relate the persecution of Jews from their own communities to the genocide of European Jewry as a whole. As Heilbronn's Town Mayor, Paul Meyle, stated in a short introduction to Franke's book on the town's Jewish community, its purpose was to record "the tragic fate of those former Jewish fellow citizens that must not be lost from memory."[60] Reflecting the book's role in the process of reconciliation, Meyle also arranged for a copy of the publication to be sent to the town's former residents now living abroad.[61]

Many German Jews welcomed this focus on Jewish wartime sacrifice and viewed it as a significant act of reconciliation. Victoria Wolff, a Jewish author originally from Heilbronn, for instance, applauded the mayor's efforts at maintaining contact with the town's former Jewish residents. "He has taken the pen into his own hands", praised Wolff, "and in particular written to those who lost relatives in the First World War."[62] The London *AJR-Information* newsletter, meanwhile, concluded its positive review of the book by applauding Franke and Meyle for their "work for mutual understanding."[63] Meyle was also praised when he announced that the town authorities would re-landscape the area surrounding the town's Jewish First World War memorial.[64] "The news that the Jewish war memorial is to be tidied up [...] was a particular joy to us, as the name of my brother is among the victims", wrote

---

[60] Paul Meyle, 'Geleitwort', in Hans Franke, *Geschichte und Schicksal der Juden in Heilbronn. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungen (1050 – 1945)*, (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 1963), pp. 7-8, p.8.
[61] Letter, Paul Meyle to Julius Mayer, 27/11/1963, StadtA HN, B21, Nr.66.
[62] Victoria Wolff, 'Der gute Bürgermeister von Heilbronn', *Die Weltwoche*, 06/12/1963, p.1.
[63] 'Heilbronn's Jews Remembered', *AJR-Information*, April 1964, p.12.
[64] Letter, Paul Meyle, November 1965, StadtA HN, ZS4988.

one German Jew from Chicago.[65] The West German public's interest in the Jewish First World War soldiers, then, not only forced a deeper confrontation with the fate of German Jewry during the Third Reich, but also helped with the difficult process of reconciliation.

It is important to note, however, that the increasing use of the Jewish First World War fallen as a means to highlight the Nazi regime's crimes only found resonance among certain sections of West German society. In many rural areas, the Jewish war dead even remained absent from official narratives of the war. In the village of Rödelmaier near Bad Neustadt, for example, the community's Jewish soldiers were completely forgotten. When a new war memorial for the dead of both world wars was constructed in 1961, the name of Simon Franken, a Jewish soldier from the community, was absent. The local authorities explained that it had only included the names of the fallen whose relatives still resided in the village.[66]

There was, nonetheless, a growing change in the West German public's perception of the Jewish soldiers. As West Germans began to view Jewish suffering during the Third Reich through the prism of their sacrifice in the First World War, the Jewish war dead were increasingly depersonalised. When a journalist for Munich's *Süddeutsche Zeitung* wrote an article on the history of the city's Jewish community based on its two main Jewish cemeteries, she again framed the Nazis' crimes with Jewish wartime patriotism. Gravestones erected in memory of those murdered in Auschwitz or Theresienstadt were mentioned after the war memorial for Munich's 177 fallen soldiers of the First World War or alongside heroic inscriptions on unknown soldier's headstones: "Died as a hero fighting for the fatherland."[67] Her concern, though, was not for the individual soldiers, but rather for what their sacrifice symbolised.

In 1963 in Offenbach, meanwhile, the city authorities arranged for a new stone memorial plaque to be added to the existing First World War memorial in the Jewish burial ground. The new stone was dedicated to the members of Offenbach's Jewish community who had died between 1933 and

---

[65] Letter, Ludwig Scheuer to Paul Meyle, 31/01/1966, StadtA HN, B21, Nr.9.
[66] Letter, Verwaltungsgemeinschaft Bad Neustadt to Israel Schwierz, 22/11/1995, letter in possession of Israel Schwierz.
[67] Karin Friedrich, 'Die Zeit verwischte ihre Namen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 29/11/1963, p.13.

1945 from the citizens of the city (see figure 17). Although superficially the new plaque appeared to be similar to the additional layers of remembrance added to Jewish First World War memorials in the immediate post-war years, Offenbach's memorial was actually rededicated in very different circumstances. Rather than a spontaneous act of mourning conducted by Jewish survivors, Offenbach's city authorities made a conscious decision to add the new plaque to the Jewish war memorial.

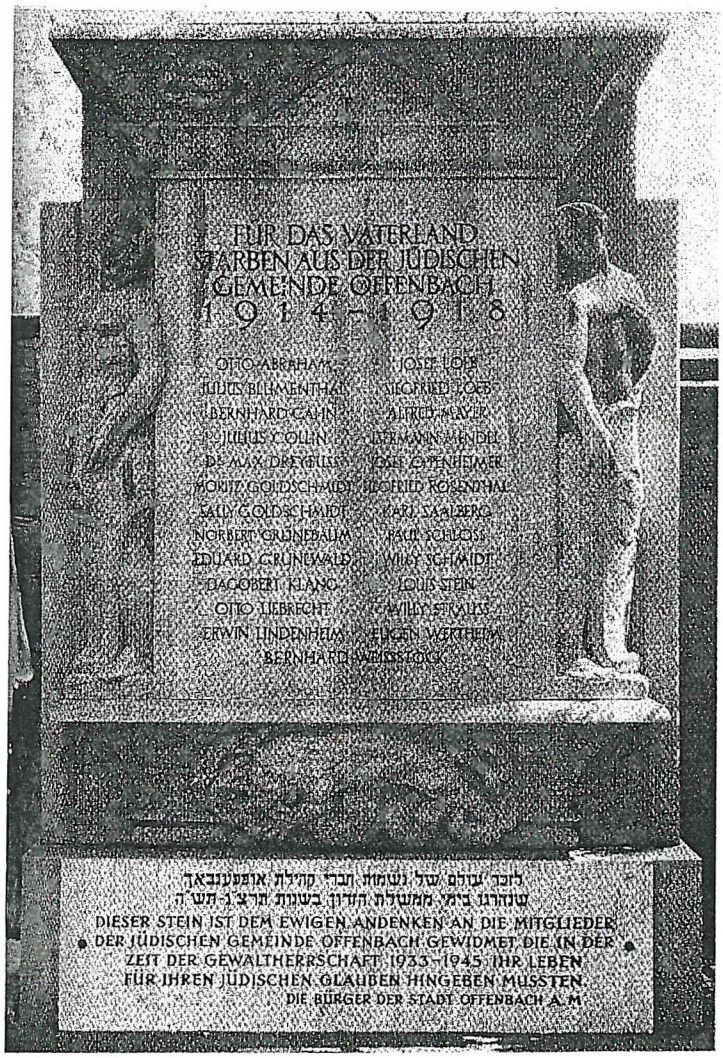

Figure 17. Offenbach First World War memorial with additional Holocaust remembrance plaque, 1963.[68]

In his dedication speech, rabbi Lichtigfeld, who had himself served at the front in the First World War, followed the increasingly common approach of using Jewish sacrifice in the First World War to emphasise the Nazi

[68] Schilling, *Monumenta Judaica*.

regime's persecution of German Jewry.[69] "The Jews [in the First World War], who later [...] lost the right to call themselves Germans", regretted Lichtigfeld, "gave their lives like all others in the defence of their German fatherland."[70] Lichtigfeld added that although it may at first seem a contradiction to remember the victims of Nazi persecution at a First World War memorial, the two events had to be seen together. "In truth, by honouring the heroes and victims together, the tragic path to barbarism [...] becomes all the more clear", he concluded.[71] Herbert Lewin, chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany (*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*), developed Lichtigfeld's speech by juxtaposing denial of the extent of Jewish First World War sacrifice with recent attempts to deny that six million Jews had been murdered during the Second World War.[72] For Lichtigfeld and Lewin, then, the lessons of German-Jewish sacrifice in the First World War could be used as a way to raise awareness of Jewish suffering during the Third Reich.

The alteration of Offenbach's war memorial showed clearly how the Ministry of Defence's interest in Jewish soldiers and a growing awareness of Jewish suffering had combined to reshape the remembrance of the Jewish war dead. Rather than commemorating Jewish service in the First World War, the focus of Offenbach's war memorial was on the victims of Nazi persecution who despite their German patriotism had been murdered by their fellow countrymen. When the Monumenta Judaica exhibition in Cologne displayed a photograph of Offenbach's war memorial, it also emphasised the new memorial plaque over the individual Jewish fallen from the First World War.[73] A similar change occurred in other German towns and cities. The town authorities in Crailsheim, for example, planned to set the town's Jewish war memorial plaque in a limestone block together with a plaque for the victims of

---

[69] On rabbi Lichtigfeld, see: Julius Carlebach and Andreas Brämer, 'Continuity or New Beginning? Isaac Emil Lichtigfeld, Rabbi in Frankfurt am Main and Hesse, 1954-1967', *LBIYB*, 42 (1997), pp. 275-302.
[70] 'Mahnung zu Wahrheit und Anstand', *Offenbach-Post*, 04/03/1963, Stadtarchiv Offenbach, M16/174.
[71] 'Feierstunde in Offenbach am Main', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 22/03/1963, p.12.
[72] 'Mahnung zu Wahrheit und Anstand', *Offenbach-Post*, 04/03/1963, Stadtarchiv Offenbach, M16/174.
[73] Schilling, *Monumenta Judaica*.

the Third Reich.[74] By the mid 1960s, West German society had begun to separate the Jewish war dead from the other fallen soldiers of the First World War by placing them, instead, into a larger narrative of Jewish suffering.

'Against the Myth of the German-Jewish Dialogue'

A number of commentators criticised Strauß's edition of the Jewish war letters collection for its exaltation of Jewish sacrifice for Germany. One reviewer writing in the *AJR-Information* newsletter, for instance, complained that the book's extracts revealed "strong words, almost unbearable words."[75] The reviewer's unease with such overt examples of German-Jewish patriotism foreshadowed a turn during the mid 1960s against a growing tendency to celebrate the Jews' contribution to German culture. This development revealed itself most prominently in a debate between the Jewish scholar Gershom Scholem and several non-Zionists over the existence of a genuine German-Jewish dialogue. Their acrimonious dispute, as this section argues, strengthened the view that the First World War had marked a turning point in German-Jewish relations. As perceptions of the war began to be revised, the way in which Germans and Jews remembered the Jewish war dead also changed. Instead of commemorating the Jewish fallen with the other German victims of the First World War, the Jewish war dead began to be remembered separately within a nascent Israeli memorial culture.

In 1962, after being asked to contribute to a series of essays on the German-Jewish symbiosis, Gershom Scholem launched a scathing attack on the mere suggestion of such a close relationship. "I deny that there has ever been such a German-Jewish dialogue in any genuine sense whatsoever", declared Scholem. "The one and only partnership of dialogue which took the Jews as such seriously was that of the anti-Semites", he added.[76] Scholem followed this attack with two more public declarations against the notion of a German-Jewish symbiosis. In an article for the Leo Baeck Institute (LBI), published in 1965, Scholem conceded that while discussions had taken place

[74] Letter, Israelitische Kultusvereinigung Würrtemberg und Hohenzollern to Theodore Rosenfeld, 17/03/1964, Zentralarchiv Heidelberg, B1/7, Nr.602.
[75] 'Soldiers Without a Cause?', *AJR-Information*, April 1962, p.12.
[76] Gershom Scholem, 'Against the Myth of the German-Jewish Dialogue', in Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis. Selected Essays*, (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 61-64.

between Germans and Jews, it could never be seen as a dialogue.[77] Speaking at the World Jewish Congress the following year, Scholem went further in his pronouncements. He stated that the notion of a symbiosis was a post-war construct, posthumously placed on Jews so that Germans would avoid having to recognise the realities of the German-Jewish relationship.[78]

Much of Scholem's thinking, especially in respect to his views on nationalism, had been formed by the catastrophe of the First World War.[79] Although Scholem made no direct reference to German-Jewish First World War servicemen in these three articles, this group of German patriots certainly fitted into his scathing condemnation of Jewish assimilationists. His conclusion that "the love affair of the Jews and the Germans remained one-sided and unreciprocated" could easily be applied to the Jewish soldiers.[80] The German-Jewish fighters appeared to be the epitome of Scholem's thesis, as their supposed misguided faith in the existence of a genuine dialogue between Germans and Jews had cost many of them their lives. Scholem's attack on German-Jewish patriotism, then, helped to harden many Jews' criticism of Jewish wartime sacrifice for Germany.

Scholem's stringent dismissal of the existence of a German-Jewish symbiosis also led non-Zionist Jewish groups to question the impact of the First World War on the spread of antisemitism. In his writings, Scholem had attacked those Jews, such as the former CV activist Eva Reichmann, who purportedly viewed the rise of National Socialism as "a kind of historical accident."[81] Scholem declared the notion that the Nazis had come "from out of the blue, or that it was exclusively the product of the aftermath of World War I" to be foolish.[82] In his opinion, relations between Germans and Jews had from the very beginning suffered from a "false start".[83] In a short article in the LBI's

---

[77] Gershom Scholem, 'Once More: The German-Jewish Dialogue', in Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis. Selected Essays*, (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 65-70, p.66.
[78] Gershom Scholem, 'Jews and Germans', in Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis. Selected Essays*, (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 71-92, p.72.
[79] David Biale, 'Gershom Scholem between German and Jewish Nationalism', in Klaus Berghahn (ed.), *The German-Jewish Dialogue Reconsidered: A Symposium in Honor of George L. Mosse*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 177-188, p.178.
[80] Scholem, 'Jews and Germans', p.86.
[81] Scholem, 'Once More: The German-Jewish Dialogue', p.67.
[82] Scholem, 'Jews and Germans', p.88.
[83] *Ibid.*, p.90.

Bulletin, Reichmann responded to Scholem's criticisms.[84] She complained that by taking a purely Judeo-centric approach, Scholem had removed the German-Jewish relationship from its historical context. While she agreed with Scholem that German antisemitism had a long prehistory, Reichmann argued that the First World War had been the crucial turning point. "That these latent germs were revitalised by the post-war crisis", asserted Reichamnn, "that the anti-toxins were washed away. Who would be able to deny that?"[85]

In attempting to combat Scholem's complete rejection of the notion of a German-Jewish dialogue, Reichmann placed more attention on the German-Jewish First World War experience. The republication of Julius Marx's war diaries in 1964 also helped to lay greater emphasis on the First World War. When Marx had first published his diaries from his Swiss exile in 1939, he had used his book to attack the Nazi regime's persecution of German Jewry.[86] The republished version of his diaries maintained the same format.[87] It criticised the suffering of the German-Jewish soldiers and depicted antisemitism in the trenches. "At the start of the war", recorded Marx, "it appeared as if every prejudice had vanished, there were only Germans. Now the old hateful expressions can be heard again."[88] Above all, though, Marx's account placed particular weight on the German army's 1916 census of Jewish soldiers (*Judenzählung*). After the announcement of the census, his diary entry reports bitterly: "Damn it! So that's why we're risking our necks for this country."[89]

The significance that Marx placed on the *Judenzählung* found great resonance among other Jewish commentators. In a review of Marx's book for the LBI's *Bulletin*, Walter Huder emphasised this particular aspect of the diaries. "The defamation of the Jews as traitors to the fatherland, shirkers, war profiteers and saboteurs", wrote Huder, "found a sympathetic audience

---

[84] For the background to the debate and a short overview, see: Nils Roemer, 'The Making of a New Discipline: The London LBI and the Writing of the German-Jewish Past', in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 173-199.
[85] Eva Reichmann, 'Zur Klärung in eigener Sache', *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts*, 36 (1966), pp. 342-344.
[86] Julius Marx, *Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden*, (Zurich: Die Liga, 1939).
[87] Julius Marx, *Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden*, (Frankfurt: Ner-Tamid, 1964).
[88] Julius Marx Diary Entry, 05/10/1914, in Marx, *Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden*, (1964), p.32.
[89] Julius Marx Diary Entry, 02/11/1916, in Marx, *Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden*, (1964), p.138.

among wide sections of the population.[90] For Huder, Marx's diaries demonstrated that after the *Judenzählung* the war had been a time of immense torment for German Jewry. The book "does not isolate the Jewish First World War servicemen's tale of suffering, but rather helps to place their tale of suffering into the overall history of Judaism", concluded Huder.[91]

As a result of Reichmann and Marx's emphasis on the First World War and in particular on the German army's *Judenzählung*, Germans and Jews increasingly viewed the war as a crucial turning point in Jewish history. Many of the earliest post-war publications on German-Jewish history had paid little attention to the *Judenzählung*. H. G. Adler's history of *The Jews in Germany* from 1960, for example, devoted only two sentences to the census. Adler concluded that the census had shown that "the percentage of Jews at the front was relatively higher than that of Christians."[92] An essay collection published to accompany the 1963 Monumenta Judaica exhibition also mentioned the *Judenzählung* in equally brief prose. Rather than viewing the census as a significant turning point in Jewish history, the article concentrated on refuting allegations of Jewish wartime shirking, by republishing the statistics of the Jewish war dead.[93]

During the mid to late 1960s, as the *Judenzählung* began to take a more prominent role in narratives of the German-Jewish experience, this changed. When in 1969 Ernest Hamburger published a survey of German-Jewish history, for example, he portrayed the census of 1916 as a major turning point. The propagandistic potential of the census that had "brought antisemitic feeling to an unprecedented climax", argued Hamburger, would later bring Hitler to power.[94] Also in 1969, Egmont Zechlin produced the first major study of the *Judenzählung*. By examining the relationship between state politics and the Jews, Zechlin was able to conclude that the "terrible effect" of

---

[90] Walter Huder, 'Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Judentums', *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts*, 31 (1965), pp. 240-249, p.240.
[91] Huder, 'Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden', p.246.
[92] H. G. Adler, *The Jews in Germany: From the Enlightenment to National Socialism*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, [org. 1960] 1969), p.120.
[93] Hans Martin Klinkenberg, 'Zwischen Liberalismus und Nationalismus', in Konrad Schilling (ed.), *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein. Katalog*, (Cologne: J. Melzer, 1963), pp. 309-384, pp. 362-363.
[94] Ernest Hamburger, 'One Hundred Years of Emancipation', *LBIYB*, 14 (1969), pp. 3-66, p.28.

the *Judenzählung* had helped to reinforce pre-existing antisemitic tendencies.[95] Two years later, Werner Mosse published an edited collection of essays on German Jewry during the First World War and the early years of the Weimar Republic. The volume's 1916 start date highlighted the significance that had come to be placed on the army's census of the same year.[96] Werner Jochmann's contribution, which focused on the spread of antisemitism during this period, placed particular weight on the *Judenzählung*. "Whatever the true circumstances of it were", wrote Jochmann, "the Judenzählung contributed to a decisive estrangement between Jews and their comrades."[97]

The growing historiographical consensus that the First World War and the *Judenzählung* had marked a turning point in German Jewish / non-Jewish relations helped to alter the remembrance of the Jewish war dead. If the First World War was perceived to mark the effective start of the Nazi regime's persecution of European Jewry, then it clearly became more difficult to commemorate the heroic sacrifice of the Jewish soldiers who had died in the same war. As a result, Jewish groups moved away from existing memorial practices, which had tended to remember the Jewish fallen as part of a wider German sacrifice in the First World War. Instead they began to remember the Jewish fallen separately, viewing them as victims of German antisemitism and wartime rejection.

This change in remembrance practice was particularly evident in plans to plant a forest for the 12,000 German-Jewish fallen in Israel. William Wertheimer, a war veteran from Hardheim who had emigrated to New York during the Third Reich, led this project on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. Under the National Fund's guidance, a number of forests had already been planted throughout Israel, including a "Martyrs' Forest" in memory of the six million Holocaust victims.[98] Wertheimer's forest for the war dead fitted into a

---

[95] Egmont Zechlin, *Die deutsche Politik und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p.535, p.561.
[96] Werner Mosse (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971).
[97] Werner Jochmann, 'Die Ausbreitung des Antisemitismus', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971), pp. 409-510, p.426.
[98] Shaul Ephraim Cohen, *The Politics of Planting: Israeli-Palestinian Competition for Control of Land in the Jerusalem Periphery*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p.65.

similar narrative of persecution that emphasised Jewish rebirth in Israel. Each tree of the forest was supposed to represent one of the 12,000 Jewish fallen, thereby creating a living memorial.[99] Instead of remembering their sacrifice for Germany, Wertheimer's plan commemorated the fallen Jewish soldiers as fighters for Israel, whose deaths had eventually enabled the new state to blossom.

The forest for the 12,000 fallen received a great deal of support from German military organisations. An article for the Federal Ministry of Defence's newsletter, *Truppenpraxis*, for example, praised the project's efforts at commemorating Jewish wartime sacrifice.[100] West Germany's National Military Museum in Rastatt also greeted the forest and donated 50DM to help fund further planting, while the newsletter of the German War Graves' Commission (VDK) called on its readers to contribute funds for the forest.[101] "If the millions of Germans who lost a relative in the two world wars [...] also want to honour those German Jews who gave their life at the front", suggested the VDK, "then the heroes' grove (*Ehrenhain*) near Haifa offers a good opportunity."[102]

The three organisations' support for the forest was driven by a belief that the *Judenzählung* had led directly to the Nazis' persecution of German Jewry. The VDK's newsletter expressed this most forthrightly. The Jewish soldiers "were massively disappointed when the stab in the back lie led to the issuing of the Judenzählung", noted the VDK. "This prepared the way", it continued, "for what happened in Germany exactly 20-years later during the Reichskristallnacht, when the first peak of the 'Final Solution' was reached."[103] It is significant, though, that the focus remained on the suffering of German Jews, rather than the wider persecution of European Jewry. Nonetheless, if the wartime *Judenzählung* had directly contributed to the Nazi regime's later crimes, then the organisations hoped that Wertheimer's memorial project

---

[99] William Wertheimer, *Zwischen zwei Welten: Der Förster von Brooklyn*, (Passau: Neue Presse, 1980), p.97.
[100] 'Gedenkhain für die gefallenen Juden der ehemaligen deutschen Armee 1914-1918 in Haifa', *Truppenpraxis*, November 1964, LBINY, AR798.
[101] Letter, Historisches Museum Schloss Rastatt to William Wertheimer, 06/10/1966, LBINY, AR798.
[102] Heiner Lichtenstein, 'Der Ehrenhain bei Haifa', *Kriegsgräberfürsorge*, November 1969, p.187.
[103] *Ibid.*

would mitigate the census's effects and help to improve German-Jewish relations. By supporting the forest with such enthusiasm, however, they also helped to alter the remembrance of the Jewish war dead. Rather than strengthening the commemoration of German-Jewish soldiers within Germany, they transferred the memory of the fallen to a new forest in Israel.

1968 and the Anti-Militarist Turn

When the Israeli journalist, Amos Elon, visited West Germany in the mid 1960s, he discovered a young generation disconnected from, but still affected by, the Third Reich. "Compared with young people in other Western countries", observed Elon, "the West German youngsters appear not only less 'patriotic,' but almost ominously sedate and precariously sober minded."[104] Elon's remarks referred to a generation of young Germans that had been born after the Second World War. Although they were too young to have experienced Nazism firsthand, most had a knowledge of the Nazis' crimes through their schooling, the well-publicised war crimes trials and recent literary works. This awareness, as Elon noted, intensified a growing generational revolt. Many young people took a greater interest in the Nazis' victims, while at the same time rejecting older values, such as militarism and national sacrifice. The younger generation's criticism of these ideals helped to alter the way in which West Germans honoured the dead from the two world wars. This section argues that instead of commemorating the German-Jewish fallen within existing memorial cultures, young West Germans also sought to remember the Jewish war dead in a less militaristic manner.

During the 1960s, young West Germans began to take an increasingly active role in addressing the victims of Nazism. Many forged strong links with Jewish organisations at home and abroad. And it became increasingly common for groups of young Germans to arrange working holidays to Kibbutzim in Israel or to visit Jewish communities throughout Europe. In the summer of 1965, for instance, a Berlin Protestant congregation took part in an exchange visit with Jewish families in England.[105] Within the FRG, youth

[104] Amos Elon, *Journey Through a Haunted Land: The New Germany*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p.200.
[105] William Simpson, 'Today and Yesterday', *Common Ground*, Winter 1966/67, pp. 6-10.

groups also made a strong effort to improve Jewish / non-Jewish relations. Many helped to restore Jewish communal sites or to maintain Jewish burial grounds. A German youth organisation in Kaiserslautern, for example, volunteered to restore the civilian and war graves in the city's Jewish cemetery during the winter of 1965.[106] In itself, this was a visible sign of a more determined attitude among some young Germans to engage with those who had suffered during the Third Reich.

Many members of this younger West German generation, though, wanted to do more than simply redress the Nazi regime's crimes. As they acquired a deeper understanding of the Nazis' atrocities, they also sought to challenge their parents' attitudes towards the past. This was a question of legitimacy. If it could be shown that those in power had played an active role in the Third Reich, then their claims to authority were weakened.[107] Much of the younger generation's anger was channelled against perceived continuities in the structure of society before and after 1945. In universities, where the young people's discontent was most strongly felt, students questioned their own professors' background. Many university staff members, of course, had themselves been young careerists during the Nazi era.[108] America's ongoing war with Vietnam, moreover, led many Germans to draw parallels between this conflict and the Nazi regime's own use of violence and military aggression.[109]

Within the youth movements, these resentments manifested themselves in a strong anti-militarist sentiment. Students and other members of a critical intelligentsia fought for disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and test-ban treaties.[110] The youth movements also criticised the use of military regalia in remembrance services for the dead of the two world wars. In September 1968, for instance, when military formations marched through the

---

[106] 'Freiwilliger Einsatz auf dem Ehrenfriedhof', *Pfälzer Volkszeitung*, 22/11/1965, Stadtarchiv Kaiserslautern, Friedhöfe 5.
[107] Harold Marcuse, 'The Revival of Holocaust Awareness in West Germany, Israel, and the United States', in Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (eds.), *1968: The World Transformed*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 421-438, p.421.
[108] Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-1945*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), p.312.
[109] Burns and van der Will, *Protest and Democracy in West Germany*, p.107.
[110] Alice Holmes Cooper, *Paradoxes of Peace: German Peace Movements since 1945*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), p.97.

former Dachau concentration camp in honour of the Nazis' victims, a group of student radicals staged a protest at the camp. They believed that the use of military forms showed that the lessons of the Second World War had still to be learnt.[111] In Hamburg, meanwhile, young people were at the centre of growing protests against the city's 76th Infantry Regiment memorial. They were particularly angered at the memorial's depiction of marching soldiers and also called for its militarist inscription to be removed: "Germany must live, even if we have to die" (Deutschland muß leben, sogar wenn wir sterben müssen).[112]

The authorities in Hamburg responded to these criticisms of the city's memorial culture by making some small reforms to the services held on the annual Day of National Mourning. In 1965, on the suggestion of Hamburg's schools department, the Senate decided to lay a wreath each year on a memorial in the *Bullenhuser Damm* School. The memorial had been dedicated to the memory of twenty non-German children, who after surviving the concentration camp system had been murdered in the school buildings at the end of the war. By increasing the presence of the victims of Nazism in the annual ceremony, the city authorities clearly hoped to improve the public image of its memorial culture. As the schools department pointed out, the memorial's "political importance" made it an ideal location for the Senate to lay a wreath each year.[113]

During the 1960s, other West German cities also witnessed a gradual change in the format of the Day of National Mourning. Speakers at the main national ceremony, which was held each year in Bonn, began to place a greater emphasis on the racial victims of Nazism. In the 1964 service, for example, the president of the VDK spoke of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who had suffered death through torture or been killed in the gas chambers.[114] Although he referred to the Jewish victims of Nazism explicitly, he focused only on the 200,000 German Jews murdered in the Holocaust.

---

[111] Marcuse, 'The Revival of Holocaust Awareness', p.427.
[112] Bärbel Hedinger, *Ein Kriegsdenkmal in Hamburg*, (Hamburg: Tutor, 1979), p.52; Hans Walden, 'Das Schweigen der Denkmäler. Wie sich Hamburg des Kriegs entsinnt', in Peter Reichel (ed.), *Das Gedächtnis der Stadt: Hamburg im Umgang mit seiner nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit*, (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1997), pp. 29-46, p.34.
[113] Letter, Landesschulrat to Senatskanzlei, 20/11/1964, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3973.
[114] 'Das Vermächtnis der Toten', *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, 20/11/1964, p.16.

The six million Jewish victims of the genocide were not mentioned. Nonetheless, reflecting the concerns of a younger generation of West Germans, there was also a growing tendency to relate remembrance services to contemporary examples of war and violence. During the 1968 Day of National Mourning, the VDK's representative in Berlin also remembered those killed in the Vietnam War, while a speaker in Heilbronn used the occasion to call for more development aid for the Third World.[115] Although these additions diluted West Germans' confrontation with their own past, it also reflected current political concerns in the FRG.[116]

Some war veterans and members of the older generation, who had grown accustomed to the existing memorial culture, resented these changes. In Hamburg, veterans from the 76th Infantry Regiment formed a group to protect their memorial from what they considered to be unjust criticism.[117] One Hamburg resident, meanwhile, whose husband had fought in the 76th Regiment during the First World War, publicly expressed her annoyance at changes to the city's remembrance calendar. In a letter to the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, she complained that the Senate had overlooked the regiment's memorial on "Heroes' Remembrance Day" (*Heldengedenktag*). The widow's use of the Nazis' term for the FRG's Day of National Mourning suggested that she continued to hanker after an older form of remembrance activity. "The veterans often discuss why the Senate does not send a small delegation to us as well", she wrote. "Our 76th have fully earned this honour."[118] In a long letter of reply, the Senate explained that it was no longer its policy to lay wreaths on each individual memorial site in Hamburg. Instead all of the fallen, including those from the 76th regiment, were remembered at the city's main war memorial near Hamburg's town hall.[119]

---

[115] 'Bundesrepublik gedachte der Toten', *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 22/11/1968, p.1; '"Die gleiche Kraft für den Frieden" Gedenkfeier am Volkstrauertag vor dem Hafenmarktturm', *Heilbronner Stimme*, 18/11/1968, p.10.
[116] Karin Hausen, 'The "Day of National Mourning in Germany"', in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 127-145, p.141.
[117] Günther Lange, *Das Denkmal*, (Hamburg: Offene Worte, 1997).
[118] Letter, Grete Faesefeld to *Hamburger Abendblatt*, November 1964, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3973.
[119] Letter, Senatskanzlei to Grete Faesefeld, 27/11/1964, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3973.

The Hamburg authorities turn against the existing remembrance culture also affected the commemoration of the Jewish war dead. When the Senate planned its itinerary for the 1967 Day of National Mourning, it omitted the Jewish First World War memorial in the Ohlsdorf cemetery. "There are two memorials in this cemetery: one for the fallen of the First World War, the other for the Jewish victims of the Nazi period", noted the city authorities. "From now on, the wreaths from the Senate and the city parliament (*Bürgerschaft*) in honour of the dead will be laid on the last of these."[120] This marked a massive change in the city authorities' policy, as since 1945 it had paid its respects at the Jewish war memorial each year. Harry Goldstein, a leading member of Hamburg's Jewish community and himself a war veteran, reacted with indignation at this decision. He reminded the Senate of its responsibilities and pointed out that the VDK had even continued to send a wreath during the Third Reich. "This all now seems to be in the past in Hamburg", bemoaned Goldstein, "even though a good number of war veterans still live here."[121]

The Senate's reply revealed how its image of the Day of National Mourning now differed from that of the war veterans. While Goldstein and the other Jewish ex-servicemen viewed the commemoration of the fallen to be paramount, the Senate sought to concentrate its efforts on the remembrance of the Jewish victims of Nazism. It informed Goldstein that it could no longer justify honouring the Jewish fallen separately, as all of the city's war dead regardless of their confession were remembered at Hamburg's central war memorial. From now on, it would lay a single wreath in the Ohlsdorf Jewish cemetery and this would be at the Holocaust remembrance site.[122]

Goldstein, though, refused to accept the authorities' decision as final. In a meeting with the city mayor, he argued that the Jewish war dead should continue to be honoured as most people had ignored their sacrifice during the Third Reich.[123] Goldstein's complaints were eventually upheld and in future years the city authorities laid wreaths on both memorials in the Jewish

---

[120] Note, Senatskanzlei, 'Kranzniederlegung am Volkstrauertag', 15/11/1967, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3977.
[121] Letter, Harry Goldstein to Präsident des Senats Hamburg, 28/11/1967, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3977.
[122] Letter, Henning Jess to Harry Goldstein, 20/12/1967, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3977.
[123] Note, Senatskanzlei, 10/01/1968, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3977.

cemetery.[124] The dispute in Hamburg between the city authorities and Harry Goldstein highlighted how changing public attitudes towards the remembrance of the victims of war also affected the commemoration of the Jewish soldiers. Instead of following existing memorial practices, Hamburg's authorities sought to adapt their activity to reflect contemporary perceptions of militarism and sacrifice in West German society.

Figure 18. Two replacement Jewish headstones in the German war cemetery in Neuville-St Vaast.[125]

This same attitude led the VDK to replace the gravestones for the German-Jewish fallen in all of its western European war cemeteries located outside of the FRG. In 1968, it came to an agreement with the Central Council of Jews in Germany and the Conference of Rabbis in the FRG (*Rabbinerkonferenz*) to place a new stone above each grave that would contain the soldier's personal details, a Star of David and an engraving in Hebrew that was to read: "May his soul be entwined in the circle of the living."[126] As a result of the agreement, the Jewish fallen received solid headstones in place of the crosses that continued to mark the non-Jewish graves (see figure 18).

---

[124] Note, Senatskanzlei, 15/10/1970, StAHH, 131-1 II, Nr.3977.
[125] Volksbund deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (ed.), *Dienst am Menschen, Dienst am Frieden: 75 Jahre Volksbund deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge*, (Gütersloh: Mohndruck, 1994), p.127.
[126] Volksbund deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, *Dienst am Menschen, Dienst am Frieden*, p.127.

Although this development helped to make German Jews' wartime sacrifice more visible, it also imposed a new form of remembrance onto the war dead. After the First World War, many German Jews had chosen to commemorate their friends and relatives through the same memorial practices as all Germans. Out of the eighty-seven war graves in the Jewish burial ground in Hamburg-Ohlsdorf, for instance, only fifteen headstones contained Hebrew inscriptions. The remainder were inscribed entirely in German text. The VDK's 1968 agreement, though, led to the use of Hebrew on all of the German-Jewish graves outside of the FRG. This bespoke a reordering of the dead into a specifically Jewish narrative and a new attitude among West Germans to wartime sacrifice. As people became more aware of Jewish suffering, they sought to mould the remembrance of the Jewish war dead to fit their own understanding of German militarism.

The Passing of the First World War Generation

The generational shifts of the 1960s, of course, also affected the surviving veterans of the First World War. As a younger group of Germans more concerned with the crimes of Nazism emerged, so the generation that had fought in the war declined. Indeed, by the mid 1970s, there were only a small number of German-Jewish ex-servicemen still alive. In their place, as this section argues, younger German and Jewish generations began to reinterpret the existing war memorials and also form new sites of remembrance for the fallen. This marked the start of a new commemorative culture for the Jewish war dead, which was based on a general remembrance of German-Jewish suffering rather than specifically on the fallen of the First World War.

In 1966, Ludwig Scheuer wrote to Heilbronn's town mayor to thank him for maintaining the town's Jewish war memorial, which contained his brother's name. As an aside, he added that he and his wife had been forced to move into new accommodation. "Since 1963, we have been living really well in an old people's home with some 70 other old pensioners", wrote Scheuer.[127] The changed circumstances of Scheuer and his wife represented the ageing of the First World War generation. If a soldier had been in his twenties in 1918, then

[127] Letter, Ludwig Scheuer to Paul Meyle, 31/01/1966, StadtA HN, B21, Nr.9.

by the early 1970s he would have already reached his seventieth birthday. Accordingly the group of surviving German-Jewish veterans was rapidly diminishing, as more of the ex-servicemen came to the end of their lives. The oldest of the veterans, including Leo Löwenstein and Siegfried Urias of the RjF, had already passed away in the 1950s. During the 1960s and into the 1970s, the younger members of this community followed. In 1968, Julius Frank, chairman of Würzburg's Jewish *Salia* student fraternity, died at the age of eighty-one in New York.[128] Two years later, Julius Marx, whose republished war diaries had helped to increase awareness of the *Judenzählung*, died in Switzerland.[129]

When the individual German-Jewish soldiers passed away, it was not just the number of surviving veterans that declined. The actual communities of remembrance also struggled to sustain themselves. The death of Julius Frank, for example, denied the *Salia* fraternity its chairman, who had organised the group's regular reunions at its First World War memorial plaque in Würzburg. Because of these same demographics, the largest of the post-war German-Jewish veterans' organisations, the IJWV in New York, was forced to disband in 1972. During the past decade, its elderly membership had declined from over four hundred to fewer than eight-five. In December 1972, it held a final testimonial dinner and divided its funds between the surviving members.[130]

In drawing the organisation's activities to a close, the surviving members of the IJWV asked the Berlin Jewish community to take care of its ceremonial flag. The group's members, who had been driven from Germany during the 1930s, clearly retained a bond to Germany. By donating their flag to the Berlin community, they hoped to make a symbolic return to the country for which they had fought. Unfortunately for the IJWV, the Jewish community turned down their overture, claiming that it lacked the space for the flag.[131]

---

[128] Frank Weiß, 'Dr. Julius Frank (1886-1968) – Das Schicksal eines jüdischen Richters am Amtsgericht Schweinfurt', in Uwe Müller (ed.), *Schweinfurter Forschungen*, (Schweinfurt: Benedict Press, 1993), pp. 177-185, p.184.
[129] 'Zum Tod von Julius Marx', *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 13/11/1970, p.11.
[130] Steven Lowenstein, *Frankfurt on the Hudson: The German-Jewish Community of Washington Heights, 1933-1983, Its Structure and Culture*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), p.296n.88.
[131] Letter, Fred Grubel to Arthur Friedman, 31/01/1973, LBINY, AR7012.

The Berlin Jewish community's rejection of the IJWV's flag revealed differences in the memory of the First World War between the Jewish communities in Germany, which were formed from a large number of non-German Jews, and the older German-Jewish generations mainly living abroad. The members of the Jewish communities in Germany clearly did not share the same relationship to the war that had helped to forge groups such as the IJWV.

As the German-Jewish veteran communities dissolved, their shared memories of the war also began to fade. The publication of a memorial book for the murdered Jews of Baden Württemberg in 1969 highlighted this decline.[132] Writing in the *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung*, rabbi Siegbert Neufeld, himself a First World War veteran, compared the RjF's remembrance book from 1932 to the new memorial book. When flicking through the pages, reminisced Neufeld, "one automatically remembers a different memorial book that the Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten published in very different circumstances 35-years ago."[133] It was clearly Neufeld's own experience of the First World War that led him to discuss the RjF's memorial book in this review. In 1971, though, Neufeld also passed away. These personal memories of the war died with him.

With the gradual dissolution of the German-Jewish veteran community, other Jewish groups, not associated with the First World War, began to adopt and reinterpret the German-Jewish soldiers' experiences. In 1971, an Israeli servicemen's organisation, the Association for Welfare of Soldiers in Israel, claimed compensation from the West German government for financial losses suffered by the RjF during the Third Reich. The Israeli soldiers' organisation hoped to use this compensation to fund a new holiday home and welfare centre in the south of the country. In making this claim, the association portrayed itself as the successor organisation to the RjF. It even argued that the anti-Zionist RjF had held a strong bond to pre-state Israel. "The former Reichsbund [RjF], which had been closely connected to our predecessors in

---

[132] Paul Sauer, *Die Schicksale der jüdischen Bürger Baden-Württembergs während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungszeit 1933-1945*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969).
[133] Siegbert Neufeld, 'Ein Gedenkbuch', *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 23/05/1969, p.23.

Palestine", asserted the soldiers' association, "had added a glorious page to the history of German Jewry."[134]

At the same time, other groups began to discover the history of the German Jews in the First World War. A series of articles published in the *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung* between 1970 and 1972 focused on German Jews in the First World War. A German army colonel contributed an essay on Jewish military service since the Wars of Liberation, while a shorter piece, reproduced from a regional German newspaper, outlined the history of Jewish soldiers from Hamm.[135] These articles were part of a wider process of historicising the Jewish war experience. In 1972, the Berlin historian Ulrich Dunker began to write the first history of the RjF. His research led him to contact and interview a number of the surviving war veterans, such as Rudolf Apt from Dresden. Dunker's approach, though, was coloured by his own perceptions of interwar German antisemitism. His interview questions focused almost exclusively on the RjF's defensive work and made no reference to the association's work in remembering the war dead.[136]

Nonetheless, Dunker's research and the contributions to the *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung* suggested that by the 1970s some West Germans had begun to discover the German-Jewish soldiers independently. Rather than concentrating on the First World War veterans in isolation, though, they placed the fate of the soldiers into a broader narrative of the German-Jewish experience. By the early 1970s, even the West German Ministry of Defence had begun to form a more nuanced interpretation of Jewish military service. In November 1973, it renamed the Grünau air force base in Neuburg am Donau after Wilhelm Frankl, a Jewish First World War fighter pilot from Hamburg. Six months later, it rededicated the Lüttich army barracks in Mannheim in honour of Ludwig Frank, who had been the first and only Reichstag member to be killed in the war. During the early 1960s, the West German armed forces had been unwilling to make this

[134] Letter, The Association For Welfare of Soldiers in Israel to Gustav Heinemann, 24/03/1971, BArch Freiburg, Msg133/7.
[135] 'Juden im Wehrdienst', *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 09/01/1970, p.6; 'Hamm: Juden verehrt, verfemt, verjagt', *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 28/07/1972, p.5.
[136] Letter, Ulrich Dunker to Rudolf Apt, 08/12/1972, LBI JMB, MF486.

kind of statement. In 1961, when Gerd Schmückle had first suggested naming military installations after Jewish servicemen, the air force had rebuffed his proposal.[137] It claimed that it already had a long list of "distinguished pilots of the Second World War" with which it wanted to dedicate its buildings.[138]

While the renaming of the barracks after Frankl and Frank revealed a more nuanced engagement with the fate of German Jewry in general, it also highlighted the way in which the process of remembering the German-Jewish war dead had changed. The Jewish First World War soldiers, who had originally led the commemoration of their fallen comrades, played no role in this new form of remembrance. There were no veterans at either of the dedication ceremonies and attempts to locate Wilhelm Frankl's family failed.[139] Because there were so few surviving veterans, the renaming of the two barracks in honour of the German-Jewish soldiers was devised entirely by a generation too young to have experienced the First World War. The remembrance of Frankl and Frank, then, was based on how this post-war generation chose to commemorate the Jewish war dead, rather than on how German Jews had actually marked their losses at the war's end.

In this new culture of remembrance, Frankl and Frank were not only honoured as individuals but also as part of a larger victim group. As the chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Werner Nachmann, noted in his dedication speech for the Wilhelm Frankl Barracks, this was a collective form of remembrance. "By naming a barracks after Wilhelm Frankl", declared Nachmann, "it is not only the great fighter pilot Wilhelm Frankl who is honoured", but all those "whose parental home was the great German Jewry."[140] Although Frankl had died in 1917, Nachmann directly connected his death to the Nazi regime's murder of German Jews during the Third Reich. For him, the denial of Frankl's wartime sacrifice during the Third Reich meant that Frankl had also been a victim of Nazism.[141] The newly rededicated

---

[137] Letter, Gerd Schmückle to Inspekteur der Luftwaffe, 28/04/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21632.
[138] Letter, Inspekteur der Luftwaffe to Franz Josef Strauß, 25/07/1961, BArch Freiburg, BL1/4665.
[139] 'Dank der "Möldrianer"', *Neuburger Rundschau*, 23/11/1973, p.25; 'Kasserne nach Ludwig Frank bennant', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 24/05/1974, BArch Freiburg, N688/2.
[140] 'Dank der "Möldrianer"', *Neuburger Rundschau*, 23/11/1973, p.26.
[141] *Ibid.*

barracks, then, focused less on the wartime achievements of Frankl and Frank, or even on the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War, but rather on the Nazi regime's persecution of German Jewry as a whole. The genocide of European Jewry, though, still remained absent from this narrative.

Alongside these new sites of remembrance for the Jewish war dead, older forms of commemoration continued to exist. In most West German towns and cities, Jewish war memorials remained in the Jewish cemeteries, in which they had first been erected. Generally, they were either maintained by local Jewish communities or by town authorities. In East Germany and in the former German lands east of the Oder-Neisse border, Jewish First World War memorials also remained, though their condition was often far worse than in the west. A visitor to Breslau in 1973, for example, found the Jewish community's war memorial still extant, but overgrown and forgotten in the older part of the city's Jewish burial ground.[142] Although German-Jewish war memorials could still be found throughout Europe, the Jewish veteran communities could not. With the passing of the German-Jewish veterans, Jewish sites of wartime remembrance existed in isolation from the communities that had originally constructed them. The veteran communities' demise cleared the way for other German and Jewish groups to discover these memorials and to imbue them with their own narratives of the German-Jewish experience.

In the late 1970s, a wave of studies on the German-Jewish war experience began to be published. A short lecture by George Mosse on the position of Jews in, what he termed, the "German war experience" was the most prominent of these publications. As his title suggests, Mosse focussed on the Jews' inability to play a full part in a war dominated by Christian symbolism.[143] The other studies from this period also chose to emphasise the way in which the war had supposedly permanently divided Jews from non-Jews in German society. In illustrating this rift, most centred their narratives on the *Judenzählung* of 1916. Werner Angress's 1978 study of the background to, and aftermath of, the census concluded that the *Judenzählung*

---

[142] 'Polish City, Once German, Retains Only Trace of Vibrant Jewish Life', *New York Times*, 07/12/1973, p.2.
[143] George Mosse, 'The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914-1918', *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture*, 21 (1977).

was "a warning sign that antisemitism in Germany was alive and well."[144] Books by Ulrich Dunker on the RjF and Rolf Vogel on Jews in the German army since the Wars of Liberation concurred with this view.[145] Dunker argued that the disappointment of the *Judenzählung* had been a major factor in the post-war formation of the RjF, while Vogel described the census as "one of the bleakest chapters in the history of Imperial Germany."[146]

These publications, which all made important contributions to the existing scholarship, helped to define the place of the First World War in German-Jewish history. It was now accepted that the war and in particular the *Judenzählung* was a crucial moment in the dissolution of Jewish / non-Jewish relations in Germany. These works also seemed to condemn the war veterans and the RjF to a minor role in German-Jewish history. When Dunker's book on the RjF was published in 1977, several reviewers accused Dunker of overplaying the RjF's significance. Eva Reichmann called the organisation "a marginal phenomenon", while Arnold Paucker, who was director of the London branch of the LBI, condemned the veterans' association's actions during the Third Reich.[147] "With their appeal for a place in the Nazi sun and the protestations of loyalty to the National Revolution", bemoaned Paucker, the RjF "does not deserve charitable interpretation."[148] By the late 1970s, with few Jewish veterans alive to counter these accusations, this became the dominant narrative of the German-Jewish First World War experience.

Conclusion

During the 1960s, West German society witnessed a clear shift towards a deeper engagement with the Nazi regime's crimes. Exhibitions and books dealing with German-Jewish history, which were produced from the early

---

[144] Werner Angress, 'The German Army's "Judenzählung" of 1916 Genesis – Consequences – Significance', *LBIYB*, 23 (1978), pp. 117-135, p.135.
[145] On the *Judenzählung* and the RjF, see also: Ruth Pierson, 'Embattled Veterans: The Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten', *LBIYB*, 19 (1974), pp. 139-154.
[146] Ulrich Dunker, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 1919-1938: Geschichte eines jüdischen Abwehrvereins*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977), pp. 30-31; Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stück von uns: Deutsche Juden in deutschen Armeen 1813-1976. Eine Dokumentation*, (Mainz: Hase & Koeller, 1977), p.148.
[147] Eva Reichmann, '"Weighed and Found Wanting": A Study of the "Frontbund"', *AJR-Information*, November 1978, p.6.
[148] Arnold Paucker, 'Jews for the Fatherland', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 28/07/1978, p.869.

1960s onwards, revealed a more critical interest in the fate of German Jewry, while the staging of war crimes trials helped to increase public awareness of the Nazis' atrocities. Significant gaps, though, still remained, in particular concerning the identity of the perpetrators. As some of these absences were filled, moreover, new silences emerged. This was particularly true for the commemoration of the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War. As West Germans became more aware of the persecution of German Jews, though crucially not European Jews, during the Third Reich, they began to shape the remembrance of the fallen Jewish soldiers according to a different set of values.

Franz Josef Strauß's republication of the RjF's book of Jewish war letters in 1961 helped to increase public awareness of German Jews' sacrifice during the First World War. This was highlighted by the inclusion of the Jewish soldiers in narratives of Jewish history that appeared in books, radio programmes and exhibitions. For many people, the contrast between the soldiers' patriotic sacrifice for Germany and the Nazi regime's later persecution of German Jewry helped to emphasise the Jews' fate during the Third Reich. Yet by using the servicemen to demonstrate the irrationality of the Nazis' policies, the individual fallen soldiers began to be subsumed within a larger narrative of Jewish suffering.

This change in the memorial process continued through the 1960s, as further political and social shifts combined to refocus the remembrance of the Jewish war dead. First, Gershom Scholem's dismissal of a German-Jewish dialogue served to discredit Jewish wartime sacrifice for Germany. If the Jewish soldiers had been misguided in fighting for Germany in the First World War, then it became increasingly difficult to commemorate their deaths. Second, the growing dominance of a younger, more critical, generation of West Germans led to a growing condemnation of German militarism. As people started to focus on the victims of Nazism, West German society was forced to reconsider how the Jewish war dead were commemorated. Finally, the Jewish war veteran communities also gradually began to pass away. Without the servicemen of the First World War, the process of remembering the Jewish war dead became the preserve of a younger generation that had no personal connection to the 12,000 fallen soldiers. By 1975, then, West

German society had developed a greater awareness of the fate of Jews during the Third Reich. In doing so, however, they had altered the remembrance of the Jewish war dead to fit their own understanding of German-Jewish history. The German-Jewish soldiers themselves were no longer in a position to argue back.

Conclusion – The German-Jewish War Dead: Between Inclusion and Exclusion

In late 1995, the city authorities in Ingolstadt announced plans to construct a central memorial for the victims of National Socialism. Their plan called for the integration of a number of existing war memorials into a new remembrance site, which was to be located in the city's large Luitpold Park. In 1998, after much local debate, the Bavarian artist, Dagmar Pachtner was given the commission to design the memorial site.[1] Pachtner proposed dismantling the existing memorials to their constituent parts, then reordering them in a chronological line according to the time of their original construction. The new order was to represent the changing function of war memorials through twentieth century Germany.[2] Central to Pachtner's plan was a separate limestone block from Israel for the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War. "This new flat stone has no inscription", noted Pachtner. "It is for the Jewish German soldiers who fought for Germany in the First World War and were murdered during the National Socialist era."[3]

On one level, Ingolstadt's remembrance site for the victims of Nazism revealed the juxtaposition of the German-Jewish war dead with the Holocaust. "It [the stone] stands for the integration and exclusion of Jewish citizens in all time periods of our century", suggested the art historian Stefanie Endlich, "a theme which, even for the First World War, can no longer be discussed without considering the later genocide."[4] However, the use of a distinct memorial block for the German-Jewish war dead of the First World War also demonstrated how the Jewish soldiers have been removed from the remembrance of Germany's non-Jewish fallen. Pachtner's decision to use a stone block from Israel, rather than one from Germany, to represent the

---

[1] 'Ingolstadt setzt NS-Opfern ein Denkmal', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 17/02/1998, p.44.
[2] Dagmar Pachtner, 'Text zum Wettbewerb 1987', in Gerda Büttner (ed.), *Mahnmal, Erinnerungsorte, Museum. Die Realisierung. Dokumentation zum Denkmal von Dagmar Pachtner Ingolstadt 1998/99*, (Ingolstadt: Initiative für Mahn- und Gedenkstätten, 1999), pp. 16-17.
[3] Dagmar Pachtner, 'Dagmar Pachtner im Gespräch mit Isabella Kreim', in Gerda Büttner (ed.), *Mahnmal, Erinnerungsorte, Museum. Die Realisierung. Dokumentation zum Denkmal von Dagmar Pachtner Ingolstadt 1998/99*, (Ingolstadt: Initiative für Mahn- und Gedenkstätten, 1999), pp. 20-24, p.20.
[4] Stefanie Endlich, 'Das dialogische Prinzip. Anmerkungen zum Entwurf von Dagmar Pachtner', in Gerda Büttner (ed.), *Mahnmal, Erinnerungsorte, Museum. Die Realisierung. Dokumentation zum Denkmal von Dagmar Pachtner Ingolstadt 1998/99*, (Ingolstadt: Initiative für Mahn- und Gedenkstätten, 1999), pp. 12-14, p.13.

Jewish soldiers further emphasised their separateness. Ingolstadt's reconfigured memorial landscape, then, implied that the Jewish war dead had occupied, and still occupy, a distinct sphere in the remembrance of the First World War.

In contrast to Ingolstadt's redesigned remembrance site, which suggests the exclusion of German Jewry, this thesis has argued that the Jewish servicemen of the First World War played a significant part in the wider commemoration of the war. By exploring the individuals and communities involved in the remembrance process, it has demonstrated that Jews and non-Jews often remembered the war dead together, though sometimes in different ways. From the time of the war, through until the late 1970s, the remembrance of the Jewish soldiers killed in the conflict was deeply entangled with non-Jewish commemorative activity. An examination of this section of Germany's Jewish population, then, has revealed that many Jews were far more entwined in twentieth century German society than historians have hitherto contended.

The starting point for any discussion of the remembrance of the German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War must be the conflict itself. German Jews reacted to the onset of hostilities in August 1914 in the same way as all Germans. While a number of prominent Jewish intellectuals criticised the war, the majority of Jews, as with German society as a whole, declared their support for the conflict.[5] The supposed unity of 1914, though, did not last. As the German army's census of Jewish soldiers in November 1916 emphasised, antisemitism remained a feature of German-Jewish life. Because of the continuation of antisemitism during the conflict, much of the historiography has portrayed the war as a crucial turning point in the dissolution of Jewish / non-Jewish relations. Although the turmoil of the war did lead to a rise in antisemitism, it did not result in the complete exclusion of Jews. Indeed, there were many aspects of the war, most obviously the frontline troops' experience of death, injury and mutilation, that affected all Germans equally.

---

[5] On the responses to the war's outbreak, see: Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth and Mobilization in Germany*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2000).

By the war's end, some two million German servicemen, including almost 12,000 German Jews had been killed in the conflict. Because almost all Germans experienced personal loss, all sections of German society faced the painful task of overcoming the death of a close friend or relative. Many people sought comfort in small communities of mourning, where they could share their pain with those suffering similar losses. These communities tended to be formed from established groups such as schools, social clubs or work places. The pre-existing nature of the communities meant that their membership was often shared. Jews, for example, belonged to both Jewish and non-Jewish groups. The multiplicity of these communities, moreover, resulted in a form of overlapping remembrance, which commemorated the Jewish and non-Jewish war dead together. Instead of viewing German Jews as part of a distinct subculture or more fluid *Teilkultur*, then, examination of the initial remembrance process has suggested that Jews had a multiple sense of belonging, which crossed ethnic, cultural and religious boundaries.

If Jews remembered their war dead with other Germans in the years following the armistice, then clearly growing antisemitism did not initially affect all sections of German society. This thesis has argued that it was only in the early to mid 1920s, when the first wave of memorialisation came to an end, that increased antisemitism began to bring about a change in Jewish / non-Jewish relations. At this time, the small communities of mourning, which had been formed during the war years, began to fade in importance. In their place, newly established veterans' associations started to dominate the remembrance process. As the membership of the ex-servicemen's organisations tended to be based on post-war politics, rather than on pre-war relations, these groups often held competing narratives of the war. The groups' attempts to impose their own sectional narratives brought about a more disjointed, but also more aggressive form of commemoration.

Although the veterans' organisations advanced far more exclusive narratives of the conflict, German Jews initially continued to play a full role in the wider commemoration of the war. On a local level, war memorial schemes tended to be imbued with a national conservative sense of sacrifice. This was the notion that all of a town's fallen, whether Jew or non-Jew, should be honoured together. Mirroring the gradual collapse of the democratic Weimar

Republic, though, the veterans' groups on the political right increasingly began to dominate all aspects of the remembrance process. The Weimar Republic proved too weak to unify the nation with either its annual Day of National Mourning or its proposed national war memorial. As the state's official narratives of the war lost their purchase, German Jews began to lose their place in the national commemoration of the war dead. Jewish representatives, for example, were excluded from the dedication of the immense Tannenberg war memorial in 1927, which had been constructed by a private veterans' organisation. When a second wave of memorial construction took hold at the close of the decade, Germany's Jewish population also started to find itself excluded from local memorial projects, in which it had previously participated.

Yet this was a process of gradual exclusion. It is important to recognise the slow, inconsistent way in which the Jewish veterans were marginalised from the wider remembrance of the war. Even the Nazis' rise to power did not bring about their complete exclusion. The German War Graves Commission (VDK), for example, laid wreaths on Jewish war memorials until 1935, while remarkably the Nazi regime honoured the Jewish soldiers, when it issued a new First World War veterans' medal in 1935. These incidents could, of course, be viewed as merely an example of the mixed and confusing signals which German Jews suffered during the first years of the Third Reich. They are, though, far more revealing of the persistence of a national conservative narrative of sacrifice at a time when German Jews faced increasing persecution. Clearly, then, the Nazis' rise did not immediately lead to the exclusion of German Jews from all areas of everyday life.

Nonetheless, this acknowledgment of Jewish wartime sacrifice was not enough to protect Jewish war veterans from growing persecution. The promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws in September 1935 rescinded the legal exemptions granted the former soldiers. They, like all Jews living in Germany, began to be excluded from majority society. Jewish remembrance services for the Jewish war dead, which continued until 1938, became an entirely Jewish affair. The Nazi regime, though, never denied that some Jews had died fighting for Germany in the First World War. Even as its persecution of German Jews turned into a European wide scheme of mass murder, it

continued to acknowledge the existence of the Jewish war veterans. The Wannsee Conference of January 1942, for instance, made particular reference to decorated Jews. Recognition of their First World War sacrifice, though, did little to save them from the horror of the Nazis' genocide. German-Jewish ex-servicemen, as with some six million European Jews, were brutally murdered in the Nazi regime's Final Solution.

After the defeat of the Third Reich in May 1945, as Germans sought to remember their wartime losses, the Jewish soldiers killed in the First World War began to be returned to Germany's emerging remembrance calendar. There were two factors that led to the re-entanglement of the fallen in Germany's post-war memory culture. First, as Germans sought a means to commemorate their dead from the recent war, they began to return to earlier remembrance practices and commemorative sites, many of which had previously included the Jewish war dead. In November 1945, for example, the city authorities in Hamburg revived the annual practice of laying wreaths on the main war memorials, including the Jewish community's site of remembrance. Second, many German-Jewish survivors of the Holocaust continued to remember the Jewish fallen. A German-Jewish veterans' organisation in New York honoured the war dead, while some of the re-established communities in Germany restored Jewish remembrance sites from the First World War.

While the German-Jewish war dead were included in this nascent remembrance activity, the victims of Nazism often were not. With the establishment of the German Federal Republic in 1949, the onset of the Cold War, and the process of economic and material reconstruction, West Germans tended to focus on their own suffering, rather than on those persecuted during the Third Reich. Yet the presence of the Jewish war dead in local remembrance events led a small number of Germans to emphasise the fate of German Jewry through the prism of Jewish sacrifice in the First World War. The most prominent of these public pronouncements occurred in 1952, when the West German Federal President Theodor Heuss discussed the Jewish fallen while dedicating a memorial in the former Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. In an extremely limited way, this focus on the Jewish war dead forced some West Germans to consider the suffering of a small group of

German Jews during the Third Reich. This thesis, then, adds weight to a set of historiographical approaches which have emphasised that the 1950s were not dominated by complete silence towards the Nazi past.

Nonetheless, it was only at the end of the decade that a more thorough engagement with the Nazi past began to take place. The desecration of Jewish sites in Cologne and the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem prompted some West Germans to lay greater emphasis on the victims of Nazism. The German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War were again deeply entwined in this development. In 1961, the Federal Minister of Defence, Franz Josef Strauß, reissued a book of German-Jewish soldiers' war letters, which the RjF had first published in 1935. For the Ministry of Defence, the publication of this book was a sign of West Germany's efforts at "moral and historic reparations", which added to the material compensation already offered.[6] Although this publication bespoke a deeper interest in the Nazis' crimes, the Ministry of Defence's concern was limited to the fate of an extremely German group of Jews, rather than the suffering of European Jewry as a whole.

A wave of interest in the Jewish soldiers, generated by Strauß's publication, however, began to alter the existing process of remembrance for the Jewish war dead. As public awareness of German Jews' wartime sacrifice increased, the fallen were gradually removed from the wider remembrance of the First World War and placed instead into an emerging narrative of Jewish persecution during the Third Reich. Three further developments intensified this change. First, the Jewish scholar, Gershom Scholem's rejection of a dialogue between Germans and Jews led many people to condemn the soldiers for their naïve patriotism for Germany. Second, an anti-militarist turn among a younger West German generation during the 1960s encouraged many people to disregard militarist forms of remembrance, including those for fallen Jewish soldiers. Third, and most significantly, the passing of time saw the German-Jewish veterans pass away and by the mid 1970s their communities fade.

---

[6] Letter, Pressereferat des Bundesverteidigungsministeriums to Klaus Hermann, 16/05/1961, BArch Freiburg, BW1/21633.

The German-Jewish soldiers of the First World War had been entangled within the wider remembrance of the war since its outbreak in August 1914. It was only in the 1970s, with the fading of the veteran communities, that the soldiers were completely separated from the non-Jewish servicemen. When Germans and Jews who had no personal memory of the conflict began to construct a history of the Jewish soldiers, they also, in their own way, placed them into their own distinct narrative, which was dominated by the Holocaust. Speaking at the opening of an exhibition on the history of Jewish service in the German armies, Werner Nachmann, the chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, compared the sacrifice of Jews in the First World War with the horror of the Nazis' genocide. "The same men, who in their youth were prepared to sacrifice their lives in the war", bemoaned Nachmann, "were twenty years later chased from this country or driven to their deaths."[7] German Jews who had died in the First World War fighting for Germany had now come to represent the brutal destruction of German Jewry during the Third Reich.

[7] Speech, Werner Nachmann at the opening of the exhibition 'Deutsche jüdische Soldaten 1914-1945' in Bonn, 14/09/1982, BArch Freiburg, BW7/1789.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archive Collections

Barnim Kreisarchiv, Eberswalde (KrABar)

A.II.	Stadt Eberswalde

Berlin Landesarchiv (LAB)

A Rep. 048-08	Bezirksamt Weißensee
B Rep. 142/1	Deutsche und Preußischer Städtetag

Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Potsdam

Rep. 61A	NSDAP, Gau Mark Brandenburg

Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde (BArch Berlin)

NS10	Persönliche Adjudantur des Führers und Reichskanzlers
R32	Reichskunstwart
R43 I	Reichskanzlei
R43 II	Reichskanzlei
R72	Stahlhelm
R1501	Reichsministerium des Innern
R 4901	Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung

Bundesarchiv, Koblenz (BArch Koblenz)

B122	Bundespräsidialamt (Theodor Heuss)
B136	Bundeskanzleramt
B141	Bundesministerium der Justiz
N1221	Theodor Heuss Papers

Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg (BArch Freiburg)

BL1	Führungsstab der Luftwaffe
BW 1	Bundesministerium der Verteidigung
BW 7	Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt
MSG 133/7	Militärgeschichtliche Sammlung
N634	Herbert Sulzbach, Papers
N688/2	Karl Wilhelm Berkhan, Papers
PH 10	Formationen der Infanterie des Preußischen Heeres

Centrum Judaicum, Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin (CJA)

Uncatalogued Documents

1,75 A	Jüdische Gemeinden
1,75 C	Organisationen
1,75 D	Nachlässe
2A2	Jüdische Gemeinde zu Halle/Saale

Dresden Stadtarchiv (DStA)

E59	Stadtverordneten zu Dresden

Erlangen Stadtarchiv

XIV.9.H.61I

Göttingen Stadtarchiv

C83	Grünflächenamt

Hamburg, Staatsarchiv (StAHH)

111-1	Senat
111-2	Senat-Kriegsakten
131-1 II	Senatskanzlei, Gesamtregistratur II
321-2	Baudeputation
324-4	Baupflegekommission
325-1	Friedhofsverwaltung
362-2/1	Realgymnasium des Johanneums
362-2/30	Wllhelm Gymnasium
522-1	Jüdische Gemeinden
ZAS	Zeitungsausschnittsammlung

Hartley Archive, University of Southampton

MS 184	Papers of Rabbi Bruno Italiener

Heilbronn Stadtarchiv (StadtA HN)

B21	Hauptamt, Auslandsheilbronner
B39	Schul-, Kultur- und Sportamt
ZS	Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung
Uncatalogued	Friedhofsamt

Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Cologne (HASK)

Bestand 750	Friedhofsamt
Bestand 902	Konrad Adenauer
Bestand 1020	Papers, Franz Brantzky

Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich (IfZ)

MA103/1	Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft und Erziehung

Kaiserslautern Stadtarchiv

Friedhöfe 5	Friedhöfe

Leipzig Stadtarchiv

Kap. 19, Nr. 270	Stadtplanungsamt

Leo Baeck Institute Archive, Jewish Museum Berlin (LBI JMB)

MF52	RjF Collection
MF486	Rudolf Apt Collection
MM3	Adolph Asch Collection
MM65	Kurt Sabatzky, Memoirs

Leo Baeck Institute Archive, New York (LBINY)

AR 31	Leo Löwenstein Collection
AR 94	Hermann Pineas Collection
AR 485	Arnold Taenzer Collection
AR 798	Willy Wertheimer Collection
AR 5454	Adolf Stern Collection
AR 7012	Jewish Veterans Association Collection
AR 7039	Hugo Stransky Collection

Mecklenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Schwerin

5.12-7/1	Ministerium für Unterricht, Kunst, geistliche und Medizinalangelegenheiten

National Archives, Kew (PRO)

FO371	Foreign Office, General Correspondence

Nordrhein-Westfalen Hauptstaatsarchiv, Düsseldorf (HStAD)

Reg. Köln Nr. 7843.	Friedhöfe Köln, IV

Offenbach Stadtarchiv

M16

Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Leipzig (StAL)

PP-V	Polizei-Präsidium V, Überwachungsberichte

Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden (HStADD)

Nr. 352	Kreishauptmannschaft Dresden
Nr. 582.	Zeitungsausschnittsammlung

Gerd Schmückle – Private Holdings

Personal Papers

Israel Schwierz – Private Holdings

Personal Papers

Wiener Library Archive, London

PI – PIII	Eyewitness Testimonies
W550 – W559	Pamphlet Collection
Y32	Pamphlet Collection
40/107	Jewish Ex-Servicemen During the Third Reich
Nr. 604	Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland, Reports & Papers
Nr. 609	Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, Correspondence
Nr. 828	Ernst Fraenkel, Correspondence

Wilhelm-Gymnasium Archive, Hamburg (WGA)

Uncatalogued
Documents

Uncatalogued	Feste / Feiern
Uncatalogued	Elternrat

Würzburg Staatsarchiv

RSF IV 1-04/4	10. Studententag in Würzburg

Würzburg Stadtarchiv

Ratsprotokoll 1931	Ratsprotokolle

Würzburg Universitätsarchiv (UAW)

ARS Nr. 265	Totenfeiern
ARS Nr. 1457	Ehrentafel für die im Kriege Gefallenen
ARS Nr. 2996	Verbindung Salia

Zentralarchiv zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, Heidelberg

B1/7	Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland

Personal Correspondence

Exchange of Letters with Gerd Schmückle, 2005.

Newspapers

Acht Uhr Abend-Blatt, 1927.

AJR- Information, 1946-1980.

Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung, 1973-1980.

Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung, 1966-1972.

Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland, 1949-1966.

Aufbau, 1939, 1945, 1952.

Bericht der Salia, 1921.

Berliner Tageblatt, 1924, 1927, 1932.

Breslauer jüdisches Gemeindeblatt, 1925.

British Legion Journal, 1935-1939.

Commentary, 1947, 1951.

Common Ground, 1966-1967.

CV-Zeitung, 1922-1938.

Das Wilhelm-Gymnasium, 1937.

Der Israelit, 1916, 1931.

Der Schild, 1921-1938.

Der Stürmer, 1925, 1931.

Der Weg, 1949.

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 1927.

Die Welt, 1951.

Die Weltwoche, 1961.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 1952, 1961.

Frankfurter Zeitung, 1914, 1927.

Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg, 1925-1935.

Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, Dresden, 1934-1938.

Gemeindeblatt der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, Leipzig, 1925-1935.

Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin, 1923-1938.

Gemeindeblatt für die jüdischen Gemeinden in Rheinland und Westfalen, 1934.

Gemeindebote, Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, 1914-1921.

Hamburger Anzeiger, 1936.

Hamburger Familienblatt, 1914-1935.

Heilbronner Morgenpost, 1936.

Heilbronner Stimme, 1968.

Herzl-Bund-Blätter, 1914-1918.

Im deutschen Reich, 1914-1922.

Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt, 1916.

Jewish Chronicle, 1924, 1935, 1945, 1952, 1961.

Jüdische Front, 1935.

Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt. Die Zeitung der Juden in Deutschland, 1948-1949.

Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die Britische Zone, 1946-1948.

Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die Nord-Rheinprovinz und Westfalen, 1946.

Jüdische Rundschau, 1914-1938.

Jüdische Rundschau Illustrierte Zeitschrift, 1947.

Kölnische Zeitung, 1924.

Kriegsbericht der Salia, 1914-1915.

Kriegsgräberfürsorge, 1927, 1933, 1969.

Mitteilungen der jüdischen Reformgemeinde zu Berlin, 1919.

Neuburger Rundschau, 1973.

Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 1935.

New York Times, 1937, 1961, 1973.

Ostfriesische Tageszeitung, 1936.

Pariser Tageblatt, 1934.

Reichsgesetzblatt, 1941.

Salia, Rundbriefe, 1951-1955, 1960.

Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1963, 1998.

The Times, 1935.

The Times Literary Supplement, 1978.

Völkischer Beobachter, 1925.

Vorwärts, 1924.

World Jewry, 1961.

Würzburger General-Anzeiger, 1931.

Zeitschrift des Vaterländischen Bundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 1922.

Printed Volumes

Armin, Otto, *Die Juden im Heere: Eine statische Untersuchung nach amtlichen Quellen*, (Munich: Deutscher Volks-Verlag, 1919).

Asaria, Zvi (ed.), *Die Juden in Köln, von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1959).

Barkow, Ben (ed.), 'Testaments to the Holocaust: Archives of the Wiener Library, London' [Microfilm], (Woodbridge, 1998).

Barkow, Ben (ed.), 'Testaments to the Holocaust: Henriques Archive from the Wiener Library, London' [Microfilm], (Reading: 2000).

Bondy, Louis, *Report on a Recent Journey to Germany*, (London: Wiener Library, 1946).

Buecher, Johannes, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde in Beuel*, (Beuel: Stadtverwaltung Beuel, 1965).

Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (ed.), *Anti-Anti-Blätter zur Abwehr: Tatsachen zur Judenfrage*, (Berlin: Philo, 1924).

Cohen, Hermann, *Deutschtum und Judentum*, (Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1915).

Cohen, Hermann, '"Du sollst nicht einhergehen als ein Verleumder". Ein Appell an die Juden Amerikas', in Bruno Strauß (ed.), *Hermann Cohens Jüdische Schriften*, (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke, 1924), pp. 229-236.

Der Herzl-Bund (ed.), *Den gefallenen Brüdern*, (Berlin: Siegfried Scholem, 1919[?]).

Der Verein der Oberlehrer an den höheren Statatsschulen Hamburgs (ed.), *Unsern für das Vaterland 1914-1918 gefallenen Brüdern zum Gedächtnis!*, (Hamburg: Petermann, 1919).

Deutschkron, Inge, *Ich trug den gelben Stern*, (Cologne: Wissenschaft und Politik, 1978).

Eckstein, Adolf, *Haben die Juden in Bayern ein Heimatrecht? Eine geschichtswissenschaftliche Untersuchung mit kriegsstatistischen Beilagen*, (Berlin: Philo, 1929).

Elon, Amos, *Journey Through a Haunted Land: The New Germany*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

Festschrift zur Feier des 125 jährigen Bestehens der Beerdigungs-Brüderschaft der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde in Hamburg 1812-1937, (Hamburg, 1937).

Fladhammer, Christa and Michael Wildt (eds.), *Max Brauer im Exil: Briefe und Reden aus den Jahren 1933-1946*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1994).

Frank, Julius, *Salia: Geschichte und Schicksale, 1924-1949*, (1949).

Franke, Hans, *Geschichte und Schicksal der Juden in Heilbronn. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungen (1050 – 1945)*, (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 1963).

Gay, Peter, *My German Question: Growing Up in Nazi Berlin*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Grobman, Alex (ed.), *The Letters and Documents of Oscar Mintzer, AJDC Legal Advisor, Germany, 1945-46*, (Berkley: Judah Magnes Museum, 1999).

Heeresverwaltung (ed.), *Kriegergräber im Felde und Daheim*, (Munich: Bruckmann, 1917).

Heiber, Helmut (ed.), *Akten der Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP: Rekonstruktion eines verlorengegangenen Bestandes*, Teil 1, Band 2, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1983).

Herlitz, Georg und Bruno Kirschner (eds.), *Jüdisches Lexikon*, (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1930).

Herrmann, Klaus, *Das Dritte Reich und die deutsch-jüdischen Organisationen, 1933-1934*, (Munich: Heymanns, 1969).

Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf*, translator Ralph Manheim, (London: Hutchinson, 1974).

Huder, Walter, 'Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Judentums', *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts*, 31 (1965), pp. 240-249.

Jewish Central Information Office (ed.), 'Dokumentensammlung über die Entrechtung, Ächtung und Vernichtung der Juden in Deutschland seit der Regierung Adolf Hitler', (Amsterdam, 1936).

Keil, Heinz (ed.), *Dokumentation über die Verfolgung der jüdischen Bürger von Ulm/Donau* (Ulm, 1961).

Klinkenberg, Hans Martin, 'Zwischen Liberalismus und Nationalismus', in Konrad Schilling (ed.), *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein. Katalog*, (Cologne: J. Melzer, 1963), pp. 309-384.

Kriegsbriefe gefallener deutscher Juden mit einem Geleitwort von Franz Josef Strauß, (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1961).

Kulka, Otto Dov and Eberhard Jäckel (eds.), *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten, 1933-1945*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004).

Kuratorium für das Reichsehrenmal Tannenberg (ed.), *Tannenberg. Deutsches Schicksal – Deutsche Aufgabe*, (Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1939).

Lehrkollegium des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums (ed.), *Festschrift zum 50jährigen Jubiläum des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums zu Hamburg 1881-1931*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1931).

Leyens, Erich and Lotte Andor, *Die fremden Jahre: Erinnerungen an Deutschland*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991).

Lohalm, Uwe (ed.), *"Schließlich ist es meine Heimat..." Harry Goldstein und die Jüdische Gemeinde in Hamburg in persönlichen Dokumenten und Fotos*, (Hamburg: Ergebnisse, 2002).

Marx, Julius, *Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden*, (Zurich: Die Liga, 1939).

Marx, Julius, *Kriegs-Tagebuch eines Juden*, (Frankfurt: Ner-Tamid, 1964).

Michaelis, Herbert und Ernst Schraepler (eds.), *Ursachen und Folgen: deutschen Zusammenbruch 1918 und 1945 bis zur staatlichen Neuordnung Deutschlands in der Gegenwart: Eine Urkunden- und Dokumentensammlung zur Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. XI, (Berlin: Dokumenten-Verlag, 1958-1979).

Müller, Arnd, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg 1146-1945*, (Nuremberg: Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, 1968).

Noakes, Jeremy and Geoffrey Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919-1945: Vol. 2 State, Economy and Society 1933-39*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987).

Noakes, Jeremy and Geoffrey Pridham (eds.), *Nazism 1919-1945: Vol. 3 Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997).

Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution and Axis Criminality (ed.), *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression: Opinion and Judgement*, Vol. IV, (Washington: US Government Print Office, 1946).

Oppenheimer, Franz, *Die Judenstatistik des preussischen Kriegsministeriums*, (Munich: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1922).

Ortsgruppe Dortmund des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Statistik des Bundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten Dortmund-Hörde (Stadt und Land)*, (Dortmund: Gebrüder Wolff,192[?]).

Ortsgruppe München des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Unseren Gefallenen Kameraden: Gedenkbuch für die im Weltkrieg Gefallenen Münchener Juden*, (Munich: B. Heller, 1929).

Pelc, Ortwin (ed.), *Juden in Hamburg: Begleitheft zur Ausstellung. Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte*, (Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1997).

Preußische Beratungsstelle für Kriegsehrungen (ed.), *Kriegergräber in der Heimat: Flugblatt der preußischen Beratungsstellen für Kriegsehrungen*, (Berlin, Sittenfeld, 1917).

Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Die jüdischen Gefallenen des deutschen Heeres, der deutschen Marine und der deutschen Schutztruppen 1914-1918. Ein Gedenkbuch*, (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1932).

Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (ed.), *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Deutsche Juden*, (Berlin: Vortrupp, 1935).

Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, Ortsgruppe Düsseldorf (ed.), *Gedenkbuch zu Ehren der im Weltkrieg 1914/1918 gefallenen jüdischen Krieger der Stadt Düsseldorf*, (Düsseldorf: Ed. Lintz, 1923).

Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, Ortsgruppe Essen (ed.), *Ehrentafel: Unseren gefallenen Kameraden zum Gedenken*, (Essen: Fredebeul & Koennen, 1924).

Remarque, Erich Maria, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, (London: Putnam, 1929).

Rosenberg, Alfred, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, (Munich: Hoheneichen, 1937).

Sauer, Paul, *Die Schicksale der jüdischen Bürger Baden-Württembergs während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungszeit 1933-1945*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969).

Segall, Jacob, *Die deutschen Juden als Soldaten im Kriege 1914-1918*, (Berlin: Philo, 1921).

Schilling, Konrad (ed.), *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein. Katalog*, (Cologne: J. Melzer, 1963).

Schmückle, Gerd, *Ohne Pauken und Trompeten: Erinnerungen an Krieg und Frieden*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1982).

Schoeps, Hans-Joachim, *Die letzten dreissig Jahre: Rückblicke*, (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1956).

Scholem, Gershom, 'Against the Myth of the German-Jewish Dialogue', in Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis. Selected Essays*, (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 61-64.

Scholem, Gershom, *From Berlin to Jerusalem: Memories of My Youth*, (New York: Schocken, 1980).

Scholem, Gershom, 'Jews and Germans', in Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis. Selected Essays*, (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 71-92.

Scholem, Gershom, 'Once More: The German-Jewish Dialogue', in Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis. Selected Essays*, (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 65-70.

Schröder, Anneliese (ed.), *Synagoga: Kulturgeräte und Kunstwerke von der Zeit der Patriarchen bis zur Gegenwart. Städtische Kunsthalle Recklinghausen 3.November 1960 – 15. Januar 1961*, (Recklinghausen: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1960).

Schwarz, Hans-Peter (ed.), *Konrad Adenauer: Reden 1917-1967. Eine Auswahl*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1975).

Simon, Ernst, 'Unser Kriegserlebnis', in Ernst Simon (ed.), *Brücken: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965), pp. 17-23.

Stadtarchiv Nürnberg (ed.), *Schicksal jüdischer Mitbürger in Nürnberg 1850-1945*, (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, 1965).

Stadtverwaltung Heilbronn (ed.), *Die Opfer des Krieges in der Stadt Heilbronn: Unseren Toten zum Gedenken, uns Lebenden zur Mahnung, 1939-1945*, (Heilbronn, 1955).

Strauß, Franz Josef, *Die Erinnerungen*, (Berlin: Siedler, 1989).

Sulzbach, Herbert, *Zwei lebende Mauern: 50 Monate Westfront*, (Berlin: Bernhard und Graefe, 1935).

Tannenbaum, Eugen, *Kriegsbriefe deutscher und österreichischer Juden*, (Berlin: Neuer Verlag, 1915).

Tänzer, Arnold, 'War Memoirs', in Monika Richarz, *Jewish Life in Germany: Memoirs From Three Centuries*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 270-279.

Tänzer, Aron, *Die Geschichte des Veteranen- und Militärvereins "Kampfgenossenschaft" in Göppingen 1871-1921. Eine Festschrift zur Feier seines 50 jährigen Bestehens*, (Göppingen, 1921).

Theilhaber, Felix, *Jüdische Flieger im Weltkrieg*, (Berlin: Verlag der Schild, 1924).

Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945 – 1 October 1946, Vol. XVI, (Nuremberg, 1948).

Urias, Siegfried, *Die Hamburger Juden im Kriege 1914-1918*, (Hamburg, 1929).

Vogt, Martin (ed.), *Theodor Heuss, Politiker und Publizist: Aufsätze und Reden*, (Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1984).

Warscher, Josef, 'The Reconstruction of Smaller Communities', in Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 111-113.

Wertheimer, William, *Zwischen zwei Welten: Der Förster von Brooklyn*, (Passau: Neue Presse, 1980).

Witkop, Philipp (ed.), *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1918).

Wollenberg, Hans (ed.), *Heroische Gestalten Jüdischen Stammes*, (Berlin: Erwin Löwe, 1937).

Württembergischen Landesverband des Centralvereins deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (ed.), *Jüdische Frontsoldaten aus Württemberg und Hohenzollern*, (Stuttgart: J. Fink, 1926).

Secondary Sources

Books

Abenheim, Donald, *Reforging the Iron Cross: The Search for Tradition in the West German Armed Forces*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Adam, Uwe Dietrich, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1972).

Adler, H. G., *The Jews in Germany: From the Enlightenment to National Socialism*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, [org. 1960] 1969).

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, [org 1983] 1991).

Arendt, Ludwig, *Zur Geschichte der Eberswalder Synagogen-Gemeinde*, (Eberswalde: Stadt- und Kreismuseum Eberswalde, 1993).

Aschheim, Steven, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

Bach, Martin, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kriegerdenkmals in Westfalen und Lippe*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1985).

Bajohr, Frank, *Unser Hotel ist Judenfrei: Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2003).

Bark, Dennis and David Gress, *A History of West Germany. From Shadow to Substance, 1945-1963*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

Barkai, Avraham, *"Wehr Dich!" Der Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens 1893-1938*, (Munich: Beck, 2002).

Barkow, Ben, *Alfred Wiener and the Making of the Holocaust Library*, (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997).

Behrenbeck, Sabine, *Der Kult um die toten Helden. Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten und Symbole 1923-1945*, (Vierow: S-H Verlag, 1996).

Bendt, Vera (ed.), *Judaica Katalog*, (Berlin: Berlin Museum, 1989).

Berghahn, Volker, *Der Stahlhelm: Bund der Frontsoldaten 1918-1935*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1966).

Bessel, Richard, *Germany After the First World War*, (Oxford: OUP, 1993).

Bömer, Franz (ed.), *Wilhelm Gymnasium Hamburg 1881-1956*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1956).

Bourke, Joanna, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*, (London: Reaktion, 1996).

Bracher, Karl Dietrich, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Consequences of National Socialism*, (London: Penguin, [org. 1970] 1991).

Braese, Stephen (ed.), *Deutsche Nachkriegsliteratur und der Holocaust*, (Frankfurt: Campus, 1998).

Breitman, Richard, *Official Secrets: What the Nazis Planned, What the British and Americans Knew*, (London: Penguin, 2000).

Brenner, David, *Marketing Identities: The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost und West*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998).

Brenner, Michael, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Brenner, Michael, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

Brochhagen, Ulrich, *Nach Nürnberg: Vergangenheitsbewältigung und Westintegration in der Ära Adenauer*, (Berlin: Ullstein, 1999).

Brockhoff, Evamaria (ed.), *Juden auf dem Lande, Beispiel Ichenhausen: Katalog zur Ausstellung in der ehemaligen Synagoge Ichenhausen – Haus der Begegnung, 9. Juli bis 29. September 1991*, (Munich: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 1991).

Bronsen, David (ed.), *Jews and Germans from 1860 to 1933*, (Heidelberg: Winter, 1979).

Broszat, Martin, *Hitler and the Collapse of Weimar Germany*, (Oxford: Berg, [org. 1984] 1993).

Browning, Christopher, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, (New York: HarperPerennial, 1993).

Buchner, Bernd, *Um nationale und republikanische Identität: Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Kampf um die politischen Symbole in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2001).

Burns, Rob and Wilfried van der Will, *Protest and Democracy in West Germany: Extra-Parliamentary Opposition and the Democratic Agenda*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

Buruma, Ian, *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*, (London: Vintage, 1994).

Büttner, Gerda (ed.), *Mahnmal, Erinnerungsorte, Museum. Die Realisierung. Dokumentation zum Denkmal von Dagmar Pachtner Ingolstadt 1998/99*, (Ingolstadt: Initiative für Mahn- und Gedenkstätten, 1999).

Cohen, Shaul Ephraim, *The Politics of Planting: Israeli-Palestinian Competition for Control of Land in the Jerusalem Periphery*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Cooper, Alice Holmes, *Paradoxes of Peace: German Peace Movements since 1945*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

Dennis, David, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

Diehl, James, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany*, (London: Indiana University Press, 1977).

Dippel, John van Houten, *Bound Upon a Wheel of Fire: Why so Many German Jews Made the Tragic Decision to Remain in Germany*, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996).

Douglas, Lawrence, *The Memory of Judgement: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Dunker, Ulrich, *Der Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten, 1919-1938: Geschichte eines jüdischen Abwehrvereins*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977).

Eder, Angelika, *Flüchtige Heimat: jüdische Displaced Persons in Landsberg am Lech 1945 bis 1950*, (Munich: Kommissionsverlag, 1998).

Elon, Amos, *The Pity of it All: A Portrait of Jews in Germany, 1743-1933*, (London: Penguin, 2004).

Encyclopaedia Judaica, (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971).

Eschebach, Insa, *Öffentliches Gedenken: Deutsche Erinnnrungskulturen seit der Weimarer Republik*, (Frankfurt: Campus, 2005).

Finger, Stefan, *Franz Josef Strauß: Ein politisches Leben*, (Munich: Olzog, 2005).

Fink, Carole, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (eds.), *1968: The World Transformed*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998).

Flade, Roland, *Die Würzburger Juden: Ihre Geschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, (Würzburg: Stürz, 1987).

Flade, Roland, *Juden in Würzburg, 1918-1933*, (Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 1985).

Francois, Etienne and Hagen Schulze (eds.), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001).

Fraser, Ronald, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1988).

Frei, Norbert, *National Socialist Rule in Germany: The Führer State 1933-1945*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 1993).

Frei, Norbert, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*, (Munich: Beck, 1996).

Friedländer, Saul, *Nazi Germany and the Jew: The Years of Persecution, 1933-39*, (London: Phoenix, 1998).

Fritzsche, Peter, *Rehearsals for Fascism: Populism and Political Mobilization in Weimar Germany*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990).

Geis, Jael, *Übrig sein – Leben "danach": Juden deutscher Herkunft in der britischen und amerikanischen Zone Deutschlands 1945-1949*, (Berlin: Philo, 1999).

Gellately, Robert, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933-1945*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Geller, Jay, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany, 1945-1953*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).

Gillis, John (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Göppinger, Horst, *Juristen jüdischer Abstammung im 'Dritten Reich': Entrechtung und Verfolgung*, (Munich: Beck, 1990).

Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Hank, Sabine and Hermann Simon (eds.), *"Bis der Krieg uns lehrt, was der Friede bedeutet" Das Ehrenfeld für die jüdischen Gefallenen des Weltkrieges auf dem Friedhof der Berliner jüdischen Gemeinde*, (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2004).

Harding, Brian, *Keeping Faith: The History of the Royal British Legion*, (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2001).

Hecht, Cornelia, *Deutsche Juden und Antisemitismus in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2003).

Hedinger, Bärbel, *Ein Kriegsdenkmal in Hamburg*, (Hamburg: Tutor Verlag, 1979).

Herbert, Ulrich, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903-1989*, (Bonn: Dietz, 1996).

Herf, Jeffrey, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Hoffmann, Christhard (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

Hütt, Michael, Hans-Joachim Kunst, Florian Matzner and Ingeborg Pabst (eds.), *Unglücklich das Land, das Helden nötig hat. Leiden und Sterben in den Kriegerdenkmälern des Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieges*, (Marburg: Jonas, 1990).

Jaeger, Roland, *Block & Hochfeld, die Architekten des Deutschlandhauses: Bauten und Projekte in Hamburg 1921-1938, Exil in Los Angeles*, (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1996).

Kaplan, Marion, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, (Oxford: OUP, 1998).

Kauders, Anthony, *Democratization and the Jews: Munich, 1945-1965*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

Kauders, Anthony, *German Politics and the Jews: Düsseldorf and Nuremberg 1910-1933*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

King, Alex, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

Kolinsky, Eva, *After the Holocaust: Jewish Survivors in Germany After 1945*, (London: Pimlico, 2004).

Königseder, Angelika and Juliane Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal. Die jüdischen DPs im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1994).

Koonz, Claudia, *The Nazi Conscience*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Koshar, Rudy, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

Koshar, Rudy, *Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

Koselleck, Reinhart and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne*, (Munich: Fink, 1994).

Lange, Günther, *Das Denkmal*, (Hamburg: Offene Worte, 1997).

Lavsky, Hagit, *Before Catastrophe: Distinctive Path of German Zionism*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996).

Lavsky, Hagit, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945-1950*, (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2002).

Liedtke, Rainer, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, 1850-1914*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

Lloyd, David, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*, (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

Loebl, Herbert, *Juden in Bamberg. Die Jahrzehnte vor dem Holocaust* (Bamberg: Fränkischer Tag, 1999).

Lorenz, Ina, *Die Juden in Hamburg zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik: Eine* Dokumentation, (Hamburg: Christians, 1987).

Lorenz, Ina, *Gehen oder Bleiben: Neuanfang der Jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg nach 1945*, (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2002).

Lowenstein, Steven, *Frankfurt on the Hudson: The German-Jewish Community of Washington Heights, 1933-1983, Its Structure and Culture*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989).

Lurz, Meinhold, *Kriegerdenkmäler in Deutschland. Band 4, Weimarer Republik*, (Heidelberg: Esprint, 1985).

Mankowitz, Zeev, *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

Marcuse, Harold, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-1945*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).

Matzerath, Horst (ed.), *Jüdisches Schicksal in Köln 1918-1945: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Historischen Archivs der Stadt Köln / NS-Dokumentationszentrum*, (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1988).

Maurer, Trude, *Ostjuden in Deutschland 1918-1933*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1986).

Menne-Thomé, Käthe, *Franz Brantzky 1871-1945: Ein Kölner Architekt in seiner Zeit*, (Cologne: Abteilung Architektur an Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Köln, 1980).

Merkl, Peter, *Political Violence under the Swastika*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

Michalski, Sergiusz, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*, (London: Reaktion, 1998).

Milton, Sybil, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991).

Mitscherlich, Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens*, (Munich: Piper, [org. 1967] 1977).

Moeller, Robert, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*, (London: University of California Press, 2001).

Mommsen, Hans, *The Rise and Fall of Weimar Democracy*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Morisse, Heiko, *Jüdische Rechtsanwälte in Hamburg: Ausgrenzung und Verfolgung im NS-Staat*, (Hamburg: Christians, 2003).

Mosesson, Gloria, *The Jewish War Veterans Story*, (Washington: Jewish War Veterans of the United States, 1971).

Mosse, George, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990).

Mosse, Werner (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971).

Nägler, Frank (ed.), *Deutsche jüdische Soldaten: Von der Epoche der Emanzipation bis hin zum Zeitalter der Weltkriege*, (Hamburg: E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1994).

Natter, Wolfgang, *Literature at War, 1914-1940: Representing the "Time of Greatness" in Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Niewyk, Donald, *The Jews in Weimar Germany*, (Manchester: MUP, 1980).

Nora, Pierre, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-1998).

Ophir, Baruch und Falk Wiesemann, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern, 1918-1945: Geschichte und Zerstörung*, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979).

Paret, Peter, *An Artist Against the Third Reich: Ernst Barlach, 1933-1938*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).

Plagemann, Volker, *Vaterstadt, Vaterland, schütz dich Gott mit starker Hand: Denkmäler in Hamburg*, (Hamburg: Christians, 1986).

Poppel, Stephen, *Zionism in Germany, 1897-1933: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1977).

Pracht, Elfi, *Jüdisches Kulturerbe in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Teil I: Regierungsbezirk Köln*, (Cologne: Bachem, 1997).

Pulzer, Peter, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority 1848-1933*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

Rahden, Till van, *Juden und andere Breslauer: Die Beziehungen zwischen Juden, Protestanten und Katholiken in einer deutschen Großstadt von 1860 bis 1925*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

Rhauderwiek, Antje, *Ernst Barlach: Das Hamburger Ehrenmal*, (Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 2004).

Richie, Alexandra, *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*, (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1998).

Rohe, Karl, *Das Reichsbanner Schwarz Rot Gold: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Struktur der politischen Kampfverbände zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik*, (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1966).

Roseman, Mark (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany, 1770-1968*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995).

Sachar, Howard, *Dreamland: Europeans and Jews in the Aftermath of the Great War*, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2002).

Saehrendt, Christian, *Der Stellungskrieg der Denkmäler. Kriegerdenkmäler im Berlin der Zwischenkriegszeit (1919-1939)*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2004).

Schelleack, Fritz, *Nationalfeiertage in Deutschland von 1871 bis 1945*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990).

Schleunes, Karl, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz: Nazi Policy Toward German Jews, 1933-1939*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, [org 1970] 1990).

Schneider, Gerhard, *'...nicht umsonst gefallen?' Kriegerdenkmäler und Kriegstotenkult in Hannover*, (Hanover: Hahnsche, 1991).

Schoenfeld, Helmut, *Der Friedhof Ohlsdorf*, (Hamburg: Christians, 2000).

Schulz, Peter-Rudolf, *Wilhelm-Gymnasium Hamburg 1881-1981: Eine Dokumentation über 100 Jahre Wilhelm-Gymnasium*, (Hamburg: Hower, 1981).

Schumann, Dirk, *Politische Gewalt in der Weimarer Republik 1918-1933: Kampf um die Straße und Furcht vor dem Bürgerkrieg*, (Essen: Klartext, 2001).

Schwierz, Israel, *Für das Vaterland starben: Denkmäler und Gedenktafeln für jüdische Soldaten in Thüringen: Dokumentation*, (Aschaffenburg: Eduard Krem-Bardischewski, 1996).

Showalter, Dennis, *Little Man What Now?: Der Stürmer in the Weimar Republic*, (Hamden: Archon, 1982).

Sieg, Ulrich, *Jüdische Intellektuelle im Ersten Weltkrieg: Kreigserfahrungen, weltanschauliche Debatten und kulturelle Neuentwürfe*, (Berlin: Akademie, 2001).

Sorkin, David, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780-1840*, (Oxford: OUP, 1987).

Stadtverwaltung Słubice (ed.), *Kurze Geschichte des jüdischen Friedhofes Frankfurt (Oder) – Słubice*, (Słubicach: Urząd Miejski, 1999).

Steinberg, Michael, *Sabers and Brown Shirts: The German Students' Path to National Socialism, 1918-1935*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

Stern, Frank, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*, (Oxford: Pergamon, 1992).

Tarlow, Sarah, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

Tietz, Jürgen, *Das Tannenberg-Nationaldenkmal: Architektur, Geschichte, Kontext*, (Berlin: Bauwesen, 1999).

Ulrich, Bernd, *Die Augenzeugen: Deutsche Feldpostbriefe in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit 1914-1933*, (Essen: Klartext, 1997).

Ulrich, Bernd and Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Krieg im Frieden: Die umkämpfte Erinnerung an den Ersten Weltkrieg*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1997).

Verhey, Jeffrey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth and Mobilization in Germany*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2000).

Vogel, Rolf, *Ein Stück von uns: Deutsche Juden in deutschen Armeen 1813-1976. Eine Dokumentation*, (Mainz: Hase & Koeller, 1977).

Volksbund deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (ed.), *Dienst am Menschen, Dienst am Frieden: 75 Jahre Volksbund deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge*, (Gütersloh: Mohndruck, 1994).

Walter, Dirk, *Antisemitische Kriminalität und Gewalt. Judenfeindlichkeit in der Weimarer Republik*, (Bonn: Dietz, 1999).

Whalen, Robert, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War 1914-1939*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

Wiedmer, Caroline, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

Wildt, Michael, *Generation des Unbedingten: Das Führungskorps des Reichssicherheitshauptamtes*, (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002).

Winter, Jay, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995).

Wittmann, Rebecca, *Beyond Justice: The Auschwitz Trial*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

Young, James, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Zechlin, Egmont, *Die deutsche Politik und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969).

Ziemann, Benjamin, *Front und Heimat. Ländliche Kriegserfahrungen im südlichen Bayern 1914-1923*, (Essen: Klartext, 1997).

Chapters in Edited Volumes

Ashplant, T.G., Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 'The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics', in T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 3-85.

Barkai, Avraham, 'Jewish Life in its German Milieu', in Michael Meyer (ed.), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times: Volume 4, Renewal and Destruction 1918-1945*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 45-71.

Bartov, Omer, '"Fields of Glory": War, Genocide, and the Glorification of Violence', in Moishe Postone and Eric Santner (eds.), *Catastrophe and Meaning: The Holocaust and the Twentieth Century*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

Behrenbeck, Sabine, 'Between Pain and Silence: Remembering the Victims of Violence in Germany after 1949', in Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (eds.), *Life After Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe During the 1940s and 1950s*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 37-64.

Behrenbeck, Sabine, 'Heldenkult oder Friedensmahnung? Kriegerdenkmale nach beiden Weltkriegen', in Gottfried Niedhart and Dieter Riesenberger, *Lernen aus dem Krieg: deutsche Nachkriegszeiten, 1918 und 1945: Beiträge zur historischen Friedensforschung*, (Munich: Beck, 1992), pp. 344-364.

Behrenbeck, Sabine, 'Zwischen Trauer und Heroisierung. Vom Umgang mit Kriegstod und Niederlage nach 1918', in Jörg Duppler and Gerhard Groß (eds.), *Kriegsende 1918: Ereignis, Wirkung, Nachwirkung*, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), pp. 315-339.

Bernett, Hajo, 'Die jüdische Turn- und Sportbewegung als Ausdruck der Selbstfindung und Selbstbehauptung des deutschen Judentums', in Wolfgang Benz, Arnold Paucker and Peter Pulzer (eds.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 223-237.

Bessel, Richard, 'The "Front Generation" and the Politics of Weimar Germany', in Mark Roseman (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Formation in Germany 1770-1968*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 121-136.

Biale, David, 'Gershom Scholem between German and Jewish Nationalism', in Klaus Berghahn (ed.), *The German-Jewish Dialogue Reconsidered: A*

Symposium in Honor of George L. Mosse, (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 177-188.

Borut, Jacob, '"Verjudung des Judentums": Was there a Zionist Subculture in Weimar Germany?', in Michael Brenner and Derek Penslar (eds.), *In Search of Jewish Community: Jewish Identities in Germany and Austria, 1918-1933*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 92-114.

Brandt, Susanne, 'Trauer und fortgesetzter Krieg. Totengedenken zwischen Trauer und Kriegsverherrlichung in Düsseldorf nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', in Jost Dülffer and Gerd Krumeich (eds.), *Der verlorene Frieden. Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, (Essen: Klartext, 2002), pp. 243-260.

Brenner, Michael, 'The German Army Orders a Census of Jewish Soldiers, and Jews Defend German Culture', in Sander Gilman and Jack Zipes (eds.), *Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture, 1096-1996*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 348-354.

Brocke, Edna, 'Die Alte Synagoge in Essen', in Dirk Blasius and Dan Diner (eds.), *Zerbrochene Geschichte: Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland*, (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991), pp. 187-200.

Brod, Walter, 'Der Studentenstein, das Mahnmal der deutschen Studentenschaft in Würzburg', in Rolf-Joachim Baum (ed.), *Studentenschaft und Korporationswesen an der Universität Würzburg 1582-1982,* (Würzburg: Becher, 1982), pp. 80-88.

Brumlik, Micha, 'In *Deutschtum und Judentum* Hermann Cohen applies neo-Kantian Philosophy to the German Jewish Question', in Sander Gilman and Jack Zipes (eds.), *Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 336-342.

Cannadine, David, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', in Joachim Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, (London: Europa, 1981), pp.187-242.

Caplan, Gregory, 'Germanising the Jewish Male: Military Masculinity as the Last Stage of Acculturation', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, (London: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 159-184.

Carrier, Peter, 'Places, Politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de memoire*', in Susannah Radstone (ed.), *Memory and Methodology*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000), pp. 37-57.

Confino, Alon and Peter Fritzsche, 'Introduction: Noises of the Past', in Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche (eds.), *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), pp. 1-21.

Crim, Brian, '"Was it All Just a Dream?" German-Jewish Veterans and the Confrontation with *völkisch* Nationalism in the Interwar Period', in Greg Eghigian and Matthew Paul Berg (eds.), *Sacrifice and National Belonging in Twentieth-Century Germany*, (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), pp. 64-89.

Diner, Dan, 'Negative Symbiose – Deutsche und Juden nach Auschwitz', in Micha Brumlik et al., *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland seit 1945*, (Frankfurt: Jüdischer Verlag, 1986), pp. 243-257.

Flade, Roland, 'Die Würzburger Juden: Alltag, Religion, Brauchtum', in Christoph Daxelmüller and Roland Flade (eds.), *Ruth hat auf einer schwarzen Flöte gespielt: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur der Juden in Würzburg*, (Würzburg: Echter, 2005), pp. 43-88.

Förster, Jürgen, 'The Relation Between Operation Barbarossa as an Ideological War of Extermination and the Final Solution', in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 85-102.

Frei, Norbert, 'Deutsche Lernprozesse: NS-Vergangenheit und Generationsfolge seit 1945', in Norbert Frei (ed.), *1945 und Wir: Das Dritte Reich im Bewusstsein der Deutschen*, (Munich: Beck, 2005), pp. 23-40.

Gentzen, Udo and Kristina Hübener, 'Staatliche Kriegerehrungen: Das Wirken der brandenburgischen Provinzialberatungsstelle für Kriegerehrungen seit 1916', in Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener and Julius Schoeps (eds.), *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg: Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart*, (Berlin: be.bra, 2003), pp. 115-132.

Hausen, Karin, 'The "Day of National Mourning in Germany"', in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (eds.), *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 127-146.

Hoffmann, Christhard, 'Between Integration and Rejection: The Jewish Community in Germany 1914-1918', in John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 89-104.

Hübener, Dieter, '"Den 1914-1918 gefallenen Söhnen gewidmet..." Döbern, Peitz und Oranienburg als Fallbeispiele für die Gefallenenehrung in Brandenburg', in Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener and Julius Schoeps (eds.), *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg: Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart*, (Berlin: be.bra, 2003), pp. 185-202.

Hughes, Michael, 'Economic Interest, Social Attitudes, and Creditor Ideology: Popular Responses to Inflation', in Gerald Feldman (ed.), *The German Inflation Reconsidered: A Preliminary Balance*, (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1982), pp. 384-408.

Jeismann, Michael and Rolf Westheider, 'Wofür stirbt der Bürger? Nationaler Totenkult und Staatsbürgertum in Deutschland und Frankreich seit der Französischen Revolution' in Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne*, (Munich: Fink, 1994). pp. 23-50.

Jochmann, Werner, 'Die Ausbreitung des Antisemitismus', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971), pp. 409-510.

Kaplan, Marion, 'As Germans and as Jews in Imperial Germany', in Marion Kaplan (ed.), *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004), pp. 173-269.

Katz, Steven, '1918 and After: The Role of Racial Antisemitism in the Nazi Analysis of the Weimar Republic', in Sander Gilman and Steven Katz (eds.), *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 227-256.

Keßler, Mario, *Die SED und die Juden – zwischen Repression und Toleranz: Politische Entwicklungen bis 1967*, (Berlin: Akademie, 1995), pp. 85-99.

Koonz, Claudia, 'Between Memory and Oblivion: Concentration Camps in German Memory', in John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 258-280.

Koselleck, Reinhart, 'Kriegerdenkmale als Identitätsstiftungen der Überlebenden', in Odo Marquard and Karlheinz Stierle (eds.), *Identität*, (Munich: Fink, 1979), pp. 255-276.

Krumeich, Gerd, 'Konjunkturen der Weltkriegserinnerung', in Rainer Rother (ed.), *Der Weltkrieg 1914-1918. Ereignis und Erinnerung*, (Berlin: DHM, 2004), pp. 68-73.

Kuberek, Monika, 'Die Kriegsgräberstätten des Volksbundes deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge', in Michael Hütt, Hans-Joachim Kunst, Florian Matzner and Ingeborg Pabst (eds.), *Unglücklich das Land, das Helden nötig hat. Leiden und Sterben in den Kriegerdenkmälern des Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieges*, (Marburg: Jonas, 1990), pp. 75-90.

Levine, Herbert, 'The Jewish Leadership in Germany and the Nazi Threat in 1933', in Carole Fink, Isabel Hull and MacGregor Knox, *German Nationalism and the European Response, 1890-1945*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 181-206.

Liedtke, Rainer and David Rechter, 'Introduction: German Jewry and the Search for Normality', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, (London: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 1-12.

Liepach, Martin, 'Das Krisenbewusstsein des jüdischen Bürgertums in den *Goldenen Zwanzigern*', in Andreas Gotzmann, Rainer Liedtke and Till van Rahden (eds.), *Juden, Bürger, Deutsche*, (London: J.C.B. Mohr, 2001), pp. 395-417.

Linse, Ulrich, '"Saatfrüchte sollen nicht vermahlen werden": Zur Resymbolisierung des Soldatentods', in Klaus Vondung (ed.), *Kriegserlebnis. Der Erste Weltkrieg in der literarischen Gestaltung und symbolischen Deutung der Nationen*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 262-274.

Marcuse, Harold, 'The Revival of Holocaust Awareness in West Germany, Israel, and the United States', in Carole Finke, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (eds.), *1968: The World Transformed*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 421-438.

Matthäus, Jürgen, 'Between Fragmented Memory and "Real History"', in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 375-407.

Maurer, Trude, 'From Everyday Life to a State of Emergency: Jews in Weimar and Nazi Germany', in Marion Kaplan (ed.), *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, pp. 271-373.

Mendes-Flohr, Paul, 'The "Kriegserlebnis" and Jewish Consciousness', in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 225-237.

Mertens, Lothar, 'Schwieriger Neubeginn. Die Jüdischen Gemeinden in der SBZ/DDR bis 1952/53', in Julius Schoeps (ed.), *Leben im Land der Täter: Juden im Nachkriegsdeutschland (1945-1952)*, (Berlin: Jüdische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), pp. 171-188.

Miron, Guy, 'From Memorial Community to Research Centre: The Leo Baeck Institute in Jerusalem', in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 101-134.

Nattermann, Ruth, 'Diversity within Unity: The LBI's "Community of Founders", in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 59-100.

Niethammer, Lutz, 'Jews and Russians in the Memory of the Germans', in Neil Gregor (ed.), *Nazism*, (Oxford: OUP, 2000), pp. 377-380.

Offenberg, Ulrike, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin 1945-1953', in Julius Schoeps (ed.), *Leben im Land der Täter: Juden im Nachkriegsdeutschland (1945-1952)*, (Berlin: Jüdische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), pp. 133-156.

Paucker, Arnold, 'Der jüdische Abwehrkampf', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Entscheidungsjahr 1932: Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1965), pp. 405-499.

Paucker, Arnold, 'Responses of German Jewry to Nazi Persecution 1933-1943', in Edward Timms and Andrea Hammel, *The German-Jewish Dilemma: From the Enlightenment to the Shoah*, (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1999), pp. 211-227.

Picht, Clemens, 'Zwischen Vaterland und Volk: Das deutsche Judentum im Ersten Weltkrieg', in Wolfgang Michalka (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse*, (Munich: Piper, 1994), pp. 736-755.

Prokasky, Judith, 'Gestorben wofür? Die doppelte Funktionalisierung der deutsch-jüdischen Kriegerdenkmäler am Beispiel Guben', in Dieter Hübener, Kristina Hübener and Julius Schoeps (eds.), *Kriegerdenkmale in Brandenburg: Von den Befreiungskriegen 1813/15 bis in die Gegenwart*, (Berlin: be.bra, 2003), pp. 203-214.

Prost, Antoine, 'Monuments to the Dead', in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 2., trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 307-330.

Pulzer, Peter, 'The First World War', in Michael Meyer (ed.), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times: Volume 3, Integration in Dispute 1871-1918*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 360-384.

Rahden, Till van, 'Mingling, Marrying, and Distancing: Jewish Integration in Wilhelminian Breslau and its Erosion in Early Weimar Germany', in Wolfgang Benz, Arnold Paucker and Peter Pulzer (eds.), *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik / Jews in the Weimar Republic*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 197-222.

Rahden, Till van, 'Weder Milieu noch Konfession: Die situative Ethnizität der deutschen Juden im Kaiserreich in vergleichender Perspektive', in Olaf Blaschke and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (eds.), *Religion im Kaiserreich. Milieus - Mentalitäten – Krisen*, (Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1996), pp. 409-434.

Reichmann, Eva, 'Der Bewusstseinwandel der deutschen Juden', in Werner Mosse (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923*, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971), pp. 511-612.

Reulecke, Jürgen, 'Männerbund versus the Family: Middle-Class Youth Movements and the Family in Germany in the Period of the First World War',

in Richard Wall and Jay Winter (eds.), *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp. 439-452.

Roemer, Nils, 'The Making of a New Discipline: The London LBI and the Writing of the German-Jewish Past', in Christhard Hoffmann (ed.), *Preserving the Legacy of German Jewry: A History of the Leo Baeck Institute 1955-2005*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 173-199.

Schindler, Thomas, '"Was Schandfleck war, ward unser Ehrenzeichen...: Die jüdischen Studentenverbindungen und ihr Beitrag zur Entwicklung eines neuen Selbstbewußtseins deutscher Juden', in Horm-Hinrich Brandt and Matthias Stickler (ed.), *"Der Burschen Herrlichkeit": Geschichte und Gegenwart des Studentischen Korporationwesens*, (Würzburg: Schönigh, 1998), pp. 337-354.

Schlösser, Susanne, 'Die Heilbronner NSDAP und ihre "Führer"', in Christard Schrenk and Peter Waner (eds.), *Heilbronnica 2: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*, (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 2003), pp. 281-318.

Schmidt, Wolf-Dietrich, 'Wir sind die Verfolgten geblieben': Zur Geschichte der Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes (VVN) in Hamburg, 1945-1951', in Jörg Berlin (ed.), *Das andere Hamburg: Freiheitliche Bestrebungen in der Hansestadt seit dem Spätmittelalter*, (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1981), pp. 329-356.

Sieg, Ulrich, 'Empathie und Pflichterfüllung: Leo Baeck als Feldrabbiner im Ersten Weltkrieg', in Georg Heuberger and Fritz Backhaus (eds.), *Leo Baeck 1873-1956: Aus dem Stamme von Rabbinern*, (Frankfurt: Jüdischer Verlag, 2001), pp. 44-59.

Sieg, Ulrich, '"Nothing more German than the German Jews"?: On the Integration of a Minority in a Society at War', in Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), *Towards Normality?: Acculturation and Modern Germany*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 201-216.

Siegfried, Detlef, 'Zwischen Aufarbeitung und Schlußstrich. Der Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten 1958 bis 1969', in Axel Schildt, Detlef Siegfried and Karl Lammers (eds.), *Dynamische Zeiten: Die 60er Jahre in den beiden deutschen Gesellschaften*, (Hamburg: Christians, 2000), pp. 77-113.

Stern, Frank, 'The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans and Jews in Postwar Germany', in Robert Moeller (ed.), *West Germany Under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 199-229.

Ungerleider-Mayerson, Joy, 'Preface', in Vivian Mann (ed.), *Danzig 1939: Treasures of a Destroyed Community*, (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1980), pp. 9-10.

Walden, Hans, 'Das Schweigen der Denkmäler. Wie sich Hamburg des Kriegs entsinnt', in Peter Reichel (ed.), *Das Gedächtnis der Stadt: Hamburg im Umgang mit seiner nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit*, (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1997), pp. 29-46.

Weiß, Christian, '"Soldaten des Friedens". Die pazifistischen Veteranen und Kriegsopfer des "Reichsbundes" und ihre Kontakte zu den französischen *anciens combatants* 1919-1933', in Wolfgang Hardtwig (ed.), *Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1918-1939*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), pp. 183-204.

Weiß, Frank, 'Dr. Julius Frank (1886-1968) – Das Schicksal eines jüdischen Richters am Amtsgericht Schweinfurt', in Uwe Müller (ed.), *Schweinfurter Forschungen*, (Schweinfurt: Benedict Press, 1993), pp. 177-185.

Wierling, Dorothee, 'Generations and Generational Conflict in East and West Germany', in Christoph Kleßmann (ed.), *The Divided Past: Post-War German History*', (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp. 69-89.

Wildt, Michael, 'Violence Against Jews in Germany 1933-1939', in David Bankier (ed.), *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews 1933-1941*, (New York: Berghahn, 2000), pp. 181-209.

Winter, Jay, 'All Quiet on the Eastern Front: German Jews, the Eastern Front, and the First World War', in Leo Baeck Institute (ed.), *Fighting for the Fatherland: The Patriotism of Jews in World War I*, (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1999), pp. 3-12.

Winter, Jay, 'Forms of Kinship and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Great War', in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 40-60.

Winter, Jay and Emmanuel Sivan, 'Setting the Framework', in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 6-39.

Wolfrum, Edgar, 'Die beiden Deutschland', in Volkhard Knigge and Norbert Frei (eds.), *Verbrechen erinnern: Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord*, (Munich: Beck, 2002), pp. 133-149.

Ziemann, Benjamin, 'Die Konstruktion des Kriegsveteranen und die Symbolik seiner Erinnerung 1918-1933', in Jost Dülffer and Gerd Krumeich (eds.), *Der verlorene Frieden. Politik und Kriegskultur nach 1918*, (Essen: Klartext, 2002), pp. 101-118.

Journal Articles

Angress, Werner, 'Das deutsche Militär und die Juden im Ersten Weltkrieg', *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*, 19 (1976), pp. 77-146.

Angress, Werner, 'The German Army's "Judenzählung" of 1916 Genesis – Consequences – Significance', *LBIYB*, 23 (1978), pp. 117-135.

Assmann, Jan, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring-Summer 1995), pp. 125-133.

Bankier, David, 'Hitler and the Policy-Making Process on the Jewish Question', *Holocaust & Genocide Studies*, 3 (1) (1988), pp. 1-20.

Bankier, David, 'Jewish society Through Nazi Eyes 1933-1936', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 6 (2) (1991), pp. 111-127.

Benz, Wolfgang, 'The Legend of German-Jewish Symbiosis', *LBIYB*, 37 (1992), pp. 95-102.

Berkowitz, Michael, 'Zion's Cities: Projections of Urbanism and German-Jewish Self-consciousness, 1909-1933', *LBIYB*, 42 (1997), pp. 111-121.

Boas, Jacob, 'German-Jewish Internal Politics under Hitler 1933-1938', *LBIYB*, 29, (1984), pp. 3-25.

Bucher, Peter, 'Die Errichtung des Reichsehrenmals nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte*, 7 (1981), pp. 359-386.

Carlebach, Julius and Andreas Brämer, 'Continuity or New Beginning? Isaac Emil Lichtigfeld, Rabbi in Frankfurt am Main and Hesse, 1954-1967', *LBIYB*, 42 (1997), pp. 275-302.

Chickering, Roger, 'The Reichsbanner and the Weimar Republic', *Journal of Modern History*, 40 (4) (December 1968), pp. 524-534.

Confino, Alon, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review*, 102 (5) (December 1997), pp. 1386-1403.

Crane, Susan, 'Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory', *American Historical Review*, 102 (5) (December 1997), pp. 1372-1385.

Eksteins, Modris, 'All Quiet on the Western Front and the State of a War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15 (2) (April 1980), pp. 345-366.

Elliott, Christopher, 'The Kriegervereine and the Weimar Republic', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 10 (1) (January 1975), pp. 109-129.

Forner, Sean, 'War Commemoration and the Republic in Crisis: Weimar Germany and the Neue Wache', *Central European History*, 35 (4) (2002), pp. 513-549.

Fraser, Nancy, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 25/26 (1990), pp. 56-80.

Goebel, Stefan, 'Re-membered and Re-mobilized: The "Sleeping Dead" in Interwar Germany and Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 (4) (2004), pp. 487-501.

Gregor, Neil, '"The Illusion of Remembrance": The Karl Diehl Affair and the Memory of National Socialism in Nuremberg, 1945-1999', *Journal of Modern History*, 75 (3) (September 2003), pp. 590-633.

Gruber, Eckhard, '"...death is Built into Life" War Memorials and War Monuments in the Weimar Republic', *Daidalos*, 49 (September, 1993), pp. 72-81.

Grunewald, Max, 'The Beginning of the "Reichsvertretung"', *LBIYB*, 1 (1956), pp. 57-67.

Hamburger, Ernest, 'One Hundred Years of Emancipation', *LBIYB*, 14 (1969), pp. 3-66.

Heinemann, Elizabeth, 'The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's "Crisis Years" and West German National Identity', *American Historical Review*, 101 (2) (April 1996), pp. 354-395.

Hoppe, Günter, 'Juden in der deutschen Provinz: Die Geschichte einer Minderheit am Beispiel der Stadt Heilbronn', *Tribüne*, 23 (1984), pp. 140-146.

Horwitz, Rivka, 'Voices of Opposition to the First World War among Jewish Thinkers', *LBIYB*, 33 (1988), pp. 233-259.

Hughes, Michael, '"Through No Fault of Our Own": West Germans Remember their War Losses', *German History*, 18 (2) (2000), pp. 193-213.

Hüppauf, Bernd, 'Langemarck, Verdun and the Myth of a *New Man* in Germany after the First World War', *War & Society*, 6 (2) (September 1988), pp. 70-103.

Hyman, Paula, 'The History of European Jewry: Recent Trends in the Literature', *Journal of Modern History*, 54 (2) (June 1982), pp. 303-319.

Kansteiner, Wulf, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory*, 41 (May 2002), pp. 179-197.

Kauders, Anthony, 'History as Censure: "Repression" and "Philosemitism" in Postwar Germany', *History & Memory*, 15 (1) (2003), pp. 97-122.

Kirsch, Ingrid, '80 Jahre Denkmal zu Ehren der im Ersten Weltkrieg gefallenen Mitglieder der Dresdener jüdischen Gemeinde auf dem Friedhof Dresden-Johannstadt', *Sächsische Heimatblätter* 6 (1996), pp. 363-368.

Koshar, Rudy, 'Where does German Memory Lie?', *Central European History*, 36 (3) (2003), pp. 435-445.

Large, David Clay, '"A Beacon in the German Darkness": The Anti-Nazi Resistance Legacy in West German Politics', *Journal of Modern History*, 64 Supplement (December 1992), pp. 173-186.

Lowenthal, E.G., 'In the Shadow of Doom: Post-War Publications on Jewish Communal History in Germany', *LBIYB*, 11 (1966), pp. 306-335.

Lüdtke, Alf, '"Coming to Terms with the Past": Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany', *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (3) (September 1993), pp. 542-572.

Moriarty, Catherine, 'The Material Culture of Great War Remembrance', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34 (4) (1999), pp. 653-662.

Mosse, George, 'National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 14 (1) (1979), pp. 1-20.

Mosse, George, 'The Jews and the German War Experience, 1914-1918', *Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture*, 21 (1977).

Nicosia, Francis, 'The End of Emancipation and the Illusion of Preferential Treatment: German Zionism, 1933-1938', *LBIYB*, 36 (1991), pp. 243-265.

Nora, Pierre, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (Spring 1989), pp. 7-24.

Pierson, Ruth, 'Embattled Veterans: The Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten', *LBIYB*, 19 (1974), pp. 139-154.

Prokasky, Judith, 'Das jüdische Kriegerdenkmal in Berlin-Weißensee. Suche nach Identität und Kampf gegen das Vergessen', *Menora*, 11 (2000), pp. 103-118.

Prokasky, Judith, 'Treue zu Deutschland und Treue zum Judentum – das Gedenken an die deutschen jüdischen Gefallenen des Ersten Weltkrieges',

Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden, 9 (2) (1999), pp. 503-516.

Richarz, Monika, 'Jews in Today's Germanies', *LBIYB*, 30 (1985), pp. 265-274.

Roemer, Nils, 'Die touristische Konstruktion jüdischer Vergangenheit in Worms', *WerkstattGeschichte*, 36 (2004), pp. 57-72.

Rupnow, Dirk, '"Ihr müßt sein, auch wenn ihr nicht mehr seid": The Jewish Central Museum in Prague and Historical Memory in the Third Reich', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 16 (1) (Spring 2002), pp. 23-53.

Saehrendt, Christian, 'Antisemitismus und politische Gewalt an der Berliner Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität 1918 bis 1933', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 13 (2004), pp. 139-160.

Spier, Selma, 'Jewish History As We See It', *LBIYB*, 1 (1956), pp. 3-14.

Szajkowski, Zosa, 'Jewish Relief in Eastern Europe 1914-1917', *LBIYB*, 10 (1965), pp. 24-51.

Thiem, Sabine, 'Kurt Sabatzky: The C.V. Syndikus of the Jewish Community in Königsberg during the Weimar Republic', *LBIYB*, 44 (1999), pp. 191-204.

Toury, Jacob, 'Jewish Aspects as Contributing Factors to the Genesis of the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold', *LBIYB*, 37 (1992), pp. 237-257.

Weltsch, Robert, 'Introduction', *LBIYB*, 1 (1956), pp. xix-xxxi.

Wirsching, Andreas, 'Jüdische Friedhöfe in Deutschland 1933-1957', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 50 (1) (2002), pp. 1-40.

Ziemann, Benjamin, 'Republikanische Kriegserinnerung in einer polarisierten Öffentlichkeit. Das Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold als Veteranenverband der sozialistischen Arbeiterschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 267 (1998), pp. 357-398.

Zilien, Johann, 'Der "Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V." in der Weimarer Republik: Ein Beitrag zum politischen Denkmalkult zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 75 (1993), pp. 445-478.

Unpublished Secondary Literature

Caplan, Gregory, 'Wicked Sons, German Heroes: Jewish Soldiers, Veterans and Memories of World War I in Germany', (PhD Thesis, Georgetown University, 2001).

Crim, Brian, 'From *Frontgemeinschaft* to *Volksgemeinschaft*: The Role of Antisemitism within the German Military and Veteran Community, 1916-1938', (PhD Thesis, Rutgers University, 2003).

Laudamus, Fiona and Jörg Kuhn, 'Das Ehrenfeld auf dem III. Friedhof der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin in Berlin-Weißensee, Herbert-Baum-Straße 45. Kunsthistorisches und gartendenkmalpflegerisches Gutachten zur Umsetzung gartendenkmalpflegerischer Maßnahmen', (Berlin: Unpublished Manuscript, 2001).

Electronic Sources

'Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung, Online', http://www.bundesarchiv.de/kabinettsprotokolle/web/index.jsp, Summer 2006.

Israel Schwierz, 'Für das Vaterland starben: Denkmäler und Gedenktafeln bayerisch-jüdischer Soldaten', http://www.hdbg.de/gedenktafeln, Summer 2006.

Siegfried Buschschlüter interviewing Michael Blumenthal, 'Interview der Woche', in 'Deutschland Radio', http://www.dradio.de/cgi-bin/es/neu-interviewwoche/221, 09/09/2001.