

## Introduction

### *On the Significance of World War I and the Jews*

Jonathan Karp and Marsha L. Rozenblit



In *The Historian's Craft* the eminent French historian Marc Bloch offered practitioners a piece of excellent if challenging advice. Historians, wrote Bloch, must try to write about the past from two contrasting—or even contradictory—perspectives: the first with a full awareness of what later events would ensue, the second with a kind of feigned ignorance of those very same eventualities. The former, observed Bloch, would make it possible to trace a chain of historical causality, the latter to entertain awareness of historical contingency, of roads not taken.<sup>1</sup>

Bloch's paradox applies to the topic of this book. Some eighty years after his death (he had fought in both World Wars and was executed by the Nazis in 1944),<sup>2</sup> it is surprising that the present volume is one of the first academic works devoted expressly to the subject of World War I and the Jews. As the contributors make clear in the chapters that follow, this is not because World War I was without significant impact on Jewish history. On the contrary, the war profoundly affected nearly every major Jewish population around the globe.

Among the major developments occasioned by the war and its immediate aftermath, four stand out as being of paramount historical importance. First, the war offered Jewish populations in many of the combatant lands unprecedented opportunities to demonstrate their loyalty through military service and patriotic display and was thus the culmination of more than a century of debate throughout Europe and beyond over whether Jews possessed the physical and spiritual qualities required of modern citizens. Second, the conflict ultimately destroyed the imperial umbrellas under which approximately 80 percent of the world's Jews lived prior to

1914. The Russian, Habsburg, German, and Ottoman Empires were all replaced—sometimes gradually if not immediately—by a multiplicity of nation-states (or would-be nation-states) whose existence not only vastly complicated Jewish status but whose definition on the basis of ethnic and national principles typically made that existence more problematic and precarious. Third, through the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in November of 1917 and subsequently—*mutatis mutandis*—through the negotiation of the national minority clauses in the treaties emerging from the Paris Peace Conference of 1919–23, Jews won the right, hitherto denied them, to constitute a national element in international law and diplomacy, a right entitling them, in theory, to a measure of self-determination. And fourth, the war brought about a profound sense that many of the certainties that formerly governed Jewish lives were now, more than ever, open to question. This occurred in a variety of different ways: through the effective destruction of the Russian Pale of Settlement (even before the two Russian Revolutions of 1917), which despite its many hardships had also provided a protective shell around the traditional Eastern European Jewish community; through the disappointment and disillusionment many Jews came to experience as the war's seeming promise of equality often fell short in execution; or even through the appearance (or illusion) of Jewish diplomatic power that had been occasioned by the Balfour Declaration and other seeming Jewish “national” triumphs. The processes of uprooting and the dramatic shifts in Jews' sense of belonging, membership, and separate identity were a part of that larger political and psychological destabilization that was a distinct legacy of World War I for all Europeans.

These and other such major changes have been individually chronicled and explored before, of course. But the war itself as connective tissue and central organizing framework for them has generally failed to attract the attention of historians. Why is this so?

Bloch's prescription, that the historian must simultaneously know and not know what will later happen, provides part of the answer. In contrast to World War I, the impact of World War II on the Jews has been studied and written about more than any other topic in Jewish history. Each year dozens of academic monographs are published on the Holocaust, not to mention a large (if now dwindling) number of memoirs, alongside many more popular histories and historical novels. Because the Holocaust is regarded by many as the signal event of the modern Jewish experience (or by some, of *all* of Jewish experience), and because World War I has come implicitly to be seen as a prelude to its still more destructive and horrific sequel, Jewish historians may have found it difficult to conceptualize World War I and the Jews as a distinctive and discrete topic in its own right.

Surveying some of the recent one-volume histories of the Jews reinforces this impression. Paul Johnson's popular *A History of the Jews* subsumes World War I into a chapter covering the interwar and World War II periods and simply titled "Holocaust."<sup>3</sup> Howard N. Lupovitch's 2010 survey *Jews and Judaism in World History* encapsulates the period 1914–45 in a single chapter called "From Renewal to Destruction."<sup>4</sup> Other general histories and textbooks simply skip over World War I entirely (though invariably addressing individual episodes like the Balfour Declaration). Raymond P. Scheindlin's *A Short History of the Jewish People* offers no discussion of World War I per se but shifts from successive chapters on "Ottoman," "Western" and "Eastern" Jewries before 1945 to a chapter on "The Holocaust."<sup>5</sup> The widely used documentary history *The Jew in the Modern World* includes a chapter on the Shoah containing a wide selection of materials, but no such section on World War I and only a single document dealing specifically with the war itself.<sup>6</sup>

By no means is this phenomenon confined to Jewish history. The temptation has existed—almost from the period of World War II itself—to view World War I as the opening bloody salvo in a single continuous conflagration, marked by a long interregnum.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, what some historians have called the "Second Thirty Years War" or the "Thirty Years War of the Twentieth Century" is really but a variation on the notion that World War I marks a great turning point in world history and bears a not-distant relationship to the concept of the "short twentieth century," measured roughly from the outbreak of World War I in 1914 to the fall of communism in 1989.<sup>8</sup> It sometimes seems that World War I is weighted with such immense significance, and its effects are so far-reaching and long-lasting, that it cannot *also* easily be seen as a relatively self-contained episode in its own right. "Verdun and the Somme opened the way to Auschwitz and Hiroshima," asserted the historian Jack J. Roth in the 1969 volume *World War I: A Turning Point in World History*.<sup>9</sup> Recent studies of the Armenian genocide, which took place in the midst and in the context of World War I, underscore the same linkage. It is not that such links are false or misplaced, but only that they can have the effect of displacing the war itself and relegating it to the role of catalyst, prototype, and precursor.<sup>10</sup> In thinking about World War I, the *longue durée* too often seems to triumph over its antithesis, *l'histoire événementielle* (episodic history).<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, a countervailing tendency is also evident. Recent trends in historiography associated with the "cultural turn" have often led to a fragmentary emphasis on microhistories or on subjective representation that eschews structural and sociological accounts in favor of a focus on iconography, images, texts, and individual and collective memory. When it comes to the topic of World War I and the Jews, this narrower approach dovetails with an older emphasis, particularly pronounced in the

post-World War II writing of Jewish history, that centers on the individual national territory, for example, the history of the Jews of Germany or of America. In fact it is only in recent decades that historians of the Jews have homed in on “empire” as an organizing category, though certainly an apposite one given that at the outbreak of World War I the great majority of Jews directly affected by it lived under some form of imperial rule.

At any rate, many of the important monographs that deal with some aspect of Jewish life in World War I have focused on a national territory even within the larger imperial frame. Works by Marsha L. Rozenblit on the Jews of Habsburg Austria; Egmont Zechlin, Arnold Paucker and Werner Mosse, Tim Grady, Peter C. Appelbaum, and Sarah Panter on the Jews of wartime Germany (the last including much comparative material also on Austria, England, and the United States); Abigail Jacobson’s and Isaiah Friedman’s studies of the Jews (and non-Jews) in wartime Palestine; Harold Shukman’s examination of the conscription of Russian Jews living in Britain; Marcos Silber’s recent monograph on wartime Polish Jewry; or Christopher M. Sterba’s comparative study of Jewish and Italian immigrants in the American military are good examples.<sup>12</sup> In truth, these more national or regional studies are the very building blocks for a synthetic treatment of the sprawling topic of Jews in World War I. The archival records for a primary-source-based account of all the major Jewish communities entwined in the conflict are too vast, far-flung, and polyglot for any one historian to investigate.<sup>13</sup>

And yet the fact that such synthetic accounts do not exist still begs the question of why. Periodization constitutes as much of an obstacle as do linguistic divisions and territorial boundaries. This goes beyond the basic problem discussed above of subsuming the war to a long twentieth-century trajectory. In Jewish history it may seem that for the most critical events the war serves only as the occasion and immediate backdrop. In different ways this is the case with several crucial developments: the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in November of 1917; the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution during that same month and the ensuing civil, national liberation, and expansionist wars on Russia’s western imperial border, which did not subside until 1921; and finally the series of national treaties negotiated in Paris between 1919 and 1923 that crucially affected the status of Jews in Eastern and East Central Europe during the interwar period. Like the Balfour Declaration, which was eventually incorporated into the British Mandate, these developments have histories that extend well beyond the formal periodization of World War I. The war itself forms an essential part of the framework to comprehend such events, but only a part.

There is yet one additional factor that has inhibited greater scholarly focus on the topic of Jews and World War I. In a global conflagration involving Jews from several continents and from many different countries,

there really is no typical “Jewish” experience. On the contrary, the war presented individual Jewries (not to mention individual Jews) with strikingly different opportunities and experiences. British Jews (themselves stemming from all reaches of the empire), of whom about forty thousand served, certainly suffered from increased antisemitism during the war, but on the whole they experienced integration into the military and the home front that proved comparatively harmonious. One might say something similar about the much larger contingent of American Jews (about a quarter of a million serving), except that their experience was characterized in part by its sheer brevity, since the United States only became a combatant in April of 1917, while the first US expeditionary force landed in France in July of that year. German Jews proved second to none in their display of patriotism. About one hundred thousand are estimated to have served in the German armed forces, but despite the remarkably high percentage of Jewish conscripts (approximately 20 percent), their readiness for sacrifice was challenged by rising antisemitism and through a 1916 military census (*Judenabzählung*) that proved humiliating and injurious to the Jewish population as a whole.

Despite this antisemitism, military service in Germany and Austria-Hungary (where three hundred thousand Jews served) resembled that of Britain and America in offering opportunities for promotion to the officer corps and for sharing in experiences of national exaltation and suffering as equal—or nearly equal—members of the national community.<sup>14</sup> It would be difficult to claim the same for the nearly half-million Jewish soldiers fighting in the Russian imperial army, although they did hope to gain more rights in exchange for their service, or even for the tens of thousands who served in the Ottoman armed forces. On the other hand, as several of the chapters in this volume show, World War I marked a serious setback from the relatively equal status Ottoman Jewish soldiers had enjoyed in the immediately preceding Balkan Wars of 1912–13. In World War I, despite some exceptions, Jews like other non-Muslims were typically relegated to a harsh and humiliating service in labor battalions.

These brief examples suggest just how difficult it is to venture generalizations reflecting a singular Jewish experience in World War I. And when we look at the more lasting structural effects of the war on different Jewish communities, such contrasts appear still sharper. Even compared to World War II, which of course exhibited equally divergent effects, there is an important difference. In that case the theme of the catastrophe afflicting European Jews and the efforts of various worldwide Jewries to confront it serves as a unifying core. This is not the case of World War I, and any volume that aims to cover the topic must acknowledge this problem.

Despite such challenges, we hope that the present volume will contribute to the overdue recognition of World War I as a major field in modern

Jewish history. Its central focus is indeed the war years 1914–18, but in light of the preceding discussion it is obvious that strict adherence to such a time schema would be self-defeating. A number of the chapters do focus more on the immediate postwar years, examining such phenomena as the war's subsequent memorialization, its economic legacies, Jewish diplomacy in the shaping of the postwar order, and how Jews coped with the collapse of the empires in which they lived. Nevertheless, on the whole, perspectives emphasizing the "Second Thirty Years War" and the buildup to the Holocaust are here deliberately avoided.

This volume resulted from scholarly discussions organized by the Center for Jewish History in New York City on 9–10 November 2014. Senior scholars tackled a set of overarching themes related to the Jews and World War I (diplomatic, military, political, economic, and cultural), and more junior scholars, having engaged in fresh archival research, discussed more specific issues affecting Jews in Western and Central Europe, Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and North America. We have retained much of this structure for the present volume. Part 1 includes three synthetic essays dealing with the immediate alterations in Jewish life wrought by the war, its diplomatic, financial, and philanthropic legacies, as well as its political consequences. Part 2 is structured more geographically, with chapters on different aspects of the war relating to the Jewish communities of Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, the Ottoman (or formerly Ottoman) Mediterranean and Middle East, and the United States.

In addition to underscoring the war's four major developments for modern Jewish history as outlined above, the essays collected in this volume can be organized into a handful of core motifs. The first is the thorny issue of inclusion and exclusion of the Jews. As mentioned, the war provided the first wide-ranging and global opportunity for Jews to demonstrate their patriotism through that central component of modern male citizenship: fighting for one's country. Beyond this basic point, however, World War I even offered instances of Jewish soldiery and martyrdom as exemplary of national ideals and myths. Erin Corber's fascinating and counterintuitive exploration of how French Jews and non-Jews used Jewish figures to construct images of wartime heroism reveals the significant extent to which Jews were included in narratives about French republican virtue or even epitomized such virtue (chapter 4). Not only does she describe how a Jewish chaplain who had served as a rabbi in Algeria and a Jewish soldier from Alsace—a region of France that was part of Germany from 1870 to 1918—became martyrs for France, she also explains how their very marginality, both as Jews and as individuals from outside the borders of metropolitan France, made them perfect exemplars of France's claims to embody universalist values.

In World War I, military service could function to expand conceptions and practices of equal membership for minorities like Jews. Jessica Cooperman's essay (chapter 12) on religious pluralism in the American army demonstrates how the very presence of Jewish soldiers induced reluctant military leaders to make arrangements to cater to Jewish religious needs. Blind to the evangelical mission of the YMCA (the organization tasked with catering to the spiritual needs of soldiers), military leaders initially opposed separate organizations for soldiers of different faiths, but vigorous lobbying by both Jewish and Catholic groups led the military to accept the notion that America was not just a Protestant country. M. M. Silver's study (chapter 14) of American Jewish leader Louis Marshall reinforces this theme of Jewish integration. Silver convincingly shows how in his activism on behalf of Jewish rights abroad, Marshall pursued policies that closely resembled those of Irish leaders, who, like the Jews, concerned themselves with their compatriots in the old country even while they sought integration in America. Despite Irish anti-British views and a Jewish immigrant pro-German (or rather anti-Russian) stance, leaders of both groups made loyalty to America the overarching position of their respective clienteles. And as Gennady Estraiikh demonstrates in chapter 13, on American Yiddish socialists during wartime, even those who had struggled before 1917 between a commitment to internationalism and neutrality on the one hand and anti-Russian (and therefore pro-German) views on the other ended up putting their loyalty to America above prior concerns once the United States entered the war.

While France and the United States included Jews in the nation at arms, the Ottoman Empire for a variety of domestic reasons did not, choosing instead to create combat units consisting only of Muslim soldiers and relegating Jews and Christians to army labor battalions (while designating Armenians potential and actual traitors). In the eyes of many Ottoman non-Muslims, this added insult to injury, for immediately prior to World War I, during the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, they had been admitted to military service on an equal basis. Many Jews, who had been loyal Ottoman subjects, felt alienated by this evident demotion and exclusion. Devi Mays's essay (chapter 9) on Jewish responses in Constantinople to World War I shows how this dismay and disillusionment found expression in a number of Hebrew and Ladino literary works, including special Passover Haggadot that were produced during and after the war and contained stinging if thinly veiled criticisms of imperial wartime policy. Similarly, Reeva Spector Simon's contribution (chapter 11) on the Jews in wartime Baghdad concretizes this experience of alienation by detailing the harrowing experiences of Baghdad Jews pressed into a degrading and particularly coercive form of military service. Not only did they suffer terribly both in

the labor battalions and on the home front, but the fact that they were no longer equal citizens undermined their loyalty to the empire.

A second theme that emerges from the essays in this volume is the tension between the local versus the imperial loyalties of Jews. Ottoman and Russian Jews may have already questioned their imperial loyalties during the war, but Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy did not. Indeed, as Marsha L. Rozenblit shows in chapter 2, "The European Jewish World 1914–1919: What Changed?," they fervently hoped that the Habsburg Monarchy would continue to exist, regarding it as their best defense against nationalist antisemitism. These former imperial subjects were devastated by the collapse of the monarchy in November 1918 and feared that the new nation-states that succeeded it would exclude them from full citizenship. On the other hand, in chapter 8, "Global Conflict, Local Politics," Paris Papamichos Chronakis persuasively argues that Jews in Salonica understood the war primarily in terms of local needs and concerns yet attached these parochial agendas, sometimes rather artificially, to conflicting sides in the war. Salonica had been an Ottoman city and became part of Greece in 1912–13 and thus part of a country that had been neutral until 1916 when it entered the anti-Ottoman entente on the side of Britain and France. Although many of the city's Jews were Francophile—largely because European modernization had occurred through the vehicle of the French language—and others sided with Germany because it was fighting Russia (the empire that oppressed its Jews), often these positions had more to do with class and ideological divisions within Salonican Jewry and within Greek politics than genuinely with international allegiances.

A third and related theme examines how the war affected transnational Jewish institutions and politics, or, more simply, the degree to which the war divided global Jewish communities or brought them more closely together. Certainly initially, the war succeeded in stretching tensions between different Jewries and their institutions to the breaking point. With the war's outbreak, as Carole Fink notes in chapter 3, on Jewish wartime diplomacy, decades-old institutional, intellectual, philanthropic, and financial ties were suddenly curtailed or in many cases severed. This could have dire consequences, especially for smaller and more peripheral concentrations of Jews. As Michal Ben Ya'akov's chapter on the fate of Jewish women in wartime Palestine makes clear (chapter 10), the war devastated the local economy of Palestine, cut Jewish (particularly Sephardic Jewish) Palestine off from traditional ethnic, familial, and philanthropic transnational ties (such as the centuries-old *halukah* fund), and consequently placed the population in a situation of extreme isolation and deprivation. Small Jewish communities in Safed, Jerusalem, and elsewhere managed to create their own makeshift relief organizations, but they could not solve the problem alone. By 1915 American Jews, in part because they were

citizens of a still neutral United States, succeeded in breaking through Jewish Palestine's blockade and isolation and, via the newly created Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), brought welcome relief. And as Ben Ya'akov shows, although the Joint's official leadership was composed almost exclusively of men, it was more typically female relief workers on the ground who administered the help.

As this example suggests, more often than not the traditions of Jewish transnational philanthropy managed willy-nilly to reassert themselves and at times even transcend impulses of patriotic loyalty. Both Marsha L. Rozenblit in her aforementioned chapter and Rebecca Klein-Pejšová in chapter 5, "The Budapest Jewish Community's Galician October," emphasize that the conflict in the long run appears to have strengthened international Jewish ties through the proliferation of international relief agencies as well as through the new confrontation between settled Jewish populations and masses of Jewish refugees who required their support. On the other hand, they also provided opportunities for Jewish solidarity and augmented the collective *Klal Yisrael* mentality that M. M. Silver sees as characteristic of the war years. Indeed, the growth of a Jewish national sentiment, or at least of stronger identification with their Jewish ethnicity, typified many Jews during the war, including the Jewish socialists in New York so ably described by Gennady Estraiikh. At the same time, the war could result in a Jewish community's greater isolation but also expose it to corrosive wartime forces that uprooted long-established settlements and punctured traditional insularities. Daniel Rosenthal, in his essay (chapter 6) on the wartime typhus epidemic in occupied Poland, describes the war on the Eastern Front as vaporizing there the last vestiges of "a concealed Jewish communal life." In this sense, despite ongoing ideological fragmentation, World War I created—perhaps for the first time in history—a truly globalized Jewish world, one in which effective isolation and insularity were no longer possible.

The final theme is the war's fecund impact on Jews' institutional life. As a number of the contributors discuss, the war occasioned the creation of a host of new Jewish bodies, many initially intended to further Jewish claims of loyalty to their host countries paradoxically by championing the rights of fellow Jews they claimed were being persecuted by the enemy camp. Carole Fink offers the example of the German-Jewish Committee for the Liberation of Russian Jewry, whose intent was clearly propagandist. But a number of these organizations were genuinely more philanthropic than political in intent. In response to the war, American Jews constructed not only the Joint Distribution Committee in the fall of 1914 but also the American Jewish Congress in late 1918, a month after the armistice, to coordinate postwar lobbying efforts on behalf of Eastern European Jews, including for Jewish national rights in the successor states. Similar

organizations that aimed to project Jewish influence abroad (such as the Association of Jewish Organizations in Germany for the Protection of the Rights of the Jews of the East or the Comité des Délégations Juives) were founded during or immediately after the war by British, French, German, and Eastern European Jews. This trend dovetails with an important if hitherto little-emphasized transformation, that is, a shift from a long-standing Jewish tendency in transnational matters to rely on the initiatives of individual intercessors (*shtadlanim*)—wealthy notables, such as Moses Montefiore or later Jacob Schiff—to more institutional actors.<sup>15</sup> As David Engel shows in chapter 1, on the war's impact on Jewish security, the war's unprecedented expenses effectively destroyed the capacity of even the richest Jewish banker to seriously impact governmental policies. The war's aftermath, particularly the proliferation of small successor states to former imperial regimes, reinforced this same tendency, in which Jewish diplomacy necessarily became more institutional and bureaucratized even if less successful—at least in the fraught interwar period.

Of a far more local character, in contrast, was the Russian and later Soviet Union of Jewish Soldiers (VSEV), whose remarkable history is detailed for the first time in chapter 7, by Mihály Kálmán. Established as an umbrella organization for the many small, local bodies that had sprung up toward the end of Russia's participation in the war and that sought to aid decommissioned Jewish soldiers and veterans, VSEV survived for only a couple of years, yet in that time displayed a truly extraordinary reliance and capacity for adaptation, especially under the shifting and increasingly centralized policies of the Bolshevik regime.

Overall, *World War I and the Jews* exhibits a wide range of Jewish creative responses to the challenges and the opportunities presented by the conflict. If World War I indeed marked a major turning point in Jewish history, we hope that the essays in this volume will contribute to its further exploration.

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*Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (1983) and *Constructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I* (2001) and coeditor, with Pieter M. Judson, of *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (2005).

## Notes

1. Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1954), pp. 35–46.
2. See Marc Bloch, *Memoirs of War, 1914–15*, trans. Carole Fink (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980); and Bloch, *Strange Defeat: A Statement of Evidence Written in 1940*, trans. Gerard Hopkins (New York: Octagon, 1968). For a full biography of Bloch, see Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
3. Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).
4. Howard N. Lupovitch, *Jews and Judaism in World History* (London: Routledge, 2010).
5. Raymond P. Scheindlin, *A Short History of the Jewish People: From Legendary Times to Modern Statehood* (New York: Macmillan, 1998).
6. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 452. Of such studies the volume by John Efron, Steven Weitzman, Matthias Lehmann, and Joshua Holo is exceptional in presenting a short but separate section on World War I, which is highly substantive. See *The Jews: A History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2009), pp. 334–38.
7. The notion that the two world wars were really one was expressly articulated by Charles de Gaulle in a radio broadcast of 18 September 1941. See Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 32, n. 20.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
9. Jack J. Roth, ed., *World War I: A Turning Point in Modern History* (New York: Knopf, 1969), p. 6.
10. See, most recently, Stefan Ihrig, *Justifying Genocide: Germany and the Armenians from Bismark to Hitler* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).
11. See Immanuel Wallerstein's translation of Fernand Braudel's "Commemorating the Long Durée," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 32, no. 2 (2009): 171–203, esp. 174.
12. For a collection of essays covering mostly Germany but also Austria, Russia, and Britain, see Marcus G. Patka, ed., *Weltuntergang: jüdisches Leben und Sterben im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Vienna: Styria Premium, 2014). On Habsburg Jewry, see Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); on Germany generally, see Egmont Zechlin, *Die deutsche Politik und die Juden im ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen: Van den Hoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969); Werner Mosse and Arnold Paucker, eds., *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916–1923* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971). Jewish service in the German military along with the *Judenzählung* are among the most studied topics of the Jewish World War I experience. In addition to older works, see Werner Angress, "The

- German Army's 'Juden­zählung' of 1916: Genesis—Consequences—Significance," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book 23* (1978): 117–37; Michael Berger, *Eisernes Kreuz und Davidstern: die Geschichte jüdischer Soldaten in deutschen Armeen* (Berlin: Trafo, 2006); Jacob Rosenthal's published PhD dissertation from Hebrew University in Jerusalem, "Die Ehre des jüdischen Soldaten": die Juden­zählung im Ersten Weltkrieg und ihre Folgen (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2007); Tim Grady, *The German-Jewish Soldiers of World War I in History and Memory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); David J. Fine, *Jewish Integration in the German Army in the First World War* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); Sarah Panter, *Jüdische Erfahrungen und Loyalitätskonflikte im ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014); Peter C. Appelbaum, *Loyal Sons: Jews in the German Army in the Great War* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2014); Ulrike Heikau and Julia Köhne, eds., *Krieg! Juden zwischen den Fronten, 1914–1918* (Berlin: Hentrich & Henrich Verlag, 2014). On Poland, see Marcos Silber, *Different Nationality / Equal Citizenship: Polish Jewry's Struggle for Autonomy during the First World War* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Merkaz Zalman Shazar, 2014); on Russia, see Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); and most recently, Polly Zavadivker, *1915 Diary of S. An-sky: A Russian Jewish Writer at the Eastern Front* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015). On Ottoman Jewry during the war, see Hayim Nahmias, Avner Perets, and Shelomo Nahmias, eds., *Diary 677–678: Memoirs of a Jewish Soldier in the Ottoman Army of the First World War* [Ladino and Hebrew] (Ma'aleh Adumim: Mekhon Ma'aleh Adumim, 2004); Glenda Abramson, *Soldiers' Tales: Two Palestinian Jewish Soldiers in the Ottoman Army during the First World War* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2013); Moshe Sharrett, *Shall We Ever Meet Again? Letters from the Ottoman Army, 1916–1918* (Tel Aviv: Ha 'Amuta le-Moreshet Moshe Sharet, 1998); Yosef Tsarni, *Oved Amitai: A Jewish Ottoman Officer and British Captive during World War I* [Hebrew] (Zikron Ya'akov: Itai Bahur, 2014); on Jews in Ottoman Palestine, see Isaiah Friedman, *The Question of Palestine, 1914–1918: British-Jewish-Arab Relations* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992); Ronald Florence, *Lawrence and Aaronsohn, and the Seeds of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: Viking, 2007); Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011). On Britain, see Harold Shukman, *War or Revolution: Russian Jews and Conscriptio­n in Britain, 1917* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006); on the Jewish Legion, see Michael Keren and Shlomit Keren, *We Are Coming, Unafraid: The Jewish Legions and the Promised Land in the First World War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010). On immigrants in America, see Christopher M. Sterba, *Good Americans: Italian and Jewish Immigrants during World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
13. A noteworthy exception is Mark Levene's study of the wartime diplomacy of the Anglo-Jewish notable Lucien Wolf. Through the prism of Wolf's activities, Levene is able to paint a broad but focused portrait of European Jewry in wartime conditions. Mark Levene, *War, Jews, and the New Europe: The Diplomacy of Lucien Wolf, 1914–1919* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
  14. See Derek J. Penslar, *Jews and the Military: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 166–94.
  15. See, for instance, Abigail Green, *Moses Montefiore: Jewish Liberator, Imperial Hero* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

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