A PEOPLE APART

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN EUROPE 1789–1939

BY

DAVID VITAL



CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS	X1V
List of Tables	xv
A note on Transliteration and Translation	xvi
Abbreviations	xvii
INTRODUCTION: THE OLD DISPENSATION	1
I. The old regime	1
II. Two levels of authority, two yokes to bear	4
III. Social control: the modalities	9
IV. The gevir	12
V. Self-help and self-governance	17
VI. Consensus and conformism	24
and the state of t	
Part I. Integration and Fragmentation	27
1. PROPOSALS	31
I. Under the Enlightenment—'useful' Jews and 'useless' Jews	31
II. In England—incrementalism	37
III. In France—principles	42
IV. In the Germanies—impenetrable hostility and legal rigour	63
V. In Poland—deadlock	69
VI. In Russia—despotism for all	80
VII but the Jews as an encumbrance to be dealt with	89
2. DISJUNCTIONS	99
·	
I. Emancipation: the early responses	99
II. The fears of the orthodox	103 121
III. The enthusiasm of the modernists IV. The cultural inroads	130
V. The haskalah as a halfway house	136
VI. Modern education—the Russian carrot	146
VII. Modern cutcation—the Russian lash	156
VIII. The irreversibility of fragmentation	163
3. QUESTIONS FROM WITHOUT AND WITHIN	166
	•
I. The Jewish Question posed	166
II. The Question formulated	183

xii CONTENTS

	III. The Jews re-characterized	185
	IV. The Jews re-demonized	189
	V. Calls for treatment	198
	VI. The Decembrists (along with other Russians) try their hand	205
	VII. Internal politics: the beginnings	211
	VIII. Triumph at Damascus	232
		244
	IX and its limitations	244
	X. Jews in general politics and in society at large:	• 40
	the German model	248
	Part II. Aspirations and Equivocations	279
4.	MOVEMENT	283
	I. Pogroms	283
	II. Poverty	291
	III. Migration	297
	IV. Decline	310
		317
	V. West versus East	
	VI. Eastern European Jewry as the question	334
5.	AUTO-EMANCIPATION?	346
	I. Leaderlessness as a condition	346
	II. National self-determination as an idea; Zion as a	
	destination	366
	III. Jews as revolutionaries	400
	IV. The Bund	415
	V. Herzl	437
	V. Heizi	437
6.	CRYSTALLIZATION	476
	I. Intercession institutionalized	476
	II. 1878—triumph in Berlin, failure in Bucharest	487
		508
	III. The limits of intercession	
	IV. Kishinev as a paradigm	509
	V. Impotence, shame, and fury	515
	VI. Violence and counter-violence	528
	VII. The blood-libel and the rule of law	535
	VIII. Bernard Lazare and the Affair	540
	IX. Russia in 1905—Jews as targets, Jews as participants	566
	X. The Zionists stand still	593
	XI. The orthodox circle their wagons	616
	Part III. New Dispensations	641
7.	WAR	647
	I. The lewish contingents	647
	I, I HE JE WISH COMMISSION	UT/

	CONTENTS	xiii	
	II. The Jewish increment	651	
	III. The 'Palestine Idea'	664	
	IV. A neutral Zionism, belligerent Zionists	675	
	V. The 'Palestine Idea' revived	687	
	VI. Self-determination	692	
8.	PEACE	703	
	I. Bolshevik Russia and the binding of its Jews	703	
	II. The great slaughter	715	
	III. Who speaks for the Jews?	728	
	IV. At the Peace Conference	739	
9. (CAPTIVITY	755	
	I. Wilson's world	755	
	II. The nation-state as grindstone	761	
	III. Ancient frictions in the new Poland	774	
	IV. Polish equivocation; Jewish ambivalence	798	
	V. Germany takes the lead	800	
	VI. Machtergreifung	804	
	VII. Towards extrusion	809	
1	/III. The Jews of Germany crushed	823	
	IX. A community destroyed	829	
10.]	DENOUEMENT	837	
	I. On the eve	837	
	II. Once again: who will lead them, where will they be led?	841	
	III. A World Jewish Congress	849	
	IV. Loyalties and principles	856	
	V. The purposes of Zionism, the needs of the Jews	867	
	VI. Pragmatism and honour	875	
	VII. The final rejection	881	
,	/III. Into the night	890	
EPI	LOGUE	897	
Вівці	OGRAPHY	899	
GLOS	Glossary		
INDE	Index		