Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Winkler

Introduction: City and Press

Interaction between city and press: formation and information

More than any other medium the press has accompanied and promoted the rise of the modern city. Migration from the land to the factory, from the farm to the tenements, the transition from individual tilling of the soil to collective work at machines is unimaginable without a press to provide information. On the other hand, the rise of the press was the work of the city whose inhabitants it fed with information while responding to their shared need for education, reading matter and entertainment. It thus contributed to bringing social classes closer together. For example, the working class and the middle class in the age of industrialization or, especially during the Age of Enlightenment, Christians and Jews.

In 1928, the interaction between city and press was described as follows:

> "Cities have always been the centres where public opinion is formed. Important events took place within their walls. It was here that momentous decisions were made. Trade and traffic required markets, trade fairs and staple towns whose gates were always open to both science and art. Thus the first printed newspapers, as well as their handwritten forerunners, had their home in the nurseries of intellectual and economic culture, notably along the Rhine and the Danube: Augsburg, Strasbourg, Cologne, but also Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Hamburg [...]. The industrial development of the nineteenth century contributed to the rise of cities, and created new centres of cultural and commercial life, a number of which were to become important centres of newspaper production."[1]

Even in our age of digital information technology, the network between city and press has lost none of its significance. It is a major aim of this volume to shed light on this network. Once the fastest of the media, the newspaper press has now lost its lead as the provider of the latest news. However, the

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[1] 'Presse und Städte', Pressa: Internationale Presseausstellung. Amtlicher Katalog (Köln 1928), p.256.

print journalism of quality papers, weeklies and periodicals continues to influence public opinion and, with metropolitan spaces becoming more integrated through personal mobility, they stimulate communication and migration, and generally facilitate life in the city. Thus, even in a strange place, a modern city dweller's feeling of alienation is diminished by the standardization of urban spaces in their architecture and their infrastructure through globalization and commercialization.

"Die liest man hier" – This [newspaper] is read here – is the pervasive advertising slogan of the Leipziger Volkszeitung. It is a catchy marketing formula. "Die liest man hier", however, also highlights the symbiosis that a newspaper is capable of developing with its city, and how self-confidently it claims monopolistic status. The function of the local paper as the primary vehicle for transmitting information about current urban events is indisputable. It organizes and presents the information, offers orientation and comments on political, social and cultural life.

But the network that developed between city and press is much more complex and close-knit than these general perceptions might lead one to believe. The press came of age alongside the city. It was a groundbreaking factor of modernity and one of the most influential socio-cultural phenomena of the early twentieth century, prompting Max Weber in 1910 to develop a "Sociology of the Press" [Soziologie des Zeitungswesens][2] which was to grapple with local differences of the press, its relationship with the state, its institutional character and its cultural impact.

All the above aspects are reflected by the essays in this volume. They have been organized under the subheadings 'The city as a space of communication' (1), 'German Jewry and urban presses' (2), 'Event and urban discourse' (3), and 'Snapshots from a city's press: from Czernovitz to Chernivtsi' (4), thus presenting a number of different approaches to the study of the symbiosis of city and press. They can, however, illuminate only a tiny segment of a multi-faceted relationship of a complexity matched by the variety of approaches to its study.[3] While most essays concentrate on the core period 1880-1938, we step out of this timeframe twice in order to discuss the emergence of a specifically Jewish press in the centres of the Enlightenment, and to illuminate

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[2] Max Weber, 'Geschäftsbericht für die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie', in: Verhandlungen des Ersten Deutschen Soziologentages (Tübingen 1911), pp.39-62. Comp.: Andreas Hepp, Netzwerke der Medien. Medienkulturen und Globalisierung (Wiesbaden 2004), pp.31-34.

[3] Comp.: Hartmut Häußermann und Walter Siebel (Ed.), unter Mitarbeit von Jens Wurtzbacher, Stadtsoziologie: Eine Einführung (Frankfurt/M. 2004); Peter Johanek und Franz-Joseph Post (Ed.), Vielerlei Städte. Der Stadtbegriff (Köln [et al.] 2004); Andreas R. Hofmann und Anna Veronika Wendland (Ed.), Stadt und Öffentlichkeit in Ostmitteleuropa 1900-1939 (Stuttgart 2002); Lutz Niethammer, 'Stadtgeschichte in einer urbanisierten Gesellschaft', in: Wolfgang Schieder und Volker Sellin (Ed.), Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland. Entwicklungen und Perspektiven im internationalen Zusammenhang, Bd.2 (Göttingen 1986), pp.113-136. See also: Werner Faulstich, Mediengeschichte. Von den Anfängen bis 1700 (= Bd.1) und Von 1700 bis ins 3. Jahrtausend (= Bd.2) (Göttingen 2006); Rudolf Stöber, Deutsche Pressegeschichte. Einführung, Systematik, Glossar (Konstanz 2000).

how different statehoods can affect a city's press at different points in time. With this strong focus on the interconnection of press and city in the modern era, we build on previous studies[4] but at the same time shed light on yet another aspect of the history of press communication in Europe.

Discourse: press and urban modernization

The press, and in particular the daily popular press, played a decisive role in the urban modernization processes of the nineteenth century: its technical and structural development reflected industrialization, mobility and the division of labour in the city. Its changing content was an indication of ongoing social changes, prevailing opinions, and – with the advent of advertising – increasing commercialization.

In the late nineteenth century newspapers and periodicals formed and structured public opinion at an accelerating pace. This occurred both in major urban centres and provincial locations, where a rural-urban transition was taking place more hesitantly. However, the explicit connection between city and press became a subject of academic interest only quite recently. Journalism studies focused on the press concentration in cities during the early modern period, the tensions between press and state,[5] and the gradual emergence of characteristic features such as topicality, relevance, periodicity, objectivity and universality. In other words, studies were concerned with the press as a mirror of its environment, while studies of urban sociology[6] virtually ignored industrial and demographic developments. Consequently the role of the press as a factor facilitating the formation of an urban environment was for a long time neglected.

While dailies and weeklies had existed already in the seventeenth century,[7] their circulation and distribution channels were severely circumscribed: the former, due to a low literacy rate, the state monopoly on advertising, and general press restrictions, the latter due to the absence of rotary presses (which came into use only in the nineteenth century). The nineteenth century revolution in print technology required the parallel

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[4] Susanne Marten-Finnis und Markus Winkler (Ed.), Die jüdische Presse im europäischen Kontext 1686-1990 (Bremen 2006) (= Die jüdische Presse – Kommunikationsgeschichte im europäischen Raum / The European Jewish Press – Studies in History and Language, 1); Susanne Marten-Finnis und Markus Bauer (Ed.), unter Mitarbeit von Markus Winkler, Die jüdische Presse: Forschungsmethoden – Erfahrungen – Ergebnisse (Bremen 2007) (= Die jüdische Presse, 2); Eleonore Lappin und Michael Nagel (Ed.), Frauen und Frauenbilder in der europäisch-jüdischen Presse von der Aufklärung bis 1945 (Bremen 2007) (= Die jüdische Presse, 3).

[5] Hedwig Pompe, 'Die Neuheit der Neuheit: Der Zeitungsdiskurs im späten 17. Jahrhundert', in: Albert Kümmel, Leander Scholz und Eckhard Schumacher (Ed.), Einführung in die Geschichte der Medien, (Paderborn 2004), pp.35-63 (40).

[6] Comp.: William E. Cole, Urban Society. A College Textbook in Urban Sociology (Cambridge/Mass. 1958) 355; Imagining Cities. Scripts, signs, memory, Ed. v. Sallie Westwood und John Williams (London, New York 1997) regard the image of the city as a product of the media, while the press appears only marginaly as an ingredient of urban culture.

[7] Comp.: Arnulf Kutsch und Johannes Weber (Ed.), 350 Jahre Tageszeitung. Forschungen und Dokumente, Bremen 2002 (= Presse und Geschichte. Neue Beiträge, 3).

revolution in transportation engineering, enabling railway routes to be extended into the furthest regions of Europe, to bring printed matter to larger target groups.

The first newspapers were established at the crossroads of postal routes; they ensured an ample supply of news, as was the case, for instance, with the first daily, the Einkommende Zeitungen, launched by the printer Timotheus Ritzsch in Leipzig in 1650.[8] Subsequent press initiatives taking place in German-speaking countries were the outcome of social, economic and commercial/legal transformations,[9] and were primarily concentrated in the free imperial cities and the royal/ducal seats such as Wolfenbüttel, Basel, Frankfurt/Main, Berlin and Hamburg, as well as in cities in Holland, France and England. Here were potential buyers and educated readers, the printers and a growing technical infrastructure that facilitated circulation and distribution. Connections between city and press beyond those mentioned could, however, at the time hardly have been established. News correspondents bore the brunt of the work for the press but did not publish their own newspapers. The role of the press in transforming the city, and as a mediator assisting its readership to find its bearings – an aspect also discussed in this volume – remained underrepresented, for "[a]lthough newspapers have always resided in cities, they have not always lived in them – lived in the sense of understanding, embracing, and building an ethos of urbanism."[10]

A modern – not yet urban – press developed only in the mid-nineteenth century. The publication of a newspaper by a single person, as was still customary in the eighteenth century, was by then a thing of the past. The publishers, editors, and printers were contributors to an enterprise in which the newspaper and the advertising sector soon formed an economic symbiosis. Bureaus of correspondents, telegraph agencies and the expansion of the telegraph network contributed to the development of journalistic routines and separated editorial from literary assignments.[11] Independent reporting on current events (the work of correspondents) and the selection, verification and abridgement of incoming news (editorial work) was now on the agenda.[12] But, it was urban expansion that prompted the development of a popular press in the European urban centres of Berlin, London, Paris and Vienna. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the press, like the city, developed at a mercurial

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[8] Johannes Weber, 'Strassburg, 1605. The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', in: German History 24 (2006), pp.387-412 (396).

[9] Gabriele Melischek und Josef Seethaler, 'Presse und Modernisierung in der Habsburgermonarchie', in: Helmut Rumpler und Peter Urbanitsch (Ed.), Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Bd. VIII: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft, 2. Teilband: Die Presse als Faktor der politischen Mobilisierung (Wien 2006), p.1588.

[10] David Paul Nord, 'The Public Community: The Urbanization of Journalism in Chicago', in: Journal of Urban History 11 (1985), pp.411-441 (411).

[11] Comp.: Jörg Requate, Journalismus als Beruf. Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Journalistenberufs im 19. Jahrhundert. Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich (Göttingen 1995).

[12] Heinz Pürer, Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (Konstanz 2003), p.111.

pace to become not only an outstanding phenomenon of modern times but also a symbol of the elements of urban space: density and speed of communication, commerce and event.[13]

The tone of reporting gradually changed. New journalistic genres emerged, new types of newspapers and periodicals developed, the readership grew wider. The readers' growing appetite for information and the professionalization of journalistic activity encouraged a reorganization of the newspaper which fanned out into distinct sections such as politics, business, feature pages, local news, miscellaneous and sport. In this way newspapers did not just mirror the events of urban space but also created an informed public who, with a "modern combination of universalism and assertion of local identity"[14] participated in urban processes.

The press thus set the pace in the age of pre-electronic media, and, well into the nineteen-thirties, remained the peerless mediator of news and opinion, everyday consumer articles, providing a compass in an environment which the inhabitants of the big city increasingly experienced as fragile: "The extraordinary correspondence between metropolitans and readers suggests the city simply could not be used without the guidance of newspapers. Newspapers not only reported on a mechanized city that had grown so large so quickly that it had become impossible for a single individual to survey; they also revealed a city whose diverse parts even less prosperous inhabitants had come to use more deliberately."[15]

For metropolitans, the boost towards modernization meant a radical change in the perception of space and time.[16] The immediate reality of life was congruent with the reports on cultural life, on life in clubs and societies, and community self-administration. The advertisements in the press were codes for a cultural and economic organism which was experienced on a day-to-day basis and reinforced interaction between city and press on a local basis. Apart from a radical acceleration in transport and labour as the intervals between the collection of news and its publication became shorter and shorter, the reader also became accustomed to how "up-to-the-minute" news reports were, typified, for instance, by the legendary "racing reporter" Egon Erwin Kisch.

The growing density of events was ensured not only by the cities themselves but also by the news, its coverage and commentaries by newspapers that in some places were issued four times a day. This day-to-day

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[13] Comp.: Peter Fritzsche, Reading Berlin 1900 (Cambridge 1996); Vanessa R. Schwartz, Spectacular realities. Early mass culture in Fin-de-siecle Paris (Berkeley 1998) (Chap. 2: 'Setting the stage. The Boulevard, the press and the framing of everyday life'); Louis McReynolds, 'St. Petersburg's 'Boulevard' Press and the Process of Urbanization', in: Journal of Urban History 18 (1992), pp.123-140.

[14] Axel Schildt, 'Das Jahrhundert der Massenmedien. Ansichten zu einer künftigen Geschichte der Öffentlichkeit', in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 27 (2001), pp.177-206 (189).

[15] Fritzsche, Reading Berlin 1900, p.18.

[16] The population of Berlin increased tenfold during the nineteenth century (1800: 172,132 / 1900: 1,888,313). See Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin 34 (1915-1919) (Berlin 1920), p.3.

change in the big city – as presented in the 1927 film Die Sinfonie einer Großstadt (Symphony of a Great City) – was documented not least by the titles of new newspapers in which the city's name also featured as a bugle call: Berliner Tageblatt, Berliner Morgenpost, BZ [Berliner Zeitung] am Mittag etc.[17]

Conscious of the extent the Jewish emancipation movement has, since the late eighteenth century, contributed to the formation of an urban bourgeois society,[18] we have in the present volume endeavoured to accommodate aspects of the Jewish press – defined as news items produced by Jewish editors and publishers on specifically Jewish matters for a Jewish readership – and its mediating role. The participation in this process supported the rise of a reasoning bourgeoisie committed to the principles of Enlightenment.[19]

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Jewish press came to fulfil specific functions within an already differentiated press landscape, which made the link between the rise of the Jewish press and the modern city more transparent. The transformation of urban Jewry through the progressive abolition of the ghetto and a growing variety of possible lifestyles were reflected in a diversification of the press, which started to address a variety of target groups within the general public, in other words, the emergence of a variety of public spheres. Publishers also took part in the modernization process of the European urban press that took place. Some of the major publishers were of Jewish origin, and their commitment was directed towards the formation of a liberal, educated urban middle class. Through the mass circulation of their papers, they came to exercise a decisive influence on the images of cities (in Berlin, for example, the Berliner Tageblatt published by Rudolf Mosse and the Vossische Zeitung, issued by Ullstein after 1914).

Theses: about the individual contributions

The interrelationship between the city and the press discussed here is the subject of an Anglo-German consortium whose members meet regularly with each other and with other established and young researchers to discuss the history of the European Jewish press.[20] While the topics of previous meetings

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[17] Comp.: Walther G. Oschilewski, Zeitungen in Berlin: Im Spiegel der Jahrhunderte (Berlin 1975); Peter de Mendelssohn, Zeitungsstadt Berlin: Menschen und Mächte in der Geschichte der deutschen Presse (Berlin 1959) (Frankfurt/M. [et al.] ²1982).

[18] Comp.: Joachim Schlör, Das Ich der Stadt. Debatten über Judentum und Urbanität, 1822-1938 (Göttingen 2005) (= Jüdische Religion, Geschichte und Kultur, 1), Chap. IV. 'Debatten über Judentum und Urbanität'; Simone Lässig, Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum. Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert (Göttingen 2004) (= Bürgertum. Neue Folge. Studien zur Zivilgesellschaft, 1).

[19] Comp.: Michael Nagel, 'Zur Journalistik der frühen Haskala', in: Marten-Finnis und Winkler (Ed.), Die jüdische Presse im europäischen Kontext, pp.27-42.

[20] 'The Jewish Press – Research in Progress in a European Perspective' (International Conference, Queen's University Belfast, 1-3 May 2003), 'Frauen und Frauenbilder in der jüdischen Presse' (Internationale Sommerakademie des Instituts für Geschichte der Juden in Österreich, Vienna, 4-7 July 2004), 'Die jüdische Presse: Forschungsmethoden – Erfahrungen – Ergebnisse' (Internationales Symposion, Queen's University Belfast, 11-12 February 2005), 'Deutsch-jüdische

and proceedings largely remained within the disciplines of History and Communication Studies, the present volume has widened its approach. Besides concentrating on Jewish publishing activities as a result of a Jewish bourgeoisie emerging during modern times, it embraces urban environments in terms of studying both their spatial construction and public sphere.

This volume's collection, naturally, is not intended to give exhaustive answers to the questions that it raises, but should be seen rather as a contribution to the ongoing academic debate. We have avoided arranging contributions according to geographic criteria but rather concentrated on particular cities, with the four chapter sub-titles chosen to highlight certain aspects of the interaction between city and press.

With the press being an essential agent for the generation of virtual public spaces, the three contributions in the first section relate to (1) 'The city as a space of communication', i.e. they relate to the occupation of public spaces by creative people who left their mark on both a city's topography and the consciousness of its inhabitants.

The following three contributions in section (2) on 'German Jewry and urban presses', are concerned with the changes that, over a certain period, took place within the milieu of German Jewry, reflected in its press in terms of concentration, production, and reception.

A more detailed discussion of the two latter aspects – production and reception of news items – is provided in section (3) entitled 'Event and urban discourse'. Its three contributions investigate the discursive potential of urban presses in both Britain and Russia with reference to selected events; they reflect on the processes of selecting news and delivering reports by the presses, thereby not only informing their audiences but also manipulating them.

How social change can affect a particular city and its press is the topic of section (4), whose three contributions present a case study on Czernovitz – Cernăuți – Chernivtsi: a provincial metropolis of Central European coinage whose inhabitants, over the period of a century, successively became Austrian, Romanian, Soviet and Ukrainian subjects. The three essays in this section successively cover the Austrian period of the city when it was the multiethnic capital of the Habsburg province of Bukovina, the period after 1919, when, in accordance with the Peace treaty of St. Germain, it belonged to Romania, and its more recent Ukrainian period. They reveal how the twists and turns of different statehood shaped the city's urban space and public sphere and vice versa, how the public sphere shaped urban reality, and thus contribute to a better understanding of the city's enigmatic past.

Let us return briefly to the first three contributions. They approach the subject from different angles, namely through a) the lens of humour as a form of urban critique, b) a glimpse at the Russian publishing culture that emerged in early 1920s Berlin, and c) the study of a particular kind of journalism as a source of Central European identity constructs. In her contribution "'No laughing matter': Humour as urban critique", Monica Riera (University of Portsmouth) demonstrates how cartoons and caricatures can, and often do, transmit powerful messages and articulate poignant and sophisticated observations on a city and its dynamics. Riera has examined selected examples from European and American newspapers and periodicals, mostly of wide circulation, and reveals how graphic humour was used to express, and even shape, the perception of a city and how it has, since the nineteenth century, accompanied urbanization. The fact that such visual messages portraying the city and its dynamism are also statements of political and social criticism are, according to Riera, an aspect which has hitherto been neglected.

Using the example of a Russian periodical, Susanne Marten-Finnis (University of Portsmouth) in her contribution, "Outsourcing culture. Soviet and émigré publishing in Berlin and A. E. Kogan's illustrated review Zhar ptitsa, 1921-26", demonstrates how Soviet and émigré Russians, faced by dwindling resources and incipient political constraints, created for themselves a shared publishing space outside Russia in order to maintain a dialogue that seemed no longer possible in their own country. Marten-Finnis's starting point is the illustrated review Zhar ptitsa [The Firebird], which to this day is considered a masterpiece of Russian book art. She demonstrates that what is generally assumed to be a review issued by Russian émigrés for the entertainment of Russian émigrés, in fact turns out to be a collaborative publishing project between Soviet and émigré Russians. It leads her to question the barriers that Soviet and émigré Russians were keen to maintain, and the findings of previous research claiming that the Russian language had sunk "to the idiom of emigration"[21]. Instead she reveals how, exemplified by the Russian press, in early 1920s Berlin international Russian culture transcended both Soviet and émigré activities and developed a division of labour in a common publishing space.

In his contribution "Peasantry in the urban mirror: Rural life as a basis of identity", Jon Anderson (Queen's University Belfast) has examined the relationship between the development of urban life and the image of rural life as aspects of the construction of Jewish national identity in Central Europe during the nineteenth century. The press as a key medium in this process can only develop a mass audience through increasing urbanization and growing literacy. According to Anderson, the nationalist movements emerging at the time, although themselves an urban phenomenon in origin, display an anti-

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[21] Verena Dohrn and Anke Hilbrenner, 'Einführung: Simon Dubnow in Berlin', in: Buch des Lebens. Erinnerungen und Gedanken. Materialien zur Geschichte meiner Zeit. Band 3: 1922-1933, (Leipzig 2005), pp.11-48 (19).

urban bias in much of their discourse and attempt to find validation in a peasantry regarded as representing a more authentic identity than that of the urban population. While secular Jewish nationalism is the product of a population shift away from the (rural) shtetl environment and into the cities, one of the strongest themes in Zionist ideology, so he argues, has been the rejection of the developing urban Jewish culture as a manifestation of ghetto identity, and the concept of national redemption through agricultural labour. Especially the Zionist movement, Anderson continues, propagates amongst its adherents the cult of the soil with which it inculcates especially amongst the Jewish masses from Eastern Europe the ideal of a life on the land as the more natural and traditional way of life, which had been abandoned by Jewish urban dwellers and had become alien to them, in their language and their occupations.

Section (2), starts with an essay on the shifting centres of the German-Jewish press during the era of Enlightenment, Emancipation and Reform, 1750-1850, by Johannes Valentin Schwarz (University of Potsdam). The rise of a specifically Jewish press in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, first in Holland, then in Germany was a result firstly of the growing demand for current political and economic news from the non-Jewish world and secondly of the cultural and political agenda of the Jewish Enlightenment movement of the late eighteenth century, especially in Königsberg and Berlin. On the borderline of a traditional Jewish community and an evolving bourgeois society, the formerly unknown medium of periodicals helped to create a "new Jewish public sphere". The purpose of these periodicals was twofold: to stimulate the discussion on internal matters among the Jewish communities, and to make Jewish affairs more transparent to a non-Jewish public, becoming a mouthpiece to the outside in the Jewish struggle for social and legal emancipation, and internally serving as an important medium of communication between the scattered Jewish communities in Germany and Europe, and, in the wake of the Berlin Haskalah, also as a principle messenger of the Jewish Reform movement and the Science of Judaism. The ideal of an urban, bourgeois and reformed Jewish life disseminated by the press, so the author argues, aligned itself to the general trends of modernization and urbanization of German Jewry in the nineteenth century. Schwarz shows that with a rise in circulation and improved distribution mechanisms, press items eventually spread from urban origins into rural areas. His detailed survey provides a chronological review of Jewish press items in twenty-nine cities, which the author has listed in two meticulously researched supplements. This list offers not only valuable insights into the varying degree of the Jewish Enlightenment during the early phase of reform; it also reflects the restrictions imposed on the press by censorship.

The great value of the German-Jewish press during the years 1918-38 as a source of differentiated insights into the Jewish perceptions of a city forms the

departure for Michael Nagel (University of Bremen) in his essay 'At home? On the image of the city in the German-Jewish press'. Compared to small towns and villages, assimilation tendencies were stronger in the metropolis Berlin and places where other large Jewish communities resided: Frankfurt, Breslau, Hamburg, Cologne, Leipzig and Munich. Although with the rise of the Nazis, anti-Semitism was equally violent in both rural and urban environments, the following years saw an accelerated migration of German Jews from small towns and villages into the big cities, as the latter seemed to have been more capable of offering shelter against individual persecution. Compared to their non-Jewish neighbours, German Jews had, for a number of reasons, always perceived their city in a different way, even after the walls of the ghettos had come down: restrictive residence permits, special taxes, a pre-modern sense of history, and eventually anti-Semitism had created a certain alienation in one's own city. In his analysis of Bar Kochba (the periodical for young people), the CV-Zeitung, and the Jüdische Rundschau, Nagel shows how, during the period under discussion, a differing Jewish perception of the city in Hamburg and Berlin changed: how it was reduced from the city as a place offering a broad range of lifestyles with Jewish and non-Jewish elements complementing each other, to the Jewish community, a "ghetto without neighbours".

Moritz Goldstein (1880-1977), Jewish journalist and, during the Weimar period, court reporter of the Vossische Zeitung, is the subject of a multi-faceted portrait by Joachim Schlör (University of Southampton), which reflects the close interactions between the city, the modern press, and German-Jewish intellectual culture. The life story of Goldstein not only bears witness to the topographical and political changes in urban Berlin, but also documents the similarly huge contribution made by Jewish intellectuals to the growing urbanism and a flourishing press. Goldstein's most influential publication, Deutsch-jüdischer Parnaß (1912), is a sobering picture of the growing alienation within the German-Jewish world that exerted its influence well into the Weimar period. It is rooted in Goldstein's own background, which represents the typical course of German-Jewish histories in the nineteenth century: a grandfather firmly rooted in east European Jewish traditions, his father who departed for Berlin and, in his 'befuddlement of emancipation', gave up Jewish ritual and law, and eventually, his son's alienation from the customs of Jewish life, and subsequent grappling with this alienation, so typical in the life of the Jewish bourgeoisie.[22] Nevertheless, there remained a sense of belonging to the Jewish people, in which according to Goldstein the commitment to the Jewish tradition (Traditionszusammenhang) came to replace the requirements of ritual and law. Goldstein was a German Jew and at the same time supported the Zionist movement; and in so doing he epitomizes an attitude that should alert us to the inadequacy of some currently prevailing simplifications with

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[22] Gershom Scholem, Von Berlin nach Jerusalem, Jugenderinnerungen (Frankfurt/M. 1993), p.58.

regard to the cultural attachment of German Jews during the first third of the twentieth century.

The role of the press in shaping public opinion is the subject of section (3). In her essay, "The New Hep! Hep! Dreyfus and other Jewish questions. A view from London, 1881-1903", Sam Johnson (Manchester Metropolitan University) considers a vital component of Britain's media, the weekly journal The Spectator, and its response to Europe's Jewish question in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With reference to four events, the wave of pogroms in Russia in 1881-82, the Dreyfus Affair in France, the new "Hep-Hep Movement" in Germany, and the rise of the anti-Semitic ideologue Karl Lueger to lord mayor of Vienna, the author reveals a degree of detachment as the predominant feature of newspaper reporting whenever any anti-Jewish riots, politics or expulsions flared in Berlin, Vienna, Paris or St. Petersburg. In the course of her essay she can however demonstrate that The Spectator, like its continental counterparts, failed to appreciate the significance of the printed word in promoting anti-Semitic prejudice and suggests that in this aspect, Britain was in step with its neighbours in Europe and the anti-Jewish sentiments they readily embraced.

Discursive manifestations of anti-Jewish prejudice, again with London as the venue, are also the focus of the following contribution, "Writing back: Deconstructing the idea of race in Inter-war Jewish responses to prejudice in Britain" by Gavin Schaffer (University of Portsmouth). The racial differences between Jews and other Britons repeatedly featured in the writing of numerous British scholars and theorists in the nineteenth century. As Britain's Jewish community grew in the wake of increased Russian persecution in the 1880s, theories about race became increasingly prominent, weighing into wider social discussions about the desirability of an increased Jewish presence in Britain. In his essay, Schaffer explores British Jewish responses to allegations of racial difference and inferiority, in particular those written reactions, published from within Britain's Jewish communities, which engaged with the concept of race. The tone of these responses, the author claims, tells us much about the permeation of racial ideas within British Inter-war society. He shows that, in many instances defenders of the Jewish community did not dispute notions of racial difference but rather asserted that Jews offered a specific and desirable racial quality. He suggests that it is possible to see in some Jewish reactions the roots of a more radical challenge to prejudice. For whilst some defenders of the Jewish community deployed the idea of race to support their cause, a new wave of theorists began in the Inter-war years to challenge the validity of the concept of race itself, arguing that the idea of analysing the Jewish population in racial terms was both erroneous and inappropriate.

While Johnson's and Schaffer's contributions shed light on urban discourses that resulted from the huge influx of Jews to Great Britain from

Eastern Europe, in his essay "Speaking the language of the streets: The press and the narrative of Russia's urban pogroms of 1881-82", John D. Klier (University College London) examined one of the causes of this East-West migration. It is well known that the wave of pogroms in Russia is considered the turning point in modern Jewish history, since it was then that Jewish intellectuals became disenchanted with the ideal of acculturation and integration and started turning to Zionism and national cultural autonomy. Klier first clarified the importance of the urban press in this context, especially with reference to the cities Kiev, Elisavetgrad and Balta, whereas the Jewish rural population – despite their isolation – suffered hardly any vandalism or physical attacks. However, he disputed the widespread assumption that the Russian state tolerated the pogroms or even initiated and controlled them with the help of the press. Instead he showed that the Russian press, especially if taken as a whole, provided detailed reporting of the pogroms in situ. It also offered the Russian reader, second hand, accounts from the foreign press, including atrocity reports and accounts of foreign protest campaigns. Ironically, many of the former were exaggerated and extremely unreliable.

The concluding section presents a case study on Czernovitz – Cernăuți – Chernivtsi, a city that over the past hundred years has been moved around more than most on the chessboard of world history. Starting with the Habsburg period, proceeding to the Romanian interregnum and eventually to the post-Soviet Ukrainian, the three essays in this section describe the transformation of a city's press before the background of social change, taking into consideration the political, ideological and technical innovations that fuelled it.

In his contribution "Transformation and urbanization: the Czernovitz press before the First World War", Markus Winkler (University of Portsmouth) examines the city's German press scene against the background of urban modernization processes since 1880. He shows that the increasing urbanization prompted an above average production and consumption of newspapers, as compared to other urban centres of the Habsburg Empire. The variety of the city's public sphere in general, and more specifically of its press landscape can be seen as a result of its unique multi-ethnic blend, its improving infrastructure during the late nineteenth century, its burgeoning landscape of associations and political parties, and not least the profession-alization of journalistic activity. As in Vienna, Jews were overrepresented as both authors and editors within the Czernovitz newspaper industry. Following a brief survey of the pre-urban phase of Czernovitz newspaper publishing in the 1880s, when the flow of information was largely controlled by the Viennese press, Winkler identifies three turning points in the local German press: Firstly, the transformation from programmatic to independent press reporting around the turn of the century, secondly the launch in 1903 of two new papers – Czernowitzer Tagblatt and Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung, –

that rapidly acquired a broad readership; and thirdly, the commercialization of the local daily press associated with structural changes, such as advertising and the economic composition of newspapers, often reflected in their layout and content and frequently the result of journalistic influx to Czernovitz from the West.

Mariana Hausleitner (Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas at the Ludwig-Maximilian University Munich) examines the Romanian period of the City, now called Cernăuți, in particular the increase of anti-Semitic protest during the years of the global depression, as it was viewed by the Ostjüdische Zeitung 1928-32. Hausleitner finds that, although Jews and Jewish parties were able to play an active role in parliament during the period under discussion, they could not prevent the tensions existing between urban and rural population leading to anti-Semitic protest. The Ostjüdische Zeitung in Cernăuți, one of the major Zionist publications in Eastern Europe, with its editor, Mayer Ebner, a Zionist of great influence, unrelentingly analyzed both Romanian and German anti-Semitism, and kept its readers informed of ongoing violent outbreaks. She demonstrates how the Ostjüdische initially endeavoured to mitigate the progressive marginalization of urban Jewry through community campaigns of Romanian Zionists and by canvassing the support of Jewish organizations abroad; then how in the 1930s it became the seismograph of an increasing Jewish impoverishment and the decline of Romanian parliamentarianism. While the notion of increasing anti-Semitism at the margins of the former Habsburg Empire is usually taken for granted, Hausleitner's essay is based on more than the programmatic anti-Semitic writings of previous studies, as it also considers the way Czernovitz Jewry reacted to them as revealed by its press, thereby shedding light not only on the interaction between press and city in Cernăuți but adding an important dimension to the study of European anti-Semitism during the Inter-war period.

The city's press during the early post-Soviet period is the topic of Kateryna Stetsevych (Viadrina-University Frankfurt/Oder). She studies its development up until the present, and on the basis of an independent poll and a study of Ukrainian media reporting she makes a critical appraisal of the way the newspaper market developed in Chernivtsi after the Ukraine declared its independence in 1991. During the period under discussion, Stetsevych reveals how two major events triggered entirely different developments: the breakdown of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the Orange Revolution of 2004. Whereas the 1990s saw the economic elites and regional authorities attempting to maintain the monopolistic position of the press the democ-ratization process of the more recent past brought about a diversification of the press that reflects the emergence of a more pluralistic urban society.

In summary, we have endeavoured to shed light on the press as a product and a producer of the modern city, its different effects on rural and urban areas, and – one hundred years after the Czernovitz Language Conference,

eighty years after the first international press exhibition in Cologne, and sixty years after the foundation of Israel – we hope to have further illuminated the stimulating role of European Jewry in the modernization processes that took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is hoped that the memorial celebrations on the occasion of these anniversaries may further stimulate the academic discussion.

The editors   Portsmouth, November 2008