

CRUEL CORRESPONDENCE: ANTI-SEMITIC POSTCARDS 1895-1930

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HOLOCAUST RESOURCE CENTER AND ARCHIVES

The exhibit opened on November 7, 2012 AT
The Harriet and Kenneth Kupferberg
Holocaust Resource Center and Archives
At Queensborough Community College

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IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY, PICTURE POSTCARDS WERE
THE MOST CONVENIENT FORM OF SHORT AND QUICK
COMMUNICATION. THE TELEGRAPH WAS EXPENSIVE AND THE
TELEPHONE WAS ONLY IN ITS INFANCY. BILLIONS OF POSTCARDS
WERE SENT EACH YEAR, MOSTLY FROM EUROPE AND AMERICA.
THE PICTURE POSTCARD WAS THE E-MAIL OF A CENTURY AGO.

PUBLISHERS MET THE DEMAND BY PRINTING POSTCARDS COVERING EVERY TOPIC IMAGINABLE: HISTORIC SITES, GARDENS, PALACES, ROYAL VISITS, HOSPITALS, HOTELS, AND SHIPS. ONE MORE TOPIC WAS POPULAR: POSTCARDS FEATURING STEREOTYPICAL ANTI-SEMITIC PICTURES OFTEN ACCOMPANIED BY RABID LIMERICKS, REFLECTING SOCIETY'S DEEP-SEATED NEGATIVE ATTITUDES VIS-À-VIS JEWS.

BY LOOKING AT THESE POSTCARDS IT IS CLEAR THAT ANTISEMITISM WAS NOT DISSEMINATED ONLY BY POLITICAL
LEADERS, JOURNALISTS, SCHOLARS AND RABBLE-ROUSERS; IT
WAS ACCEPTED BY THE GENERAL POPULATION, WHO EAGERLY
BOUGHT AND MAILED POSTCARDS THAT WERE DEROGATORY
TO JEWS. SUCH POSTCARDS WERE PRINTED IN GERMANY, THE
UNITED STATES, ENGLAND, HUNGARY, RUSSIA, AND EVEN
IN FAR OFF ARGENTINA. THOSE ORIGINATING IN GERMANY
WERE PARTICULARLY HATEFUL AND VILE, IN CONTRAST TO
AMERICAN EXAMPLES WHICH FOCUSED ON MORE SO-CALLED
STEREOTYPICAL "HUMOR."

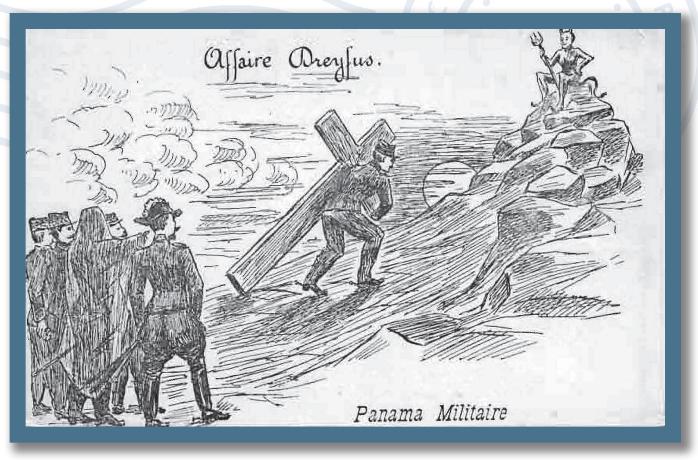
THIS EXHIBIT WILL EXAMINE THE CONTENT AND USAGE OF ANTI-SEMITIC POSTCARDS PRIOR TO THE HOLOCAUST AND HOW THESE GRAPHIC IMAGES BECAME ONE MORE ELEMENT IN FANNING ANTI-JEWISH HATRED AND DISCRIMINATION, A FOREBODING OF THE IMPENDING DESTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY.

HE FIRST anti-Semitic postcards were printed in the 1890's coinciding with the time when the Dreyfus Affair broke out in 1894. Dreyfus, a patriotic French army captain, was falsely accused of passing military secrets to the German military attaché in Paris. Even though the evidence was circumstantial, the blame was laid upon Dreyfus for one reason only: his Jewish heritage. In a sham trial, he was sentenced to harsh prison conditions on Devil's Island, off the north coast of French Guiana. Only in 1906 did a court declare Dreyfus innocent.

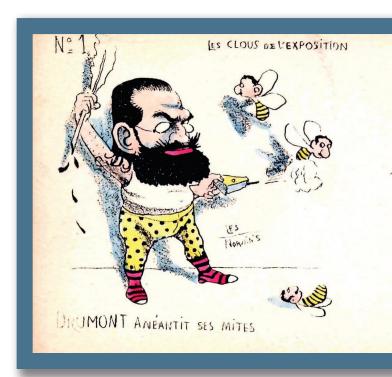
The postcard portrays Dreyfus walking up a hill under the weight

of a cross. At the summit of the hill is the figure of a devil, probably an allusion to the Jew Dreyfus joining hands with the devil himself. Behind him stands a group of French soldiers. One of them is pointing the way of exile that Dreyfus must take.

The words "Panama Militaire" refer to the 1892 Panama Canal scandal that shook the French economy. The Panama Company, responsible for

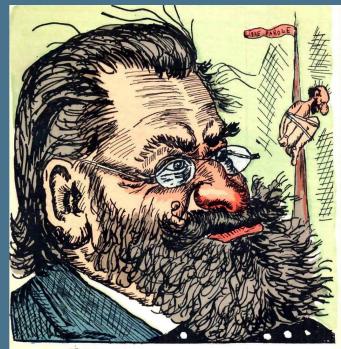


raising the funds for the building of the Canal, went broke. Thousands of French citizens lost their investments. Investigations revealed that some Jews of German origin or of German-sounding names were represented in the banking operations of the Panama Company. This fact fired the flames for French anti-Semites who accused Jews of the swindle just as they would two years later in the case of Dreyfus. For French anti-Semites Dreyfus the Jew was part of the same cabal that caused the Panama scandal.



DOUARD-ADOLPHE DRUMONT (1844-1917), a French journalist associated with the activities of ultra-Catholic circles, became identified with the spreading of rabid anti-Semitism. His book *La France juive*, [Jewish France] first published in 1886, described a France subjugated to Jewish political, social, and economic pressures. In 1889 he founded the Anti-Semitic League and *La Libre Parole* [The Free Word], whose editorial policy was invariably violently anti-Semitic. Drumont and his paper were largely responsible for fanning anti Jewish hatred during the Dreyfus Affair.

▲ A MENACING DRUMONT STANDS HOLDING BUG SPRAY ON HIS LEFT HAND AND A QUILL PEN DRIPPING INK ON HIS RIGHT. THE SPRAY IS **DIRECTED AT MITES DISPLAYING** STEREOTYPICALLY JEWISH TRAITS: LARGE EARS AND BULBOUS NOSES. ONE MITE IS ALREADY DEAD ON THE GROUND. THE QUILL IS PROBABLY REFERRING TO HIS WRITINGS IN LA LIBRE PAROLE. THE TITLE ON TOP OF THE POSTCARD READS: "THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE EXHIBIT." THE **BOTTOM LINE IS A PLAY ON WORDS:** "DRUMONT ANNIHILATES HIS MITES," BUT READ IN FRENCH IT SOUNDS, "DRUMONT ANTI-SES-MITES," = ANTI-SEMITE..

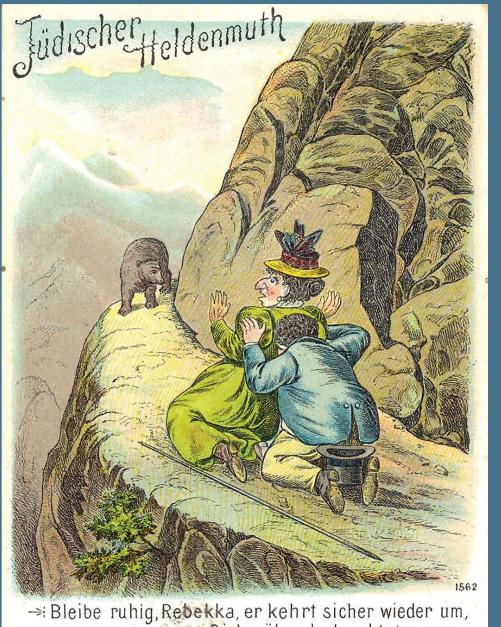


- EDOUARD DRUMONT

A TRIUMPHANT DRUMONT LOOKS AT A NAKED JEW BOUND TO A POLE DISPLAYING THE FLAG OF LA LIBRE PAROLE. THE JEW IS RIDICULED: HE HAS A BEARD, A BIG NOSE AND SPIKE-LIKE HAIR.

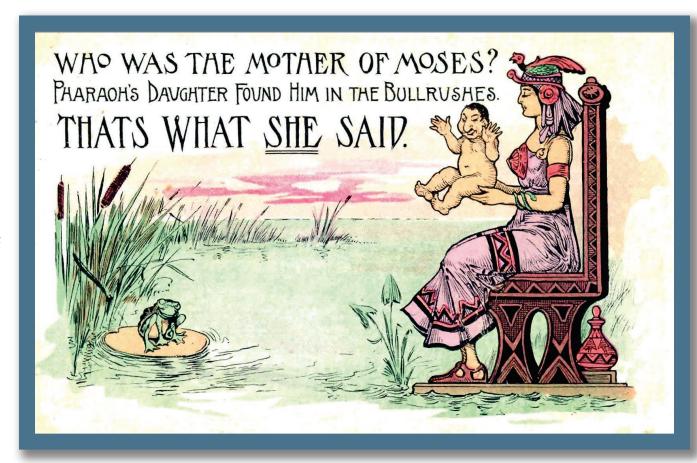
HIS 1900 postcard printed in Berlin, is cynically entitled "Jewish Heroism." Some stereotypical Jewish traits are displayed: the man has frizzy hair and the woman, Rebecca, a long hooked nose. Both look Germanized in dress. They are on a narrow mountain road when confronted by a bear. The woman falls to her knees and lifts her hands in fear while her cowardly husband takes cover behind her back. The text under the picture quotes the husband trying to soothe his wife: "Stay calm, Rebecca, he will surely turn around after he takes a look at you," namely, when the bear sees how ugly she is, he'll go away.

The postcard plays on two anti-Semitic stereotypes: cowardice and ugliness, summed up in the long, hooked/ hawk nose. While it has often been pointed out that the so-called "Jewish" or "Semitic" nose appears even on ancient Egyptian monuments, the stereotype stuck to Jews. "The culprit seems to be bad science. Nineteenth century eugenicists ascribed 'primitive' physiological characteristics to Jews, including what one "enlightened" scientist called 'a large, massive, club-shaped, hooked nose'." http:// somethingjewish.co.uk/articles/522_jews_and_their_noses. htm and Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, ed. People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective, p. 247-248.



⇒ Bleibe ruhig, Rebekka, er kehrt sicher wieder um, wenn er Dich näher betrachtet.

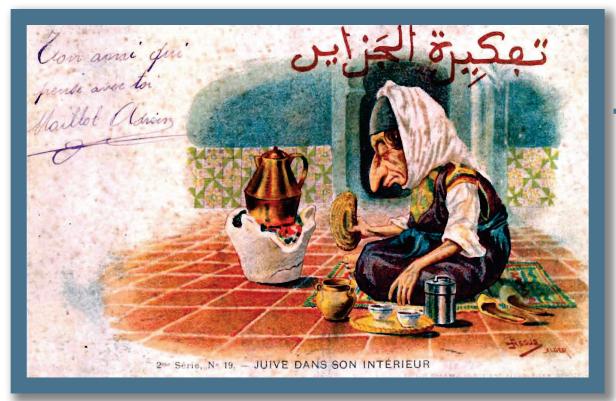
HEN THE biblical Pharaoh noted that the Israelites were prolific, he ordered that every Israelite baby boy born should be thrown into the Nile. Jochebed, Moses's mother, disobeyed the order, placed her newborn son, Moses, into a basket and let it float on the shore of the Reed Sea. Sometime later, Pharaoh's daughter came to bathe in the Nile and noticed the baby, realizing that it must be a Hebrew child that a mother tried to save from death. Eventually, she made him her son. [Exodus 1-2]



The author of this postcard

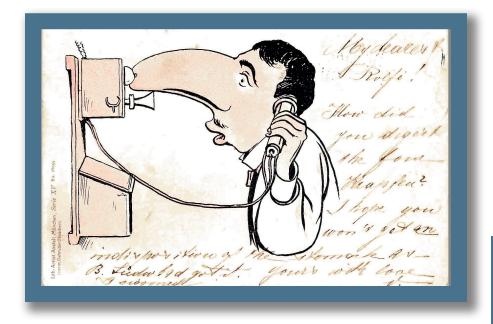
printed in Chicago probably in the 1920's, jokingly ridicules the Exodus narrative perpetuating anti-Semitic stereotypes: Pharaoh's daughter said that the child she found in the bulrushes was HER son, but in fact—the author makes clear--one only needs to look at him to realize that he is a Hebrew. How so? Because while Pharaoh's daughter is dressed in ancient Egyptian garb, the baby she holds in her hands is stereotypically Jewish: not only does he have frizzy hair and a hooked nose, but he also looks black. As scholar Sander L. Gilman has noted, "The general consensus

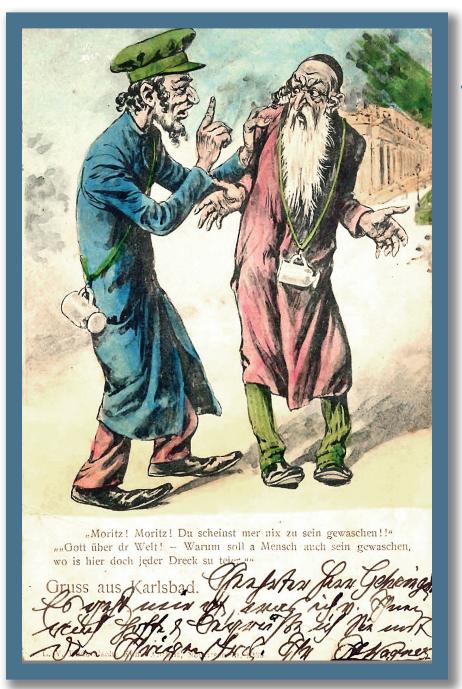
of the ethnological literature of the late nineteenth century was that the Jews were 'black' or, at least, 'swarthy'... Thus scientists referred to the 'blackness' of the Jew as not only a 'mark of racial inferiority [but also as] an indicator of the diseased nature of the Jew... Being black, being Jewish, being diseased and being 'ugly' came to be inexorably linked... ["The Jewish Nose: Are Jews White? Or, The History of the Nose Job," in Lawrence J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn ed., *The Other in Jewish Thought and History*, p. 370].



HE EXAGGERATED hooked nose "came to represent the Jew's sick soul; it also became one of the central loci of difference in seeing the Jew." [The Other in Jewish Thought and History, p. 381]. Curiously, it was the Jewish-German orthopedic surgeon Jacques Joseph who performed the first rhinoplasty in 1898.

- ABOVE, A POSTCARD FROM FRENCH ALGIERS POSTMARKED DECEMBER 1903: THE HEADING IN ARABIC SAYS, "MEMENTO FROM/OF ALGIER" WHILE THE FRENCH TEXT ON THE BOTTOM SAYS "THE JEW INSIDE THE HOME." THE SENDER WRITES "YOUR FRIEND WHO IS THINKING OF YOU," MAKING NO REFERENCE TO THE PICTURE: AN UGLY JEWISH WOMAN DRESSED IN ARAB GARB DISPLAYING A VERY LARGE, LUDICROUS HOOKED NOSE.
- ▶ A POSTCARD PRINTED IN MUNICH, GERMANY, POSTMARKED IN AUSTRIA IN 1899, AND A MESSAGE WRITTEN IN ENGLISH, LEAVES NO DOUBT AS TO THE ETHNICITY OF THE PERSON MAKING A PHONE CALL. AGAIN, THE MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO "ROLFI" MAKES NO MENTION OF THE CALLER, A JEW WITH A GROSSLY EXAGGERATED NOSE. S/HE WRITES: "HOW DID YOU DIGEST THE FOUR *KRAPFEN*? [A GERMAN DOUGHNUT] I HOPE YOU WON'T GET AND INDIGESTION OF THE STOMACH."





HILE THOUSANDS of German Jews dressed, spoke, and behaved like all Germans, German anti-Semitic fantasy at the turn of the nineteenth century became fixated on the figure of the Eastern European Jew: the *Ostjude*, the "Eastern" Jew. Russian pogroms and expulsions had swelled the numbers of "strange" looking Jews coming into German cities where relative freedom was the norm. More came from heavily populated Galician ghettoes of southern Poland and western Ukraine, among them members of Hassidic groups. All "Eastern" Jews in Germany were seen under the same lens: symbolically and legally alien, visible, vulnerable, ugly, separatist, speaking a jargon the *judishdeutsch* (*Yiddish*), and dressed in a distinct fashion. The most blatant anti-Semitic postcards were printed mocking the *Ostjuden*.

■ THIS POSTCARD WAS MAILED FROM KARLSBAD TO STUTTGART. THERE ARE TWO GALICIAN JEWS IN THE PICTURE: ONE WEARS A HAT, THE OTHER A SKULLCAP. BOTH HAVE BEARDS, SIDE LOCKS, AND HOOKED NOSES. THEY WEAR LONG BLACK COATS, AND ARE BENT, ALMOST DEFORMED. THEIR LEGS ARE BOWED AND THEIR FEET ARE DISPROPORTIONATELY LARGE. THE JEW WITH THE CAP HARANGUES THE OTHER: "MORITZ! MORITZ! IT SEEMS TO ME THAT YOU DIDN'T WASH!!—"GOD IN HEAVEN!—WHY SHOULD A PERSON WASH HIMSELF, WHEN HERE EVERY PIECE OF DIRT IS PRECIOUS." THE AUTHOR ALSO TOUCHES UPON ANOTHER STEREOTYPE: JEWS' LOVE OF MONEY, SO MUCH SO, THAT EVEN DIRT HAS A VALUE.



◀ THIS POSTCARD WAS MAILED FROM KARLSBAD IN 1899. PICTURED ARE FOUR SHABBY LOOKING **GALICIAN JEWS WITH** THE USUAL DEPICTION OF THEIR FACES AND DRESS. THREE OF THEM **SURROUND A TABLE** WHERE ONE OF THEM IS SEATED, AND ON IT, THERE IS A PILE OF COINS. THE JEW WITH THE UMBRELLAS IS OFFERING A WATCH FOR SALE. THE SCENE TAKES PLACE IN "THE PEACEFUL LION." PROBABLY THE NAME OF AN INN OR EATING ESTABLISHMENT. PEDDLING, MONEY-**GRUBBING AND** SHABBINESS COME TOGETHER IN THIS PICTURE.

HOUSANDS OF postcards were printed in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century with the words "Gruss aus," "Greetings from." Sometimes "Greetings from" was followed by a blank space where the senders could add where they were at the time or, as is the case with this postcard, the place was pre-printed: Karlsbad. Until the end of World War I, the city was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Its population included ethnic Germans. Karlsbad became a well-known spa attracting people to its curative sulfur baths. (Today the city is part of the Czech Republic). Many Jews also came to Karlsbad in spite of its outspoken anti-Semitic German population.

HE ASSIMILATED German Jew wanted to be accepted by his fellow German citizens: he would dress like them, eat like them, behave like them, and even, on occasions, give up the ancestral faith in order to be integrated with the majority. But to be accepted by German society also meant serving in the military. Many Jews did and gave up their lives in World War I. Regardless, anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews were rife in the military ranks. This fact was reflected in the many postcards that were mailed during the pre- war era portraying Jews as physically unfit to serve in the army. Many of these postcards were even sold on military outposts.

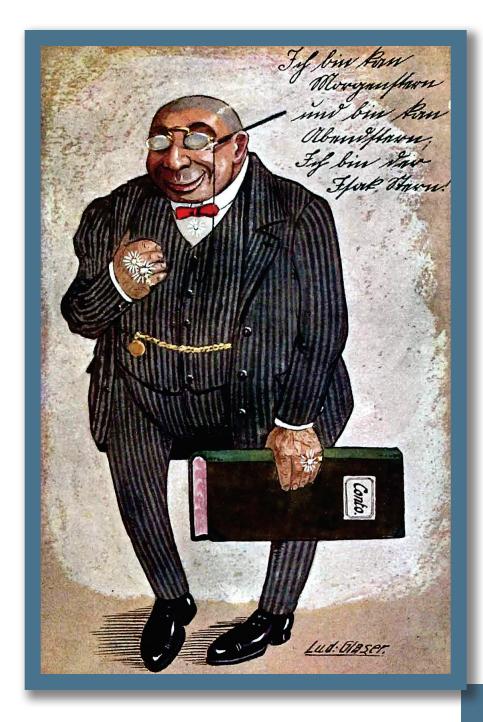


▲ IN THIS PICTURE A PHYSICALLY-UNFIT LOOKING JEW WITH THE TYPICAL HOOKED NOSE, BOWED LEGS, AND FLAT LONG FEET, IS MARCHING IN FRONT OF HIS COMMANDER. THE POSTCARD'S AUTHOR MOCKS THE JEW: "DEAR FATHERLAND, YOU NEED NOT WORRY," NAMELY, NOTHING CAN GO WRONG WITH SOLDIERS OF SUCH "CALIBER." THE TITLE ON THE POSTCARD MUST HAVE IMMEDIATELY RESONATED WITH MANY GERMANS SINCE THE LINE WAS A WELL KNOWN REFRAIN FROM A GERMAN PATRIOTIC ANTHEM "DIE WACHT AM RHEIN," (THE WATCH/GUARD ON THE RHINE), PARTICULARLY POPULAR DURING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE POSTCARD WAS DISTRIBUTED BY "THE GERMAN PITCHER" RESTAURANT LOCATED IN THE EASTERN GERMAN CITY OF CHEMNITZ.

N ADDITION to the negative physical stereotyping, the Golden Era of postcards went on to paint Jews in yet another adverse light: the Jew as a hoarder of gold and jewelry only interested in money, a cheat, ruthless banker, usurer, pawnbroker, blatantly displaying his wealth. In reality, most 19th and early 20th century Jews, particularly in the shtetls and ghettoes of Eastern Europe were poor. Those Jews who had moved it to the larger cities in Germany or France and had succeeded in going up the financial ladder aspired to look like their bourgeois fellow citizens.

THIS AUSTRIAN POSTCARD SHOWS A JEW WHO HAD "MADE IT;" HE LOOKS PROSPEROUS AND SATISFIED WITH HIMSELF. HE IS DRESSED NOT AS A GALICIAN BUT IN ELEGANT WESTERN GARB. HIS PHYSICAL "DISABILITIES" HAVE NOT GONE AWAY, HOWEVER: HE STILL HAS A BULBOUS HOOKED NOSE, EXAGGERATED BOWED LEGS AND BIG FEET. HE IS SEEN DISPLAYING HIS MANY SHINING DIAMONDS: ON BOTH HIS HANDS AND UNDER HIS BOWTIE. ACROSS HIS WAIST IS DISPLAYED A GOLD CHAIN WATCH. TO HIS RIGHT HAND HE HOLDS WHAT ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICE BELIEVED WAS MOST IMPORTANT TO IEWS: A MONEY LEDGER.

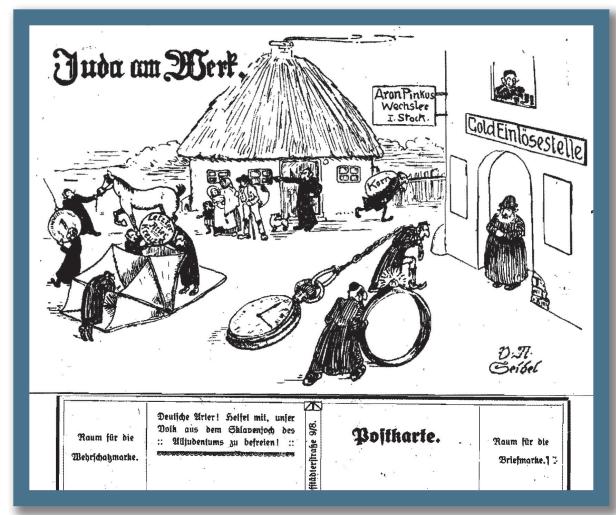
THE TEXT ON THE UPPER RIGHT CORNER SAYS: "I AM NOT THE MORNING STAR, I AM NOT THE EVENING STAR, I AM ISAAC STERN." THE DITTY IS A PLAY ON THE WORD "STERN" WHICH BOTH IN GERMAN AND IN YIDDISH MEANS "STAR."



UDA IS AT WORK" is the cynical heading of this Austrian postcard printed circa 1919. The pictured Jews are not assimilated German Jews but Ostjuden. Their main and seemingly only occupation is handling money. Two Jews are pictured walking toward the "Gold Exchange": one is carrying a disproportionate large ring with a shining diamond and the other is pulling a heavy watch. At the entrance door to the exchange a Jew is waiting for them, while above him, at the window, another Jew sits handling piles of coins. The sign at the entrance identifies him as "Aaron Pinkus Money Changer." Moving to the left a Jew is seen carrying a sack of grain, and further to his left yet another Jew is pointing at a "real" German family to leave. Finally, at the left corner of the postcard a Jew pulls on a horse while the other three are also involved with the

handling of currency: two of them hold up the "last Arian Kreuzer," [a unit of currency, a silver coin in German states and in Austria], as if the Jews had taken total control over the Austrian treasury, while another walks away with another coin.

On the opposite side of the postcard we find that it was sponsored by the "Anti-Semitic Coalition" in Vienna. The Coalition's goal was to serve



as an umbrella organization of all the Austrian anti-Semitic groups in order to protect the Austrian people from the economic, social, and political influence of the Jews. It also advocated the expulsion of all the Jews that had immigrated into the country since 1914 and close all future immigration. [Bruce F. Pauley, From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism, p. 183-189].

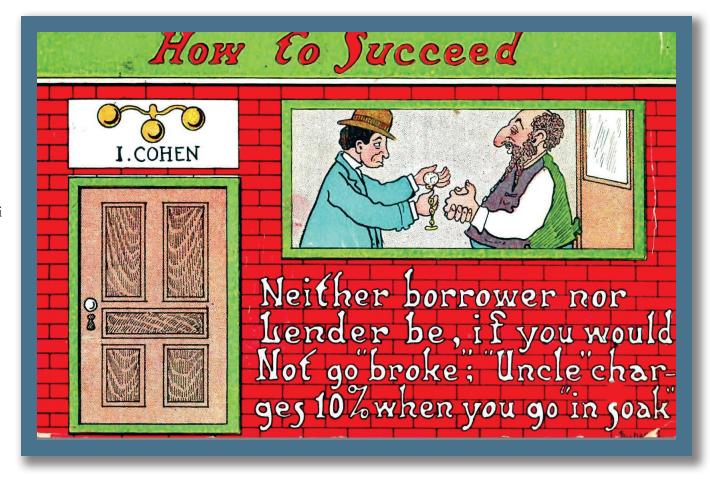
HE PICTURE on this late 1890's German postcard has a non-Jewish German gentleman languidly resting in the countryside. His rest is disturbed by three Jews ringing a bell, and clamoring that he should pay his debts to them. One of the Jews holds a bill of exchange and another one a ledger. The Jew in the middle is the stereotypical Eastern European. The other Jews are more Germanized although they, too, share some of the socalled physical characteristics of Jews.

The text cheers on the non Jewish German gentleman: "If you owe [them money], don't be upset

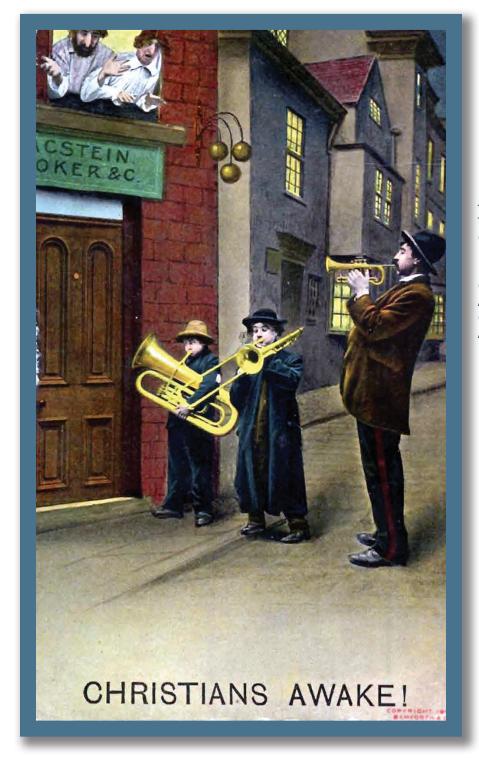


about it. Leave the grief to the creditor!" The author's call in this postcard is clear: "Germans, don't bother returning money borrowed from Jews. They are crooks and thieves, and they don't deserve to get back money which they have in any case stolen from Germans."

NOTHER WAY in which Jews were marked as greedy money grabbers was to picture them as pawn shop owners. Such shops were identified by three golden spheres hanging at the entrance. The origin of these spheres is attributed to the Medici family of Florence, Italy.



▲ THIS 1917 AMERICAN POSTCARD WAS MAILED FROM LA JUNTA, COLORADO TO GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN. THE MESSAGE SAYS "I AM FEELING FINE & DANDY, WILL WRITE A LETTER LATER HAD SOME RAIN LAST NIGHT NORMAN." THE SENDER MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE OFFENSIVE PICTURE: THE BIG-NOSED PAWNBROKER I. COHEN RUBS HIS HANDS STARING AT THE WATCH THAT HE IS ABOUT TO EXCHANGE FOR A SMALL AMOUNT OF MONEY WHILE THE OWNER OF THE WATCH LOOKS ANGUISHED AT HAVING TO PART WITH IT. PARAPHRASING THE PRINTED TEXT, THE POSTCARD'S AUTHOR ADVISES "HOW TO SUCCEED IS TO BE 'NEITHER A BORROWER NOR A LENDER BE'... [A QUOTE FROM HAMLET, ACT I, SCENE 3, 75-77], AND THEN YOU DON'T GO BROKE. BUT IF YOU DO, 'UNCLE"=THE PAWNBROKER, CHARGES 10%, CAUSING YOU TO PAY AN EXORBITANT AMOUNT."



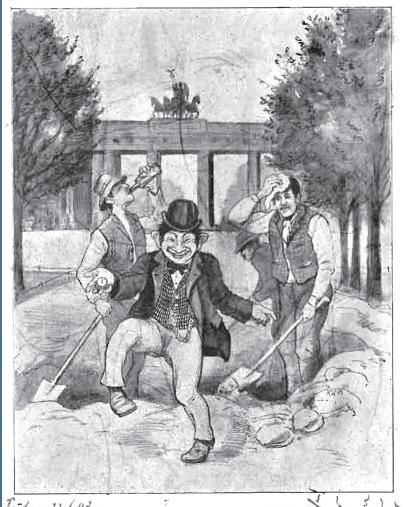
■ THIS 1909 CHRISTMAS POSTCARD WAS MAILED IN GREAT BRITAIN. HERE, TOO, THE SENDER WRITES TO WISH MR. & MRS. SHIPWAY "A VERY HAPPY CHRISTMAS AND A PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR," WITH NO REFERENCE TO THE PICTURE. THE TYPIFYING IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED: THREE MUSICIANS ARE PLAYING CHRISTMAS CAROLS IN FRONT OF THE "ACSTEIN [PAWN] BROKER & C. THE OBVIOUSLY SIGNALED JEWISH COUPLE APPEAR IN THEIR NIGHTGOWNS AT THE WINDOW PROTESTING WHY THE MUSICIANS ARE PLAYING IN FRONT OF THEIR HOUSE WHEN THEY KNOW THAT THEY ARE JEWISH. CYNICALLY, THE AUTHOR WRITES: "CHRISTIANS AWAKE!"

► HERE IS A 1913 AMERICAN POSTCARD MAILED FROM WILMINGTON, OHIO TO CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. THE SENDER WRITES TO HIS FATHER TELLING HIM THAT HE WAS AT AN AUCTION WHERE HE "BOUGHT SOME VERY PRETTY POST CARDS" AND THAT HE IS SENDING HIM ONE OF THEM. HOWEVER, HE MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE PICTURE: TWO FORMALLY- DRESSED CIGAR-SMOKING, PROSPEROUS LOOKING JEWS, DISPLAYING SHINY DIAMONDS AND THE INEVITABLE NOSES, EARS, AND FEET. ONE SAYS TO THE OTHER IN AN YIDDISH ACCENTED ENGLISH: "ISAAC, WHERE DO THOSE GENTILES GET ALL THEIR MONEY WE TAKE AWAY FROM THEM?" THE INTENT IS CLEAR: NOT ONLY ARE JEWS GROSS LOOKING, BUT THEY ALSO GET RICH BY TAKING MONEY FROM GENTILES

THIS RARE POSTCARD FROM ARGENTINA ALSO EXPLOITS THE **EXPECTED: ELEGANTLY-DRESSED** PEOPLE ARE ASTONISHED AROUND A ROULETTE TABLE. WHEN A RIDICULOUS LOOKING JEW INTERRUPTS THE GAME. HE RAISES HIS HAND WAVING A ONE PESO BILL AND YELLS OUT IN YIDDISH-ACCENTED SPANISH THAT HE IS READY TO BET IT ALL: HE WANTS TO WALK WITH ALL THE MONEY ON THE TABLE. JUST AS THE MISPRONUNCIATION OF THE ENGLISH BY EARLY JEWISH **IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES** BECAME AN OBJECT OF MOCKERY, SO DID THE MISPRONUNCIATION OF SPANISH BY THE FIRST EUROPEAN JEWS IN ARGENTINA.



ISAAC, VHERE DO DOSE CHENTILES
GET ALL DER MONEY VE TAKE
AVAY FROM THEM?"



Towny, Id. b Denkt Euch an, der kleine Cohn, let of work Seine Mark, die hat er schon!

in with Husgebuddelt wurd' sie heut,

Mayaright Nein, hat sich der Mensch gefreut
auf meinen lehm auf forfallige Museln.

ERMAN ANTI-JEWISH prejudices in the late 1800s and early 1900s created a fictional character that embodied all the negative stereotypes already ingrained in the popular imagination: "der kleine Cohn," "Little Cohn." Sander Gilman traces back the creation of this character to an 1893 pamphlet by H. Nordmann where the author pointed out the Jew's congenital unfittedness for military service. [*The Jew's Body*, p. 43]

There was another venue that reinforced the caricature of "der kleine Cohn." It happened at the imperial Berlin Metropol Theater in the very early nineteen hundreds when a Gentile comedian, Guido Thielscher, who made a name for himself playing Jewish roles, brought "Cohn" to the stage. [Marline Otte, Jewish Identities in German Popular Entertainment, 1890-1933, p. 240-244].

■ INNUMERABLE POSTCARDS WERE SOLD POKING FUN AT "DER KLEINE COHN." THE BACKGROUND OF THIS POSTCARD IS BERLIN'S BRANDENBURG GATE. IT IS VERY HOT OUTSIDE WHEN COHN HAS WORKERS DIG A BIG HOLE IN THE GROUND TO FIND A MARK COIN THAT HE HAS LOST. NOT ONLY IS COHN PAINTED IN A DISTORTED PHYSICAL WAY, BUT HE IS ALSO PICTURED REJOICING AT HAVING FOUND HIS ONE COIN EVEN IF SO MUCH WORK WAS INVOLVED IN FINDING IT.

THE TEXT ON THE POSTCARD SAYS: "THINK ABOUT IT, THE LITTLE COHN,/ HIS MARK, HE ALREADY HAS!/ TODAY IT WAS DUG OUT,/ OH, HE WAS REALLY HAPPY ABOUT IT!"



un die Alt Mainbrück.

Babt ers geheert ichon, Maier & Kohn Babt ers vernomme ichon, Levisohn Wikt er das Neuste ichon, Isaac & Bär Die Alte Brück kann bestehen nicht mehr! Was e Schlomaffel, fo e icheenes Stück, E prima Qualität von ere Brück. Aus Sanditein, feit wie a Diamant, Im mayerische Stil, wie im heilige kand, Von unfere Leut ginge Caufende driwwer, Rechtsleitig enuff, linkseits eriwwer, Un Schawwes ginge se Groß un Klein In Gala zum kofchere Reppelwein. Bawwe koldiere Werlatther lich mitgenomme, Den driwwe, da kann mer keine bekomme, Sie hawwe geschmußt, mit der Band gediwwert Un hawwe koldhere Wike geliwwert, Und als ie Glachelt, ging die Mild poge zurück Schawwes vergnügt, iwwer die alte Brack.

HILE THE anti-Semitic stereotype of the Jew craving for money was widely accepted and made even more popular by Shakespeare's Shylock, the image of the greedy Jewish banker was epitomized by the banking empire created by Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744-1812) in Frankfort, Germany. His sons expanded the business throughout Europe heading four branches: Solomon in Vienna, Nathan in London, Carl in Naples, Amschel in Frankfort, and Jacob in Paris.

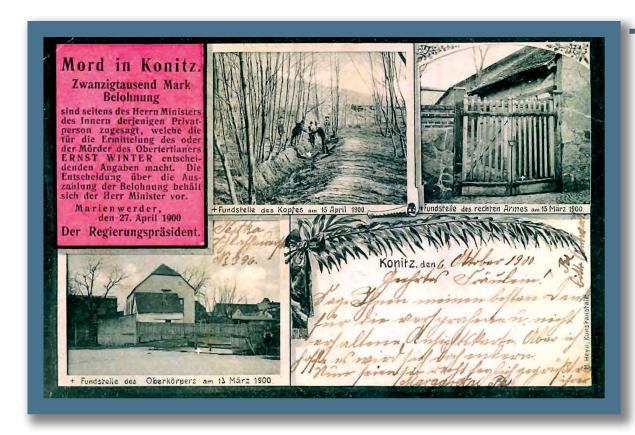
Many anti-Semitic picture postcards were printed regarding the Rothschilds, most of them entitled "The Five Frankfurters."

■ THIS 1910 FRANKFORT POSTMARKED POSTCARD MOCKINGLY PICTURES THE FIVE ROTHSCHILD BANKERS, RICHLY DRESSED BUT LUDICROUS LOOKING. THE FIVE WEAR TOP HATS AND FORMAL ATTIRE AS BEHOOVES SUCH IMPORTANT PEOPLE, BUT THE ATTIRE DOESN'T DISGUISE WHO THEY REALLY ARE: PHYSICALLY MALFORMED JEWS.

THE DERIDING POEM ON THE POSTCARD IS ENTITLED: "THE FIVE FRANKFURTERS AND THE OLD BRIDGE OVER THE MAIN RIVER."

"DID YOU ALREADY HEAR MAYER & KOHN / DID YOU HEAR IT ALREADY, LEVISOHN, / DO YOU ALREADY KNOW THE LATEST, ISAAC & BAER / THE OLD BRIDGE CANNOT STAND ANY LONGER! / WHAT A SHLEMASSEL, SUCH A BEAUTIFUL PIECE, / AND A BRIDGE OF SUCH GOOD QUALITY. / MADE OF SANDSTONE, STRONG AS A DIAMOND, / IN THE MOORISH STYLE, LIKE IN THE HOLY LAND. / THOUSANDS OF OUR PEOPLE CROSSED IT / ON THE SABBATH THEY GO TALL AND SMALL / IN FORMAL DRESS TO HAVE KOSHER CIDER. / THEY TOOK ALONG KOSHER SAUSAGE, / BECAUSE ON THE OTHER SIDE, YOU CAN'T GET IT, / THEY GOSSIPED, AND TALKED WITH THEIR HANDS / AND TOLD KOSHER JOKES, / AND CHEERFULLY THE WHOLE FAMILY WENT BACK / OVER THE OLD BRIDGE."

THE POEM'S AUTHOR MOCKS JEWISH BEHAVIOR AND AT THE SAME TIME RECORDS HOW SOME JEWS OBSERVED THE SABBATH IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY FRANKFORT. HE USES JEWISH TERMS SUCH AS "SHLEMASSEL"=UNLUCKY, AND "KOSHER." BY 1910 THERE WERE ALREADY SIX BRIDGES CROSSING THE MAIN RIVER, BUT THE JEWS ARE SEEN CROSSING THE "OLD BRIDGE," COMING FROM THE OLD CITY CENTER WHERE MOST OF THEM LIVED TO THE NEWER DISTRICTS ON THE OTHER SIDE.



HE SEVERITY of the false accusation that Jews stole money from Gentiles pales before a more pernicious one that first raised its head in Norwich, England in 1150: Jews desire innocent Christian blood, the blood of a child, to be mixed in the baking of the Passover unleavened bread. There were periodic such accusations throughout Europe in the following centuries, one of the later ones taking place in Konitz [Chojnice in Poland] ruled by Imperial Germany from 1871-1920. [Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, p. 146].

▲ THE POSTCARD, DATED OCTOBER 6, 1900, IS DEVOTED TO THE "KONITZ MURDER," AN ACCUSATION OF RITUAL MURDER AGAINST THE LOCAL JEWS. IN THIS CASE, THE MURDERED PERSON WAS NOT A YOUNG CHILD BUT AN 18-YEAR-OLD MAN. A TRIAL PROVED THAT THE ACCUSED JEWS WERE INNOCENT. TO COMPENSATE FOR THE DISAPPOINTING JUDGMENT, ANTI-SEMITES SMASHED WINDOWS OF JEWISH HOMES IN KONITZ AND IN NEARBY VILLAGES. [HELMUT WALSER SMITH, THE BUTCHER'S TALE: MURDER AND ANTI-SEMITISM IN A GERMAN TOWN].

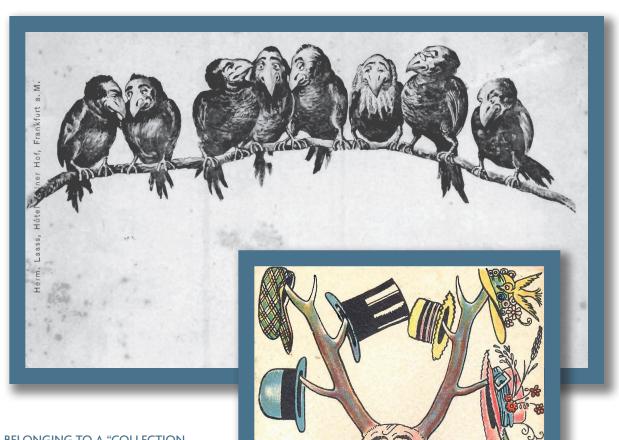
THE MESSAGE IN THE PINK FRAME SAYS: "20,000 MARKS ARE PROMISED TO ANY INDIVIDUAL WHO CAN FURNISH INFORMATION REGARDING THE MURDER OF ERNST WINTER A NINTH-GRADER IN THE GYMNASIUM (HIGH-SCHOOL). THE DECISION FOR THE DISBURSEMENT OF THE MONEY IS RESERVED FOR THE MINISTER. 27 APRIL 1900, THE GOVERNOR." THE TEXTS UNDER THE OTHER PHOTOS, CLOCKWISE: "WHERE THE HEAD WAS FOUND ON 15 APRIL 1900" (IN A DITCH IN A FARM); "WHERE THE RIGHT ARM WAS FOUND ON 15 MARCH 1900" (IN BACK OF A SMALL DOOR FLANKING THE MAIN PORTAL OF THE PROTESTANT CEMETERY); "WHERE THE TORSO WAS FOUND, 13 MARCH 1900," (NEAR THE SHORES OF LAKE MONCHSEE).

HIS 1916 Berlin printed postcard is meant to be a "Greeting from Russian Poland." Russian Poland refers to the Polish territory that at the beginning of the nineteenth century was partitioned and came under imperial Russian rule in 1867. This territory became known as the Congress Kingdom or the Kingdom of Poland. The territory included the regions of Lublin, Lodz, and Masovia, where the Jewish population was numerous.



▲ FROM GROSSLY MALFORMED JEWS THERE WAS NO GREAT DISTANCE TO TRAVERSE FOR ANTI-JEWISH PREJUDICES TO PAINT JEWS AS SUBHUMAN, NOT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM ANIMALS. IN THIS POSTCARD A "TYPICAL" EASTERN EUROPEAN JEW IS PORTRAYED WITH A LONG BEARD AND HOOKED NOSE. UNDER HIM THE TEXT IDENTIFIES HIM AS A "RUSSIAN POLISH JEW." OPPOSITE THE PICTURE OF THE JEW THERE IS A PICTURE OF A RUSSIAN POLISH LOUSE. NOT MUCH IS LEFT TO THE IMAGINATION: JEWS ARE REDUCED TO VERMIN AND VERMIN IS TO BE EXTERMINATED.

THE COMPARING OF JEWS TO ANIMALS WAS NOT LIMITED TO THE LOUSE. IN THIS CARD FROM FRANKFORT AM MAIN'S HOTEL KOLNER HOF, KNOWN TO HAVE DISPLAYED A BOLD SIGN AT ITS ENTRANCE STATING "NO JEWS ADMITTED," SEVEN CROWS ARE PERCHED ON A BRANCH MADE TO LOOK UNMISTAKABLE: THEIR BEAKS ARE GROSSLY ELONGATED REMINDING THE VIEWER OF THE LONG HOOKED NOSE. WHAT MAY HAVE GONE THROUGH THE MIND OF THE HOTEL'S GUESTS WHEN THEY WERE MAILING SUCH POSTCARDS?.



► THIS CIRCA 1920 PARIS POSTCARD IS IDENTIFIED AS BELONGING TO A "COLLECTION COMIQUE," PART OF A COLLECTION DEVOTED TO FUNNY PICTURES. EXCEPT THAT THE SO-CALLED "COMICAL" ELEMENT OF THE PICTURE IS AGAIN ACHIEVED BY APPEALING TO ANOTHER ANIMAL IMAGE: JEWS HAVE HORNS. THE JEW IN THE PICTURE HAS GROWN ENORMOUS ANTLERS ON WHICH HATS HANG. THE TEXT READS: "DIPLOMA OF HONOR TO MR. LEVY ABRAHAM INVENTOR OF THE HORN HAT-RACK. PATENTED. THIS DEVICE HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF GROWING A NEW ANTLER AT EVERY MISFORTUNE. COME AND SEE!" WHAT HAS THE IEW "INVENTED"? TAKING ADVANTAGE OF OTHER PEOPLE.

THE "JEWS HAVE HORNS" MYTH HAS ITS SOURCE IN THE BOOK EXODUS 34:29. WHEN MOSES CAME DOWN FROM MOUNT SINAI WITH THE TWO TABLETS OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS HE "WAS NOT AWARE THAT THE SKIN OF HIS FACE WAS RADIANT." THE HEBREW WORD "KEREN" MEANS BOTH "A RAY OF LIGHT" AND "A HORN." THE LATTER IS THE SOURCE OF MICHELANGELO'S PORTRAYAL OF MOSES AS "HORNED," AND AN ADDITIONAL REASON FOR THE MYTH'S POPULARIZATION OF THE ANTI-JEWISH MYTH. THAT THE DEVIL AS JEW ALSO HAD HORNS ONLY REINFORCED THE ANTI-SEMITIC BELIEF.

Diplôme d'Honneur

à M. LÉVY ABRAHAM

Inventeur des cornes porte chapeaux

Breveté S.G.D.G.

Cet appareil a l'avantage de pousser une
branche à chaque nouvelle infortune.

Alors, voyex!

HE JEW as an animal caricature reached its most offensive expression with this 1899 German postcard. Three dressed pigs wearing hats, each holding an umbrella, are pictured conversing on a bench. Their faces are snouts and their hands pig legs. The text on the bottom left says: "Look kindly at this card, / As it comes with the hope / That each of these three / May be a lucky charm for you." The word "Gluksschwein" on the bottom line means "lucky pig" and is used as a term for a lucky charm in German. But the pig aspect here is pivotal.

The Jewish aversion to pigs draws its origin from Leviticus II:7 and Deuteronomy 16:8. For centuries, Jews abstained from eating pork. How offensive it must have been when as early as the thirteenth century the *Judensau*,

the German word for "Jew's sow" [an adult female swine] became a derogatory and dehumanizing figure of Jews seen in obscene contact with a large sow. [Isaiah Schachar, *The Judensau: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History*]. When the Spanish Inquisition wanted to test whether a Jew had renounced his Judaism and accepted Christianity, he was made to eat pork in public.



The Jew equals pig defamation was kept alive through the centuries. The famous poet William Blake made the point that the telling factor by which Christ has distinguished the Jew was by "endowing him with a porcine physiognomy or, more accurately, the pig with a Jewish visage." [Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture*, 1660-1830].

HE POPULAR German revulsion to Jews during the Golden Era of postcards was also shown by hotels and resorts closing their doors to Jewish guests. Some hotels went as far as printing their own anti-Semitic postcards for their guests. The resort from which this example was mailed was one of those restricted places.

This 1909 postmarked card was mailed from a resort in Carlsbad (or Karlsbad), located in the northern Black Forest. Since the obverse was left to write the name of the recipient, there was no room for a message. The picture was the message and the sender just



scribbled a few lines on the bottom. The verses shed light on the illustration: "The sparkling mineral water takes revenge / The consequences [are paid] by those who drank / The more they drank / The sicker they got."

In spite of the closed-door policies, some Jews still came to Carlsbad and similar resorts for spas and curative waters. The postcard shows a group of stereotypical Eastern European Jews violently vomiting in the forest. The author derides them: instead of finding healing waters, they found waters that wreaked havoc on their intestines. The picture supposed to be funny, implies that Jews don't belong in such a resort.

HIS COLOR picture was postmarked on September 12, 1900 from the island of Borkum located on the North Sea, one of the best known German resort towns at the time, and also the most famous for excluding Jews. The town's outspoken and publicly displayed anti-Semitism was reinforced by the "Borkum Song," played almost daily by local public orchestras with the crowds joining in the singing. The song made reference to the physical disabilities of Jews and ended with a call for them "to get out."

In the picture we see a bourgeois Jewish
family— all with hooked noses and a lady
holding the ubiquitous umbrella—being told to leave by the "Hotel zum

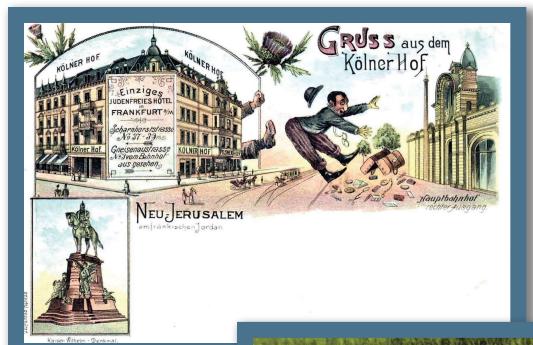
holding the ubiquitous umbrella—being told to leave by the "Hotel zum Strande" [Beach Hotel] doorman. Under the picture the text confirms that "Jews are not tolerated here."

The text says: "Refrain: hip hip hooray!/ Gathered here at this hour/ With lots of guests big and small/ Everyone is welcome/ who has gathered here./ Shake hands with one another/ Agree with us/ Borkum shall remain German/ Nothing kosher will enter here/ Because it is beautiful at the Beach [Hotel]/ surrounded by the North Sea/ and



if Cohn comes with his 'Mammele'/ He must leave, he must leave!/
And when the time comes that we leave here/ in good spirits,/ Then
take along our last greeting/ Borkum, the North Sea's greatest jewel,/
[Will] remain free and beautiful,/ Let Rosenthal and Levisohn/ stay in
Norderney!/ Thus truly is our beach beautiful/ etc. etc."

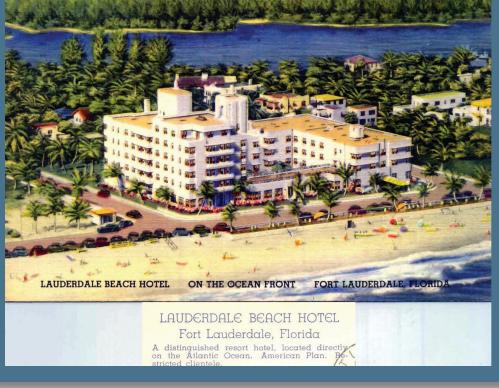
The "hip hip" refrain may have referred to the 1819 German anti-Jewish riots that became known as the "Hep Hep Riots." Norderney was a neighboring island that also became "Jewish free."



■ "GREETINGS FROM THE KOLNER HOF" IS THE TITLE OF THIS GERMAN POSTCARD. THE TEXT UNDER THE GREETING INDICATES THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT EXIT OUT OF THE MAIN TRAIN STATION. OPPOSITE THE STATION IS THE KOLNER HOF HOTEL. MOUNTED ON ITS CORNER IS AN ENORMOUS SIGN THAT SAYS: "ONLY JEWFREE HOTEL IN FRANKFORT-AM-MAIN," FOLLOWED BY STREET DIRECTIONS. UNDER THE HOTEL PICTURE ANOTHER TEXT TELLS US: "NEW JERUSALEM ON THE JORDAN RIVER OF FRANKFURT." THE STATUE IN THE BOX HONORS KING WILHELM II (1859-1941). THE MESSAGE OF THIS ANTI-SEMITIC PICTURE IS CLEARLY SHOWN IN THE BOOT COMING OUT OF THE HOTEL KICKING A TRAVELLING JEWISH SALESMAN, REINFORCED BY A MENACING CLENCHED FIST. THE JEW'S LONG NOSE IS CLEAR AS EVIDENT

AS HIS FRIZZY HAIR.
THE "NEW JERUSALEM"
REFERENCE IS TO
INDICATE THAT THE
CITY HAS BEEN SO
FLOODED BY JEWS THAT
IT RESEMBLES THE REAL
JERUSALEM, BUT ON
THE MAIN RIVER.

▶ IN THE UNITED STATES TOO THERE WERE HOTELS THAT DID NOT ADMIT JEWISH OR BLACK GUESTS. THE STATEMENTS TO THAT EFFECT WERE FAR MORE SUBTLE THAN THOSE PROMOTED BY THE GERMAN HOTEL POSTCARDS. AMERICAN HOTELS NOTED: "RESTRICTED CLIENTELE." EVERYONE KNEW WHO THE "RESTRICTED" WERE.

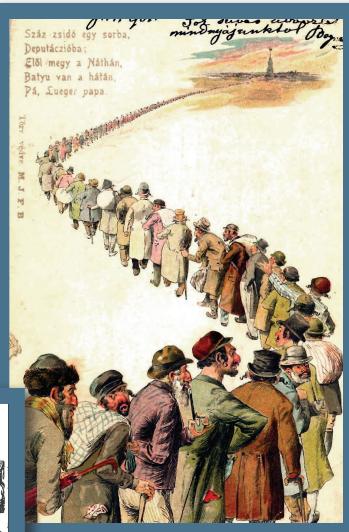


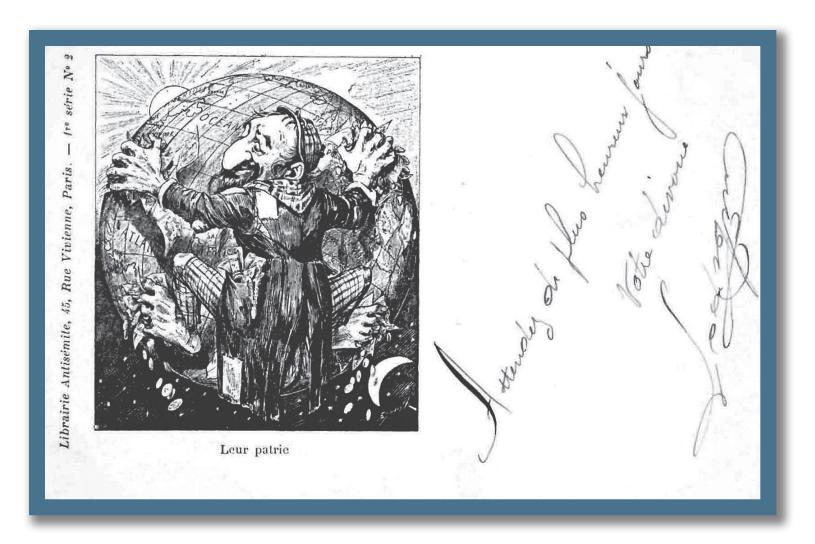
HE EXPULSION of Jews had a long history. There was hardly a European land from which Jews were not expelled in the course of the centuries, from the times of the Crusaders to perhaps the most traumatic one, the 1492 exile from Spain. In more recent centuries the 1881 and 1905 expulsions from Russia compelled many Jews to enter the lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, causing thousands of Jews to settle in Germany and Austria.

► THE SENDER OF THIS 1901 HUNGARIAN POSTCARD SENT FROM LAKE BALATON IN WESTERN HUNGARY TO STEIERMARK, AUSTRIA, WROTE JUST ONE SHORT LINE: "MANY HEARTFELT GREETINGS FROM ALL OF US." NO REFERENCE IS MADE TO EITHER THE PHOTO OR THE BLUNT MESSAGE. THE PHOTO IS OF A LONG CARAVAN OF JEWS GOING AS FAR AS THE EYE CAN SEE. AS THE TEXT INDICATES, THIS IS A PICTURE OF THEIR EXPULSION. RATHER THAN THE FIGURE OF "JEWS WHO BECAME RICH FROM ROBBING GENTILES" THESE ARE PAUPERIZED EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWS CARRYING THEIR MEAGER POSSESSIONS ON THEIR BACKS. THE PRINTED LINES LEAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE IDENTITY OF THE STRANGE PHOTO: "ONE HUNDRED JEWS IN A ROW,/ DEPORTATION;/ NATHAN GOES IN FRONT,/ BUNDLES ON THEIR BACKS,/ BYE, PAPA LUEGER." "LUEGER" REFERS TO KARL LUEGER (1844-1910) THE TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY MAYOR OF VIENNA. NOT ONLY DID HE ADVOCATE RACIST POLICIES AGAINST NON-GERMAN SPEAKING MINORITIES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, BUT HIS ANTI-SEMITIC PLATFORM ALSO BECAME SUCH AN INSPIRATION TO HITLER THAT HE ADOPTED IT HIMSELF.

THIS AUSTRIAN "ANTI-SEMITIC COALITION" POSTCARD PICTURES A SCENE SIMILAR TO THE HUNGARIAN ONE. THIS TIME IT IS A LONG LINE OF AUSTRIAN EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWS BEING KICKED OUT OF VIENNA, MARCHING TOWARD THE TRAIN STATION. THE TEXT ON THE BOTTOM OF THE POSTCARD SAYS: "OUR SINCEREST WISH."







UROPEAN ANTI-SEMITISM during the Golden Era of postcards did not discriminate between poor Eastern European Jews or Jews who had climbed the economic ladder: both were made the object of ridicule, both were out to take over the world. The picture is a caricature originally published by Eduard Drumont in *La Libre Parole* in 1893, later reproduced on a postcard by the "Anti-Semitic Bookstore" in Paris.

A shabby Eastern European Jew with exaggeratedly big hands and feet made to look like fangs is grabbing on to the world, and there are two words under the picture: "Their fatherland," that is, the entire world is the Jews'. Curiously, in spite of the poor look of the Jew, he has money bills protruding from his pocket, coins are falling by his side, and the world is entirely his possession. The postcard was addressed to someone in Paris with a short greeting: "Wait for happier days- Your devoted."



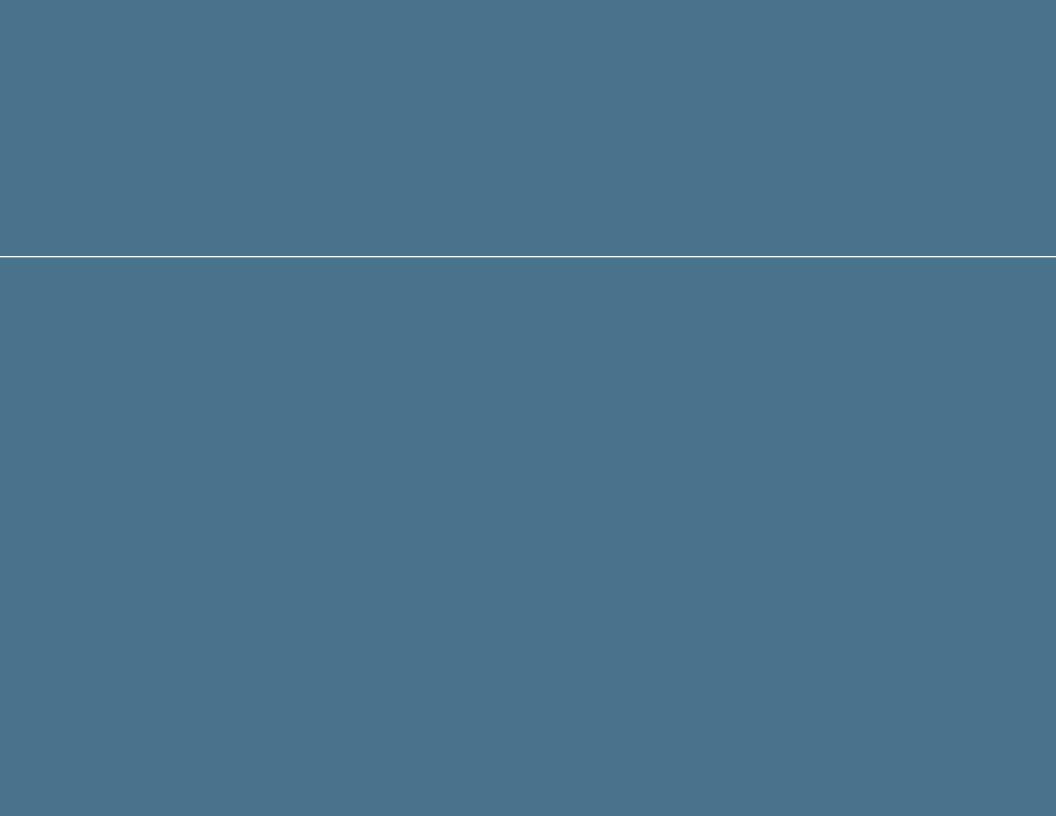
he exhibit focused on anti-Semitic postcards published from the late 1890's through after World War I, but moving closer to the Holocaust, it is important to show that such postcards continued to be published well after the Nazi takeover of Germany. This postcard, for example, has a commemorative cancelation dated November 8, 1937, the day when the" Der Ewige Jude" [The Eternal Jew] exhibit opened in the library of the German Museum in Munich. The exhibit, the largest pre-war anti-Semitic show produced by the Nazis, featured photographs pointing out the stereotypically "Jewish" features of political figures and film stars such as Leon Trotzky and Charlie Chaplin, who was not Jewish. The display also underlined supposed Jewish attempts to Bolshevize Germany. The picture is once again of an Eastern European Jew with the well-worn features: long-hooked nose, beard and side locks, black kaftan holding coins in one hand and a whip in the other. Under his arm is a map of Germany, as if he owns it, and on it an imprint of the Communist hammer and sickle. The supreme irony is that the capitalist Iew who seeks wealth also embraces Communism.

412,000 visitors saw the exhibit, over 5,000 per day. It then moved on to Vienna and Berlin. A catalogue was later published containing 265 photos, each with a derogatory caption asserting the degeneracy of the Jewish race. A film of the same title was also produced in 1940 by Fritz Hippler. The same picture of "Der Ewige Jude" appeared in the Paris metro during the German occupation of France.

ANTI-SEMITIC PICTURE POSTCARDS DID NOT BRING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST. BUT THIS MASS-PRODUCED POPULAR MEANS OF COMMUNICATION GRAPHICALLY HAMMERING ON THE MOST NEGATIVE AND HATE-FILLED STEREOTYPES OF JEWS CONTRIBUTED IN PERPETUATING AND FURTHER EXACERBATING ANTI-SEMITIC BIASES.

FRENCH, HUNGARIAN, POLISH, CZECH AND, PARTICULARLY, GERMAN POSTCARDS, WERE VICIOUSLY AND OPENLY ANTI-SEMITIC. NO STEREOTYPE OF JEWS WAS SPARED FROM BEING PICTURED: UGLY, BODILY MALFORMED, SMELLY, ANIMAL-LIKE [PIG, RAVEN, RAT], VERMIN AND LICE INFESTED, UNABLE TO PRONOUNCE ANY LANGUAGE PROPERLY, KILLER OF YOUNG GENTILE CHILDREN SO THAT THEIR BLOOD COULD BE USED IN THE BAKING OF THE PASSOVER UNLEAVENED BREAD, UNFIT TO BE PART OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY, UNFIT TO SERVE IN AN ARMY, MONEY GRABBING, AND EXPLOITER OF GENTILES.

THESE POSTCARDS WERE MAILED NOT BY ELITES BUT BY ALL KINDS OF PEOPLE. RICH AND NOT SO RICH, CITY DWELLERS AND SOLDIERS LIVING IN ARMY ENCAMPMENTS. IT IS PERPLEXING TO REALIZE HOW THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WHO MAILED THESE POSTCARDS CARRYING MESSAGES OF VICIOUS HATRED. DID SO WITHOUT MAKING ANY REFERENCE TO THE PICTURES. A PICTURE OF TWO EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWS BEING BARKED AT BY DOGS OR A PICTURE OF "ENLIGHTENED" IEWS BEING MADE TO LOOK LIKE PIGS WAS THE ACCEPTED VIEW OF MANY FRENCH AND GERMAN CITIZENS. NO DIFFERENCE WAS MADE BETWEEN MAILING A POSTCARD OF THE EIFFEL TOWER OR ONE OF A JEW WHO WAS MADE TO LOOK LIKE A LOUSE OR A RAT. THE NAZI ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA MACHINE DID NOT HAVE TO INVENT ANY OF THE HATEFUL PICTURES OF IEWS SEEN IN THIS EXHIBIT. THE WIDELY ACCEPTED NEGATIVE VIEW OF JEWS AS SHOWN IN THESE POSTCARDS WAS ONE MORE NAIL IN A EUROPEAN ZEITGEIST THAT MADE THE HOLOCAUST POSSIBLE.



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