Contents

List of plates
Acknowledgments
1. Introduction
   What is an anti-Semitic affair?
   Themes, interpretations, goals
2. The historical setting in Europe and America
   The rise of the Jews in the nineteenth century
   Modern anti-Semitism and modern mass politics
   The lower-middle class and anti-Semitic ideology – the 1880s
   Eastern Jews and western Jews
   The shift of the Fin-de-Siècle, 1890–1914
3. Earlier anti-Semitic affairs
   The Damascus Affair and the power of international Jewry
   The background to Tiszaeszlár: The Jews in Hungary
   The charge of ritual murder
4. France before the Dreyfus Affair
   The evolution of French Jewry in the nineteenth century
   The Third Republic and the Jews
   The rise of the Jews and the dilemmas of modernism
   The political crises and scandals of the 1880s
   Nascent political anti-Semitism: the Boulangists
   The Assumptionists
   Anti-Semitic ideology and movement: Toussenel, Barrès, Drumont
   A gathering storm of anti-Semitism?
Contents

5. The Dreyfus Affair, more than a trial 94
   Contrasting interpretations of the Affair 94
   The background to Dreyfu\'s arrest 95
   Reactions to the arrest of Dreyfus 103
   The trial 104
   The smoldering Dreyfus case 107
   The role of Georges Picquart 110
   The Affair erupts: Zola\'s \textit{J\'Accuse}\textsc{\textemdash} 113
   The triumph of the Dreyfusards 120
   A \textquoteleft\textquoteleft Dreyfusian revolution\textquoteleft\textquoteleft? 124

6. Beyond the Pale; Russia and the Jews, 1890\textendash 1914 129
   The Jewish Question in Russia 129
   The crisis of late nineteenth-century Russia 139
   Russian anti-Semitism and the counteroffensive of the Jews in Russia 147
   The paradoxes of modernization in Russia; the Kishinev pogrom 153
   Modern anti-Semitism in Russia 165
   Nicholas II and the power of international Jewry 167

7. Blood libel; the Beilis Affair 174
   Beilis \textquoteleft case\textquotesingle or Beilis \textquoteleft Affair\textquotesingle? 174
   Origins of the ritual murder charge in Kiev 177
   The goals of the prosecution and the government 179
   Reactions to Beilis\textquoteright trial 183
   The case for the prosecution 184
   The case for the defense 188
   The verdict and reactions to it 190

8. America, the \textquoteleft exception\textquoteright 194
   American exceptionalism 194
   Jews and non-Jews: the structures of the relationship 199
   The perceived kinship of Americans and Jews 204
   Racism and social conflict 209
   The shift at the turn of the century 212
   Potential areas of conflict; American anti-Semitic ideology 219
   The South and the Jews 223
   Jewish\textendash Gentile relations in Atlanta, Georgia 229
## Contents

9. The Leo Frank Affair  
   Images and interpretations of the Frank Affair  235  
   Leo Frank: respected businessman or vulnerable Jew?  237  
   The murder of Mary Phagan and the arrest of Leo Frank  240  
   The “set” of opinion against Frank: the popular press  246  
   The role of anti-Semitism in the trial  249  
   The real murderer: Conley or Frank?  254  
   The guilty verdict  257  
   The Frank case becomes an affair: the opposing forces  259  
   The role of Governor Slaton  268  
   The lynching  271  

Epilogue and conclusion  273  

**Bibliography**  283  

**Index**  293