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"Marrying Up":

Germans, Jews, Americans & "New Money" in Lubitsch's The Oyster Princess (1919)

[DRAFT—not to be cited without permission of the author]

In her classic post-WWII book on German cinema of the Weimar Republic, *The Haunted Screen*, Lotte Eisner writes that Ernst Lubitsch "began his career in the cinema with rather coarse farces," and then she ascribes to him "the nonchalant, rather cynical humour of the *Konfektion*, the Jewish lower middle-class engaged in the ready-made clothing trade...." In fact Lubitsch's origins in Berlin were in the *Konfektion*, where his Russian-born father ran a business that manufactured and sold women's clothing. After great success as a film director in Germany, Lubitsch went to Hollywood, and there he understood, according to Eisner, that he needed to "rid himself of a certain Central European vulgarity"; therefore he adopted "an elegant gracefulness in which there always remained a little of the vainglory of the *nouveau-riche*" (79).

Perhaps Eisner would not have considered *Die Austernprinzessin/The Oyster Princess* (1919) to be one of the "coarse farces" to which she referred. It was the first feature-length comedy he directed after World War I, at the very beginning of the Weimar Republic, and for a comedy, it had a huge budget (Prinzler 207; Jacobsohn; Lüthge). It was not set in the milieu of the *Konfektion*, as his earlier, "Jewish" comedies had been. It is also a film that thematizes—and parodies—the same assumptions about the

relationship between social class and taste that are the basis for Eisner's condescending discussion of Lubitsch's origins in the "Jewish lower-middle class" of Berlin. Eisner's condescending attitude toward the supposedly *nouveau riche* Lubitsch was not just class-based but also seems fairly typical of someone from a more assimilated German-Jewish background reacting to someone like Lubitsch, whose father was an *Ostjude*, an Eastern European Jew.

The "coarse farces" with which Lubitsch was associated were in fact called "milieu films," that is, films set in the Jewish milieu of *Konfektion*. These short comedies always featured a Jewish male protagonist with an aggressive drive for upward mobility that also involved "marrying up," that is, marrying a wife of higher social standing, often the boss's daughter. This occurred already in the first film in which Lubitsch had a lead role as an actor, *Der Stolz der Firma/The Pride of the Firm* (1914). Sometimes it meant marrying a wealthy *shikse*, a woman who was not Jewish, as in *Schuhpalast Pinkus/Shoe Salon Pinkus* (1916), the comedy that is the earliest surviving film directed by Lubitsch, in which he also starred.

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"Marrying up" is also the main theme of Lubitsch's *Oyster Princess*, in which the main character, Ossi—portrayed by the star female actor Ossi Oswalda—is a *nouveau-riche* American who wants an aristocratic husband. Therefore her father, Mr. Quaker, an American capitalist known as the "Oyster King," 1 sets out to "buy" her a prince.

¹ Hüser discusses the historical response of Germany to the oyster industry in the U.S. Most critics, however, focus on the oyster as a symbol of the female genitals. The film after all is titled *The Oyster Princess*; it is not named for the Oyster King. The film

"Marrying up" here refers only to social status, of course, because the Oyster King is already fabulously wealthy, and the prince he "buys" for his daughter, Prince Nucki, has no money at all, only his aristocratic pedigree—and one presumes, a European background. Compared to Lubitsch's earlier comedies, this one is different in that the person who "marries up" is a woman. Nonetheless I would concur with Thomas Brandlmeier's assertion that Ossi Oswalda's characters represent the female "alter-ego" of the aggressive (Jewish) male characters Lubitsch himself played in the earlier comedies ("Early German" 111).

The representation of American *nouveau-riche* excess is the main excuse for the film's spectacle, its most impressive visual effects. And while no one in *The Oyster Princess* except the matchmaker Seligsohn seems to be Jewish, the absurd, American excess of the Oyster King and his Princess can certainly be seen in relation to German stereotypes about Jewish "new money" (Weinstein 130), which would include extravagance, bad taste, and the drive to marry into "old" (aristocratic, Christian) money.

Thomas Elsaesser has written that Lubitsch already knew how to make an "American" film while he was still in Germany (216-17) *Oyster Princess* was his first try, according to Elsaesser, but it was *Madame Dubarry* (1919; American release title: *Passion*) that was his first truly "American" film (216). 2 The contemporary German critic B.E.

focuses on her sexuality—both her father's patriarchal desire to tame it by marrying her off, and her sexual desire, which is ultimately stronger than her desire to "marry up." 2 *Madame Dubarry* did indeed lead ultimately to Lubitsch getting an offer from Hollywood in 1922; Mary Pickford wanted Lubitsch to direct her in a film in which she could play a more adult role, and in December he sailed for America, arriving in

Lüthge criticized *Oyster Princess* for its supposedly misguided attempt to compete with the American cinema through its huge cast and excessive spectacle.3 But what is most "American" about Oyster Princess is not just its excess, but also its broad, slapstick comedy, its dynamic choreography and physicality, and its allusions to a multi-ethnic society (by referencing racial politics in America directly and the situation of the Jews in Germany indirectly). Such characteristics are included in the concept Miriam Hansen coined to describe American cinema's response to (and reflection of) modernity, the qualities that made it so dominant internationally: "vernacular modernism."

In any case, within a few years Lubitsch would end up in Hollywood, where many of the studios were run by Jews of Eastern European heritage who wanted the kind of "German" artistry" they saw in Lubitsch to bolster their attempts to reach a mainstream, middleclass Protestant audience as opposed to the working-class, immigrant, Jewish and Catholic urban audiences on which the success of the American cinema had been built. This complicated mix of class, ethnic, and national identities and concerns on both sides of the Atlantic is full of irony—for instance, that Lubitsch, himself of Eastern European heritage, would be hired to represent German artistry and through it conquer the American Protestant mainstream. This same complicated mix of identities and ironic contradictions is key to understanding *Oyster Princess* as well, I would assert.

Hollywood in early 1923. It is unlikely that Oyster Princess was picked up for distribution at all in the U.S., at least in the first few years after it was made. 3 How could one compete with Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916), after all? But comparing Lubitsch's comedy to Griffith's historical epic is comparing "apples to oranges." For a comedy, the scale of *Oyster Princess* is still impressive today, I would argue.

Besides class and ethnicity, gender and sexuality are also crucial to this romantic comedy, which parodies but also celebrates a fantasy of America with its emancipated women, its excessive consumerism, its bad taste, its fanaticism (and hypocrisy) about alcohol, and its relentless drive for upward mobility. To the extent it celebrates America, it is a utopian fantasy that is based on a critique of European hierarchies around class and taste.

Parodying and Celebrating "American" Excess

The Oyster Princess begins with a close-up of Quaker the Oyster King, who is speaking, and after the first cut, we see to whom he is speaking: four rows of female typists. These women seem to be transcribing what Quaker is dictating. Cutting back to a medium long shot, we can see that Quaker is surrounded by four Black servants in livery who hold his cigar, moving it to and from his mouth, and who hold his coffee, offering it to him at Quaker's command. Within the first few shots, then, there are already examples of absurd excess—Quaker dictates to a typing pool consisting of at least 14 women, and he is served by a group of four uniformed male servants devoted in this shot solely to serving his oral needs—the emphasis on infantile orality established from the very beginning of the film.4

The fact that these servants are meant to be African-American is also significant; they are in fact portrayed by actors who are of African heritage, not white Europeans in

4 Hüser emphasizes how the orality lends itself so easily to a Freudian interpretation.

blackface,5 something that was most likely made possible by Germany's colonial history in Africa, which had only just ended with its defeat in World War I. Having black servants must have corresponded to a German idea of how the rich in America lived, even if it is a model more typical of the American South than of someone whose surname—Quaker—seems to imply Northern origins. Why is the American millionaire named Quaker? Enno Patalas, in Robert Fischer's documentary *Ernst Lubitsch in Berlin* (2006), asserts that the reference to the Quakers here is a reference to the aid sent by American Quakers to Germany to alleviate hunger after WWI. It has been suggested that the reference may be more specific—to Herbert Hoover, a man of Quaker faith who also directed aid efforts to alleviate hunger in post-WWI Europe, including Germany.6

In any case, Lubitsch is not interested in any "accurate" portrayal of America but rather an absurd parody of America—and yet at the same time, I would assert, the film also celebrates a fantasy of America as a place in which European class barriers can be transcended.

The dictation scene is then interrupted by another servant who reports to Quaker that his daughter is having a tantrum. There is a cut to a drawing room in which Ossi, the Oyster Princess, is angrily smashing vases and even tossing heavy porcelain busts to the floor. Another cut gives us our first hint of the vast spaces in the Oyster mansion as we see Quaker trotting down a stairway into a large hall, with a platoon of servants trotting in

5 In *Madame Dubarry*, Lubitsch cast one of his favorite actors, Viktor Janson, as Dubarry's African servant Zamor; Janson plays that role in blackface. In *Oyster Princess*, of course, Janson plays the role of Mr. Quaker, the Oyster King. 6 Anton Kaes suggested this to me in conversation at a conference in 2010. Hüser discusses what "Quaker" implies in German—someone who makes nonsensical noises.

formation behind him. Arriving finally at the drawing room that Ossi is destroying, Quaker peers into the room, only to have Ossi throw newspapers at him; when he asks why she does this, she responds that all the vases are already broken. Ossi is upset, Quaker learns, because a girlfriend of hers, the daughter of the Shoe Polish King, is marrying a count. Quaker responds that he is not impressed, and he then tells her that he will buy her a prince. Ossi then smashes a chair onto a desk, and then jumps onto the desk herself, proclaiming gleefully that she is so happy that she could destroy the whole house.

Ossi represents yet another type of excess, an excessively spoiled "American Girl" who is vibrant, boisterous, and rebellious. Not just a parody of the emancipated American "New Woman," she is also the disruptive force that the narrative needs to try to tame and control, which is of course typical for the genre of the romantic comedy. But this is no ordinary romantic comedy; how well the excesses both of its visual spectacle and its irrepressible female protagonist can be tamed by the generic narrative structure is debatable at best.7

The Oyster King contacts Seligsohn the matchmaker, who finds on his wall of photographs the image of a suitable prince, Prince Nucki.8 Nucki, according to the files,

⁷ Brandlmeier writes that the character Oswalda portrays here is a stock character in German comedy, that of the "anarchistic small child" ("des anarchistischen Kleinkinds"). "Kaisers Kientopp," 67-68.

⁸ Hüser interprets the word "Nucki" in connection to a pacifier for an infant—orality once again.

lives on 21st Avenue on the 47th floor of what must be a New York skyscraper.9 How and why the penniless European aristocrat Nucki and his valet Josef have ended up in New York we do not know. After supposedly climbing 47 flights of stairs, Seligsohn enters the apartment and sees Nucki seated on a "throne"—a chair set upon a box—with Josef holding a broom as though it were a ceremonial scepter. Seligsohn's reaction is to utter the Yiddish "Meshuga!"—to proclaim them crazy. But they are not crazy, they are merely very poor and at the same time torn in two directions—to try somehow to keep up the aristocratic façade but also to hide from creditors who would take from Nucki the last vestiges of his noble heritage—his rings, his watch, his tuxedo.

When Seligsohn tells Nucki that the nouveau-riche princess who is interested in marrying him is brunette, the aristocratic Nucki replies that he likes blondes; the reference to hair color indicates another way in which the "American" Ossi might be read as Jewish.10 Nonetheless, convinced by Seligsohn that the dark-haired daughter of the Oyster King is wealthy enough to be worth at least a look, Nucki sends Josef to the Quaker mansion. Josef arrives at the mansion and is asked for his card by an army of servants; wearing Nucki's tuxedo jacket, Josef finds Prince Nucki's card in a pocket and hands it over to them. Believing the true prince to have come calling, Ossi retires to her chambers to prepare to meet him.

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⁹ A close-up shows a file card on Prince Nucki that is in German; it states that the address is "27. Rue, 47. Stock." In one of the programs for the film, the word used is "Avenue" (*U.T.-Woche* Nr. 25, 1).

¹⁰ According to Loewy, Ossi Oswalda actually was Jewish (20, n.7). Regardless of her actual identity, however, the discussion of hair color here along with the depiction of new money in general justify reading her "American" character as potentially Jewish.

While Ossi is in the midst of her preparations, and while her father takes a nap, Josef is left to wait in a room where he becomes so bored he begins tracing an ornamental pattern on the parquette floor. The film continually cuts between these three scenes—the Oyster King snoring, Ossi with her servants, and Josef as he ever more desperately tries to pass the time.11

How does Ossi prepare to meet the supposed prince? In narrative terms she does so by taking a bath and getting a massage, but this is merely an excuse for some spectacular visual excess, teasing the audience with a shot of Ossi disrobing but covered strategically by a bath towel held up by her many chambermaids. The maids massage, powder, and perfume her in the manner of a Taylorist assembly line whose product is Ossi. As Sabine Hake noted in her ground-breaking analysis of this film (87), it is an earlier version of the assembly line, in which the workers carry the product from station to station; in this case, the maids carry Ossi from the tub to the massage table, covered in a towel. But this is not merely a surreal parody of American excess and American production methods, it is an amusing and sensual spectacle as dozens of hands massage the nude back of the Oyster Princess (cf. Weinstein 129). In her discussion of "vernacular modernism," Hansen writes how Kracauer in 1926 noted within American slapstick films "a disjuncture within Fordist mass culture," "an anarchic supplement generated on the same principles," in

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¹¹ In California, in the last year of his life (1947), Lubitsch commented on how much he liked the scene with Josef tracing the pattern on the floor (107). Hüser makes it the center of his discussion of *Oyster Princess*.

which the discipline of a mechanized modern culture is subverted (70). This is not only what Lubitsch seems to be doing here; he also seems to be thematizing it overtly.12

Sabine Hake also observed that although Ossi is the "product" of this parody of mass production, she becomes immediately the subject of an active gaze as soon as she meets Josef, who she thinks is the Prince. She looks him over, declares that he looks "Blöd," stupid, but decides that, because he is a prince, it doesn't matter. They make a quick trip to a clergyman who marries them from his window. Then they return home to the Oyster mansion, where soon there is a wedding banquet that provides for the most memorable scenes of visual spectacle in the whole film, far in excess of what the narrative might dictate.

The wedding banquet was famous before the film even premiered, as journalists in Berlin were invited to watch its filming at the Union studios in Tempelhof (Jacobsohn). Masses of (real) waiters (300, according to Lüthge) were used to serve course after course to the long table full of guests, again according to the principle of a surreal Taylorism, as each line of "workers" brings yet another dish or fills one set of glasses with wine and then another set with champagne. 13 Here as in the bath and massage scene, however, the military or industrial precision of the masses of servants is mobilized to provide sensual

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¹² Kracauer did not see this in Lubitsch's comedies, but then again, he didn't spend much time commenting on the comedies in his classic post-WWII book on Weimar cinema, *From Caligari to Hitler*.

¹³ Cf. Elsaesser, who sees here an allusion to trench warfare (209); Again, Lüthge in 1919 saw it as a futile attempt to compete with Hollywood excess, citing the far greater number of extras in Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916).

pleasure—in the banquet scene there is once again an obvious emphasis on orality, on the pleasure of eating and drinking.

After the dinner there is another spectacular moment of excess, this one more anarchic in nature, when the music of a jazz orchestra leads to the outbreak of a "Foxtrot epidemic," an American dance craze. The sensual physicality of this outbreak is embodied in the orchestra's conductor (played by a young Curt Bois), who wiggles his behind in front of the camera as he faces in the other direction to conduct the orchestra, while the masses of guests fill the huge ballroom in choreographed frenzy.

This carnivalesque moment of physical abandon crosses all social boundaries—the servants in the kitchen are shown doing the "foxtrot" just as the wealthy guests in the ballroom are; the crossing of class boundaries is epitomized best by Ossi and a butler, with whom she dances in wild abandon. To emphasize the mingling of classes, we then see a split frame showing three sets of dancing feet: those of the wealthy guests, those of the servants, and those of Ossi and the butler. Meanwhile Ossi's husband (Josef, who she thinks is a prince), never gets up from the banquet table, so gluttonously does he devote himself to the first decent meal he has had in ages.

It is true that all this physical frenzy is controlled by the movements of the dance and the mass choreography of the scenes that we watch, that there is an excess of visual regimentation that controls and orders the excessive outburst of dancing. This is as much Kracauer's mass ornament, as Valerie Weinstein has noted (129), as it is reminiscent of

Bakthin's carnival. But both kinds of excess, ornamental and carnivalesque, in tension with each other as they may be, have exploded the bounds of the generic romantic comedy narrative, which is completely overwhelmed by the visual spectacle.

Meanwhile Prince Nucki has gone out on a drinking spree with his elegant friends, who loan him money. Hopelessly drunk the next morning, Nucki is taken to the headquarters of the League Against Alcoholism (the English intertitles call it the League Against Dipsomania), a temperance organization run by the daughters of millionaires, who, led by Ossi, drink wine in a toast to their work together. Bored by the ordinary, older, decrepit alcoholics who need treatment, the young women get excited at the sight of Prince Nucki—once again it is a male who is the object of the gaze here, and this time it is a desiring gaze. All of the women want a chance to "treat" Nucki, and so Ossi suggests a boxing match, a truly "American" method of deciding which young woman gets to have this privilege. 14 A long line of the women face off and box each other—and right in between each pair of boxing women stumbles the drunken Nucki, knocked about by the punches the women intend for each other, a moment of anarchic slapstick in the midst of another bit of ornamental choreography.

It is of course Ossi who wins, and she takes Nucki home for "private treatment." Once in her bedroom Nucki notices her wedding ring and becomes sad, thinking that he too is destined to marry someone he doesn't love. Both of them start crying and then console each other with kisses. Then Josef enters and, laughing hysterically, informs the two sad lovers that they are actually married to each other, because Josef had married Ossi in

¹⁴ This is a joke both about American boxing and about the emancipated, athletic American "girl."

Nucki's name. Alone in the bedroom, they snuggle and turn out the light; outside, peering into the keyhole at them is Quaker the Oyster King, who winks, grinning and leering at the audience. Finally he is impressed with something, and that is of course the consummation of Ossi's relationship with Nucki.

The Politics of Romance: Sex, Gender, and Class

Thus the comedy ends in the way typical for a romance, with the consummation of a heterosexual relationship, blessed by holy matrimony (cf. Weinstein 131). The rebellious young American girl has been domesticated by love and marriage, one might conclude. Yet of course it's hard to take this ending any more seriously than the rest of the film. For one thing, let us not forget how ridiculously the sacrament of "holy matrimony" has been represented: Ossi knocks on a window, a reverend opens it, reads from a prayer-book, makes the sign of the cross over the clasped hands of Ossi and the presumed Prince, and then Ossi hands him some money. And of course she has married an impostor, Josef.

The film shows just as little respect for all the social conventions it depicts, and so why should it be any different for generic conventions like the happy ending of the romantic comedy? In the same way that the film's spectacle and humor exceeds in a disruptive fashion the dictates of the generic narrative, so too does Lubitsch undermine the generically mandated romantic closure. In the first place, it is Ossi's desire that triumphs; Nucki plays the passive object of desire throughout the film—he is never the active one,

except perhaps at the very last moment, when it is his hand that reaches up to turn out the light in the bedroom. It is Ossi's social ambition to "marry up" that motivates the plot, but it is her sexual desire that leads her to fight the other women in the temperance league to possess Nucki and to bring him home—at a point when she believes she is married to someone else. While her sexual desire for him, and his for her, is at the very last moment legitimated by the revelation that they are already married to each other, it is hard not to interpret this as a playfully cynical concession to propriety and the demands of the genre. Or perhaps it is a utopian moment when reciprocal love and desire triumph over the aggressive drive for upward mobility—and assimilation (Ashkenazi).

Throughout the film there is a tension between excessively stylized visual spectacle and over-the-top anarchic, slapstick physical energy, between mass choreography and a delight in bodily pleasures like eating and dancing. Both types of excess—and the tension between them—distances us and keeps us from taking the narrative very seriously in any sort of a realist fashion. The film's absurdist, farcical excess also creates distance and irony in a self-reflexive fashion, and that too makes it difficult to take the film's closure too seriously.

Therefore I would not read the ending as a conservative affirmation of the status quo. The status quo of this society is in any case depicted as absurd throughout the film, for the film shows us a society in which there is a hierarchy so powerful that it fosters ridiculous excess on the part of "new money," including an absurdly aggressive drive to achieve acceptance—so much so that aristocratic spouses must be purchased. While the

society depicted is supposed to be America, it is of course a very European social hierarchy that is being depicted. The film is no simple parody of America but just as much, if not more, a parody of a European projection about America as the place where tasteless new money reigns supreme. In Lubitsch's film America indeed could be seen instead to represent a utopian site where the absurdities of social class are finally undone by the triumph of reciprocal love and desire. And while this has little to do with the reality of America then (or now), it does reveal a hope that somewhere the need to compensate for or hide one's class—and ethnic—origins will be overcome.

But perhaps even this reading places too much emphasis on the end of the film. I must return to the central paradox of the film—that it celebrates at the same time it critiques the excess of abundance and sensuality in the film. There is a critique of excessive consumerism but also a celebration of a pre-Oedipal, narcissistic desire for pleasure and an embrace of the object world. In the end of course it is Ossi's desire that is triumphant, the desire of the spoiled princess, the demanding New (American) Woman (cf. McCabe). Ossi is the social outsider who wants it all and gets it—even her Prince.

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