Towards Normality?

Edited by
RAINER LIEDTKE and
DAVID RECHTER

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Acculturation and Modern German Jewry

edited by

Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter

Mohr Siebeck

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Obituary

PROFESSOR WERNER EUGEN MOSSE, 1918-2001

The death of Werner Mosse on 30 April 2001 has further thinned the ranks of those Central Europeans who came to Britain as adolescents or as young men and women in the 1930s and then gained distinction as professional historians. Born on 5 February 1918 in Charlottenburg, then a separate suburb of Berlin, Mosse came from that cultured German-Jewish bourgeoisie that rose to prosperity in the course of the nineteenth century and whose scions became eminent in the arts, the natural sciences and the humanities. His grandfather was Rudolf Mosse, the leading newspaper proprietor of Imperial Germany, whose publications included the influential Liberal *Berliner Tageblatt*. His father settled on an estate in the village of Standenhagen outside Berlin, where Mosse attended the village school, before moving to the *gymnasium* at nearby Trebbin. The rise of the Nazi Party made life increasingly difficult for the Mosse family in this rural area; following the arrest and death of his father in 1933, Mosse left for Britain with his mother and siblings. He was fortunate in being able to continue his education at St. Paul's School and went to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1936 as an Open Scholar to read for the Historical Tripos, gaining Firsts in both parts.

The war interrupted his further studies. Internment as an "enemy alien" and deportation to Canada followed, but he came back to the United Kingdom in 1941 to join the British Army, initially in the Pioneer Corps, rising to the rank of Captain. With the end of the war he returned to Corpus, this time as a Research Fellow. Having learnt Russian – one of the five languages he commanded – he wrote his Ph.D. under the supervision of Sir Herbert Butterfield on the Treaty of Paris of 1856. He was now established as a diplomatic historian of the nineteenth century and as a specialist on Russia. The principal outcome of his researches, *The Rise and Fall of the Crimean System* (1963), is a model of its kind and retains its authoritative status. His expertise led first to a lectureship at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London in 1948 and in 1952 to a senior lectureship at Glasgow. Although his interests turned in-

creasingly to Germany in the 1960s, he retained his commitment to Russian history. He revised his *Alexander II and the Modernisation of Russia* (1958), originally in the Teach Yourself History series, in 1992, and at his death left a full-length manuscript, 'The Dormant Volcano: Russia on the Eve of the Revolutionary Crisis, 1898-1901'.

In 1964 he was appointed to the chair of European History at the new University of East Anglia, with a broader and more innovative teaching remit than at Glasgow. His colleagues included such rising stars as Volker Berghahn and Richard Evans and it was at this time that his research priorities changed. Thanks to an increasingly close association with the London Leo Baeck Institute, whose chairman he became in 1978, he now concentrated on German-Jewish history. He deserves much of the credit for rescuing that subject from the backwater it had occupied until then and for steering it into the historiographical mainstream. He pursued this aim with energy and imagination. He insisted that the enterprise must be multidisciplinary, incorporating social and economic history and the history of ideas. Even more crucially he insisted that the history of the Jews of Germany should be written as an integral part of the history of modern Germany and modern Europe. This approach is evident in his two-volume monograph on the stratum with which he had the closest family links, *Jews in the German Economy: The German-Jewish Economic Elite* (1987) and *The German-Jewish Economic Elite 1820-1935: A Socio-Cultural Profile* (1989), but above all in the symposium volumes of which he was principal editor: *Entscheidungsjahr 1932: Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik* (1965), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution 1916-1923* (1971) and *Juden im wilhelminischen Deutschland 1980-1914* (1976). These books both set a new agenda and established standards that have not been rivalled. They remain indispensable to this day. In addition to these volumes he was also the inspiration behind numerous conferences, at first in Britain and then in Germany and Italy, with an increasing comparative emphasis, which resulted in further publications. *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in Great Britain* (1991) and *Two Nations: British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective* (1999) bear testimony to his innovative influence. A conference on the varieties of assimilation, which led to the present volume, was held in Cambridge in September 2001, and was a posthumous tribute to his initiatives.

It was fortunate for Mosse's project that a generation of mainly younger German historians were independently discovering the Jewish dimension of their country's past and he soon forged close links with them. The

outcome of these contacts was the creation of a German working centre of the Leo Baeck Institute, the *Wissenschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Leo Baeck Instituts in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, for many years under the direction of Professor Reinhard Rürup, which now plays a major role in research and publication on German Jewish topics. This well-established and fruitful symbiosis of German and British-based scholarship in this field owes much to Mosse's determination.

Mosse was in many ways a paradoxical man, in both character and outlook. He remained unmarried and was probably a rather solitary figure, yet the many projects that he initiated required a high degree of teamwork. His research ideas bubbled over with originality, but his teaching methods remained stubbornly traditional. He was evidently marked by his early social isolation in rural Brandenburg, the brutal fate of his father and his mixed experiences during the war. He struck many as the archetypal Central European intellectual, complete with accent, yet evidently found more serenity in his retirement in the Cotswolds than in some of his academic appointments. He could be impatient and was capable of blowing more than one fuse, but those who knew him well could tease out a normally well-hidden charm and a capacity for black humour. Among his varied achievements his impact on the volume and direction of modern German Jewish history will be his lasting monument.

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RAINER LIEDTKE – DAVID RECHTER

Introduction: German Jewry and the Search for Normality

The history of the Jewish diaspora has often been cast in terms of exclusion and otherness. Defined by difference from their "host" society, Jews have commonly been regarded as a people apart. Until the mid-eighteenth century, Jews in western and central Europe indeed lived in largely self-contained and autonomous communities, a distinct group in a hierarchical society of estates. At best tolerated, at worst persecuted, the framework and fabric of their daily lives socially and physically separated them from their surroundings. All this began to change with the advent of the Enlightenment and the prospect of emancipation towards the end of the eighteenth century. The social, cultural, political and economic processes set in motion at this point were as enduring and profound in their impact on Jewish society as they were more broadly. The very definition of Jews and their status in modern European society became problematic, as the Jewish Question – an issue for Jews and others – assumed a complexity and intensity that persisted for a century and a half. In historiographical terms, these processes have been compressed into a manageable duo, emancipation and assimilation, terms that cover a multitude of sins. These rather elastic concepts have served historians well and this is nowhere better illustrated than in the voluminous historiography of German-speaking Jewry.

For the past half-century the Leo Baeck Institute, with branches in Jerusalem, London and New York, has been the most important single site of this scholarly enterprise, promoting and disseminating research in an uninterrupted sequence of conferences and publications. The present volume is the latest in a distinguished series, published under the auspices of the Institute's London branch, that addresses the issues of emancipation and assimilation (the latter term has in recent years given way to the rather more accommodating and flexible term "acculturation"). It presents the work of an international group of scholars, members for the most part

of a newer cohort, who approach these venerable topics from a variety of innovative perspectives.

The thread running through the diverse contributions, as indicated by the volume's title, is that of normality, clearly a close relation of emancipation and acculturation. Throughout the period from the Enlightenment to the 1930s, it can be argued that German-speaking Jews endeavoured to be like those around them, to become – in a (loaded) word – normal. The term is not generally employed by historians of European Jewry, and its use here does not imply anything so grand as an adjustment of the current theoretical framework of Jewish transformation and modernisation. The search for the normal, it is hoped, might provide an interesting perspective from which to examine the diverse modes of German Jewish acculturation and integration, or lack thereof. Underpinning this perspective is the recognition that the protracted struggle for Jewish civic and legal equality in the German lands indelibly marked both Jewish society and its relationships to German society. If by 1871 Jews had achieved formal emancipation, it is nonetheless true that they remained a recognisable group, whether by choice or circumstance. The notion that German Jewry formed an identifiable minority sub-culture by the middle of the nineteenth century – distinctive by dint of its demography and middle-class socio-economic status – has become firmly embedded in the thinking of most historians working in this field, and this can be said, too, of German-speaking Jewry in the Habsburg Empire. The existence of a subculture, by implication, raises questions about normative status and normality, about the relationships of the minority group to the larger society, and it is these questions that the contributions to this volume seek to investigate. The very form of the volume's title indicates that normality was a moving target and could in no way be taken for granted. To give credit where it is due, it should be said that the idea was the brainchild of the late Werner Mosse, who suggested that the questions of what constituted normality for German-speaking Jewry, whose normality it might be, how it was to be achieved, its contested nature and definitions, could serve as the basis for a conference, which was duly organised by the Leo Baeck Institute and held at Clare College, Cambridge in September 2001.

What, then, makes normality a worthwhile point of departure? First, by definition it requires comparison and context, mandating a view of Jewish history – the history of a minority – as part and parcel of general history. In doing so, it precludes the oft-lamented introspective focus of some Jewish historiography which tends to neglect developments outside Jewish society. Second, it transpires from a discussion of the Jewish search

for normality (or the search for Jewish normality) that at no point was it possible to determine a precise target. Rather, constant accommodation and adaptation was required to conform to the changing mores of society. To state the obvious, normality was a chimera, an intricate web of shifting conditions and conventions that comprised what contemporaries regarded at any given time as acceptable, desirable or normal. There was, we might say, no "there" there. Third, inquiring about Jewish normality brings to light its manifold versions and reveals the enormous diversity of German Jewish life. It underscores that Jews not only attempted to live up to the models and standards of the surrounding society, but also created their own versions of these, appropriately adapted to their needs and desires. Moreover, what clearly emerges is that we cannot speak easily of a single German Jewry, or German-speaking Jewry, but rather should conceive of an overlapping multitude of German-speaking Jewries: not one community, but many. Taken together, the contributions to this volume vividly demonstrate the many and varied paths that German-speaking Jews chose in their pursuit of normality. As a collection of case studies, they furnish a wealth of information about individuals, issues and communities, from which we learn a great deal about the general conditions of post-Enlightenment German Jewish life and about the interactions between the Jewish minority and the society it helped build.

In his introductory historiographical reflections, MICHAEL A. MEYER takes up the themes of assimilation and normality, arguing in an almost revisionist mode that the former offers greater analytical scope than the currently more favoured term acculturation. Normality, he cautions, is an inherently problematic notion when thinking about history, given that the norms of any society are in flux. German-speaking Jewry was overassimilated, almost hypernormal, and thus remained abnormal. Its strenuous efforts to achieve normality – in physical make-up, dress and appearance, demography, occupation, social life, education, culture and religion – marked it out as different. For Meyer, the irony is that the very process of striving to be the same created significant difference. The paradox and irony that Meyer finds inherent in the German Jewish situation finds expression in a number of other contributions.

It is often asserted, as CHRISTHARD HOFFMANN points out, that an integral part of the redefinition of Jewish identity in modern Europe was the selective reinterpretation of the Jewish past, yet few studies discuss in detail the relationship of acculturation to what he terms Jewish historical culture. Hoffmann lays out the instrumentalisation of history in the ac-

culturation process by examining the development of Jewish historical consciousness and the creation of a "modern Jewish history culture" that helped to reconcile Jewishness and modernity, enabling Jews to reconceptualise their collective sense of self as appropriately modern. Historical writing and historical perception were key elements in this, and by comparing public memorialising of the Mendelssohn jubilees in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Hoffman illustrates the ways in which German Jewish historians interpreted the modern period and how these interpretations reflected Jewish efforts to acculturate and normalise. Jews were "cultural immigrants" and, like other marginalised groups, needed to construct their history as part of their creation of a collective identity in a modern society (yet another instance of the invention of tradition). This particular identity was bourgeois and modern, and at the heart of this conception of history was what Hoffmann calls the paradigm of emancipation and acculturation. Neither Jewish nationalists nor the Orthodox shared this decidedly liberal view of history and modernity; the ensuing differentiation and fragmentation of Jewish collective memory was itself a not uncommon phenomenon and might therefore be construed for our purposes as an entirely "normal" development.

For JOHANNES HEIL, too, history and historiography are instructive about the transformations experienced by German Jews in the modern period. Like Christhard Hoffmann, Heil focuses on the instrumentalisation of history, manifested in this case by interpretations of "Jew-hatred and persecution", which he describes as the "most weighty topic in Jewish history". Examining its treatment by major historians such as Leopold Zunz, Isaac Marcus Jost and Heinrich Graetz (among others), Heil demonstrates that the perception and interpretation of history were important in the self-image of German Jews as they moved towards normality. What Hoffmann calls a history culture offered, says Heil, "a resumé of the past [and] guidelines for modelling the future". In this context, both Hoffmann and Heil make note of the "presentism" always evident in the writing of history, the manner in which "Jewish historians struggled with the perception of their own history in relation to general history and contemporary socio-political issues". The revolutions of 1848 and the rise of antisemitism were critical in effecting a paradigm shift in Jewish historiographical narratives, with persecution becoming increasingly central. In this way, the history of the Jewish minority marched out of step with the dominant national historiographical narrative, employing different markers and milestones. A degree of difference was thereby embedded in the narrative and structure of Jewish history writing. On the one hand,

Jewish historical scholarship aimed to portray and preserve an authentic Judaism and Jewish tradition; on the other, it was concerned with noting the Jewish contribution to European civilisation. As Heil comments, "the subject matter was Jewish, the purpose was emancipatory". The topic of persecution, unavoidable and ever-present, proved to be a serious impediment to the forging of a normal Jewish past and present.

Historians and historiography also figure prominently in CHRISTIAN WIESE's discussion of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Science of Judaism). Wiese applies post-colonial theory to the Jewish "intellectual revolt" against the prevailing Protestant historiographical construction of Judaism's past and present. In contrast to the common critique (most succinctly expressed by Gershom Scholem) that paints the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* project as one of apologetic submission, he argues that its scholars were moved by a conscious counter-assimilatory impulse in conceiving of Christianity as part of Jewish history. This was an "anti-colonial" thrust, demanding the recognition of Judaism as an equal, if not superior, cultural force – in terms of religious originality and ethical weight – to the Western Christian tradition. At work here was a determined effort to undermine and contest the "anti-pluralist hegemony of Protestant culture in Prussian-dominated Wilhelmine Germany". This effort can be viewed, Wiese comments, as a "forceful attempt" to achieve normality, which was understood as the full acceptance and acknowledgement of Judaism as an authentic and viable force in modern German society. Furthermore, Wiese sees the Protestant approach to Judaism and Jewish integration in Germany in the context of Edward Said's colonial discourse analysis, in that a subjugated Jewish minority was cast as the "other" by a hegemonic Protestantism. German Jewry, in this reading, found itself in a colonial situation, its tradition and identity consistently marginalised. The intellectuals of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* actively resisted this by proclaiming the enduring value of Jewish historiography, literature and philosophy. Wiese hammers another nail in the coffin of the once much vaunted German-Jewish symbiosis by stressing that these Jewish scholars refused to be "normal" in the sense demanded by the bulk of the non-Jewish intelligentsia, i.e., that Jews integrate by relinquishing their distinctive identity. Their resistance, however, while clearly a significant phenomenon, was nevertheless a "cry in the void", a voice in the wilderness that evoked only an inadequate response from their German counterparts.

If the past proved difficult to tame, the present offered no easy answers either. Creating a normal Jewish present was a primary concern for Re-

form Judaism, as DEBORAH HERTZ shows in her discussion of the formative period of the Reform movement in Berlin in the early nineteenth century. Probing the relationship between Reform and conversion, Hertz poses a counterfactual question: had Reform services not been closed down in Berlin, would fewer Jews have chosen to convert? Reform offered a new and modern way to be Jewish, redefining the nature and praxis of Jewish religion and perforce of Jewish identity. Working with new statistical evidence, Hertz argues that Reform was a strategy for Jewish survival that successfully prevented a significant number of conversions, acting as a safety valve for discontent. Far from being a prelude to conversion, it was an alternative. While the attractions of Protestantism – Germany's dominant religion – were considerable to the Reformers, they firmly believed that their renewal movement was "the correct path to the Jewish future".

The Reform movement and its stress on the modern also figures in SIMONE LÄSSIG's examination of the relationship between the social and economic ascent of German Jewry and the "invention" of a modern Jewry. Using Max Weber's sociology of religion and Pierre Bourdieu's ideas about cultural capital to trace the socio-economic influence of the cultural codes of religion, Lässig traces the interaction between Jewish modernity, religious reform and cultural embourgoisement. To what extent, she asks, was the embourgeoisement of German Jewry shaped and informed by the transformation of German Judaism? The aestheticisation of ritual, the redefinition of gender roles, the separation of religious and secular spheres, and the use of German sermons all serve as examples of the process of transformation. Lässig sees the gradual emergence of a consensus among the various streams of German Jewry regarding the importance of embourgeoisement, notwithstanding continuing theological differences. Jewishness, Judaism and *Bürgerlichkeit* were knitted together into a seamless web, as embourgeoisement and modernity came to be perceived as synonymous with normality.

Two contributions highlight both the importance of gender as an analytical category and the startling variety of what constituted normality in German Jewish society. Normality, it unsurprisingly transpires, is a gendered concept. Many Jewish men in Imperial Germany, writes GREGORY CAPLAN, strove to be men of honour. In pursuit of this goal, they went to great lengths to fashion an identity that conformed to the prevailing ideal of militaristic masculinity. To this end, Jewish activists and organisations proclaimed loudly and insistently that Jews must fulfil their patriotic duty by fighting and, if necessary, dying for their country. Moreover, they at-

tempted to persuade Jewish men to take up military service, not least to help combat the popular image of the physically infirm and degenerate Jewish man. Despite the substantial influence that military values and symbols exerted upon German Jewish men, Caplan's work in fact suggests that middle-class Jewish men in Wilhelmine Germany were rather less militaristic than their non-Jewish counterparts. Perhaps, he proposes, the Jewish adoption of German culture in this period was rather less wholesale than is commonly assumed. By contrast, the First World War and the Weimar years saw a marked increase in what Caplan calls the "currency of militarism among German Jews". The importance of the Great War as a crucible of identity for German Jewry is a recurring theme in the volume.

Notions of honour and masculinity played an important role also in Jewish student duelling fraternities. For many university students, joining a duelling fraternity was an entirely normal, and indeed vital, component of their student days. Universities, as LISA SWARTOUT points out, helped facilitate the rapid socio-economic rise of Germany Jewry in the *Kaiserreich*. As a key site for the forging of a German national culture, they provided Jews with an opportunity to imagine themselves partners in this enterprise. But universities were also incubators of antisemitism, which provoked a committed and active Jewish response. The end result was an uneasy and flammable amalgam of German nationalism, patriotism, antisemitism and Jewish activism, a climate of both opportunity and exclusion. Concentrating on the years from the end of the nineteenth century until the First World War, Swartout explores the world of duelling fraternities, in which Jewish students attempted to embrace particular versions of both German and Jewish identities. Excluded from general fraternities, Jews formed their own parallel network, paradoxically cementing the very separation they were trying to overcome. In these Jewish fraternities, courage, honour and masculinity were paramount values, with the Jewish content mostly a matter of heritage and culture rather than religion, which was marginalised almost to vanishing point. To be normal in this context meant to be a fervent German patriot. In attempting to combine this with an equally fervent Jewish patriotism, the Jewish students found themselves caught between segregation and integration, between difference and normality.

Fervent patriotism was part and parcel of the Jewish response to the First World War, which is often viewed as a major watershed in Jewish - non-Jewish relations in the German-speaking lands, a litmus test for the success of a century of Jewish acculturation. In his contribution, ULRICH

SIEG questions received wisdom concerning German Jews' wholehearted welcome of the war as an opportunity conclusively to prove their patriotism by spilling blood for their country, a final proof, as it were, of full integration into German society. He argues that German Jews were neither more nor less inclined than non-Jews to die for their fatherland and that Jews, like other Germans, held ambivalent views about the war. Sieg believes that German Jews were in this regard quite normal, in contrast to the many historians who have portrayed them as super-patriots, and therefore "out of sync" with the general consensus, a portrayal he sees as tendentious and teleological. Using material drawn from diaries and letters of the Jewish intellectual élite, he sets out to show "the multidimensional and fragile character of Jewish war experiences" and paints a different picture of German Jewish responses to the war, describing a well-integrated community acting in a predictable fashion.

The First World War, and in particular the marked ethnicisation and nationalisation of Jewish society, is similarly at the centre of ELISABETH ALBANIS's biographical study of the author Moritz Goldstein, a case study in dissimilation and assimilation that further attests to the fluid parameters of what constituted German Jewish normality. A literary intellectual caught between two self-defined poles of identity – German and Jewish – Goldstein, like Sieg's intellectuals, was profoundly affected by the war. He is best known for his controversial essay of 1912, "German Jewish Parnassus", in which he called on Jews to abandon their overly prominent role in German literary culture. If prior to the war Goldstein aspired only to the status of a German writer, the antisemitism of the war years put paid to this ambition and he turned for a time to a form of diaspora nationalism, a not uncommon response during those years. But he was suspicious of the cult of *Ostjudentum*, which he believed devalued western Jewry's (his) experience and reality, and he fought the idea that to be a normal, authentic Jew meant to be an eastern European Jew. Normality, we find once more, is contextual. Goldstein wanted passionately to be recognised and accepted both as a German writer and as a Jew. Either or both, he felt, ought to be normal.

The customary comparative reference point for Jewish normality in the German context is the dominant social force of Protestantism. Comparison with Catholics, another minority group in Germany society (albeit of a rather different sort), is therefore all the more welcome and is in fact necessary to assess the success or failure of Jewish acculturation. KEITH PICKUS'S comparison of Jewish and Catholic educational strategies in nineteenth-century Hesse-Darmstadt, focusing on primary schools, finds

that Jews and Catholics attempted to normalise and acculturate in divergent ways. Both Catholics and Jews "were acutely aware of the intimate connection between education and the perpetuation of their respective religious traditions". Catholic schools inculcated their pupils with a national religious identity that offered an alternative to the prevailing Prussian Protestant nationalism. Jews, keen on entering civil society, generally attended non-Jewish (Protestant or Catholic) schools and were educated in an environment in which it was difficult to preserve a distinct national religious consciousness. Here were two religious minorities faced with a Prussian Protestant state after 1871, although the Jews were a relatively small minority, while the Catholics were more numerous and, as Christians, were of course closer to the Protestant norm than the Jews. Jews adapted eagerly to pressure to conform and normalise, to "suggested" change in their educational practices, while Catholics proved to be more resistant. The *Kulturkampf* notwithstanding, Catholics were nonetheless ultimately incorporated into the German nation in a way that remained elusive for Jews. Two minorities, then, but one proved considerably less different – or more normal – than the other, with religion an almost insuperable obstacle to the attainment of normality in a national community that was defined in Christian Germanic terms.

Religion proved to be an obstacle in other ways too, as we see in ROBIN JUDD's account of the Jewish rearguard action against moves to abolish ritual slaughter (*schechita*) in turn of the century Germany. While not all those who campaigned against ritual slaughter were motivated by antisemitism, the debates generated an image of Jews and their religious practices as deviant and intolerable in a civilised society. In defence, Jewish groups paradoxically stressed at one and the same time Jewish universality and particularism, arguing that their religion was in tune with the demands of modernity and civilisation. This was perhaps the acceptable – religious – face of difference, where to be (slightly) different could be considered, so the Jews hoped, entirely normal.

SYLVIA CRESTI delves into the theoretical complexities of comparative national identity and collective memory in her discussion of the divergent paths of "nationalisation" taken by the Jews of Habsburg Austria and Imperial Germany in the 1870s and 1880s. She analyses the shifting meanings of the terms nation, culture and *Volk* to illustrate that the process of defining citizenship and identity led these Jewries to conceive of Judaism and Jewishness – and their relationship to state and society – in markedly different ways, despite the fact that their starting point was similar. Such a comparison serves to remind us that identity and normality were con-

textual rather than absolute – a truism admittedly, but nonetheless worth bearing in mind. The case of Austro-German Jews, as Cresti calls them, bears this out, since their combination of Habsburg loyalty, cultural Germanness and Jewish ethnicity was entirely dependent on the opportunities and constraints afforded and imposed by the Austrian multinational state.

Offering a view from the Austrian provinces, HELGA EMBACHER employs a range of memoirs to describe the efforts made by the Jews of Salzburg to assimilate into the local bourgeoisie. As German nationalism bulked increasingly large in the self-definition of Salzburg's middle class, and as antisemitism grew in intensity, Jews found that their access to the city's bourgeois life was restricted. In response, Jews turned inwards, towards networks of family and friends. Salzburg provides an interesting contrast to most of the other cases in this volume in that Jews there were a tiny minority, at no time sufficiently numerous to form the critical mass of a separate society or culture. In this respect, it also offers a contrast and corrective to the better-known Jewish experience in Vienna or other large urban centres of the Habsburg Empire. Outlining the social, economic and religious contours of Salzburg Jewry, Embacher argues that ascent into the bourgeoisie was synonymous for Salzburg Jews with acculturation, modernity and normalisation, and that their aspirations to attain bourgeois status were largely frustrated, despite a degree of superficial social integration and economic success.

A degree of undeniable social and economic success characterised another branch of German and German-speaking Jewry, the transatlantic German Jewish diaspora, which formed a not insignificant part of the large-scale nineteenth-century German migration to the United States. At the risk of repetition, what emerges clearly from TOBIAS BRINKMANN's discussion of the German Jewish experience in the United States is that normality is dependent on context. German Jews in the United States enjoyed a status of relative normality, a status that was itself exceptional when compared with that of Jews in most other states at the end of the nineteenth century. In the U.S.A., a society of hyphenated identities, Jews were first and foremost one of many immigrant populations in a country where normality was defined by skin colour and, to a lesser extent, class. Following the mass immigration of eastern European Jews from the 1880s, a tide of anti-Jewish discrimination – part of a broader anti-immigration nativist movement – attempted to stain Jewish "whiteness" and thereby deprive Jews of the prime characteristic of American normality. Nevertheless, the extent of Jewish normality in the United States was, as

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