

allgemeine Kriterium, wonach zu bemessen sei, was Recht oder Unrecht ist, allein in der Vernunft zu finden sei, die positiven Gesetze hierzu jedoch als Leitfaden dienen könnten, vgl. I. Kant, *Die Metaphysik der Sitten*, Einleitung in die Rechtslehre, § B, AB 31, 32.

4 So z. B. in Fn. 22 bis 26, 29, 33, 35, 74, 168, 176, 192, 201, 230, 266, 279.

5 So etwa S. 37, wo Scholler das von Radbruch für seinen Sohn verfaßte „Spruchbuch für Anselm“ erwähnt und dazu nur feststellt: „Dort sind Zitate von Sir William Blackstone, Johnson, Macaulay und dem Lord Chief Justice Hewart aufgeführt. Der bedeutende englische Richter und Rechtsgelehrte Coke ist mit vier Zitaten vertreten.“

Tobias Brinkmann, Von der Gemeinde zur „Community“: Jüdische Einwanderer in Chicago 1840–1900 (= Studien zur histerischen Migrationsforschung, vol. 10), Universitätsverlag Rasch, Osnabrück 2002, 488 S.

Historians have been slow to recognize that a great deal of history happens not in one place but in many, and not just in stasis but also in movement. To be sure, there has long been a history of migration – bloated with lifeless statistics, anemic in its portrayal of experience. But this is beginning to change – in history as well as in anthropology and literary studies. Homi Bhaba's *The Location of Culture* is one marker of the shift. Another is James Clifford's programmatic call to pursue routes rather than roots when tracking culture. *Tobias Brinkmann's* learned, deeply researched work on German Jews in Chicago falls in this context, for it attempts to mediate between the style and the questions of the old migration history and newer issues central to the construction of identity and community in the context

of movement and displacement. The mediation is not always successful; the pull of roots, an established scholarly context, is stronger than routes, where this work might have gone. One has, for example, a strong sense that the work is still addressed to a dissertation committee. Nevertheless, in a bold work that sets new agendas, the author combines migration history, German-Jewish history, the history of ethnicity in the United States, and the new urban history.

Pushed to emigrate by a mix of social and economic motives, Jews arrived in Chicago in the 1840s, when Chicago was barely more than a trading post. The first waves comprised German Jews who, in chain migrations, came from Franconia, the Palatinate, Württemberg and Posen; they were later followed in the 1850s by Jews from Bohemia and Westphalia. They did not, as *Brinkmann* shows, come as individuals but typically as families, especially siblings, and from the same villages and towns. From the start, therefore, networks of those who knew each other marked the migration pattern. In this sense, the German Jews were less „uprooted“ than „transplanted.“ But many of them settled first in the small towns around Chicago before earning enough to move to the city. The migration process, as *Brinkmann* emphasizes, was always open and rarely linear.

Soon after the first Jews settled in Chicago, a „Gemeinde“ was created, and, by 1851, a synagogue. In the first two decades of Jewish life in Chicago, the lines that divided Jews were often stronger than the ties that bound them together. Partly, this was an understandable result of the diverse geographic and social origins of the first wave of German-Jewish immigrants. Partly, local

circumstances dictated the dilemmas of the first generation. The greatest challenge resided in the problem of worship, for the old ways did not square easily with the rapid pace of America's fastest growing metropolis. If the Gemeinde was the center of Jewish life in the early years, the pull of its gravity nevertheless remained weak, and competitors – like the lodge of B'nai B'rith and an array of charitable and insurance societies – constituted alternative centers of Jewish life.

Paradoxically, public acceptance of Jews encouraged the centrifugal proclivities of Jewish life. In the new cities of the midwest, the measure of public acceptance seemed comparatively high – both compared to the cities of the east, with their older established Protestant families, and with Germany. „Public“ is a necessary qualifier. In his analysis of the famous credit ratings of R. G. Dun, *Brinkmann* demonstrates that private prejudice, especially concerning Jewish economic behavior, remained endemic.

In the main, the slow shift from „Gemeinde“ to „community“ occurred not in the religious sphere but in the realm of philanthropy and public welfare. Starting in 1859, the United Hebrew Relief Association (UHRA) coordinated efforts to help the less fortunate Jews of Chicago. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, these efforts became increasingly important. More and more Jews came to Chicago, especially after 1881, and the United States, unlike Imperial Germany, had little in the way of state support for the indigent. Philanthropy also united rather than divided Jews.

Brinkmann even argues that private welfare was central to the invention of Jewish ethnicity, not the least because it skirted wearisome debates about who

counted as Jewish. Inclusive, philanthropy bridged the usual divides.

Brinkmann details the history of the American strand of Jewish Reform in Chicago and the politics surrounding it. He also offers an insightful analysis of the relationship of German Jews to non-Jewish Germans. Remarkably, Jews participated to a significant degree in German-American civic life, which – in part because it lacked centralized coordination – remained open to them. The Jews of Chicago, who until the 1870 still spoke German, did not, however, call themselves „German Jews,“ an appellation that only gained currency in the 1880s, when great waves of poor, orthodox Jews from the Pale arrived in Chicago. In response, the German-Jewish community, the established as *Brinkmann* calls them, did everything in its power to distance itself from Polish and Russian „outsiders.“ The new immigrants called into question the delicately constructed community of German-Jewish immigrants who thought of themselves as American Jews whose cultural haven was German-speaking Europe.

This is an important book – judicious in its evaluations, careful in its scholarship.

Helmut Walser Smith

Gudrun Gersmann/ Hubertus Kohle (Hrsg.), unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von Beatrice Hermanns: Frankreich 1871–1914. Die Dritte Republik und die Französische Revolution, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2002, 239 S., 68 Abb.

Dieser Band gehört als späte Frucht eigentlich noch in den Zusammenhang des 200. Jahrestages der Französischen