

German Historical Institute London

Bulletin

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SEMINARS AT THE GHIL AUTUMN 1998

- 27 Oct. DR PETER LONGERICH (London)
Nazi Anti-Jewish Policy and the Decision concerning the
'Final Solution'
Peter Longerich is Reader in German at Royal Holloway Col-
lege. He has published widely on Nazi Germany and the
Holocaust, and his most recent book is *Politik der Vernichtung*
(1998).
- 24 Nov. DR MARTIN SABROW (Potsdam)
*Parteiliche Wissenschaft. An Analysis of 'Socialist His-
toriography' in the GDR*
Martin Sabrow is a departmental director at the Zentrum für
Zeithistorische Forschung in Potsdam and heads a research
project on 'History as a Ruling Discourse in the GDR'. Amongst
his publications is *Der Rathenaumord* (1994).
- 8 Dec. PROFESSOR HEINZ REIF (Berlin)
Élite Formation and Capital Building. The High Society of
Imperial Berlin 1871 to 1918
Heinz Reif is Professor of History at the Technical University of
Berlin. His works include *Die verspätete Stadt. Industrialisierung,
städtischer Raum und Politik in Oberhausen 1846 -1929* (1992) and
*Ostelbische Agrargesellschaft im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer
Republik* (ed., 1994).
- 15 Dec. PROFESSOR JAMES CAMPBELL (Oxford)
Speculations on the Origins of European States
James Campbell is Professor of Medieval History and a Fellow
of Worcester College. His publications include *The Anglo-Saxons*
(ed., 1991), and he is currently working on the publication of his
1996 Ford Lectures on the origins of the English state.

Seminars are held at 5 p.m. in the Seminar Room of the GHIL.
Tea is served from 4.30 p.m. in the Common Room, and wine is
available after the seminars.

THE 1998 ANNUAL LECTURE

A Sense of Place: New Directions in German History

will be given by

PROFESSOR DAVID BLACKBOURN

on Friday 13 November 1998, at 5 p.m.

On the same occasion the Prize of the German Historical Institute
will be presented.

Reception to follow.

REVIEW ARTICLE

RECENT RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF UNIVERSITIES IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

by Helga Robinson-Hammerstein

WALTER RÜEGG (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, vol. 2: *Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution (1500-1800)* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 542 pp. ISBN 3 406 369537. DM 148.00

NOTKER HAMMERSTEIN (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. 1: *15. bis 17. Jahrhundert. Von der Renaissance und der Reformation bis zum Ende der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich: Beck, 1996), xviii + 475 pp. ISBN 3 406 32463 0. DM 188.00

RAINER CHRISTOPHSCHWINGES (ed.), *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, Vierteljahresschrift zur Erforschung des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Beiheft 18 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996), 549 pp. ISBN 3 428 08728 3. DM 74.00

FRANZ GRAF-STUHLHOFER, *Humanismus zwischen Hof und Universität. Georg Tannstetter (Collimitius) und sein wissenschaftliches Umfeld im Wien des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Schriftenreihe des Universitätsarchivs, Universität Wien*, 8 (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1996), 192 pp. plus illustrations. ISBN 3 85114 256 X. DM 39.00

These four works deal with aspects of the history of universities in the later Middle Ages and the early modern period. They ask new questions of their material (especially concerning the formation of élites in the later medieval and early modern periods) and open up illuminating vistas on the past. Each volume makes welcome contributions to an elucidation of social history and repossesses a scholarly no-man's-land, relating educational endeavours to a wider context. These works, and the series to which they belong, demonstrate the fertility of the history of universities, an area hitherto dominated by unreasonably distorted accounts of an underexplored phase of the institution's activities. All four works examine the responses of various forms of education to the social challenges and imperatives of the time. The

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volumes edited by Rüegg and Hammerstein are handbooks distilling a vast range of individual studies in which contributors work to an overall and well defined plan. Schwinges's work, more obviously ambitious in terms of innovative scholarly intention, is the outcome of a specialist conference – with research conducted to order. It seeks to make a contribution to the debate on élites and the process of modernization in the Empire.

The history of higher education in general, and more specifically of universities has, since the nineteenth century, suffered from a surfeit of jubilee attention. The most characteristic contributions have been pious commemorative coffee-table books, beautifully illustrated and luxuriously bound. One result of these centenary commemorations is, however, still appreciated and has rendered the task of the present generation of university scholars substantially easier, namely, the massive and almost endless document publications, especially the matriculation lists which no late twentieth-century researcher could have done without. More recently, centenaries and other jubilees have been welcomed as opportunities for stock-taking and reflecting on the role of the institution in question: the results are sponsored publications.

In general, jubilees in the late twentieth century are subject to three related aims or motivations.¹ Firstly, the arcane magic of the 'rounded figures' 900, 650, 500, 400 etc. legitimates drawing attention to the institution by the public projection of a plausible self-image which relies on symbolic acts, pageants, speeches, divine services, concerts, incidental music, exhibitions, and publications. The jubilands tend to use all the available media of communication in a mutually reinforcing manner. Secondly, the public in its various manifestations – local community, state, church, industry, and cultural bodies – responds with expressions of solidarity, congratulating the celebrating institution on its achievements and offering sponsorship to continue its beneficial work. Thirdly, however, the threshold experience of a jubilee must be accompanied by a complex process of verifications, a deeply

¹ Werner Conze, 'Die Selbstdarstellung von Universitäten in Zentenarfeiern. Heidelberg im Vergleich', in id., *Die Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg. Studium Generale Vorträge im Wintersemester 1985/6* (Heidelberg, 1986), pp. 90-119. Wilhelm Glaser, 'Ein Fest ohne Eigenschaften?', *Tübinger Universitätszeitung*, 6 November 1977, pp. 15-19.

searching, critical self-examination and review of past attainments and failures which provides the preconditions for a more clear-sighted identification of current tasks and new possibilities. This self-examination (which will obviously inform the elaboration of the aim of image-projection) is not conducted in public, but the process itself is all the more crucial, since unreflected festivities result in highly damaging mythologizing and self-delusion. In addition, there is always another unintended factor. Jubilees have an uncanny knack of coinciding with periods of doubt and *Existenzangst* in the celebrating institutions. Curiously, it is precisely this *Existenzangst* which forms the backdrop to jubilees arranged as highly sophisticated 'media conscious public relations exercises' in the later twentieth century.

In the case of the first two publications we are dealing with something more challenging: progress on European integration and the millennium respectively seem to call for *Rechenschaftsberichte*. These have put their own heavy burden on the editors, who have on the whole coped well with the challenge. For the later Middle Ages and the early modern period the editors can record that the institutions usually took their self-appointed academic and social tasks seriously, and fulfilled them admirably, or at least respectably. Until not so very long ago the universities, in the periods assessed here, had a bad reputation in historiography.

In the face of such a reputation there is a general dilemma which may finally, one hopes, be resolved as a result of these publications. Hitherto, the absence of any effective recognition of the important contributions made by late medieval and early modern universities has had its most detrimental impact on general overviews of the political and social history of Europe. In consulting such handbooks, even the ones that advertise new approaches, one will search in vain for any evaluative mention of the role of universities or other educational institutions. The situation is much the same in general works of social history devoted to shorter periods, and in more specialized studies. Nevertheless, as the four works under review here demonstrate beyond a shadow of doubt, higher education, and universities in particular, played a crucial, even unique, role in the development of all sections of the later medieval and early modern socio-political ambience in Europe. Without universities, European history would have looked very different, and it could not have functioned the way that it did.

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Walter Rüegg was one of the first to emphasize that the university was 'the European institution *par excellence*' and, relying on a 'friendship network' of international scholars, he set out to enlighten fellow scholars as well as the general reader by means of the present series. As well as lucidly presenting his own researches, he has edited the German volume, and translated other contributions originally written in English, French, or Italian. The texts are readable and follow the same norms of investigation and writing throughout. English, French, Italian, and Spanish versions of the work with different general editors are either published or in the process of publication. I have consulted, in parallel with the German edition, the English version edited by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, and I have found the exercise intriguing. There is no literal translation at all, rather substantial recasting in places. The German and the English versions appear to adhere to a somewhat different scholarly ethos, or satisfy different 'consumer expectations'.

This rich harvest with its impressive yield grew out of a carefully cultivated major research initiative sponsored by the European University Rectors (CRE). Meetings of the CRE group worked out binding criteria of investigation and agreed the kind of questions that should be asked of the available material in all four volumes from the Middle Ages to the present. Such an ambition may prove conceptually too restrictive and ultimately unworkable when applied to all five or six centuries, but for volumes one and two it works admirably and serves up a rich feast. Each volume – there are two so far – begins with a justification of themes, problems, topics, and patterns which direct the rest of the exploration. For the first two volumes (the Middle Ages and the present one on the early modern period to the French Revolution) the choice of themes, topics, and patterns is roughly analogous, although highly complex and involved. It will probably be more difficult to operate to the same schema for volume three, intended to cover the period 1800 to 1945, and volume four on the post-war period.

The editor finds it necessary to stress that the handbook is merely a preliminary attempt at a general synopsis. Such a cautionary emphasis on the preliminary nature of the publication is in fact its strength: it is certainly no *captatio benevolentiae*. The team of international scholars (fourteen altogether, some providing more than one article and, in one instance, three collaborating on one piece) contributing to the work adheres strictly to a comparative assessment and evaluation of the

evidence. The collection integrates recent researches and benefits from them, but it is not simply a survey of these works. The extensive footnotes and the bibliographies appended to each of the contributions make this clear. Not the least of its merits is the fact that the work is a real fillip to younger scholars who wish to specialize in university history. They are not invited to deal with safe, antiquarian jigsaw puzzles in which all the pieces are present but jumbled and merely require to be pieced together. There is much more to be explored, missing evidence to be found, and gaps to be filled.

In a masterly first chapter entitled 'Problems, Themes and Insights' Rüegg outlines the tasks and the working concepts of the book. He might have been forgiven for adopting a more censorious tone, since he has to hack his way through a thicket of deeply embedded misconceptions relating to the social role of the universities in the period. While the relationship between university and society is indeed the central concern of the writers throughout the four volumes, it becomes much more urgent to formulate searching questions and to investigate their scope for the early modern period. The leading questions have to be presented in a manner that deals effectively with the doubts of earlier scholars. Did the universities at the beginning of the early modern period neglect their social duties, and were they impeded by internal crises when their services were most urgently needed? Until about ten years ago it was generally thought that universities were in a sclerotic, even comatose condition in the early modern period, and that 'the real life' which the early modernists wished to study was therefore located elsewhere.

Rüegg opens up the discussion in the broadest and most appropriate context, but he lays down the parameters precisely. Three themes and their interrelations are identified in this chapter as the major concerns of the age: humanism, the republic of learning, and the social role of universities. The fact that later medieval and early modern scholars accepted this social role made the universities much more 'useful' to the community. Rüegg sketches guidelines for the investigation of this adjustment, all the while insisting that only a comparative approach across Europe can elaborate the issues satisfactorily. Here history of ideas meets social history.

The central insight is contained in the following densely argued passage: 'After the disintegration of the ecclesiastical university under papal authority, the dialogical structure of communication across

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society permitted the formation of a *res publica eruditorum* across Europe and facilitated the emergence of the ideals of *civility*, *civilisation*, *culture* as the objects of university education. It also stimulated in the universities a response to the concerns of their respective societies and led to the formation of a cultural self-awareness and fostered in the professors a sense of collective professional self-awareness.² The individual elements of these compressed observations invite much more research to test and confirm their cross-currents. Rüegg merely indicates the direction which histories of universities ought to take. Here, for instance, he integrates the studies summarized by M. B. Becker in *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300-1600* (1988), and applies them to the universities in a highly significant way.

What caught my attention here was the observation concerning 'civility' as *Bildungsideal*. In the sixteenth century (more consistently from the mid-century onwards) the inculcation of *civilitas* as the primary objective appeared in the foundation charters of new universities; this became the purpose of establishing new universities of which Wittenberg was the first. It was the adjustable and updatable content of *civility* that made the universities relevant, and this is more or less explicitly demonstrated in the following chapters. *Civility* takes shape in a commitment to the responsible study and use of the classical languages and the Ciceronian rhetorical method as a tool to open up both classical texts and the Bible; this could generate creative and regenerative energies that helped the scholar to make his contribution to society. The rigid learning of grammatical rules by rote was utterly absent from this concept. *Civility* was the *raison d'être* of the early modern university, and the implications and wider terms of reference of *civility* call for further study and promise a substantial yield.³ The cluster of ideas attaching to 'civility' had its own tradition and context,

² 'Die dialogisch-rhetorische Kommunikationsstruktur, die auf die gesellschaftliche Horizontale ausgerichtet ist, erlaubte einerseits nach dem Zerfall der papstkirchlichen Einheit die Bildung einer ganz Europa umfassenden *res publica eruditorum* und führte in die Universitätserziehung das Bildungsideal der *civility*, *civilisation*, *Cultur* ein. Andererseits veranlaßte sie die Universitäten, auf die Anliegen ihrer Umgebung unmittelbar zu antworten, trug zur Bildung eines nationalen Kulturbewußtseins bei und gab dem Universitätslehrer ein professionelles Selbstbewußtsein' (p. 38).

³ See the preface in H. Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Dublin, 1998).

creating an intelligentsia that understood its tasks. Thus we are dealing here with the acceptance of a task which could be mastered with the help of intellectual strategies designed to be applied to the social world.

The contribution on 'Grundlagen' (translated as 'Patterns' in the English version) by Willem Frijhoff complements Rüegg's reflections and rounds off the first part of the collection. Frijhoff investigates the tasks of the universities and assigns a threefold symbolic significance to the founding of the University of Wittenberg in 1502. This is also the test case of the *civility* hypothesis. The establishment of Wittenberg triggered the reformation of religion, which became a powerful agent for reform in the universities. Moreover, it demonstrated its commitment to humanism by calling itself *Academia Vitebergensis* and changing the relationship between professors and students from a vertical one under *auctoritates* to a horizontal one in a shared commitment to the *studia humanitatis*. These studies were intended to form character and intellect. The paradigm shift to the philological-historical method was, however, soon superseded by natural science interests to which the philological-historical method of the universities had little to contribute. Frijhoff treats the latter development as open-ended, but other contributors have been specially assigned to deal with the relevant issues (Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann in chapter twelve, and Roy Porter in chapter thirteen).

Frijhoff's highly stimulating discussion achieves much more than can be indicated here. Concerned with nomenclature, and with definitions of the phenomenon 'university', he finds that marked processes of expansion, differentiation, and professionalization were most characteristic of the 'university landscape' in the period under consideration here. Frijhoff offers various approaches which eventually converge. *En route* he identifies one particular issue to which he invites future researchers to devote more attention: the overproduction of academics. Ultimately he defines the task of the university not as formulated by the institution itself, but in terms of the extent to which it addressed the requirements and problems of its social ambience and context. This also calls for an awareness of the whole *Bildungswesen* of a particular society. Frijhoff skilfully combines his close-up examination with a mass of hard statistical evidence concerning university expansion in the form of lists and maps, the result of the sensitive exploitation of archival materials from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

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Part two, concerned with structures, consists of four discrete chapters dealing with 'Die Hochschulträger' (in the English version: 'Relations with Authority') by Notker Hammerstein, 'Organisation und Ausstattung' ('Management and Resources') by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Die Universitätslehrer' ('Teachers') by Peter A. Vandermeersch, and the application of the European university model to the New World under the title 'Die Übernahme europäischer Universitätsmodelle' ('Exporting models') by John Roberts, Aguedo M. Rodriguez Cruz, and Jürgen Herbst. These chapters gather together a great deal of information, review recent research, and present arguments which confirm and differentiate the validity of the conceptual framework offered in the first part. The contributions are of necessity highly condensed, having been allocated roughly thirty pages each.

Wisely, Notker Hammerstein deals with the individual countries separately, despite his comparative approach, because the universities served different societies. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens's chapter is full of tidily and reliably arranged clusters of information on privileges, statutes, buildings, libraries, and insignia. Vandermeersch reviews the character and social place of the archetypal university teacher. He examines, as far as the limited evidence permits, the changing structures within which university professors could perceive themselves as a separate social group. In doing so he fills a significant gap and points the way to more fruitful research to be undertaken by others. He makes it clear that university professors *per se* were not highly regarded. Nevertheless, the position had considerable privileges attached to it, and the professor could bask in the awareness that he was truly useful to society in the administration of church and state. Chapter six cannot be more than a sideways look at the operation of European models overseas. The authors restrict themselves to the question of the *transferability* of European models rather than examining the social conditions with which they had to cope in the New World. The results are somewhat meagre and tantalizing generalizations. It is perfectly understandable that no more space could be allowed for these considerations, but the planning committee did not serve well the excellent scholars it recruited. The various university models and their commitment to *civility* (which is certainly present in all the charters) look totally different in a colonial setting; and the issue of colonial universities calls for much broader research strategies.

Part three deals with students while part four is concerned with the curriculum that they were offered at universities. At first glance part three appears less engaging than the rest, for what can be said about students individually or as a body, in a comparative manner, extending over three hundred years? Nevertheless, illuminating contributions have been made here. The discussion of matriculation (Maria Rosa di Simone) concentrates on conditions of admissions and attendance. Statistics can help (especially in demonstrating the shift to a more aristocratic student body), but they must also be used with care given that, on the author's own admission, the basic information is incomplete. In some of the more far-reaching generalizations the reader is asked to take too much on trust, although they might also be read as an invitation to check up on the conclusions, and to conduct more detailed work. It must be emphasized that all the contributors draw attention to the gaps which they have found in research and call for further enquiries. The conclusions concerning the structure and social role of European universities, namely, that from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century they changed from autonomous bodies into state institutions for the formation of élites, ring true but remain largely unsubstantiated.

'Studentenkultur und akademischer Alltag' (English version: 'Student Education, Student Life') by Rainer A. Müller sounds a more promising project, and indeed, Müller breaks some new ground. Pursuing his interest in the ordinary day-to-day concerns of academia he establishes that students remained a separate entity in the social hierarchy. When he deals with ceremonies, he lets primary sources speak for themselves. Willem Frijhoff's excellent chapter on 'Der Lebensweg der Studenten' ('Graduation and Careers') complements and extends Müller's findings. Frijhoff sensitively distils his own preliminary researches. He discusses the significance of academic titles, which rather than certifying knowledge, acknowledged a period of study, and the social and cultural ability to fill an academic post and to play a role in society. On the whole, as the early modern period progressed, this imbalance between the period of study and the diploma was overcome. Originally a degree was merely an empty title. Frijhoff demonstrates convincingly that reservations *vis-à-vis* foreign academic titles remained and possibly even grew, largely as a result of religious divisions. The value of degrees is also analysed in the context of the role of education and meritocratic ennoblement.

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Frijhoff covers a wide range of experiences, especially in the realization that degrees were necessary because professions demanded them, and that therefore these degrees had to have a specific content. Here, as in his earlier chapter, he makes more pertinent observations on eighteenth-century developments than are found in other chapters, but he, too, diagnoses an inadequate and incomplete state of knowledge. Professional demands seemed to call for *artes* in the fifteenth century, *artes* and theology arising out of *artes* in the sixteenth century, by the end of the sixteenth century law, which also assisted careers greatly in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century, medicine. This is a rough guide and it is offered as such, calling for much more differentiated research, but this contribution is also helpful in that it formulates several hypotheses which concern these issues. Frijhoff deals with professional reorientation, where previously scholars had simply stated that frustrated intellectuals failed to find jobs for which they seemed to be qualified. Frijhoff deplores the gaps in his account, but encourages further research.

In chapter ten, on mobility, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens extends the scope of Frijhoff's presentation, and substantiates conjectures by means of hard facts. Her very wide and perceptive reading is put to good use. She is especially concerned to differentiate between the universities at which students studied and those at which they took degrees. This was usually a question of money. Knowledge could be acquired anywhere in Europe, but degrees were more valuable if obtained from more famous universities. Since the publication of this volume, research in the area has been vastly extended by a Sassari/Bologna project on the role of 'minor universities' in Europe which complements and confirms what Hilde de Ridder-Symoens presents here.⁴ The author also demonstrates convincingly how the universities on the European periphery left their academic isolation as a result of the *peregrinatio*.

Part four of the publication breaks new ground in a familiar area of university history. As I have already indicated, the authors of the volume are not interested in charting the *curricula* and answering the question of whether the universities fulfilled their self-appointed task. Rather they seek to relate the activities of the universities to the needs

⁴ A collection of essays based on a conference held in Sassari/Alghero in Sardinia in October 1996 is scheduled for publication in late 1998.

of the societies which they served. The fourth part explores learning and scholarship under the chosen socio-political imperative. This part is more generally concerned with *Bildungswesen* as a whole and not just the university. Olaf Pedersen is given the unenviable task of sketching the complex development by which the universities became part of the wider *Bildungswesen*; his chapter title is 'Tradition und Innovation'. He examines the individual faculties and their responses to technological challenges as the seventeenth century progressed. He charts the exit of scientists from the universities, the special position of theological faculties, and the rise of the academies as an important innovation with a European impact. The academies spreading from Italy effectively broke the monopoly of the universities as the only institutions in which scholarship was conducted and could be communicated (a medieval remnant).

In the next chapter Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann looks at the broad issue of differentiation from the point of view of the social sciences. His chapter is entitled: 'Die Modelle der Human- und Sozialwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung' (English version: 'New Structures of Knowledge'). He concerns himself with the rival systems of learning and the Aristoleanism, Hermetic Neoplatonism, and Ciceronianism types of sciences (*Wissenschaftstypen*). He analyses theology as the *Leitwissenschaft* of the sixteenth century, and legal studies as that of the age of Baroque. Schmidt-Biggemann argues that law became ever more politicized in the course of the seventeenth century, reflecting the process by which the state became sovereign. He comes full circle again with his consideration of the new role of philology and history as part of Ciceronian historical scholarship. He reviews the massive contributions made through publications and editions of works by the great scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and finds that the reorientation was essentially a loose coupling of philology and history. History in the first half of the eighteenth century assisted law; philology, too, witnessed such a secularizing rearrangement.

In the next chapter, Roy Porter writing on the scientific revolution and the universities ('Die wissenschaftliche Revolution und die Universitäten'), grapples with the place of this revolution in the universities. It is refreshing to see that Porter, like Mordechai Feingold in the corresponding chapter in the recently published history of the University of Oxford (volume four), directs the reader away from the statutes and the printed syllabus, which give the wrong impression of

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the role of science, to *de facto* developments. Science had an assured place in the university, but what contribution did the university make to promoting the scientific revolution? The answer requires clarification of what is meant by the term 'scientific revolution'. The definition adopted here is carefully worded, and points to an essential discarding of the ancient dogmas in favour of an acceptance of new, durable scientific conceptions. The scientific revolution amounted to a new perspective on man in the cosmos and the foundations of his domination of nature. In many respects the scientific revolution was the product of the university, in that the university gave science an institutional basis and put students into contact with great scientific scholars. The university was therefore 'the forum of transmission and distribution of scientific thinking'. The summary adverts to *questions malposées* such as, for example, that of why the sciences remained outside the universities in the seventeenth century. After all, the scientific revolution had its foundation within the university, and in time, the new science became part of the university curriculum.

In the final chapter of part four Laurence Brockliss deals with curricula by faculties. He reconstructs what was actually taught, although little secondary literature is available in this area, but he can at least draw on his own extensive specialized studies of French universities. The methods of foundational studies turn out to have been very impersonal. Brockliss sees a marked difference between medieval and early modern studies in philology, with the emphasis now no longer on learning by rote but on *understanding*. The study of history emerges as the most demanding and challenging subject for professors and students alike. Chairs in History were an innovation and became a characteristic of Protestant countries in the sixteenth century. Brockliss also stresses the theoretical reorientation in the teaching of medicine. He, too, refers to *questions malposées*. Ultimately he can declare without fear of contradiction that the traditional notion that the university was in a scholarly slumber during the Renaissance, from which it was roused only by the reforms of the nineteenth century has been debunked. Rather, the university was engaged in 'Kulturvermittlung'. There is all too short a reference (rightly deplored by the author himself) to the ways in which library collections can provide evidence supporting this fact. All in all, part four of the collection probably deals with the most complex, but also the most rewarding issues. It has indeed proved possible to demonstrate that

the hiatus between medieval and nineteenth-century universities that has so often been imagined did not exist.

Notker Hammerstein offers, as an epilogue, a brief chapter on the university during the Enlightenment. He highlights the regional diversification of responses to the imposed reforms that were guided by Enlightenment thinking. The reforms worked best in the Netherlands. The individual contributions are made all the more valuable by the appended specific bibliographies which assist the reader and potential researcher. The contributors have established firmly and effectively that the university fulfilled its appointed social tasks. The highly differentiated evaluations of the role of humanism in the universities of the sixteenth century and of the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century have been long overdue; these massive tasks have – as far as is possible to date – been successfully accomplished. The cluster of themes was well chosen.

There are two matters which might have been handled differently. One arises from an organizational decision. The chapter on the transfer of European models to the New World is not only too short, it is, perhaps as a result of this, also too flat and streamlined. This represents a dilemma arising from a Eurocentric perspective. The whole issue deserves at least one book of its own. The other matter, especially important in a comparative work on universities seeking to elucidate the role of the institution in the various European societies, is the relative downgrading of persecution and refuge in the confessional age: Huguenots and Jews and the problem created by the persecution of Catholics and Protestants respectively. Such matters do not belong to the chapter on mobility, because of the involuntary nature of this mobility. Had persecution and refuge been included, the writers would have had to refer to massive gaps in research. However, it is to be hoped that this sort of preparatory work can now be undertaken on the foundation of the present volume. The sources are available but they are diffuse and largely embedded in records of commercial transactions or the illicit activities of religious orders. I am thinking here of the astonishingly coherent exodus of Irish medical students in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to Spain, France, and, even more amazingly, to Prague in Bohemia, where they formed 10 per cent of the student population. They completed their degrees in the minimum time, and fulfilled a valuable task in the Bohemian countryside, while others returned to the West. There is indeed too little preliminary work

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done to date, but this is an area of university history that should not be neglected. The whole of Prussian society and Eastern Europe in general derived great benefit from the presence of involuntary migrants who constituted a most valuable foreign professional élite.

The *Handbuch* is narrower in geographical range but more comprehensive in subject matter. Its editors make no apology for producing a *Bildungsgeschichte*, considered by some scholars to be an outmoded, nineteenth-century genre. The whole series is planned to extend over six volumes, of which this is the first. The decisions and divisions governing the conceptual organization of this publication differ markedly from those found in the history of European universities. The eighteenth century is treated separately as volume two; volume three is dedicated to the period 1800 to 1870; volume four covers the period from the foundation of the German Empire to the end of the First World War; volume five is reserved for the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist dictatorship; and volume six covers 1945 to the present in the two parallel systems of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. The whole is clearly intended as a summing up at the end of the old and the beginning of a new millennium.

The present volume incorporates contributions by eight scholars who present chapters of unequal length. Each chapter is supported by substantial end-note annotations and literary guides. But this gives rise to a problem. Constraints of space, I suppose, have persuaded the editor/publisher to compress the information and truncate the biographical references to such an extent that searching through chapter end-notes and bibliographical references becomes a formidable and time-consuming exercise, at times an endurance test. There are abbreviated cross-references which are rendered in continuous lines in tiny print. Not even the reference number is highlighted. When I attempted to verify particular points, I had to abandon the search without having found the information. I mention this because the material provided on these impenetrable pages has an immense reference value. I can also readily believe that, given the mass of information, the book might have had to be about fifty pages longer if there had been line separation for each bibliographical reference. However, by highlighting the numbers in the end-notes and the names in the bibliographical section the reader's searches might have been made less frustrating.

The *Handbuch* differs most significantly from the *Geschichte der Universität in Europa* in that it is conceived as German *Bildungsgeschichte*.

Bildung, a typically German word which seems to be a term of approbation rather than analysis, is here employed in a straightforward sense to cover all aspects of education in society, including *Ausbildung* (training). The opening paragraph of the editor's preface points to the fact that this volume covers a longer timespan than subsequent ones, and that the phenomena to be 'described and characterized in their historical relevance' are less well contoured. The editor and his collaborators have, however, made a significant selection of issues. It is clear from the beginning that this *Bildungsgeschichte* is not primarily concerned with institutions and their impact on society, but with individuals and groups in that society and their conduct, which may or may not have been formed by specifically qualified institutions.

August Buck, the renowned expert on humanism, reviews Italian humanism, culminating in an assessment of the reception of the pedagogical principles of Italian humanism in Germany. This is an indispensable 'scene setting' device. It allows the author to explore the original idea of *Bildung*, especially in its defining moments. Italian humanists are identified as the initiators of *Bildung* through their creative encounter with Antiquity, acknowledging the function of shaping the life of the individual in society. The approach to *Bildung*, therefore, is made by the *studia humanitatis* with Ciceronian, rhetorical precepts separating the acquisition of knowledge and technical skills from the 'Form des Menschen an sich'. *Bildung* seeks to develop all positive human talents. Buck postulates that this *Bildungsideal* – in which *Geisteswissenschaften* and *Studium* mark the path – was in decided opposition to the medieval *Wissenschaftsbegriff* with its acceptance of pre-established 'authorities'. In respect of the university he states categorically that tensions were created when humanism entered the curriculum, but that the institution was sufficiently open to profit from the innovation. Both humanists and the traditional university curriculum benefited from the mutual enrichment. This was especially in evidence when new university foundations took shape. Buck sketches the reception of this programme, including its 'gesellschaftliche Leitbilder', by wandering scholars in Germany. The Germans accepted the principle that better Latin makes better men, and Erasmus was undoubtedly the outstanding mediator.

The second chapter, entitled 'Die historische und bildungsgeschichtliche Physiognomie des konfessionellen Zeitalters', is by the editor. He is able to offer insights through analytical chronological

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examination of problems from the late fifteenth century to the end of the Thirty Years War. He is primarily concerned to evaluate 'intellectual, political, and technical upheavals', which constituted 'the turning of an era' and involved a significant paradigm shift. The first turning-point was the age of restlessness initiated by Luther, involving what is here perceived as the crisis of the university and the problem of an ignorant pastorate. Hammerstein sees the Augsburg Religious Peace as having a calming effect. Protestantism in the first half of the sixteenth century is here undoubtedly represented as the more vibrant force. The second half of the sixteenth century is characterized by the rivalries between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics in the context of the growth of the territorial state and the formation of 'der Untertan' (the subject). In educational terms, however, something else is important: the conviction of humanists that *Bildung* alone made the man was confirmed in the careers of academically trained bourgeois councillors and officials.

On the basis of these observations Hammerstein offers an overall assessment which identifies the most significant shift as the displacement of the aristocracy by the educated bourgeoisie. In Bavaria and in the Habsburg Lands, however, the aristocracy regained the leading positions. In all other aspects of the formation of the 'educated man' and his expanding horizons, the small territories are said to have taken the lead; they certainly led the way in deciphering the cosmos. The Thirty Years War coincided with attempts, not altogether successful, to inculcate secular rather than confessional values and thought patterns.

Paul Münch, in the third chapter, deals briefly with 'Lebensformen, Lebenswelten und Umgangserziehung'. His considerations are not devoted to any particular institution. He declares himself hampered by gaps in research, so that the kind of summary expected of him proves difficult. He concentrates on the question of how life was perceived and experienced, with famine, sickness, and premature death impressing their signatures on the period. He rightly stresses that stations in life were still marked by the influence of the Christian religion, including the way in which the Christian calendar festivals were observed, but also by popular rituals. The main conclusion of these diversified investigations – all somewhat impressionistic – is that despite massive challenges which attempted to unsettle the traditional social structures, these remained essentially the same, with fluctuations. One of the other insights which it would be hard to query is the consolidation

of the work ethic, identified as the motor of modernization. In a short chapter four Klaus Arnold examines what can usefully be said in a *Bildungsgeschichte* about 'Familie, Kindheit, Jugend' as normative categories in the early modern period in Germany. He helpfully explores the 'Begrifflichkeit' of family, childhood, and youth from around 1400. Childhood deserves a closer look; he analyses the Ariès reception in this context. Arnold offers convincing evidence for his insistence that children were taken seriously by their families and the churches.

Walter Kühlmann explores 'Pädagogische Konzeptionen' in another brief but important chapter. Taking his cue from Buck, he argues that the demonstrable fact that the German *Bildungswesen* is primarily academic in nature is a result of the impact of the Renaissance, not just a product of the seventeenth century. He attempts to prove the point by examining the sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers (primarily the Jesuits) and their stylistic and paradigmatic principles. He draws attention to largely unexplored literary genres and invites a comparative assessment of humanism, confessionalism, and orthodoxy. He himself reviews only briefly the new beginnings in the seventeenth century expressed in the slogan 'Reformorthodoxie, Pietismus und Pansophie'. These educational conceptions do not seem to have worked for the education of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois needs emerged which could only be satisfied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Arno Seifert in the longest chapter in the book deals with 'Höheres Schulwesen, Universitäten und Gymnasien'. He points to two processes of fundamental significance which, in his view, have not had adequate consideration recently: the increasing functionalization of the university by the state and in the wider sense by society; and the divergence of German from (Western) European university history. He offers a thorough structural analysis of the German university. In respect of scholasticism and humanism his final assessment differs somewhat from the findings of Rüegg's collection. He argues that the frequency of new university foundations at the time of the challenge by humanism must be seen as a wide-ranging acceptance of the traditional scholastic university. He rejects the notion that the new foundations were readily open to humanism. He differentiates between variants of suitably adapted humanism, and reviews individual disciplines and their eventual reception of humanism.

It must be assumed that the period to which Seifert refers in respect of new university foundations is considerably earlier than that dis-

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cussed in the Rüeegg publication. This becomes all the more likely when he addresses examples which throw light on the obstacles to a complete integration of humanism: 'there was a structural difficulty which prevented a synthesis of old and new education in that scholars of *artes* and humanists had different qualifications, both formally and in terms of the content of their studies' (p. 246). He refers to the *Regent* system of the Arts scholars, which required the *Magister* degree, as against humanists who insisted on reading exclusively the texts relating to their very own *ars humanitatis* and ignoring academic titles. From this perspective he adverts to the *Bildungskrise* of the 1520s, as exemplified by the Wittenberg Movement of 1521-2. He also observes that visitations had to cope with a crisis of anarchy that followed in the mid-century. His case-studies lead him to an interpretation of these events which is different from the more general approach in Rüeegg's publication. The word 'crisis' crops up frequently here, while it is toned down in Rüeegg's collection. Does a comparative approach in a European perspective lead to a misinterpretation of the German special case; or does the German development look like a special case precisely because it is not assessed in the context of non-German institutions and educational strategies?

An informative section on the status of students avoids the selection of mere anecdotal *curiosa*, as does its counterpart in Rüeegg's collections. Seifert makes much of the availability of scholarships; he interprets them as a means by which territorial lords could exercise social control and influence. The section on university and society deals with 'soziale Funktionalisierung' in a manner not intended by the humanists. State and church transformed the call for *Bildung* into an *Ausbildungsauftrag* that was at variance with the humanist *Allgemeinbildungsauftrag*. Reviewing the social composition of the student body, he identifies a twofold tendency: it became cheaper to study, and the aristocracy showed an increased interest in university studies.

Seifert is at his best when he deals with the different types of universities founded as a result of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, including the *Gelehrtschulen*, the Zwinglian *Prophezey*, and the various products of the decrees of the Council of Trent relating to seminaries. He offers a close analysis of the calibre of Jesuit colleges. He concludes that in the confessional age *Gelehrte Bildung* did not seek to be original; rather, the age of confessional conflict was really the epoch of restoration. The chapter ends with a concentrated analysis of

Ramism and its usefulness as the first summary of a system of knowledge after the dismantling of systems by the humanist challenge. The section on Ramism is obviously preliminary. Most of the extremely complex research, which will revise a great many cherished assumptions, is only in the process of being published (Wolfenbüttel Symposium, 1997). The early seventeenth century gets short shrift with its 'Bildungsboom und Bildungskrise' expressed in the large number of utopian writings. The nagging feeling which occasionally prompts the reader to question the criteria governing choice of topics (there is, for instance, no treatment of educational projectors) ultimately subsides in the face of what is actually treated. Seifert's long chapter informs reliably and conducts the reader safely through uneven terrain.

Rudolf Endres in chapter seven deals with training for crafts and manual professions, which began from a different base: 'the crafts did not require specific knowledge or skills before a young man could begin his apprenticeship' (p. 375). He evaluates the significance of guilds, morality, the exclusion of the illegitimate, the journeymen's peregrination leading to *Erfahrung* and the rituals connected with becoming a master. In the century before the Thirty Years War the requirements for becoming a master remained unchanged. Thereafter a crisis of the old crafts made the acquisition of a master's diploma more difficult. After an excursus on the German schoolmaster there are some brief valuable observations on the role of women in the crafts and trades, what women preferred, and what they could do. The reform of 'handwerkliche Berufsbildung' is fairly systematically examined and extended into the nineteenth century. The guilds are shown to have become aware of a crisis in the acquisition of relevant skills; they formed committees which worked out a scheme for adult education in the nineteenth century. The author clearly knows his subject matter very well and has provided excellent graphs which permit a rapid overview.

There is a short eighth chapter, also by Rudolf Endres, on 'Armenwesen und Armenfürsorge' as an urban phenomenon. Informative as it is, however, it is not clear to me how this fits in with the concept of *Bildung* and *Ausbildung*. It was precisely the absence of any provisions for *Ausbildung* that made the problem so intractable. The inclusion of this chapter was presumably dictated by the preoccupations of later centuries. Hans-Joachim Koppitz's chapter on the communication media requires no special justification for its inclusion; but unfortu-

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nately he concentrates almost exclusively on book production and ignores other methods of communication. Book production is assessed with the help of the catalogues of the Bavarian *Staatsbibliothek* and the *Herzog August-Bibliothek* in Wolfenbüttel, Book Fair Catalogues, readers, and libraries.

This handbook, forming the first volume of a comprehensive overview of *Bildung* and *Ausbildung* in Germany, is welcome, especially since outstanding experts in their fields have been recruited. The conception of *Bildungsgeschichte* may after all have been worth resurrecting. German *Bildungsgeschichte* deserves comprehensive treatment and this volume has painted a diversified, wide-ranging, and contoured picture, despite the editor's initial misgivings. The conceptualization is a matter of individual scholarly decisions and strategies, and it bears the personal signature of the editors of the individual volumes. One cannot have any major quarrel with what is covered here; the work informs reliably and stimulates further research. It is possible to suggest, however, that a number of subjects have been left out in a *Jahrhundertwerk* which is not likely to be superseded for some time to come. Again, as in respect of the *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, it must be asked where the Huguenots and the Jews are? They made a huge contribution to German *Bildung*. For the Jews this contribution was also what made them German. They ought most certainly to appear in the next volume, that on the eighteenth century. What has been left out becomes clear only in the light of the other work yet to be discussed.

The volume edited by Rainer Christoph Schwinges presents the substantial yield of a conference organized by the editor. The twenty-three contributions are guided by the editor's instruction to consider the consequences of the presence of university-educated people in many areas of political and social life under the auspices of modernization. The stated intention – and this is true of all three edited works reviewed here – is to offer 'a balance sheet', while simultaneously challenging others to produce more research, especially in the area of *Wirkungsgeschichte*. This takes the wind out of the sails of potential critics, since the authors can of course claim that they are aware of the gaps in the work, and that the gaps can be filled by others, following the criteria set out by the editor in his introductory chapter entitled 'Karrieremuster: zur sozialen Rolle der Gelehrten im Reich des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts'. Many open questions are recorded here, but

Schwinges sketches eight framework conditions which essentially determined career patterns in that period. In particular, he emphasizes one point which has to be taken seriously as a warning. When lords of small territories presiding over a society which is now generally described as *alteuropäisch* (because it was activated by traditional, predetermined rules of social success) founded universities, they were not pursuing general *Bildungspolitik*. In the first instance their activities were motivated by prestige and the search for tools of government. Schwinges warns against reading too much into references to the 'common good' in the foundation charters. The *peregrinatio* of subjects to foreign states was treated as suspect by rulers because it appeared to allow ordinary students to adopt the habits of the nobility.

Another important observation concerns a specific characteristic of the German type of university, namely, that graduates remained students even as Masters of Arts, since they were still training to obtain specialized knowledge. Schwinges tests his patterns and paradigms empirically on the basis of randomly selected evidence from various years of attendance at the university of Cologne (1455 to 1495). There is no absolute correlation between study and career patterns. Schwinges is the undisputed expert in this field, to which he has devoted a whole book.⁵ Cologne has a wealth of primary sources which apparently do not exist for any other university.

In what follows, the examination of the medieval period predominates. In most of these cases Schwinges's helpful set of guidelines seems to have been consistently applied. For the rest, the interested reader can supply the deficit. The article by Jacques Verger (in French) on German students and graduates at the university of Paris from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries is most illuminating. He directs attention to the European *peregrinatio* in the Rhenish region as a means of verifying the initial hypotheses formulated by Schwinges. During the fifteenth century the visits themselves became shorter, and he is reduced to citing individual examples because there are really no reliable statistics. He states that no meaningful prosopographical study can be undertaken on the basis of the information available. The pattern reveals that students began their studies elsewhere, and acquired degrees in Paris, whose reputation made the move worthwhile.

⁵ *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des alten Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1986).

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Verger also speculates on what careers students pursued at home after having received a degree.

Career patterns and social roles in the later Middle Ages are also the concern of the subsequent contributions. Agostino Sottili looks at German students at Italian Renaissance universities while Michal Svatos focuses on the social status of members of the university of Prague (1348 to 1419). Investigating the social usefulness of attending the university, he finds, albeit on the basis of sparsely available sources, that Charles IV employed clerics in his administration and raised them to the level of university professors. A degree was not necessary. Christian Hesse more narrowly assesses the chances Arts graduates had of obtaining a benefice in Swiss collegiate foundations, contrasting them with lawyers. He finds that they had good chances of endowment with a canonry, but that university education as such hardly mattered. What principally benefited candidates was their social connections. Although the evidence is sparse, it is more than likely to be true that lawyers were more frequently employed closer to the border with the Empire.

Dealing with the education obtained in the higher faculties, Markus Bernhardt returns to the Cologne evidence on learned medical doctors between 1388 and 1520. He follows the general conference guidelines closely, investigates the calibre of learned doctors, and seeks to determine their role in the community. Cologne, he argues, can safely be treated as standard, since most students had been there at one time or another. His questions are rigorous, and he supports his findings with graphs, although the evidence he uses does not lend itself readily to this form of presentation. On the whole his findings are persuasive. Indeed, they appear logical: during the fifteenth century there is evidence of the regionalization of students as well as greater specialization. Cay-Rüdiger Prüll extends this study (relating to the same timespan) in a different direction by examining the careers of *Heilkundige* at Cologne University. He can undertake a valuable prosopographical analysis because he is dealing with a precisely defined group of people for whom enough biographical material is available. Learned medical doctors were mostly employed as official medical experts in cities and at courts, rising up the social ladder, whereas *Heilkundige* performed the more menial jobs.

Robert Jütte applies the prosopographical approach of collective biographies to examining the function and status of late medieval and

early modern Jewish medical doctors. This is all the more welcome because it demonstrates how the Jews might have been assessed in the *Bildungsgeschichte*. Jütte deals with the question of whether the Jews were learned, or mere empiricists, as opponents alleged. Indeed, most of the evidence comes from their opponents, Christian doctors and polemicists. Generally, it can be observed that Jewish doctors were popular because they were noted for their success in curing all manner of illnesses. Jewish doctors, therefore, found much recognition among the people at all levels. This was reinforced by the fact that there were many Jewish *Leib- und Hofärzte*. In the early modern period Christian doctors fought Jewish doctors with all the status-related means at their disposal. They obtained injunctions against Jews wearing the distinctive doctor's dress and enjoying the relevant social privileges. These external signs of status were extremely important and influenced the population. There were two contradictory accusations against Jewish medical doctors. On the one hand, the dress of foreign medical doctors was alleged to be too sumptuous; on the other, local doctors were ridiculed as shabby and dirty. In the later Middle Ages religious arguments were used to warn people off Jewish doctors; in the early modern period lack of qualification was alleged. Jütte advocates Foucault's method of discourse analysis as providing the best safeguard against false conclusions about German anti-Judaism developing in a continuous line from the Middle Ages to the anti-Semitism of the Third Reich. He himself is only too aware, however, that he is unable to demonstrate this method satisfactorily for lack of appropriate sources.

Jürgen Miethke looks at the evolution of another learned élite. He examines the careers of theology students in the later Middle Ages. No degrees were necessary, but it is clear, even from limited evidence, that there was a growing consciousness that priests and preachers needed a university education. Zenon Hubert Nowak (Torun) reflects on the social role of university-educated men in the territory of the Knights of the Teutonic Order before 1525 in the absence of any distinctive centre of higher learning in that area. He observes a continuous influx from, and reflux to, the heartland.

Lawyers and the way in which they formed a distinctive élite deserve broader consideration. Dietmar Willoweit offers a detailed examination of the professional profile of lawyers in medieval Franconia. His findings confirm Schwinges's hypotheses that there

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was a long-term process of professionalization and, in this instance, the process itself can be traced successfully. The role of universities is crucial, especially that of the university of Heidelberg from 1386, with which the first wave of new foundations began. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some canons were called *Magister* but did not have a university degree. Yet it is clear that they possessed adequate knowledge of complex issues, and were employed as notaries. In the fifteenth century it seems, however, that they were replaced by graduates. Previously, they had been able to fulfil their tasks by means of memory and dedicated work. Willoweit sees this as confirming Max Weber's *Rationalitätsthese*.⁶ Ingrid Männl traces the slow development of the careers of learned lawyers in the territories in the north and north east of the Empire between 1250 and 1440. She cannot rely on much preliminary research on this topic, but finds that what made learned lawyers less employable in those regions was the backwardness of the political evolution of the territories themselves. No imperial diets were held there and this meant that the services of trained lawyers were not sought. Rainer A. Müller deals with the problem of the 'Akademisierung des Hofrates' in Bavaria between 1450 and 1650. He has obviously selected a fruitful timespan, when even the lesser nobility obtained an academic training to make themselves employable. The author presents the Bavarian case as a paradigm of the modernization of the state in terms of its leading officials having a university education.

Peter Moraw deals with the university élite under the heading 'Improvisation und Ausgleich. Der deutsche Professor tritt ans Licht', an issue that has apparently never before been investigated. His geographical scope is the whole of the Empire. He observes that in the second generation there was already recruitment from local talent. The professorial existence developed steadily into a profession for life. While there was much improvisation during the first generation, it is clear that the German universities possessed great privileges from the

⁶ 'Damit würde die Rationalitätsthese Max Webers wieder einmal bestätigt. Zu bedenken ist jedoch, ob nicht den zunächst kirchlich gebundenen sozialetischen Zielvorstellungen eine wenigstens ebensogroße Bedeutung zukommt, da diese im Dienste weltlicher Herrschaftsinteressen eine gesellschaftsverändernde Kraft zu entfalten vermochten, die schließlich ein neues Zeitalter heraufgeführt hat' (p. 267).

start. It appears, however, that the social status of the German university professor was not at first in step with the political design and will of the founder.

The next contribution considers élites in positions other than state administration. Dieter Mertens investigates aspects of the social history and function of the *poeta laureatus* in the age of Maximilian I. The inclusion of the *poeta laureatus* in a conference on the formation of academic élites seems justified because the appointment only prospered in the context of the university. Martin Kintzinger in his 'Scholaster und Schulmeister. Funktionsfelder der Wissensvermittlung im späten Mittelalter' establishes that there were few criteria for measuring appropriate qualifications. Only from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards did towns employ graduates. Heads of schools and their deputies had to be Arts graduates; teaching and the communication of knowledge was given a professional profile. Andreas Beriger in his 'Der Typus des "Monastischen Privatgelehrten"' explores two relevant autobiographies. Beat Immenhauser in his 'Zwischen Schreibstube und Fürstenhof' discovers the 'Verfasserslexikon' as an important source of information for the social history of education in the later Middle Ages. He characterizes the social group under review as upwardly mobile.

Klaus Wriedt, on the other hand, in 'Gelehrte in Gesellschaft, Kirche und Verwaltung norddeutscher Städte' finds no social mobility. Scholars who had no connection with the patriciate did not become upwardly mobile through employment in the civic governments. Therefore no traditional criteria of selection were to be traced anywhere. Urs Martin Zahnd returns to scribes in the cities. He admits that he has chosen a difficult task, since the sources do not speak much about what must have been considered obvious. He examines individual biographies in an attempt to assess the relevant education. University studies were not deemed necessary, but increasingly, legal training was required. Ulrich Meier compares scribes and chancellors in Augsburg and Florence in the later Middle Ages and finds that the tasks which they were expected to perform were very similar. In both locations the chancellor was less influential in the day-to-day running and shaping of policies than the scribe. Frantisek Smahel investigates the careers of Bohemian humanists at the Charles University of Prague. The university degree had the function of a symbol of prestige. The timespan examined stretches from 1526 to 1620.

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Kaspar Elm provides a resumé of the conference. He emphasizes that not the institution, but people as groups and as members of élites, are the focus. These élites had an impact on the world outside the university. He confirms one specific result of the conference, namely that the society of the period was by no means static, especially in the later Middle Ages. The social history approach adopted here revealed paradigms of modernization. Some élites were formed by ignoring regionalization and retaining the universal commitment of universities, thus becoming élites of élites; some came too early to become effective. Elm traces the manner in which the impulses given by Schwinges were made effective. Medical doctors and lawyers occupied pride of place in testing out what was studied, not the fact that the most prominent of them were humanists. There was a general tendency towards professionalization in university courses as well as in the positions occupied by professional graduates outside the university. The sources of the development of an élite consciousness were the modern criteria of academic achievement and knowledge, but traditional ones such as social origin, clientele, and patronage, also played a determining role. Traditional theologians and Arts graduates were victims of the trend towards professionalization at the end of the fifteenth century, whereas, according to the consensus of conference participants, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the reformation of religion did not play such an important role. Elm singles out Moraw's contribution as marking the limits of social history methods. This conference, which was intended to test assumptions by utilizing new methodologies, certainly left room 'zum Weiterdenken'. The volume facilitates this in no small measure by its extensive footnotes.

Franz Graf-Stuhlhofer's researches for his Ph.D. thesis have resulted in the kind of study on which handbooks will wish to draw. His primary concern was to describe the life and impact of a personality whose name appears in many socio-political contexts under Emperor Maximilian. Whereas Dieter Mertens in the Schwinges volume justified the inclusion of the *poeta laureatus* among the university-educated élite, Graf-Stuhlhofer undertakes a more straightforward task. He sketches the life and work of the laureate as *Magister Artium* in Vienna. It culminated in the foundation of the College of Poets by Conrad Celtis. Graf-Stuhlhofer presents this as the fourth university faculty, in addition to the other higher faculties. Collimitius became Professor of Mathematics (bringing about the great Calendar reform) and Astrol-

ogy, a position from which he exercised a calming influence during the great Flood scare of 1524. He fulfilled many services to the Emperor Maximilian as his personal physician, in which role he was indeed highly accomplished. His influence is assessed in relation not so much to his appointments as to his publications. Graf-Stuhlhofer also reviews the opinions of nineteenth-century historians about Collimitius. The author is anxious not to overstep the mark by fulsome praise of the laureate's many accomplishments as the archetypical polymath. He breaks up much primary material into thematic excerpts, but this makes it much more difficult for the reader to grasp the overall picture. Franz Graf-Stuhlhofer plausibly represents Collimitius as a pioneer of *Wissenschaftsgeschichtsschreibung* and he investigates his humanist methodology as well as his understanding of astrology as a political instrument. The appendices to this volume will be most valuable to future researchers.

The four volumes indeed provide stimulating reading, and furthermore prompt the revision of some cherished assumptions. The coverage, the evidence, and the broad interpretative categories are admirably suited to the design of each. In the first two works a new history of universities takes shape. The first benefits greatly from the comparative analysis, the second from the non-ideological treatment of *Bildungsgeschichte* in the broadest possible terms. In the third, the complexity and variety of the scholarly experience is given full weight, and the authors respond well to the invitation to venture new theoretical reflections. Editors and authors most certainly demonstrate that the educational endeavours of the later Middle Ages and the early modern period fulfilled their social tasks both by adjusting to the needs of the time, and by redefining them.

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DEBATE

Theoretical Perspectives on the German Democratic Republic. Mary Fulbrook responds to Martin Sabrow*

Martin Sabrow concludes his highly interesting review of my book, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-89*, with the comment that 'the result of [Fulbrook's] *post mortem* is not yet final'.¹ Indeed not: I expressly stated in my Preface to *Anatomy* that it was a preliminary and 'to some extent provisional contribution'.² I am delighted to see the development of a more differentiated debate than at first seemed likely in the politically charged aftermath of the collapse of the East German dictatorship. There is no trace here of the political and moral sniping which underlay many early 'reckonings' with the regime, nor of the attempts to discredit intellectual arguments by snide denigration of the imputed political and moral views of authors. Rather, Sabrow's review not only engages seriously with the substantive, interpretive arguments and hypotheses of my book, but also raises some key theoretical issues with far wider implications. I shall focus primarily on these more general theoretical questions here.

There are three areas in particular which I wish to discuss: the nature and use of analytical concepts, particularly the concepts of totalitarianism and legitimacy; the question of empathy, or interpretive understanding, and its relation to value neutrality, relativism, and the nature of history; and the question of approaches to political-social history (or whatever phrase we may wish to come up with). I shall of course discuss these issues specifically in relation to the comments Sabrow makes on my book, but I believe they are of far broader relevance – are indeed crucial – to the nature of historical analysis in general.

* Mary Fulbrook's book, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-89* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), was reviewed by Martin Sabrow in the Debate Section of the *Bulletin*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (May 1998), pp. 28-36.

¹ Sabrow, p. 36.

² *Anatomy*, p. v.

Concepts: Totalitarianism, Legitimacy

Sabrow's review raises the issue of how we are to interpret the GDR as a whole, in the light of wider theoretical models. He suggests that there are internal contradictions in my approach: in his view, while I explicitly reject the 'totalitarian model', he claims to find lingering vestiges of this in my substantive analysis of repression/repressed, and in my interpretations of the 'total claims' of rulers. But I believe that, for all his theoretical awareness, Sabrow has missed crucial distinctions concerning the nature of concepts and models in history and is thus less than clear in his discussion of totalitarianism generally and as applied to the GDR.

Let me start by making a few, necessarily highly condensed, general remarks about the nature of concepts.³ Historical analysis can take place only through the development, application, evaluation, and refinement of a set of analytical concepts. These play a key role both in our perception and active investigation of the empirical historical world, on the one hand, and our interpretation, explanation, and representation of this historical reality on the other. Concepts vary dramatically in their degree of contentiousness and theoretical sophistication: they may be part of the taken-for-granted vocabulary of a particular discourse, simply accepted because it is assumed that 'this is the way the world is'; they may be quite clearly 'essentially contested', politically loaded; they may be an elaborated element in a sophisticated theoretical framework.⁴ Concepts may be obviously 'anachronistic', or explicitly innovative. They may refer to historical 'wholes' or to parts of a larger complex. They may, as Max Weber famously pointed out in his discussion of 'ideal types', represent artificial constructs never found in the 'pure' version in reality ('bureaucracy'), or encapsulate a range of historically saturated 'real' cases ('the city'), or highlight selected elements of one very specific historical complex ('the Protestant ethic').

³ These ideas are developed at greater length in a book I am currently writing on *Historical Theory* (Routledge).

⁴ Pause for a moment to consider the apparently innocent little word, 'class', in the light of these remarks. We all appreciate – particularly when walking down any street in central London – that it refers to something very real; but try getting any group of 'ordinary people', let alone academics, to agree on a common theoretical definition and appropriate empirical indicators.

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I am sure Sabrow is aware of this complexity in principle, but he betrays no evidence of such sophistication in his critique of my alleged 'inconsistency' in the use of the 'totalitarian model'. He counterposes my explicit rejection of 'the theory of totalitarianism' with my use of the adjective 'total' (as in 'the party aimed at total penetration . . . total persuasion . . . total conformity').⁵ To use the word 'total' does not entail buying the typological, explanatory, and denunciatory baggage attached to the 'theory of totalitarianism' – which, in any event, is not one model or theory but many. (I hesitate to point out that lower down on the same page Sabrow finds me 'totally convincing'; I dread to think what this might imply if similarly blown up.) Let me make quite explicit the theories of totalitarianism which I reject, and list a few reasons for rejection, which go far beyond the well-rehearsed critiques of 'equating brown and red dictatorships'.⁶

'Totalitarianism', even in the early stages of its usage, was defined and operationalized in quite different ways by such key proponents as Hannah Arendt, and Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, leading to quite different possible categorizations of regimes.⁷ Arendt's emphasis on the combination of terror and mass popular support would allow the Third Reich to score much higher on a totalitarianism scale than the GDR; by contrast, Friedrich and Brzezinski's emphasis on a streamlined state under the control of one party with a monopoly over the use of force, the news, and the economy, would lead to quite the opposite conclusion, barely allowing the chaotic, polycratic regime of the Third Reich even to the starting line compared to the efficient Prussian variant of communism in the GDR. Even as a typological, classificatory device for the political science equivalent of butterfly collection, the 'model' in its early stages left a lot to be desired, quite irrespective of its undoubted political functionalization in the Cold War.

⁵ Sabrow, p. 30.

⁶ See also my much more detailed discussion of recent theories of totalitarianism in my article 'The Limits of Totalitarianism: God, State and Society in the GDR', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vol. vii, 1997.

⁷ Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951).

Theories of totalitarianism have gone through a number of transformations since. Although largely discredited as a tool of political diatribe rather than academic analysis in the 1970s and 1980s, a few lone voices still clung to them in the academic wilderness. There was then a startling renaissance of the concept in the post-1989 wave of renewed denunciation of collapsed communist dictatorships. But even now the diversity of definitions was more evident than the construction of any single 'model'.⁸ There are several problems with the current plethora of theories of totalitarianism, which cannot be gone into in any detail here. Some are predicated on wider assumptions about 'modernity' as defined by the 'differentiation of spheres'. Others embody not only classificatory, but also explanatory aspirations, suggesting that reference to force, repression, and ideological indoctrination will constitute a sufficient explanation of both stability and collapse, and failing to see the broader shades of grey in between oppressors and oppressed. Quite a few proponents of one variant make an explicit link between classification, explanation, and denunciation.

The main point is this: first, there is no one single 'model of totalitarianism'; secondly, I would hazard the generalization that many of the various models proposed over the years are well-nigh mutually incompatible; and thirdly, in their attempts both to classify and to explain (and often also to denounce) the whole of regime and society in one concept they have a built-in tendency to assume rather than explore the interconnections. I see no reason to adopt a term which has been used in such a variety of ways, has such a range of explanatory and political connotations, and is for the most part predicated on sets of theoretical assumptions which I do not share.

The most fruitful paths out of this set of debates have to do with a focus on specific, single elements within a more complex combination

⁸ See for some examples of quite divergent contributions to recent debates: Eckhard Jesse, 'War die DDR totalitär?', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B 40/94, 7 Oct. 1994, pp. 12-23; Sigrid Meuschel, 'Überlegungen zu einer Herrschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte der DDR', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 19 (1993), pp. 5-14; Klaus Schroeder and Jochen Staadt, 'Der diskrete Charme des Status Quo. DDR-Forschung in der Ära der Entspannungspolitik', in Klaus Schroeder (ed.), *Geschichte und Transformation des SED-Staates* (Berlin, 1994).

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of factors, rather than the attempted classification, and explicit or implicit explanation (and often also condemnation), of whole regimes. Thus, my reference to the 'total claims' of rulers (to which subject I shall return in a moment) is analytically separable from any other aspects of GDR state and society, and is in no way predicated on a 'model' (of whichever variety) encompassing the whole.⁹ (These claims are perhaps only what Sabrow means, although he nevertheless talks about 'the model', 'the theory' of totalitarianism.) In so far as we need some preliminary label to denote the general character of the political regime with which we are dealing, with few or no associated presuppositions, it seems to me that there is little wrong with the old and simple term 'dictatorship' (as in the title of my book).

Let me turn to another key concept raised by Sabrow: legitimacy. There are two minor errors here in Sabrow's account, to be briefly disposed of before the important point. First, a 'typo' in the review: however intriguing it might be to think of the behaviour of GDR citizens as 'crumbling' (perhaps in sympathy with their buildings), Sabrow's quotation from me should in fact have read 'conformity and grumbling'.¹⁰ Secondly, Sabrow's reference to 'legitimacy ... in the Weberian sense' is precisely *not* in Max Weber's sense. Weber was at pains to point out that it was *not* a 'popular belief' in the ruler, but rather the willingness of the *ruler's staffs* to behave as though they believed (whatever their actual motives for such behaviour) in the ruler's claims to authority, that was at the heart of legitimacy.

Sabrow's misinterpretation of Weber aside, there is an important point here. Part of my underlying theoretical agenda in *Anatomy* was to seek to put together the Weberian emphasis on the belief of the ruler's staffs, or functionaries, in the legitimacy of the claimed domination (and hence their 'will to rule'), with a differentiated analysis of the broader social and historical conditions under which they could or

⁹ To this extent I agree with Ian Kershaw's redefinition of totalitarianism as referring to the claims of rulers, although I disagree with (and fail to see why he adopts) his concomitant definition of totalitarianism 'to depict an unusual, revolutionary, violent and transitional phase in the life of a regime'. Ian Kershaw, 'Totalitarianism Revisited: Nazism and Stalinism in Comparative Perspective', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte*, 23 (1994), pp. 23-40, at p. 40.

¹⁰ Sabrow, p. 35, quoting *Anatomy*, p. 139.

could not exercise this will to rule. Thus I was trying to combine a 'history from below' with an analysis of what was going on at the top. Far from operating a 'rather static dichotomy' allegedly 'inspired by theories of totalitarianism', I was trying – particularly in some of what Sabrow dismisses as 'narrative' (although qualified as 'admittedly dense and successful') descriptive sections – to explore the interactions and developments between these elements over time. It is extraordinarily hard to combine explicitly theoretical structural analysis with a sense of change and interaction among elements over time; perhaps I was not always entirely successful in achieving the right balance in *Anatomy*. But I do think it was important to draw out some of the complexity of the interactions between the tiny minority of rulers and the even tinier minority involved in what I called 'challenges to domination' at a time when simplistic platitudes were the more general order of the day.¹¹

Perhaps my sections on grumbling conformity were not as full as they might have been in a longer book, or one with a different theoretical agenda; and perhaps my notion of 'Anpassung und Meckern' (conformity and grumbling) does not capture the shades of ambivalence in quite such positive tones as Sabrow's proposed 'loyale Widerwilligkeit' (loyal reluctance, or perhaps better, reluctant loyalty); but I think both Sabrow and I agree on the existence of that larger area. I am not sure, however, whether there is really anything much to be gained from displacing the (genuinely Weberian) emphasis on legitimacy with a focus instead on 'loyalty' – a concept which would certainly require a great deal more analysis and definition before I was fully convinced of its superior purchase on the complex, changing and varied views of GDR citizens towards their state.¹² (What actually were they – allegedly – 'loyal' towards? Were not, for example, declarations of loyalty by many, though far from all, members of the intelligentsia

¹¹ Cf. my analysis of black-and-white approaches in M. Fulbrook, 'Reckoning with the Past: Heroes, Victims and Villains in the History of the German Democratic Republic', in Reinhard Alter and Peter Monteath (eds.), *Rewriting the German Past: History and Identity in the New Germany* (New Jersey, 1997), where I seek instead (not entirely flippantly) to propose the alternative 'Octopus Theory' of GDR history.

¹² A question which I discuss in my forthcoming book on *German National Identity after the Holocaust* (Cambridge, 1999).

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on sensitive occasions such as 1961 rather an instance of self-preservation and 'conformity'?)

It is precisely because of the complexities of the interplay between 'ruling' and 'ruled', of mutual accommodation, negotiation, challenge, and response, that we need a more differentiated conceptual approach to understanding the changing character of domination (viewed not merely as a set of formal political structures) over a long period of time. We also need to combine a focus on political history with a very serious and detailed social history, which explores both the changing structures of society and the changing character and typical patterns of behaviour and mentality of social actors over time. Although I made passing remarks in *Anatomy* about, for example, the importance of generations, much of this detailed social history has yet to be done.¹³ If the history of the GDR follows in any way the tracks laid down by the historiography of the Third Reich, where political history and social history have developed in remarkably fruitful interaction (indeed, in many cases it now seems almost artificial even to try to make such a distinction), I cannot see the current fascination with the extremely variable and broad brush concept of totalitarianism lasting very long as a widely accepted analytical tool.

Methodological Decisions? Empathy, Perspective and Value Neutrality

Sabrow's own theoretical approach is in any event a little complex and hard to define precisely (I hesitate to suggest inconsistent). But his at least potential or implicit inconsistencies raise some highly important questions. No sooner has he castigated me for failing to jump unambiguously on (or keep clearly off) a totalitarian bandwagon (which clearly presupposes some external criteria of evaluation) than he wants to take me to task for failing to reproduce, from some position of immanence, the world views of the SED and informers for the Stasi. As in Sabrow's approach to GDR historical science (*Geschichtswissenschaft*), developed in his other writings, Sabrow here seems to want us as

¹³ There are of course extremely promising beginnings, as in the collection edited by Hartmut Kaelble, Jürgen Kocka, and Hartmut Zwahr, *Sozialgeschichte der DDR* (Stuttgart, 1994); see also Christoph Kleßmann and Georg Wagner (eds.), *Das gesplittene Land* (Munich, 1993).

historians to engage in a seemingly uncritical reproduction or representation of the idea systems (or 'ruling discourse') of those we are analysing.

There is thus, for example, the explicit complaint that I do not take the SED's or Stasi's world views sufficiently seriously, since my use of critical terms such as 'paranoia' presupposes their inappropriateness. (At least this makes for a refreshing change from being branded an over-apologetic alleged former fellow-traveller.) Sabrow calls instead for an immersion in, and reproduction of, the world as the SED and Stasi saw it: 'The diagnosis of "paranoia" ... ignores the possibility that the irrational thing was not the self-understanding of the rulers and especially of state security, but the reality on which it was based'.¹⁴

I have several reactions to this, specific and more general. On the specific point, I make clear in *Anatomy* that there were indeed well-founded fears of the collapse of the state due to the actions of enemies both abroad and within; this was, after all, a fragile and imposed regime, whose existence and permanence were long in doubt; and the Federal Republic enshrined the notion of provisionality in its Basic Law. The GDR was existentially threatened (to different degrees at different times); but at the same time, even well-founded fears can be blown out of all proportion and become faintly ludicrous on occasion. I do think it is 'paranoid' to see in the semi-inebriated pranks of bored teenagers the unseen hand of the 'class enemy'.

To concede the appropriateness of all SED fears would be precisely – again – to reproduce black-and-white views which fail to recognize that, for example, much alleged 'political opposition' is simply 'difference', 'nonconformity', which can arise from all manner of reasons having little to do with political views, but which are feared and branded by the state as dangerous. It would thus entail de-legitimizing other views which differed from those of the SED (such as the views of young Christians in the *Junge Gemeinde* who could not agree that they were dangerous members of a 'criminal organization'). If one prioritizes the truth of 'reality claims' for one point of view, there is a serious problem when this is mutually incompatible with other points of view. And, as a scholar external to the situation under analysis, I do think we need some external criteria of evaluation to allow us to distinguish between, for example, teenage high spirits, or personal disputes be-

¹⁴ Sabrow, p. 31.

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tween teachers, parents and students, on the one hand, and genuine efforts by political opponents in West or East to undermine the regime on the other, whatever the SED's view of the situation. Hence we do need at least some concept of 'paranoia'; although setting the precise boundary line may on occasion be difficult, this is matter of evaluation in the light of empirical evidence.

At the same time, it is also true – as Sabrow points out – that many people believed in the ideals they were serving. I do not dispute this. Perhaps my passing remarks on motives for informing for the Stasi were simply too brief to encompass the complexities of this area. This is, I would suggest, merely a matter of more detailed empirical research, in order to define the variety of reasons and motives, self-confessed, imputed, or documented (not always the same, by any means).

There is, however, a broader and important general point here. We are back on some well-trodden grounds relating to empathy, relativism, and the pursuit of value neutrality. I hesitate to mention Sabrow's plea for empathy with the world views of the Stasi and SED in the same breath as Andreas Hillgruber's notorious plea for empathy with embattled soldiers and civilians on the Eastern Front in the closing stages of the Second World War.¹⁵ However, there is a whiff of similarity which cannot be overlooked; the difference lies primarily in the more obvious breaking of long-standing and widespread taboos in the Hillgruber case. What is at issue is a more general question of what Weber (again!) called 'interpretive understanding'. I *did* explicitly want, in *Anatomy*, to understand the mind-sets and world views of a range of participants in the complex historical process; without such internal understanding from a diversity of perspectives, one cannot explain the whole. But we have to look a little more closely at what is meant by 'understanding'.

The first point here – certainly *contra* Hillgruber, and possibly also with respect to Sabrow – is that this method of 'internal understanding', or faithful reproduction of world views, must be applied to *all* the relevant groups in the historical process: 'empathy' cannot be reduced simply to personal 'sympathy' with, and support of the cause of, one particular group at the expense of others. (This was, of course, what

¹⁵ Andreas Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang. Die Zerschlagung des deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums* (Berlin, 1986), a key text in unleashing the *Historikerstreit* of 1986-7.

caused particular offence in the Hillgruber case, since his plea for empathy with those battling on the Eastern Front appeared to overlook the intrinsically connected prolongation of suffering and murder in concentration camps behind the lines.) It can only be used as a tool of historical understanding in seeking to explain the intersection of different projects, different world views, rooted in different groups with different resources and interests, under particular historical circumstances. Thus no one single world view can be privileged over others as the only one to be reproduced in its own terms.

In short, I think Sabrow is wrong when he criticizes my alleged 'methodological decision which shapes the whole investigation', namely to exclude 'the consciousness of the actors, their ideological convictions, traditional attitudes, and mentalities'.¹⁶ I think I actually spend a great deal of time on precisely these things (see, for example, the discussions of different elements in the Protestant Churches, or what I think is actually a rather kind attribution of 'paternalism' to the SED). I may not cover them all very well; but I do not prioritize one at the expense of others, as Sabrow seems to want me to do for the SED, nor do I exclude other, competing and alternative mentalities from the analysis.

But beyond this, there is a second and more general point - and here Sabrow and I part company I think almost entirely. Historical analysis cannot remain at the level of reproduction, or 'immanent re-presentation', whether of one or of many world views. Understanding of world views other than one's own, their placing in a wider explanatory whole, necessarily also entails interpretation. Historical analysis is not an exercise in mimesis, but rather in translation, from one set of cultures and contexts to another. This is not necessarily easy, or failure-free. As Sabrow will know only too well (remembering international conferences we have shared!), speaking a non-native language is not always as easy as speaking a mother tongue; nor is translation ever quite perfect. An author is not a mechanical translation machine. I have found, over and over again (and not just in *Anatomy*) that it is a great deal easier for me to enter into some world views than others, and hence to redescribe, or interpret them to a readership more appropriately than others which are more 'foreign', whose 'language' I cannot master so easily. But I should in principle be wary of any would-be

¹⁶ Sabrow, p. 31.

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academic approach to history which seeks merely to reproduce the participants' own explicit self-justifications (or ideological legitimations) without any interpretive voice from outside, let alone an approach which explicitly prioritizes an interpretive understanding and faithful reproduction of one point of view irrespective of others.

What are the broader implications of this for the practice of history by those who view themselves as active historians, rather than faithful transcribers for one particular point of view? There are clearly major questions here concerning relativism and value freedom, which there is not space to go into in any detail. I merely want to make two brief points.

First, we should celebrate (or simply enjoy, as we work) the artistic, creative element in historical writing, which allows us as authors to act as instruments of active reconstruction and representation much as do painters and novelists. But secondly, before we wander down the post-modernist (or at least relativist) path too far, we should remember also what we have in common with geographers. Maps can be presented on many different scales, with different landmarks, and different conventions of representation. In their dimensions and modes of representation they may not always bear much relationship to 'reality' (consider the map of the London Underground). But they are of precious little use if they do not allow one to get on the Underground at Holborn and arrive at Heathrow, get on the plane at Heathrow and land on the right runway in Berlin or Boston. Historical representations too, have some duty to act as faithful guides to the foreign countries that are the past, so that we do not entirely lose our way in exploration.¹⁷

Secondly, I do not think that a conception of history as translation and as empirically faithful but also creative representation, necessarily entails a simultaneous jettisoning of any notion of value neutrality. I do think this issue requires radical rethinking (and here Weber certainly did not say the last word), and the very vehemence of recent debates over understanding German dictatorships indicates just how hotly contested this terrain still is. But I do not think it is resolved through either privileging the reproduction of one world view, or its external evaluation and critique in the light of another.¹⁸

¹⁷ These ideas are developed at greater length in my book on *Historical Theory*.

¹⁸ There are important further issues to do with choice of theoretical framework and associated concepts, as well as perspective and style, which there is not space to develop here.

Approaches to the Political-Social History of the GDR

Maps can of course be misleading and distorted, can have the notorious 'blank spots' so beloved of some West German critiques of East German historical science, or be so detailed that one is lost in the maze of fine detail, cannot see the wood for the trees (again often characteristic of notoriously thorough German scholarship). They can focus on such tiny corners of the mosaic, and be so entranced with the variety of possible modes of representation of these corners from different perspectives, that the map-makers can deny that there is any 'whole' at all. To say that history is about creating maps of something real is not to achieve any consensus about the scale and purpose of these maps.

A substantive strand in Sabrow's review relates to new approaches – many of them championed at the Potsdam *Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung* where he is based – to the detailed analysis of modes of negotiation, self-preservation, support and resistance in everyday life in the GDR. Some of this research focuses very narrowly on specific mosaic stones, with no attempt to insert them into a wider whole.¹⁹ I do not think this form of *Alltagsgeschichte* is quite what Sabrow is suggesting (although it clearly opens up similar questions, from a different political angle, to those involved in the debates over 'normalisation' of the Third Reich). Sabrow's 'shadow map' of the GDR, as it comes through his review of *Anatomy*, is one which still focuses on explaining the whole, but emphasizes rather more the many facets of accommodation with and popular support for the regime. Essentially, he is suggesting that at least a large part of the answer to the question of the long stability of the GDR has to do with (albeit reluctant) support and accommodation, rather than the rather effective isolation of dissent until the closing stages.

Obviously the sources, with their invariable declarations of positive attitudes before the more sombre reflections on 'negative', 'unclear', and 'hesitating' opinions, have to be read with the appropriate pinches of salt. But it is certainly true that there were large areas of accommodation and negotiation in everyday life; that, indeed, millions of people lived what seemed to them to be perfectly 'ordinary'

¹⁹ I think here particularly of Thomas Lindenberger's approach to *Herrschaft und Eigensinn*. Nevertheless, some of this research does – at least implicitly – seek to retrieve a 'real' GDR beyond the widespread (and usually denunciatory) focus on the two poles of repression and opposition.

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lives within the seemingly given parameters of the GDR. If the aim is comprehensive re-description, fine. Whether this is sufficient to explain patterns of stability and destabilization is however quite another matter. Here, I do think it is crucial to analyse – as I sought to do in *Anatomy* – the interplay between diverse challenges to domination (with different aims and organizational bases), on the one hand, and the various strategies, resources, and goals of leaders and functionaries, on the other, in changing international and domestic circumstances. If Sabrow wishes to suggest explicitly that widespread active popular support is the major key to political stability over forty years, I shall then have to disagree.²⁰

I had no doubt at all at the time of writing *Anatomy* – and have been richly confirmed in this view by subsequent publications by others in the field – that a great deal more research was both desirable and essential, in order to understand fully the inner workings of this intriguing regime.²¹ The details and the general shape of the picture presented in *Anatomy* will no doubt be refined and revised over the years to come. But I would stand by the main theoretical tenets of the study: that it is more profitable to focus on the inter-relations among elements in a complex and changing whole, than to impose a holistic and tendentious ‘model’; that it is important to understand and interpret a diversity of voices, and not just reproduce a ‘ruling discourse’; and that it is important to try to develop a broader explanatory framework, beyond that of any of the participants’ self-understandings and self-presentations. I would also stand by my primary aim: to highlight some key elements and to raise for explicit discussion an interpretation breaking out of simplistic attacks and apologias. Judging by Sabrow’s stimulating, sophisticated, and serious response, for all our continuing areas of disagreement, this aim at least has been to some extent achieved.

²⁰ I shall also have to part company if Sabrow insists that we enter the terrain of ‘in Foucaultian terms . . . the order of another discourse’ (Sabrow, p. 35).

²¹ In fact, I do not think *any* analysis of any topic can in principle be ‘final’, for all sorts of theoretical reasons as well as the mundane question of empirical research.

Anatomy of a Dictatorship

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BOOK REVIEWS

PETER NITSCHKE, *“Staatsräson kontra Utopie?” Von Thomas Müntzer bis zu Friedrich II. von Preußen* (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 1995), 320 pp. ISBN 3 476 01344 8. DM 68.00

Eleatic Stranger: Whatever we attribute to motion and rest in common, cannot be either of them.

Theaetetus: Why not?

Stranger: Because motion would be at rest and rest in motion, for either of them, being predicated of both, will compel the other to change into the opposite of its own nature, because partaking of its opposite.

Plato, *Sophist* (360BCE)

Peter Nitschke proposes to apply Plato’s ‘ontological dialectic’ to explain the relationship between two seemingly conflicting strands of early modern German politics – Reason of State and Utopia. These supposed opposites, he suggests, met and interacted. This encounter happened in history, not in Plato’s world of ideas, but the Platonic model is a useful one for understanding such confluences. Furthermore, Nitschke argues, the interplay of Reason of State and Utopia was a distinctly German phenomenon. So, one might add, is the philosophical matrix within which Nitschke approaches the history of political thought.

Nitschke’s book is not intended as a historical study. The author emphatically shrinks from ‘analysing the [Holy Roman] Empire and its constitution’ (p. 4), and his approach to political theory is selective, excluding such areas as foreign relations, economy and finance. Nor does he wish to take up a history of concepts in the manner pursued by the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* school. Nitschke is not in search of teleological accounts of modernization, and prefers the term ‘premodern’ to ‘early modern’ in his discussion of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century German thinkers. He departs, rather, from Carl Schmitt’s newly fashionable discussion of ‘the political’, and touches on present-day philosophical concerns about the nature of politics. In an ontological vein, he offers a reflection on Cassirer’s attempted synthesis between phenomenon and idea. Addressing a crucial dis-

tion embedded in German social science, he aims to explain how 'positivist' and 'normative' approaches to politics can meet and correlate. Nitschke's own position, however, is by no means neutral. It is, in his own Platonic terms, 'normative ontological'. It is about ideas of the good polity, and the ways in which they interacted and affected actions in historical contexts.

This setting of the scene does not promise easy reading for most historians. Valuable insights can be gleaned from the book's subject matter: an analysis of ideas of polity, police, order, and the public good, over three centuries of German political writing. The author's conceptual setting, however, may appear forbidding to readers not versed in recent German political theory.

The first part of the book lays out the field of investigation. It discusses previous approaches to the history of ideas, and proposes 'ontological dialectic' as a new method of analysing early modern discussions of Reason of State and Utopia. The doctrine of *ratio status*, introduced primarily via Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (1513), chronologically dovetailed with the genre initiated by Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). Beyond the conflicting aspects of these doctrines, it is argued, lay areas of overlap. Strategies of mediation were developed. One major common denominator can be traced in the concept of the common good: the *bonum commune* could be conceived as one doctrine's rational target and the other's moral launching-point. The adjacent ideal of *gute Policey*, the early modern German conception of 'the well-governed state', was powerfully knitted into both Reason of State and Utopia. For both these doctrines – and this is one of Nitschke's most interesting points – were deeply concerned with planning and design. And both of these approaches to politics were 'functional' in the sense that their promoters were eager to supply means to ends, and to navigate their vessels of theory in the muddy waters of reality. In the context of the early Enlightenment, Reason of State and Utopia spoke a similar language, conveying a commitment to the sustained application of reason to politics.

In the second part of the book Nitschke provides discussions of eight 'premodern' German thinkers who were also practitioners of politics: Thomas Müntzer, Johann Oldendorp, Melchior van Osse, Johannes Althusius, Johann Valentin Andreae, Dietrich Reinkingk, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, and Frederick the Great. Each of them, as Nitschke demonstrates, conceptualized politics from within some

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corner of the 'tension field' between Reason of State and Utopia. Nitschke's main achievement here is to demonstrate not only the intensifying common denominators of both strands of thought, but also the ways in which they remained apart.

The German *Staatsräson* theorists, it seems, were never inclined to ride the waves of Fortune with Machiavellian abandon. Government, not least by Hohenzollern standards, was a matter of hard everyday work. The edifices of power were painstakingly assembled, diligently constructed, and craftily erected between the short moments of glory when they were conquered by storm. Yet, as the chapter on Frederick the Great clearly draws out, Enlightenment in his case amounted to 'rationalization of government by the ruler himself', cynically identifying the common good with his own self-interest.

Writers of Utopias, from Thomas More onwards, were motivated by a humanist wish to apply reason to the state for the betterment of mankind. They abandoned Plato's world of ideas in order to seek, very much like Machiavelli, an *ars vivendi* which amounted to a pragmatic reworking of the good polity. Yet the utopian person (or man), as Nitschke points out, is always more than the sum of his (or her?) political and social functions. This moral transcending of politics, this Christian layer in early modern Utopian thought, is conspicuously absent from the work of Machiavelli and most of his followers.

But utopias were not about godliness. While their authors acknowledged the divine residue in human personality, they also anticipated Leibniz's bid to withdraw divine intervention from the everyday functioning of political mechanisms. And thus, when it came to their description of the polity, the authors of utopias were as 'anthropological' as the Reason of State theorists. And they, too, wielded power and used it politically.

Nitschke's critique of both traditions, as he leads them into the relatively familiar grounds of the Enlightenment, takes up the well-trodden path of Adorno and Horkheimer. German political culture, he suggests, was shaped profoundly by the intellectual power-relations of Reason of State and Utopia. Moreover (if I follow the author's somewhat understated meaning), German political culture has been affected enduringly by the absence of certain elements from this whole interplay, by what this pair of quasi-rivals left out in the cold as they careered into the revolutionary phase of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For both political doctrines remained staunchly

'collectivist' in their interpretation of the common good. Neither opened up to an idea of 'the political' resting on individuals and their rights. This strand of the argument may be linked with Nitschke's account, in his previously published works, of the transformation of Aristotelian political thought in early modern Germany: the shift from *politeia* to *Polizei*.

This is an interesting line of argument. It makes one suspect that the book is mildly teleological after all. Furthermore, Nitschke's insistence that he is interested in the 'ontological' rather than the 'historical' nature of political thought is at times puzzling to this reviewer, especially when the distinction is made to rest upon John Pocock's work on early modern political discourses (p. 6). For, even if Nitschke's book offers a reflection on what political concepts are, and on the 'timeless' ways in which they meet and interact, it is still historical. It suggests a narrative, indeed a *Sonderweg* story couched in strong political science terms. But it also provides its readers with detailed accounts of eight thinkers, famous or obscure, within their intellectual contexts. Historians concerned with Müntzer, Althusius, Leibniz, and the other authors discussed in this book may well benefit from Nitschke's postmodern attempt to unearth structures of theoretical interplay in 'premodern' texts, even if his philosophical concerns and language are somewhat beyond their pale.

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RONALD G. ASCH, *The Thirty Years War. The Holy Roman Empire and Europe 1618-1648* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997), xiv + 247 pp. ISBN 0 333 62694 X. £37.50 (Hardback). ISBN 0 333 62695 8. £11.99 (Paperback)

It is a cause for some concern that the traditional unwillingness of the British to learn foreign languages is leading to a serious imbalance in English-language scholarship on German history. In the increasingly rare event that would-be doctoral students in history possess a reading knowledge of German, they flock overwhelmingly into a relatively small number of heavily-populated areas, in particular the late nineteenth century and, above all, the Nazi years. Thanks in large part to the efforts of the late and much-lamented Bob Scribner, Anglo-Saxon scholars have contributed greatly to Reformation history but, while important work has been done in recent years on early modern women's history, on the witch-craze, and in cultural history, there are nevertheless vast and important areas of German history where one or two scholars plough lonely furrows through fields barren of any substantial recent work in English. The result is that even the most diligent of monoglot British undergraduates can derive at best a partial and distorted overall picture of key periods in German history. For the less diligent, German history is reduced largely to the Reformation, witches, Bismarck, and the Nazis.

Nowhere is this more apparent, at least in the early modern period, than with regard to the Thirty Years War – the most important formative phase in German history between the Reformation and the late nineteenth century. It may be its brilliant style that has been principally responsible for keeping Veronica Wedgwood's classic narrative account of the war in print sixty years after its original publication, but it is something of an indictment that it has for so long been the only modern synthesis to give a coherent – if heavily dated – narrative of the war which gives full attention to the German point of view, and this from the pen of one who was hardly a specialist in German history. Since 1945, the dominant interpretation of the war in English has been a modified version of the trenchant vision of S. H. Steinberg, who saw the conflict as essentially European in nature, downplayed German issues, denied that it lasted thirty years, and attacked historians for exaggerating its impact on Germany.

While most Anglo-Saxon historians since Steinberg have expressed doubts about aspects of his outspoken views, which were utterly unsupported by any serious work in archives or even on published sources, they have stayed largely loyal to his broad conceptual framework. The best-selling general account of the war since Wedgwood, the collective work assembled by a team of scholars under Geoffrey Parker in 1984, while by no means treating German perspectives with Steinberg's barely-disguised contempt, kept his essentially European framework. Parker, a distinguished historian of Spain and the Netherlands, is no expert on German history, and while he devoted a great deal of space to the problems of the Holy Roman Empire, it is striking that, of his team of eleven scholars, only four were historians of Germany or the Habsburgs. The continuing dominance of the Steinberg model in Anglo-Saxon historiography is demonstrated in the article on the origins of the Thirty Years War published as recently as 1992 in the *English Historical Review* by Professor Nicola Sutherland, a respected historian of France, who dismisses German scholarship without having made any discernible effort to read any of it. This attitude is inexcusable, but all too common.

The result has been that, while there is distinguished work available in English on many aspects of the Thirty Years War, there is little opportunity for those who do not read German to appreciate the fundamental reinterpretation of the war, and of the history of the Empire in the seventeenth century in general, which has been such a feature of German historiography over the last twenty years. John Theibault and Chris Friedrichs have done a great deal to undermine the unconvincing, if influential, attacks by Ergang, Steinberg, Benecke, and Rabb on the so-called disastrous war theory, but coverage of the political aspects of the war remains patchy at best; much has to be gleaned from the general accounts of Wedgwood, Parker, and even the abridged English translation of Gindley to find anything at all on such central figures as Johann Georg of Saxony, or Maximilian I of Bavaria.

Ronald Asch is therefore to be congratulated on producing an expert and judicious account of the war which returns the Holy Roman Empire to centre stage and provides a highly useful guide to recent German historiography, although the parsimony of his publisher means that he has all too little space in which to develop his arguments. Even distinguished publishers of university textbooks seem increasingly reluctant to allow authors to cover complex topics at the length

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they deserve. Perhaps they should cast an eye at Wedgwood's sales figures since 1938: there is clearly a market for a well-written, up-to-date narrative account of the war. Asch – an expert in seventeenth-century British as well as German history – cannot hope to write such a book in the space available, but he has carried off a complex task of compression with some style. Although he gives full attention to European matters, his book is a firm return to the traditional interpretation of the war as essentially a crisis of the Holy Roman Empire, in which foreign powers were interested from the start, but which only became a truly European conflict over time. As Asch argues, the Northern Wars and even the Spanish-Dutch conflicts, while overlapping with the war in the Empire at various points, were essentially distinct wars, with their own issues and their own internal logic, at least until the outbreak of the Franco-Spanish war in 1635.

Asch opens with a succinct analysis of the origins of the war, beginning with the Empire, and only then moving on to the European situation; this reverses the polarities of all recent accounts in English, but it is entirely justifiable. Since his space is so limited, he cannot provide a seamless narrative of the war. Instead, he sensibly concentrates on four vital turning-points: the Bohemian Revolt, the 1629 Edict of Restitution, the 1635 Peace of Prague and the 1648 Peace of Westphalia. This does not work in an entirely satisfactory manner – there is inevitably a certain amount of filling-in to be done, and the narrative does not always flow smoothly – nevertheless it has the advantage of escaping the artificial divisions based on the supposed 'European' nature of the war, which have been popular since Steinberg (the Dutch-Palatinate period; the Danish intermezzo; the Swedish period; the French period) and of centring the narrative on developments in the Empire. He concludes with an excellent analytical chapter on the conduct and impact of the war, and a brief epilogue which looks at the consequences of the war for the Empire.

Asch introduces to his Anglo-Saxon audience the ideas of authors of influential recent syntheses of the war in German, in particular Johannes Burkhardt and Georg Schmidt, but the interpretation he presents is very much his own. He is influenced by Burkhardt's concept of the war as a *Staatsbildungskrieg*, not a conflict of fully-fledged modern states, but he draws the sensible conclusion that this means that one should be suspicious of interpretations of the war as a Cold War-type struggle of coherent power-blocs, and he is sensibly

critical of Burkhardt for arguing that universal monarchy was a realistic option for Spain. Despite the lurid propaganda of Spain's enemies, no contemporary European state was in any position to push through such a programme even if they had conceived it; Richelieu and Olivares might have tried to secure a peace based on French or Spanish dominance, but that was very far from the embodiment of Universal Monarchy.

Asch has written a book which will be of immense use to teachers of early modern European history in the increasingly monoglot Anglo-Saxon historical world. In line with much modern scholarship, he brings religion firmly back to the centre of the stage, and he is particularly good on the Edict of Restitution and the Peace of Prague. One could take issue with certain points. He is, perhaps, rather harsh on Ferdinand II, despite his recognition of the immense problems faced by a monarch who managed to be both straightforward and enigmatic. His comparison between the Edict of Restitution and the 1629 Peace of Alès in France is unconvincing: he perhaps overstates the extent of the threat posed by the Edict to German Protestantism (for all the fears of contemporary Protestants), while – as he himself points out – the positions of German and French Protestantism were radically different. Finally, his handling of Baltic and east European matters is not always as sure as it might be: Sigismund III never abandoned his claims to Sweden and Livonia even if he could not reconquer them; Riga was far more important for the Lithuanian than the Russian trade; the Swedes did not need Wallenstein to teach them the advantages of levying contributions from enemy territory, and the Wettins became kings of Poland-Lithuania in 1697 (not *circa* 1697). Other quibbles are even more minor: the English term 'penpusher' (p. 110) scarcely captures the more earthy flavour of 'Plackscheißer' – Johann Georg's scornful description of Axel Oxenstierna – and it might be worth naming the 'Prince of Transylvania' who intervened in the 1640s (p. 134), if only to indicate that György I Rákóczi was not the same man as Gabor Bethlen, who pops up earlier in the book. It is also irritating that Asch's learned notes, which contain much of interest and the bulk of his historiographical debate, are relegated by Macmillans to the end of the book, where they will remain unread by many. One hopes that in the second edition, they will be moved to the foot of the page, and the author might be given more space. He has crammed a very great deal into a short book.

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JOHN BREWER, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), xxx + 721 pp. ISBN 000 255537 9. £30.00 (Hardback). ISBN 000 255920 X. £19.99 (Paperback)

This work by John Brewer is not a history of art, nor a social history 'as reflected in art', but a cultural history of the fine arts in eighteenth-century England. Its main focus, therefore, is not so much works of art or society (although we learn a great deal about both from an unusual perspective), but the institutions and concepts which influenced the dissemination and reception of art, and the impact of these mechanisms on the creation and production of art. This might sound rather academic and abstract, but *The Pleasures of the Imagination* provides a lively and vivid panorama of the eighteenth century. It is full of picturesque details, surprising insights, and subtle analyses. Brewer takes us into artists' studios, coffee houses, book shops, pleasure gardens, auctions, galleries, clubs and associations, concert halls, country estates, taverns, and backstage at the theatre, as well as to the first tourist attractions. And he shows us people: writers and actors, painters and engravers, publishers and booksellers, critics, theatre directors, and gallery owners, as well as buyers, readers, audiences, and collectors.

Essentially, Brewer treats the classical triad of literature, painting, and theatre. Johnson, Reynolds, and Garrick make appearances – not frozen as the statuesque figures of great men, but in the company of numerous other, less successful or long forgotten contemporary figures. The result is a fresh picture of a century which, as the author points out, with its upheavals and uncertainties occasionally reminds us of our own times, when the mass media and art have become inextricably intertwined with commerce. The fine arts flourished in eighteenth-century England. When Charles II ascended the throne in 1660, Brewer points out, there were few professional writers, musicians, or painters, and no concert series, galleries, or art critics. Yet by the end of the eighteenth century all this was taken for granted as part of British cultural life. This high point coincided with a shift in emphasis. Art and artists were no longer shaped mainly by the splendour of the court, aristocratic patronage, and prestige; commerce and demand in urban London became the driving force. Art was subjected to the mechanisms of the market. Yet contemporary understanding

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elevated art above the world of goods, emphasized the independence of the fine arts (a contemporary term), and tried to distinguish between the 'pleasures of the imagination', which, according to Addison's definition, characterized art and the lower, sensual pleasures.

The blossoming of art was accompanied by the polyphonic babble of different interests and parties, constant aesthetic and moral debate, and legal and commercial conflicts. Who ultimately owned copyright – the publisher or the author? Who was to decide on the norms governing painting – connoisseurs or artists? Who was to pass judgement on reading material – the public or its moral guardians? Over the century, art became accessible to broader social classes (without a precise cut-off point at the bottom), and available for people to draw upon in fashioning their own lives. Art could become a constituent of one's identity, which in turn could be used to see oneself as part of a larger whole, as a Briton, for by the end of the century a canon had emerged that could be understood as national heritage.⁷

In this work Brewer addresses not only a specialist readership, but also a wider public of people with an interest in history. He dispenses with footnotes, providing instead an annotated bibliography. Brewer weaves the theoretical and conceptual basis of his work into its fabric so skilfully that the reader is never made explicitly aware of it. (His theoretical approach derives from his own studies on the history of consumerism. It is inspired by Bourdieu's work on the evolution of taste, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, and draws important impulses from John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*.) Many will applaud this decision, while others will to some extent regret it. But in any case, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* is a work that, however innovative its methodology, never takes its readers down the twisted paths of postmodernism. The pleasures this book holds in store are those conferred by the classic virtues of history-writing: it draws upon wide-ranging experience and knowledge, and it displays calmness of judgement, humour, and an obvious enjoyment in telling a good story. Thus Brewer starts most chapters with a slice of life, and then derives a general analysis from these detailed observations.

* A summary of this section can be found in John Brewer, 'Histories, Exhibitions and Collections. The Invention of National Heritage in Britain 1770-1820', in R. Stauber and E. Hellmuth (eds), *Nationalismus vor dem Nationalismus?* (Hamburg, 1998), pp. 9-20.

English Culture in the Eighteenth Century

In this work Brewer draws upon a number of outstanding special studies, and one aim of this book is to make their findings more accessible to a wider audience. The work is also based on an extensive study of the sources, including some quite obscure ones. (The adventurous could look up the specialities of individual prostitutes in *Harris' List of Covent Garden Ladies*.) The book also contains around 250 beautiful and unusual illustrations. Thus the reader can trace the relations and interconnections between the various media. John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, for example, which itself drew upon various contemporary genres – political satire, biographies of criminals, and opera – influenced a number of different media. Merchandizing cashed in on the success of the piece. Engravings and pamphlets, paintings and playing cards celebrated the characters, and the songs became popular hits. Journalists, however, often attacked the piece on moral grounds, with the result that throughout the century most performances were of bowlerized versions. It was the published versions, however, more than the staged ones, that ensured that the opera, which was put together from quotations and allusions, itself became a source for these.

Especially effective is the way in which Brewer draws upon unpublished autobiographical sources, which convey a vivid picture of the way in which people saw their lives, and the value and function of art. For example, we meet Anna Larpent, a cultivated London lady, and find out about her reading habits and the course taken by her daily life, in which the cultural events of the capital were a fixed feature. Another character is Ozias Humphry, a portrait painter who never achieved the breakthrough to success. And finally, microhistorical studies of the wood engraver Thomas Bewick from Newcastle, the writer Anna Seward from Lichfield, and the amateur musician John Marsh from Chichester illustrate the independent course taken by developments in the provinces. The last of these three chapters in particular is an unusually moving portrait of what art could mean in the life of an individual. A man of small independent means, John Marsh lived entirely for his passion for music. As a composer of church music and a busy organizer of the musical life of his small town, he was constantly searching for the harmony that was always under threat from all too human dissonances.

Unfortunately, the publishers have not quite matched the quality of the rest of the work. There are a number of small printing errors and

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inconsistencies in the way in which names are cited in the index. Any other criticism amounts merely to the desire for more, and here everyone will have their own preferences dictated by their special interests. Given that the book is already around 700 pages long, this could be problematic. It is not easy to say what could have been left out to make space. I would have been interested to know how far down the social scale the acquisition of art reached, and what special conditions applied. The book gives only occasional hints, though admittedly there are few sources for this. A concluding chapter and sometimes slightly more detailed interpretations of the illustrations would have made it easier for non-specialists to use the book. Brewer's work makes one wonder why the state of research in Germany makes it impossible for such a book to be attempted there at present, quite apart from the fact that conditions in Germany, which were so much more heterogeneous and fragmented, would pose quite specific problems. The subtle analysis offered in *The Pleasures of the Imagination* will help specialists to arrive at a new view of the eighteenth century, and it is so fascinating that it will persuade a wider circle of readers to discover the world of the eighteenth century.

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BRENDAN SIMMS, *The Impact of Napoleon. Prussian High Politics, Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Executive, 1797-1806* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xvi + 390 pp. ISBN 0 521 45360 7. £45.00. \$69.96

If Robert Musil was right, world history is always written before it happens. Contemporaries first 'gossip' about all sorts of events whose significance only becomes clear later. For us, the year 1789 is associated with the French Revolution. Yet as T. C. W. Blanning has pointed out, in that year concerned European statesmen were looking less towards France than south-eastern Europe and the question of succession in the Ottoman Empire. What could have been the subject of gossip in 1797? Perhaps people in Paris that summer were talking about Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, who was to have served thirteen French governments by the end of his life, and who had been given the portfolio of the *ministre des Relations Extérieures* by the government of the Directory. Other topics of conversation might have been the Peace of Campo Formio, concluded in October 1797, in which France achieved the desired Rhenish border, but no end to the Anglo-French war; the fact that the last German bear had been killed in the Fichtelgebirge during the hunting season of 1797; or that in the winter of 1797, within five weeks of each other, a grand-son and a great-nephew of Frederick the Great took over the governments of two territories of the Holy Roman Empire which were vastly different in terms of extent, political tradition, and power. Frederick William III became King of Prussia, and Frederick II Duke of Württemberg.

In the autumn of 1806, barely ten years later, there was little new to report as far as the French ministry of foreign affairs, Germany's bear population, and Napoleon's defeat by Britain were concerned. But the map of Europe showed that revolutionary changes had taken place in the constellation of power. After the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire, hegemonial France and Tsarist Russia appeared to divide the Continent of Europe between them. In the French sphere of influence, at least, there were new states with new borders. Württemberg, in south-western Germany, for example, was twice as big in 1806 as it had been in 1797. For reasons of self-preservation, the above mentioned Duke of Württemberg had concluded a forced but nevertheless profitable alliance with Napoleon. Accepting the title of king in 1806, he displayed the new status of his larger, sovereign state, sheltering under

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the wings of Napoleon's eagle. This new member of the Confederation of the Rhine and the other central German states in this position counted among the beneficiaries of Prussia's policy of disengagement in the south (p. 113). Prussia's situation, by contrast, had taken a turn for the worse between October 1805 and August 1806 as a result of its precarious jockeying for position between its allies Russia and France. In October 1806 Frederick William III had lost far more than a battle against the French Emperor at Jena and Auerstedt. He was left amongst the ruins of Old Prussia – a militarily insignificant rump state, marginalized in the east, and soon reduced to half of its former population and territory.

Did Prussia decline and the Prussian king go under because he loved peace, as he himself predicted in September 1805 (quoted on p. 343)? Or because the 'good' king Frederick William III listened to 'bad' advisers, and allowed himself to be persuaded, after ten years of neutrality, to go to war against mighty Napoleonic France? Or because the cumbersome machinery of state (p. 41), which had been kept going only by the personality of a ruler like Frederick the Great, had now, under the notoriously indecisive Frederick William III, ground to a halt as its cogs, the 'political executive', were geared against each other? The period between 1797 and 1806, when Prussia shocked Europe 'not by her assertiveness, but by her acquiescence' (p. 1), was long considered 'the most traduced and least-known epoch of Prussian history'. Brendan Simms here quotes Heinrich von Treitschke (p. 1) approvingly only in order to turn the old desideratum of research into his own preoccupation under the main title 'The Impact of Napoleon'. He analyses his theme of Prussian (foreign) policy with scholarly curiosity, using an innovative approach based on a wide range of sources, and ultimately produces a new book, deserving of general attention, on 'Prussian high politics, foreign policy and the crisis of the executive, 1797-1806'. The author himself sees his book as 'a first attempt to provide a detailed and integrated study of Prussian policy and politics during the first decade of Frederick William III's reign' (p. 26).

In formal terms, Simms's book resembles a secular triptych, whose thematic central panel is flanked on one side by a stringently argued introduction which spells out the situation regarding sources and secondary literature and explains the methodological approach, and on the other by a brief conclusion which sums up the main argument. While Simms rightly refrains from reinventing the wheel, he does not

hesitate to put new tyres on it. With respect to methodological framework as well as the state of research, Simms consciously builds upon the achievements of earlier scholars from Leopold von Ranke to Karl Griewank, from Eckhart Kehr and Hans Rosenberg to the recent research of Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann and Philip G. Dwyer. Yet he hopes to transcend their work in terms both of his argument and the sources he consults. He therefore combines four different approaches – the primacy of foreign policy, a notion to which he gives new life, the geopolitical argument based on Germany's position in the middle of Europe, the sphere of high politics, in which he turns away from the traditional 'great man' approach, and finally, the issue of direct access to the antechamber of power – into a new and promising method. Anticipating any critical objections to the dangers of combining a narrative approach, which tends to stress 'the contextual and the contingent', with a thematic approach, which brings out 'underlying forces' (p. 17), Simms suggests that a 'certain scepticism about the results of the present study' seems appropriate (p. 18). But this, possibly, is part of the basic make-up of any benevolent scholarly reader.

In three main parts, each subdivided into three chapters, Simms develops his argument with great determination and compelling logic, focusing on the structures (part one), the events (part two), and the responses (part three) of Prussian high politics to the growing threat posed by Napoleonic France. The systematic division into three parts serves to hold together the chronological division into two periods: 1797 to 1804 in part one, and 1804 to 1806 in parts two and three. Yet a hardly noticeable gap opens up between the masterly structural analysis and the subsequent application of the knowledge gained to the chronologically treated diplomatic and military responses of Prussia between 1803 and 1806, and this leads to (rare) repetitions.

Throughout, Simms bases his argument on extensive quotations from the sources. These are indispensable if only because the characteristic tone of the memoranda, letters etc. is an essential part of their content. German quotations are printed in translation in the text, while the original is reproduced in the footnotes. The reader, however, is assumed to be able to cope with French, the contemporary language of diplomacy. And among the other details that make for a pleasant reading experience we should mention the three geopolitical maps ('Geography and politics: Prussia and her neighbours in 1792/1795/

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1803'), the extensive bibliography, and a reader-friendly name and subject index.

Part one covers the first decade of Frederick William III's reign up to the political adjustment of Prussia's policy of neutrality, which it had pursued successfully since 1795 – a change made necessary by the French occupation of Hanover. Its fundamental principles unchanged since the early seventeenth century, Prussia's political system in its entirety served to prepare for a 'decision' made by the king (p. 35). The Prussian state system suffered from a number of structural weaknesses, which Simms sees, among other things, as lying in the tension between the '*Realsystem* and the *Territorialsystem*, that is between administrative departments organised according to subject and according to province respectively' (p. 44), in the competition between the *Generaldirektorium* and the *Kabinettsministerium*, and the lack of a responsible central institution below the person of the king. Thus only those with the right of access to the king (*Immediatrecht*) had any chance of influencing the direction of Prussia's foreign policy. A competing group of non-noble *Kabinetts* secretaries, noble *Kabinetts* ministers, and other 'advisers' without personal responsibility – the antechamber of power – struggled for control of the *Immediatrecht* which, in Prussia, was in the gift of the king rather than a 'right' inherent in the office of minister.

Simms shows that the antechamber exerted as great an influence on Frederick William III's foreign policy decisions as did the personality of the Prussian king himself. Thus Prussia's rigid policy of neutrality from 1797 was based on Frederick William III's adamant rejection of any bloodshed. Yet Simms demonstrates convincingly that the stereotype of an indecisive king cannot be upheld, at least not in respect of his successful defence of the royal prerogative in foreign policy (joint foreign ministry of Haugwitz and Hardenberg, retention of the *Kabinetts*). However ambitious, the high officials, ministers, and advisers were all forced to conduct Prussian foreign policy within the parameters laid down by what they thought the royal will might be. Thus the political behaviour and the political options of Prussian statesmen were dictated by two (often opposing) factors going beyond any corporative or ideological interests, namely, the needs of foreign policy (objective policy) and personal considerations (career).

Both factors also applied to the debate on the reform of the political executive before Jena, which Simms describes as a power struggle

within the antechamber and a reaction to the immobility of the Prussian decision-making apparatus, a rigidity revealed by the Napoleonic threat. Simms goes on to explain that the politicians in favour of reform wanted neither to challenge royal authority nor to stage a *coup*. They regarded the governmental reform which they advocated as a reform of the executive. By abolishing the *Kabinett* they did not want the king's powers to be diminished, but on the contrary, strengthened. It was only after Prussia's collapse in 1806-7 that those reformers prevailed who, in their proposals, had taken the French threat as a justification for radical social reforms in Prussia. Even the bureaucracy and the nobility, the traditional alternative centres of power to the crown, were able to achieve 'only peripheral importance' (p. 65) for high politics and foreign policy in Prussia at the turn of the century, as their influence did not extend beyond *Kreis* level. And the justified interests of the Prussian economy and traders' protests against France's anti-British measures were given only 'low priority' (p. 253).

As far as the fundamentals of Prussia's high policy, its foreign policy course, and the debate about reforming the executive go, Simms points expressly to Napoleon as the motor ('the constitutive force', p. 342) driving all Prussian policy in the period under consideration. He explains the reactions of Prussian statesmen to the Napoleonic threat against the background of the role of geopolitical thinking in Prussian foreign policy before 1806, traditionally seen as the crucial factor. Prussia's self-perception was that it was in a disadvantageous geopolitical position between France, Russia, and the Holy Roman Empire. This disadvantage was to be swept aside by the policy of neutrality launched after the Peace of Basle (1795). Prussia would achieve its dual foreign policy objective if it could stay out of any conflict with the hegemonial powers on its borders – France in the west, Russia in the east – while also preventing the two powers from co-operating at Prussia's expense and using it either as a battlefield or as booty. Risky political manoeuvres, which Hardenberg was not the only one to justify in terms of the 'imperious dictates of geography' (p. 337), such as the zigzag course Prussia steered between October 1805 (when Russia was an ally), December 1805 (switch to France), and August 1806 (mobilization against France), were among the inevitable consequences of a passive policy which resulted equally from 'Frederick William's notoriously passive inclination' (p. 341) and the deference of his constantly competing entourage. Both factors prevented Prussia from taking

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political action at the moments described in detail in parts one and two, when quick and decisive action in its own interests (for example, in relation to Hanover) was called for. Yet the neutral course it steered between the French Scylla and the Russian Charybdis gave Prussia ten years of peace when cultural life could flourish without martial glory. It survived two coalitions as the power protecting northern Germany and emerged from armed neutrality with considerable territorial gains.

Simms concludes that two of the three most important reasons for Prussia's failure in the face of the Napoleonic challenge between 1797/1804 and 1806 were the high politics and the foreign policy which it had pursued since the middle of the eighteenth century, and the obvious shortcomings of the executive. But the main factor he sees as the behaviour that resulted from King Frederick William III's character. The monarch 'was punished for his reticence rather than his hubris' (pp. 342-3).

Simms approaches his subject of high politics, foreign policy, and the crisis of the executive while largely ignoring 'socio-economic problems except where they relate to foreign policy' (p. 27). His interest is in 'political action', and in 'those who held high political office' (p. 28). Thus he takes a historical bird's-eye perspective on Prussia and the international political situation in the period 1797 to 1806. He energetically approaches the disintegrating historical reality of Old Prussia with an arsenal of methods drawn from political history in order to uncover what Robert Musil would have called its 'secret mechanism'. Simms has succeeded brilliantly, although I would have liked to see the investigation continuing with an examination of the subject 'from inside', using the excluded methodologies, or even combining the approaches he uses with those he excludes. After all, as Georg Christoph Lichtenberg pointed out, 'a marvellous series of lectures could be held ... on old newspapers, for example, from 1792 on, focusing not on history, but on psychology. ... What in the world could be more entertaining than to compare putative with real history?' (*Sudelbücher*).

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HERMANN BECK, *The Origins of the Authoritarian Welfare State in Prussia. Conservatives, Bureaucracy, and the Social Question, 1815-70*, Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), xvi + 298 pp. ISBN 0 472 10546 9. £36.50. \$49.50 (Hardback). ISBN 0 472 08428 3. £18.50. \$24.95 (Paperback)

This study of conservatism, bureaucracy, and the social question in Prussia is based on Hermann Beck's dissertation and a number of articles. It covers the period from the *Vormärz* to the founding of the German Empire. The dual perspective with which Beck approaches his subject is interesting. In the first, theoretical part he analyses conservative Prussian concepts of the welfare state. In the second, more practically orientated part he concentrates on the bureaucracy and on how the Prussian administration dealt with the social question. What might at first sight look like separate spheres are, according to Beck, much more closely related than the free-floating conservatives on the one hand, and the representatives of the administrative state on the other, liked to admit: 'the much vilified bureaucracy subscribed to the very same social conceptions as their conservative archenemy' (p. 207).

What sort of concepts were developed by conservative thinkers? Initially shaped by the *Vormärz* discussion of pauperism, many intellectuals came to recognize the changing problems faced by a growing industrial proletariat. Beck's point of departure is 'the vanguard of Prussian conservatism' (p. 39) which emerged around the *Berliner Politische Wochenblatt*, in the 1830s, not least in reaction to the July revolution of 1830 in Paris. It included the brothers Leopold and Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach, the historian Heinrich Leo, Joseph Maria von Radowitz, and the legal scholar, Ernst Carl Jarcke. Radowitz and Jarcke initially represented the Catholic wing within the *Wochenblatt* circle. After the church struggle in Cologne in 1837, however, the *Wochenblatt* clearly endorsed the Protestant Prussian state, and thus lost the majority of its Catholic supporters. The *Berliner Politische Wochenblatt's* preoccupation with social problems and its search for appropriate solutions were dictated by the contemporary debate on pauperism. Most of its writers interpreted pauperism as a result of the dissolution of organic social structures and attempts at liberal reform. Consequently, they looked to the past for solutions: the old guild system, paternalistic relations at work, and the 'natural', 'God-given' social

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hierarchy were the goals to which they aspired. These were seen as protecting the individual against impoverishment and atomization in a liberal, capitalist society that was declared the enemy. 'Family, corporations, estates, and the paternalistic relationship of the *Guts-herrschaft*' (p. 60) were to provide the social safety net which, although it would force individuals into relationships of service and dependence, would also offer the protection of superior authorities.

The *Wochenblatt's* relatively simple, anti-liberal and anti-modern world view later found no support, even among theoreticians who came from this circle. Beck takes Radowitz as an example. His Catholicism and his earlier espousal of Napoleonic France made him to some extent an exception, but he can nevertheless be considered as belonging to the core of Prussian conservatism. His friendship with the crown prince and later king, Frederick William IV, meant that for a time he was also at the heart of politics. His contributions in this field were a number of plans for union, but the Treaty of Olmütz of 1850 put an end both to these plans and to Radowitz's career. Radowitz recognized contemporary social developments, and after the 1848 revolution he rejected the model of a state based on social orders (*Ständestaat*), which he had earlier supported. He now regarded it as an inadequate response to current social problems. Instead, he argued, the central state should take responsibility for social relations, and its agent should be the monarch. In his view, the interests of the workers, whose basic attitude was conservative-royalist anyway, were best represented in a 'social kingdom': 'The central theme in Radowitz's social thought is the idea that an alliance between the monarchy and the proletariat, brought about by a social policy favoring the industrial and rural lower classes, would guarantee the future of the Prussian monarchy by providing an effective protection against the demands of the liberal middle classes' (p. 78).

At the time of the foundation of the German empire, it was mainly Hermann Wagener who, on the conservative side, returned to the idea of a 'social kingdom', but he no longer wanted to solve the social question solely 'from above' in paternalistic fashion. Rather, he started with the proletariat, and wanted to improve its material conditions as well as its political (class) position. Thus Wagener came close to a socialist position; indeed, he actively sought out Lassalle, for example. Wagener's aim was an alliance between the workers and the state to challenge liberalism, which he opposed, and the political power of the

bourgeoisie. Behind political strategies of this sort Beck draws a line starting from the social concepts propagated by the *Berliner Politische Wochenblatt*, which had seen the only solution as lying in a social hierarchy based on social orders, leading to the monarchical intervention in favour of the lower classes advocated by Radowitz, and finally to the more progressive ideas of Hermann Wagener. Wagener even wanted to give the workers political rights so that they could fight for improvements in their social position themselves: 'it is fair to speak of a growing social awareness or social conscience' (p. 120).

Beck's special achievement lies in constructing such connections and comparing various exponents, emphasizing the differences between them. His aim is to expose the foundations of the Prussian 'welfare state mentality' (p. x) which, in his view, lies in the dualism of 'welfare' and 'state authority'. This is certainly an important contribution to our understanding of Prussian conservatism, but it is by no means as unresearched as the blurb and the book's foreword would have us believe. References to allegedly uncharted territory are easily refuted – a glance at Beck's bibliography is enough, although of course it cannot list such recent publications as Hans-Christof Kraus's biography of Ernst Ludwig Gerlach. Moreover, such claims are unnecessary because Beck's book makes an interesting contribution through its comparative perspective.

In the second part, which leaves the level of state theory and takes us instead to that of administration, Beck also uses a history of mentalities approach. He is interested less in the laws and decrees themselves than in their originators and the intellectual positions they took, less in the carrying out of an administrative act than in the motives behind it. Thus, in connection with the Prussian Poor Laws of 1842, Beck investigates the views of Prussian civil servants on new forms of rural poverty and what they considered appropriate measures for dealing with them. In general, scholars have emphasized the liberal character of these laws which, by making *Wohngemeinden* responsible for poor relief, took into account the principle of freedom of movement. Beck, by contrast, points to the authoritarian element of state control and exercise of power. The Prussian bureaucracy had been forced to accept that freedom of movement, introduced during the reform era, had developed a strong dynamic of its own and could no longer be reversed. It thereupon made the regulations for registration much more stringent, in order to be able to keep tabs on the poor. The

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indigent population was to be kept in a position of dependence. It was to be denied any legal claim to public assistance, and to be forced to rely on charity bestowed from above. 'This inferior legal status dwarfed the paupers' position as against the bureaucracy, for the poor depended wholly on the grace of the authorities they had to deal with' (pp. 163-4). Beck's interpretation is based on an evaluation of the Prussian bureaucracy's memoranda and votes in connection with the Poor Law. In the foreground here are the comments of Privy Councillor Meding, whom Beck describes as a 'key figure of social policy making' (p. 154). The reader must take the author's word for this, and for the claim that Meding's writing was 'representative for dominant views within the civil service' (p. 154). We are not told anything about Meding's biographical background or his exact position, and he has even been left out of the index.

In his case study of the Poor Law, Beck emphasizes the Prussian bureaucracy's conservative and authoritarian orientation. Its treatment of the *Centralverein für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen* (central association for the welfare of the working classes), founded in 1844, provides even stronger support for Beck's argument that since the 1820s the majority of civil servants had cast off the liberal spirit of the reform era. 'In their dealings with the *Centralverein*, officials not only abandoned all pretense of political liberalism but equally threw overboard any willingness to reform' (p. 188). The Ministry for the Interior's distrust and disapproval of the *Centralverein* eventually persuaded even Frederick William IV to give up his originally positive attitude towards it. The process of granting official approval for the association's statutes was spun out over a number of years, and the association had to jettison several elements of internal democracy in favour of a more centralized leadership. The Interior Minister, von Arnim-Boitzenburg, and his trusted adviser, Emil Ludwig Mathis, both feared that the *Centralverein* would give rise to subversive activity by intellectuals, or uncontrolled political action, and this was a factor in preventing its attempts at social reform from being seen in a positive light.

Beck discusses a number of other examples, such as the government's reticence in the area of worker protection, in support of his interpretation, which has already been worked out by Reinhart Koselleck. In its bureaucratic actions, argues Beck, the administration supported neither liberal principles of self-help, nor aspirations to-

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wards social emancipation. It was motivated mainly by a desire to maintain the authoritarian state, and a conservative wish to preserve the *status quo*. Here Beck sees what Prussian bureaucratic actions had in common with the conservative theory of Gerlach, for example, or von Radowitz, but less, presumably, with that of Wagener. 'This vast conservative-bureaucratic common denominator encompassed the ingredients of authoritarian, patriarchal welfare: patronage, tutelage, and regimentation' (p. 207).

Beck's approach of looking for connections between intellectual models and practical politics offers an interesting perspective. His analysis allows an ideological-critical view of the Prussian bureaucracy to be honed, and its actions to be seen as the expression of a conservative spirit. Beck's emphasis on conservatism, moreover, means that he can build on the research of scholars such as Reinhart Koselleck and Barbara Vogel, with the result that many of his conclusions do not seem particularly surprising. In order to make his main points quite clear, Beck tends towards repetition, and frequently emphasizes the same argument. None the less, the reader is left with the pleasant impression of an analytically lucid account, in which the author presents his findings clearly.

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JONATHAN SPERBER, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xviii + 282 pp. ISBN 0 521 38526 1 (Hardback). £27.95. \$49.95. ISBN 0 521 38685 3 (Paperback). £9.95. \$14.95

The extent to which the celebrations and publications marking the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the 1848-49 revolution bring out the European character of this momentous event is striking. National exhibitions in Paris, Frankfurt, and Vienna devoted to the 1848 movement illustrate its international interconnections. Seams that have long been inexcusably ignored are now being mined, producing a rich historical yield. Jonathan Sperber, Professor of History at the University of Missouri, Columbia, has written a history of the European revolutions quite independently of this drive to mark the anniversary of the revolution. If we look back to the older accounts by Priscilla Robertson and Peter Stearns, and the brief outline by Roger Price, Sperber's book is not the first. Yet I consider his work a pioneering achievement because it is the first historical synthesis of the history of the European revolutions of 1848 that takes up all the essential threads of modern research on revolutions.

Sperber deliberately distances his work from the older interpretations which either presented the revolution romantically as the outbreak of a springtime of the people and created the myth of the barricades, regarded it as the work of dilettantes and idealists far removed from reality, or measured it against the more successful revolutions of 1789 and 1917, stressing the failure of 1848. Sperber, by contrast, is interested in the social and political mass movements which were set in motion in 1848, and whose effects have continued to be felt into the twentieth century, whether in the republican tradition of France, the nationality conflicts in central and eastern Europe, or the German parliamentary system shaped by five parties. For Sperber, Europe consists largely of Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and the Habsburg Monarchy. It is only the constantly changing perspective that reveals the interconnections between the major events of 1848. Yet in Sperber's account it is not just the major events that are important, but also the revolutions that took place outside the capital cities, in the towns and villages, and in the country. We are introduced not just to the famous national political figures, but also to local activists – the craftsmen, workers, and peasants who made up the majority of the

European population and the participants in the revolutionary events. This perspective has been gaining ground since the 1980s. In emphasizing the local milieux, different aims and expectations, and the everyday experience of revolution, in short, social, economic, and cultural changes, this approach excludes one-dimensional explanations of the revolution. Instead, it stresses the 'complexity of 1848'.

This ambitious project combines narrative and analytical history-writing. It might at first sight seem surprising, although it is fully justified, that the author devotes more than one-third of the book to historical background and the social, economic, and cultural foundations of the period before 1848. The rest of this review will concentrate on the new, original aspects of the book, going beyond the many colourful individual observations. Sperber rightly stresses something that has generally been lost sight of, covered up by the long reign of the modernization perspective, namely, the predominantly agrarian character of Europe around the middle of the nineteenth century. This gave rise to specific conflicts which had more to do with feudalism, the guild system, and land-owning élites than with the crisis of emergent industrialization. The comparative weakness of those states whose scope of action was, in essence, limited to justice, public order, taxes, and the army, is striking. In contrast to the usual view of state power forging ahead, Sperber points to cases of weak bureaucracy. What troubles me in this context is how we are to assess the complaints of the intellectual oppositional élites, who rejected the repressive aspects of the restoration and the arbitrary nature of the police and justice, and drew strength to resist from these abuses. None the less, we must agree with Sperber's basic argument that the crisis of 1848 grew out of essentially premodern conflicts, which supports Hans Medick's view of the 'long eighteenth century' (1648 to 1848). Of course, it is a dislocation typical of this revolution that concepts derived from the modern ideas of 1789 were built on a premodern foundation.

In his description of the pre-revolutionary political universe, Sperber emphasizes the strength of the state as expressed in the preponderance of the monarchy, the repressive practices of censorship, and the suppression of political associations whose radical members sought refuge in secret societies. Sperber also outlines the rudimentary forms of political participation available at the time – in the *Landtage*, the press, and at festivals and banquets. Mass political participation was strictly circumscribed. Although there were no political parties, the 1840s

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offered some scope for articulating political doctrines. Sperber looks carefully both at the political movements and the social contexts to which they belonged. Examining liberalism, conservatism, and radicalism, he in no case resorts to simplifications. Nationalism is treated as a cross-party phenomenon which proclaimed its dual character, split between participation and aggression, even before the 1848 revolution. Here the European perspective dominates again, as Sperber cleverly draws out action and reaction, model and imitation since 1789.

In order to explain the outbreak of the revolution, the author distinguishes clearly between the economic crisis which, although serious, he assesses as only an indirect cause, and the political crisis, which revealed the gulf between absolutist governments and the liberal movement. In the context of his European comparison, Sperber points out that a strong impulse for revolution came from Italy and Switzerland, before culminating in Paris. He acknowledges the significant part played by popular movements, including the long underestimated rural population and the urban lower classes, in the outbreak of revolution. At the same time it becomes clear that the central conflicts had long been simmering around the rights and objectives of the nationalities, and merely became public in the revolution.

Sperber makes a strong link between state-building along national lines and wars. The aggressive potential of the national principle becomes particularly clear in the Habsburg Monarchy which the author, unlike many other historians of revolution before him, treats extensively and in a differentiated fashion, drawing particular attention to Vienna, Budapest, Galicia, and the Hungarian provinces. Oddly enough, it seems to him that in the context of central and southern Europe, the German movement for unification was the most peaceful. In his fourth main chapter, Sperber closely argues the main thesis of his interpretation of the revolution, namely that it was 'a pioneering venture in mass political mobilization'. Instead of stressing its failure like many writers before him, Sperber emphasizes the various forms of political participation in a European comparison: national parliaments as the focus of political life with which the electorate was connected through petitions, the political press as an indicator of the growing popularization of political content, public policy for the streets with its folkloric elements, and freedom of assembly and organization in the association movement which spread by leaps and bounds, spilling over from the capital cities into the provinces and small rural towns. At

the same time Sperber asks what factors influenced the political attitudes of the national population – social, economic, religious, or dynastic loyalties.

In his event-orientated fifth chapter, Sperber looks at the decline and failure of the revolution as a process of growing polarization and confrontation. Drawing a European comparison (the June battle in Paris, the Prague uprising, counter-revolution in Vienna and Berlin, and finally, the last revolutionary wave in the spring of 1849), Sperber manages to tease out the complicated interrelationships between the various European revolutionary scenes. In the process, he devotes particular attention to the special role of the Habsburg Monarchy. Whenever he takes up seemingly established interpretations, Sperber seeks new approaches: the June battle in Paris was not, in fact, a class struggle between workers and the bourgeoisie; the Prague uprising not the result of national discord between Germans and Czechs; the revolution was by no means over by December 1848, but developed new dimensions in a second wave in the spring of 1849, when the forms of political organization and agitation were much more strongly developed than they had been in the spring of 1848. We must agree that any assessment of the degree of repression is influenced by the point of view taken. Compared with the mass murders of the twentieth century, it was mild, yet in the eyes of those affected, it was unbearable measured against the persecution and political flight of the leading democratic élites.

Sperber does not see the lack of violence as a cause of the revolution's failure, as many other writers have recently suggested. Here the comparison with the more successful revolutions of 1789 and 1917 is productive. Looking back to 1789, in particular, Sperber develops an original and plausible argument to explain both what was special about the 1848 revolution, and its failure – he points to the power of myth, or in other words, the collective memory. The experience of the great French Revolution was a permanent presence in the general awareness, ranging from conservatives to radical democrats. Moreover, the modern nationality conflicts dampened the momentum in 1848, whereby it must be added that in contrast to the French Revolution of 1789, the 1848 revolution as a rule had to struggle with undefined and disputed borders between nation-states which were not yet fully developed. Understandably enough, when Sperber discusses the continuing impact of the revolution a perspective oriented by the

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notion of progress creeps into his interpretation, through the emancipation of the peasantry, the granting of constitutions in Prussia and Sardinia-Piedmont, and the permanent presence of an agenda whose programme for the future included the constitutional state. Thus Sperber to some extent justifiably sees the 1860s as the victory of 1848 constitutionalism. However, when he describes the main feature of the 1848 revolution, with a glance back at 1789, as 'Jacobinism with a human face', that is, as a great republican experiment, the expert begins to wonder whether the revolution's anti-modern undercurrents, its backward looking tendencies, are not being pushed too far into the background. Ultimately, after all, it was both a rejection of modernity and an emancipatory uprising at the same time. Sperber classifies his brilliant, lucid, and well-written account as a textbook. This seems to me a tremendous understatement because his work easily measures up not only to books on the subject that are written specifically for teaching, but also to those written for research purposes. It gives European research on 1848-49 a boost, and truly opens up 'new approaches to European History'.

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GABRIELE METZLER, *Großbritannien – Weltmacht in Europa. Handelspolitik im Wandel des europäischen Staatensystems 1856 bis 1871*, Studien zur internationalen Geschichte, 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 353 pp. ISBN 3 05 003083 6. DM 128.00

Gabriele Metzler's study of British policies toward Europe from the end of the Crimean War to the founding of the German Empire began as a doctoral dissertation at the Eberhard-Karls-Universität in Tübingen, where she studied with Anselm Doering-Manteuffel. The book appears as the fourth volume in a monograph series devoted to the history of international relations in which one of the goals is to transcend the limitations of traditional diplomatic history. According to the editors, the works in this series concern themselves not only with the decision-making processes in foreign affairs but also with the influence of a variety of other factors, including domestic politics and economic development. Where possible, these volumes are intended to incorporate the results of social science research and to contribute to the testing of theoretical insights through detailed empirical research.

Metzler's work fulfills these criteria and offers a fresh approach to the diplomacy of an era in European history whose importance for the evolution of the modern state system is exceeded only by the size and scope of the historical literature it has produced. Indeed, the author's forty-six page bibliography testifies to the challenge that faces a scholar who wishes to work in this area. Metzler has met this challenge not only with an obvious mastery of the existing literature but also with an impressive amount of research in primary sources. Given the author's focus on British foreign policy, she has naturally concentrated on English sources, including both private and state papers in the collections of the Public Record Office, the British Library, the London Guildhall Library, the Royal Archives at Windsor, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Prominent among the collections she has used are the records of the Foreign Office and the private papers of prominent statesmen of the period; but she has also focused on sources that provide the social, economic, and political contexts of British diplomacy, such as the records of the Chambers of Commerce, the Board of Trade, and the Home Office. In addition, she did similar research in archival collections from Austria, Prussia, and Italy.

Metzler's thesis about Britain's European policy between 1856 and 1871 is as simple as her supporting argument is complex: Europe's

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existing public law (*ius publicum Europaeum*) was destroyed largely as a consequence of British policy, in which self-interest was paramount and treaty rights were interpreted in an increasingly self-serving and arbitrary fashion. This lack of commitment to the legal foundations of the European system gave the green light to the wars that produced Italian and German unification. Even as they sought advantages in the breakdown of the system created by the treaties of 1815, the British had no interest in replacing it with something else. The result, Metzler argues, was the transformation of the European system from one of great power cooperation to one of anarchy in which each power pursued its own interests with little or no regard for the effects on Europe as a whole.

The author describes her approach as one of viewing international relations as a complex pattern of national and transnational interactions resembling a lattice or web rather than one of closed organizations functioning as individual actors toward others in the system. Thus, she has attempted to understand the internal side of foreign policy as well as the foreign side of domestic policy. In the case of Britain, this necessitates a focus on the relationship between political economy and foreign policy. By the middle of the nineteenth century many British leaders viewed the European state system primarily as a market, where they wished to take advantage of their industrial supremacy to compete on the basis of the free exchange of goods rather than with armies and traditional diplomacy. Metzler argues that this conception of foreign policy was consistent with *laissez-faire* capitalism and therefore well-suited to the socio-economic structure of British society.

The overall organization of the book is chronological with fifteen chapters grouped in four sections. In the first two sections, which cover the years 1856 to 1860, Metzler attempts to show how British European policy gradually shifted from an emphasis on political questions to a clear focus on business and trade. Italian affairs commanded the most attention from the British government during this period, and the author probes the impact of the Italian unification on British party politics as well as the overall British failure to influence the outcome of the Italian crisis of 1859. The third section, the longest and most thoroughly developed part of the book, focuses on the development of British trade policy after 1860. The principal topics include the Cobden Treaty of 1860 with France and the subsequent treaties with the

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German *Zollverein* and with Austria. In this section the author also traces the road to the war of 1866, which she views in connection with the Schleswig-Holstein conflict and the reorganization of the British Foreign Office. On all of these issues Metzler explores the influence of European events on domestic affairs in Britain as well as the impact of British foreign policy on the European system. The fourth and final section of the book covers the years 1866 to 1871 with special emphasis on three topics: the transformation of the British party system following the death of Palmerston in 1865, British disengagement from continental affairs at the end of the 1860s, and the end of the era of British *Handelspolitik* in Europe.

Viewing British European policy throughout the decade and a half after the Crimean War, Metzler likens it to a pendulum swinging between engagement and disengagement in European affairs. Starting out in a middle position at the Paris Peace Conference in 1856, the British pendulum swung strongly in the direction of engagement by 1860; yet, by 1868 the British had moved gradually in the opposite direction, approaching isolation from European affairs by the end of the decade. At no point were the British interested in a revival of the European concert, which had characterized the system created by the settlement of 1815. In 1856 they supported the substitution of non-binding mediation for collective responsibility, fully expecting that Britain would be able to assume a position of primacy by playing the role of Europe's principal mediator. When that strategy failed to live up to its promise, the British looked for other means. The obvious solution was to find one or more partners, but traditional diplomatic ties implied transaction costs, which the British were unwilling to bear. The solution they found to the dilemma of how to avoid binding political commitments while avoiding isolation was to pursue diplomacy by other means.

The change in the nature of Britain's engagement with continental Europe from the level of 'high policy' with its overall theme of non-intervention to the level of bilateral commercial relations based on the political and economic ideology of free trade is the central focus of the book. It is here that the author's view of British foreign policy as a complex web of domestic and international relationships provides a model for which she has uncovered extensive and convincing evidence. For example, the basic idea of the Cobden Treaty of 1860 was deeply rooted in the ideology of the Manchester School and was

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thereby closely linked with the ideals of industrialization, free trade, and a liberal/constitutional political order. Thus, the Cobden Treaty could be seen as the first step in the construction of a new political order in which free trade promoted economic development and international peace. This idealistic basis for British policy in the 1860s provides only a partial explanation according to Metzler, who argues that the sources of the policy were more varied and complex. First, she suggests that Britain's trade policy also served as a means for the traditional policy-makers in the Foreign Office to attempt to achieve purely political objectives, as in the effort to use trade agreements with Austria and Italy to avert the armed conflict that broke out in 1866. Second, British trade policy was directed toward influencing social and political change in other states, perhaps best illustrated by the long and frustrating British effort to promote economic and political reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy. Third, British policy was not incidentally directed toward achieving concrete material objectives, particularly in securing new markets to replace those lost as a consequence of the American Civil War. The domestic side of this foreign policy was equally important because it involved the British government's attempts to promote economic prosperity and thereby to preserve political and social stability. Finally, British policy had its hegemonial dimension as it offered the attractive possibility of achieving British supremacy in Europe through financial strength and trade rather than through military power and alliances, which imposed financial burdens and limitations on one's freedom of action.

Metzler argues that these various layers of British policy were tightly bound together with the idealistic dimension often covering the more egoistic and materialistic motives. While a Richard Cobden might view the substitution of free trade for traditional diplomacy as the effective elimination of international politics, the reality was that British trade policy was just another form of politics. For Britain, the principal problem was that there were no partners for such a policy. None of the European powers was willing to give up its own self-interest in order to promote British interests. In the absence of an acceptable concept of collective responsibility or indeed of Europe itself, the British attempted to substitute a free trade system for a state system. Metzler concludes it was a policy that was bound to fail not only because it was incompatible with the interests of the other European powers, but also because it was undermined by domestic

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developments within Britain itself. The reform of 1867 brought new voices and interests into the political arena in Britain, and they would eventually destroy the earlier consensus on the efficacy of free trade.

It is difficult to do justice to Metzler's complex approach to this topic in a few paragraphs. Readers will appreciate that the book is well organized and written in a clear and unaffected style. In addition to a thorough table of contents, it has a fine scholarly apparatus, including separate indexes to persons and subjects. Non-specialists and readers seeking a coherent narrative of British policy toward Europe will probably find the book a challenge; but, taken on its own terms, it offers a welcome contribution toward an understanding of some of the complexities of European international relations in the decade and a half following the Crimean War. Most important, Metzler's work clarifies the role that Great Britain played in the process of turning the European state system into the unstable condition that would lead to the First World War.

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HORST DRECHSLER, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft. Die großen Land- und Minengesellschaften (1885-1914)*, Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, 63 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 360 pp. ISBN 3 515 06689 6. DM 96.00

In 1966 Horst Drechsler published the first part of his study of German South West Africa under German colonial rule under the subtitle *Der Kampf der Herero und Nama gegen den deutschen Imperialismus, 1884-1915*. This was a highly acclaimed piece of work which was translated into a number of languages, including English, the English language volume bearing the title *Let us Die Fighting*. He has now, thirty years later, published a companion volume on the role of the great Land and Mining Companies in the colony, which is well up to the standard of its predecessor. That he has been able to produce a work of this quality, drawing, as it does, upon such a wide range of documents, is very much the consequence of the ending of the Cold War and the reunification of Germany. The original version of the book was based more narrowly on the *Reichskolonialamt* documents in the Potsdam Archives, but Drechsler was determined to take advantage of the new freedom of travel available to him, and has exploited archival resources well beyond the frontiers of the old GDR. Thus the original work now has incorporated into it material from the political files of the *Auswärtiges Amt* in the Bonn Archives; the papers of Solf, Dernburg, Leutwein, and Seitz held in the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz; the records of the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade held at the Public Record Office, London; the Cawston and Rhodes papers at Rhodes House, Oxford; and, finally, the National Archives of Namibia in Windhoek.

When it was decided in the 1880s that Germany should become a colonial power, the question arose as to how the costs of such activity should be borne. Should the state be responsible, or should the responsibility lie with private companies? Bismarck, who had observed British practice, chose the latter alternative, so that colonies could be acquired without burdening the state financially, in respect not only of their acquisition, but also of their administration and development. The colonial acquisitions of German businessmen, in areas unclaimed by other powers, would, therefore, be placed under the protection of the Reich and their companies would then receive *Freibriefe*, or Charters, after the style of the British Chartered Companies, enabling them to administer these territories independently with sovereign rights.

For a number of reasons, not least the impecunity of F. A. E. Lüderitz, this process did not run according to plan in South West Africa. Nevertheless, when it was founded in 1885, it was fully intended that the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika* (DKGfSWA) should eventually become a Chartered Company. In 1887, when it appeared that gold had been found in the territory, there was some speculation that the DKGfSWA might at last receive a Charter, but it did not and, thereafter, the issue never again arose. The *Kolonialabteilung* of the *Auswärtiges Amt* eventually settled for Land and Mining Companies, without sovereign rights, which as far as possible should be of German origin, as a means of developing the colony. It was upon such companies, the DKGfSWA, which until 1892 possessed a monopoly in South West Africa, and seven others, that the future of the colony was to depend, and it is an examination of the successes and failures of these organizations to which this book is devoted.

The fortunes of the companies are examined individually in three main chapters which correspond to the periodization that Drechsler has imposed upon his subject. The first of these deals with the period of the monopoly enjoyed by the DKGfSWA from 1885 to 1892; the second with the years of the rise of British Land and Mining Companies from 1892 to 1900; and the third the years 1900 to 1914 that resulted in 'dividends at last', but for only three of the eight companies. These three chapters are sandwiched between an excellent and lucid introduction, which surveys the previous writing on the subject, ranging from legal studies of the nature of the *Landgesellschaften* to doctoral theses, and a forty-three page conclusion that summarizes and integrates Drechsler's main findings and places them into a broader framework.

Although the Reich government would much have preferred the exploitation of German South West Africa to have been undertaken by German companies and capital, this ambition was frustrated by the fact that German capital was unavailable for investment in South West Africa. From its inception the DKGfSWA was undercapitalized and fell rapidly into immobilism, added to which there were disagreements between the company and the Reich as to who should pay the costs of administration. This was a situation that could not continue. Ultimately Bismarck's successor, Caprivi, decided to allow British capital into South West Africa on the basis that it was better to have that than none at all. On 3 August 1892 Caprivi permitted the grant of the

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Damaraland concession in the north of the colony to Julius Scharlach and Carl Wichman, who quickly transferred it to the English South West Africa Company, registered in London fifteen days later. In Germany this created an uproar and accusations of a sell-out of German South West Africa. Nevertheless, British and South African capital were to dominate in South West Africa throughout the 1890s, which, during the period of Cecil Rhodes's premiership in Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, carried with it an attendant danger in political respects. This danger was only removed when the failure of the Jameson Raid brought Rhodes's ambitious imperialism to an abrupt end. Thereafter the South West Africa Company functioned as a normal trading company without political ambitions.

At the time of its foundation the South West Africa Company contemplated the start of considerable activity in the field of railway construction and mining, but after some preparatory work did nothing. It confined itself, thereafter, during the 1890s, to the founding of daughter companies, such as the *Hanseatische Gesellschaft* (1893), and the *Kaoko-Gesellschaft* (1895), and the acquisition in 1897 of the *Kharaskhoma-Syndikat*, which had by then become the South African Territories Company. This considerably extended the territory and mining rights of the South West Africa Company. By the turn of the century, however, the Company had to consider the commencement of mining operations, or lose its concession. In order to avoid the responsibility for having to do this itself, the Company, with the assistance of Adolph von Hanseemann of the *Disconto-Gesellschaft*, founded a German daughter company that would exploit the rich copper deposits of Tsumeb in the Otavi Territory. This was the *Otavi-Minen und Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft*, or OMEG, in which the South West Africa Company held 55 per cent of the shares. By 1907/8 it was able to start paying dividends, which by the outbreak of war in 1914 totalled some 20.5 million marks. The success of OMEG allowed the South West Africa Company to declare a regular dividend from 1908 onwards. The basis of its success lay, however, not in productive activity, but in the sale of the shares of other companies and the investment of the proceeds in fixed-interest bearing securities.

The third company that proved capable of paying dividends was the DKGfSWA. In 1908 diamonds were at last found in the neighbourhood of Lüderitz Bay in what was the territory of the Company, although it would be subject from 1 October of that year to the so-called

Bergrezeß, which would guarantee freedom of prospecting rights. This difficulty was overcome by the State Secretary of the Reich Colonial Office, Bernhard Dernburg, who confirmed the Company in its former rights. He did this for fiscal reasons and from an inclination to favour the centralization of diamond production. The discovery of diamonds enabled the DKGfSWA to pay very substantial dividends indeed. By 1914 some 6 million marks had been paid out.

It was through the various companies that the indigenous population of South West Africa experienced German rule, and Drechsler reveals the degree to which by 1895 men on the spot were increasingly contemplating a violent solution of the Herero problem. The Damaraland concession deprived the Herero of their northern grazing lands and very little compassion was demonstrated by the company in evicting them. By 1895 it was clear to the *Kolonialabteilung* in Berlin that the more punitive attitude of their senior official in the colony, Theodor Leutwein, who would later become Governor, was the consequence of pressure by several of the companies. Leutwein worked in close collaboration with Georg Hartmann, General Manager of the South West Africa Company, and shared his views. Significantly, the latter prepared a secret report for the South West Africa Company which was in fact an outline plan for a war against the Hereros. This reveals that Hartmann's view of the Herero problem went far beyond the evacuation of concessions. He wrote: 'Only when these arrogant tribes ... lie smashed upon the ground will the Protected Territory be able to experience a truly peaceful development' (p. 293). Julius Scharlach, a major figure in the history of South West Africa and a leading advocate of the colonizing role of the companies, was even more explicit: 'Colonization, as all history shows, does not signify the civilization of the natives, but their repression and annihilation' (p. 325). The consequences involved in the application of Hartmann's rigorous remedies for an adequate supply of labour in South West Africa were spelled out by the official Golinelli who advised that a peaceful approach was more likely to make the native population amenable to work in the mines and on the railways. As Drechsler points out, the knowledge that a colony without a substantial labour force is almost worthless came too late after the Herero war.

It is difficult to disagree with the conclusions at the end of this splendid and lucid book. Given that at the end of the nineteenth century colonies were regarded as essential to Great Power status, and that

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many in Germany wanted them for a variety of reasons, the fact of the matter is that without the Land and Mining Companies Germany would never have entered the ranks of the colonial powers. This is as true of South West Africa as it is of anywhere else. To that degree they were, therefore, successful. South West Africa is, however, a poor land and it was difficult for all the companies to prove themselves commercially viable. What sustained them all was the hope of discovering diamonds or gold. In the end, only three companies were successful in showing a profit. Finally, the companies did little for what is today Namibia. For over twenty years a dispute continued as to who should pay the costs of administration and infrastructural development, the Reich government or the companies. As a result neither contributed much. Only with the discovery of diamonds in 1908 and the start of dividend payments by OMEG did the situation begin to change. South West Africa, therefore, enjoyed the benefits of German rule only in the six years before the outbreak of war in 1914.

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MAGNUS BRECHTKEN, "*Madagaskar für die Juden*": *Antisemitische Idee und politische Praxis 1885-1945*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, 53 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), x + 336 pp. ISBN 3 486 56240 1. DM 88.00

It is typical – first we have to wait a long time for a particular historical subject to be treated. The topic is ignored or marginalized, and then, after the drought, comes the flood. While a number of essays on Madagascar as a territorial 'solution' to the 'Jewish question' had appeared (for example, Eugene Hevesi 1941, Leni Yahil 1974, and Christopher Browning 1986 and 1990), in 1997 two extensive books on the subject were published – *Der Madagaskar-Plan* by Hans Jansen, and the book by Magnus Brechtken under review here.

Brechtken's book attempts to provide 'a clarifying and corrective synthesis' on the basis of sources which have, essentially, 'not hitherto been used'. However, what gives this synthesis a special character is the fact, as the subtitle suggests, that it puts all the different Madagascar Plans into the larger context of the history of anti-Semitism. It thus becomes in effect a case study on the subject of Jewish extra-territoriality as a 'solution to the Jewish question'.

Brechtken begins by looking at the content of anti-Semitism, at the place of the idea of Jewish segregation in anti-Semitic world images and programmes, before turning to the Madagascar Plans. He looks in particular at the plans of the Polish government and the German National Socialists. It becomes clear that many people from various different countries had been thinking about this, starting with Paul de Lagarde in 1885, and that even after the Second World War, the idea of a Jewish settlement on Madagascar was not entirely given up. But whether Brechtken here achieves a rounded historiographical account of the Madagascar solution is doubtful, to say the least. For historians, it is more interesting to ask whether there was ever a real chance of implementing this plan, or whether it was always intended only as a diversionary tactic, and used as such. If it was a serious plan, then we must ask why it was practically given up by the Third Reich, and at what point.

In Poland, as in Nazi Germany, the Madagascar Plan was debated before the war but either instrumentalized for other purposes or not taken seriously, as Eichmann was later to admit (p. 189). Madagascar seemed to figure as a solution only after Germany had occupied Poland, and especially after the conquest of France, that is, between

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autumn 1939 and summer 1940. Brechtken devotes about one-fifth of his book to this period. The German victory in the West forced the German Foreign Office to take the initiative. Franz Rademacher, head of the Jewish Department in the German Foreign Office, wanted to translate the Madagascar Plan into reality. As usual in the Third Reich, a competition for responsibility ensued between the Foreign Office, the SS, and the Interior Ministry. The history of the Madagascar Plan thus casts an additional light on the Nazi regime's polycratic power structures in the context of the Final Solution.

In 1940, a Jewish reservation (not a state) was planned for four million or more Jews on Madagascar. But already at this stage, when Hitler decided to go to war against the Soviet Union, the plan was not worth the paper it was written on. Nevertheless, the various state offices continued to work at the idea, until it was finally scrapped in the summer of 1942 at the latest (p. 266). What is important here is the fact, which is easy to overlook in retrospect, that the plan was conceived for the *post*-war period. The prolongation and extension of the war not only delayed the 'post-war period', but made it imperative to find solutions *during* the war, that is, under quite different circumstances. Also important is what advantages Madagascar had over Palestine as the alternative territorial solution in the eyes of the advocates of Jewish exclusion from Europe. The Polish government regarded Madagascar as 'supplementary' to Palestine (January 1938, p. 129). In the Third Reich, it was considered an alternative to Palestine. In 1937 Rosenberg (p. 75), von Weizsäcker, and Neurath (p. 179) feared that Palestine was potentially an 'all Jewish power centre'.

There was a further, practical consideration. As early as 1937, Poland's Foreign Minister, Beck, and the *Sicherheitsdienst* (the Nazi party's own security and intelligence organization) pointed out that Palestine was 'too small ... to take 15 million Jews' (pp. 111, 184). Rosenberg made the same point in 1940 (p. 272), and again in 1941 (p. 76). In 1937 the most prominent German-Jewish newspaper, the *C.V. Zeitung*, proposed that Trans-Jordan and Syria be made available for Jewish settlement instead of Madagascar (p. 107). But the protagonists of the plan opposed this solution because their real objection was to Palestine and the possibility that a 'power centre' would develop. Even before 1933, the interesting word pair 'pseudo Zionism' and 'full Zionism' were used in this context (p. 41). Under this scheme, Palestine, which was home only to those Jews who aspired to a state,

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represented 'pseudo Zionism'. Madagascar, by contrast, where all Jews were to be concentrated under non-Jewish control, represented 'full Zionism'. Thus even *Der Stürmer* could advocate the Madagascar Plan in 1938 (p. 62).

The diversity of these plans and the discussion of them are so interesting just because the connection between the Madagascar Plan and its anti-Semitic roots is at the centre of the book. Anti-Semitism as such (not just in the Third Reich) aimed to 'segregate' the Jews. European civilization had some scruples – migration and expulsion, not mass murder, seemed at first to be the appropriate ways of 'removing' the Jews from society. But as the number of 'Jews to be removed' rose steeply and the war broke down any inhibitions of civilization, mass murder could easily be depersonalized. For 'segregation' to become the 'Final Solution', the exclusion of the public was needed. In this context, the conclusion drawn by Brechtken is relevant. He points out that a successful implementation of the Madagascar Plan would have amounted to and achieved more or less the same thing – not resettlement, but mass murder.

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ERIC D. WEITZ, *Creating German Communism, 1890-1990. From Popular Protests to Socialist State* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), xviii + 445 pp. ISBN 0 691 02594 0 (Hardback). \$62.00. £52.50. ISBN 0 691 02682 3 (Paperback). \$24.95. £19.95

West German historians such as Ernst Nolte and Hans-Peter Schwarz are all too keen to portray the history of the GDR as the history of a Soviet protectorate. The renaissance of the totalitarian paradigm after 1989 has led to often crude and simplistic equations of an allegedly 'Stalinist' GDR with the Nazi period in German history. Talk of coming to terms with the second German dictatorship has filled the columns of the quality newspapers for more than eight years now. Whilst such comparisons serve the clear function of delegitimizing and demonizing the GDR (as well as stamping out the contemporary *Ostalgie* which emerged in East Germany only after reunification), they contribute little to a deeper understanding of GDR history. As Eric Weitz demonstrates in his compelling *tour de force* covering one hundred years of German Communism, the GDR had strong roots in German history and in particular in the history of the German labour movement and the German Communist Party (KPD) in Weimar.

In the first chapter of his book Weitz demonstrates how employers and the state in Imperial Germany used a mixture of repression (factory codes, dismissals) and social welfare (company housing; company and state pensions; sickness funds; urban reform) to keep working-class discontent at bay. Especially through the system of factory and mine inspectors – which often protected workers from the worst excesses of the capitalist system of production – the state sought to construct a loyal and disciplined workforce. Yet the continued dangerous working conditions, long hours, poor pay, bleak housing, rising inflation, and the non-recognition of workers as citizens led to working-class unrest which found expression in 'repertoires of resistance', such as strikes, demonstrations (for example, against the Prussian three-class franchise), and various forms of everyday obstinacy at the workplace and in the neighbourhoods (such as changing jobs, manipulating piecework systems, violence, sabotage, and theft). A fundamental sense of suffering from an unjust political and economic system made some workers join the SPD. Weitz analyses the Social Democratic languages of class and gender and provides a vivid description of the Social Democratic subculture, arguing that the

world of pre-war Social Democracy, in particular its statist orientation and its cult of militant struggle, provided the foundations on which the KPD could build in Weimar Germany.

Yet, as Weitz demonstrates in chapter two, the First World War and the German revolution of 1918-19 brought a new quality to the meaning of the struggle for working-class emancipation. In the war the state took more direct control over labour issues than ever before, and when things began to go wrong, the state in conjunction with employers found itself the main target of working-class protests. The examples of Krupp at Essen and the BASF works at Leuna serve to highlight the explosive mixture of straightforward repression and social welfare which characterized the attitude of employers and the state towards the workforce during the First World War. It was in the context of the war-time strikes and other acts of working-class resistance that the Spartakists began to prepare for revolution. Interestingly, Weitz perceives Rosa Luxemburg as providing some of the key ideological foundations for both the KPD and the Socialist Unity Party (SED) (p. 79). Given the fact that for a long time her full writings were not even available in the GDR (despite the obligatory annual demonstrations for the martyrs of German Communism) one would surely want to add that it was a very selective Luxemburg who was celebrated by German Communists. As Weitz himself says, Leninism and increasingly Stalinism came to shape the outlook of the KPD in the 1920s. The Civil War which raged through various parts of Germany between 1918 and 1920 produced a decisive defeat for German Communism and cemented the (often permanent) alienation between radicalized workers and Social Democrats, as the latter had shown little hesitation in deploying the army and paramilitary right-wing *Freikorps* against armed workers attempting to push the social revolution further.

A mass German Communist Party emerged only after the left wing of the Independent Social Democrats (USPD) joined the KPD in October 1920, and it is the analysis of that party and its culture which is at the centre of chapters three to seven. Chapter three presents what is probably the least convincing argument of the book, namely that the (M)SPD joined the forces of the old order in a 'coalition of order' against Communism. Weitz's reasoning here comes close to adopting the Manichaeian view of the Weimar KPD which depicted the working-class struggle in the light of a similar two-camp theory: on the one side of the barricade the Communists challenging bourgeois society, and on

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the other bourgeois society – of which the SPD becomes a part after 1918 – attempting to deny working-class aspirations. Whilst the SPD might be described in W. H. Maehl's words as the 'champion of the first German republic', the Social Democrats remained alienated from non-working-class milieux in the Weimar Republic. Social Democrats often enough found themselves frozen out by those whom they wanted to regard as their allies. In many localities during the 1920s the divided labour movement milieu still had more in common than the Social Democrats and the *bürgerliche* world. Class was a fundamental experience of workers which, *pace* Heinrich August Winkler, significantly limited the prospect of any of the working-class parties developing into a genuine cross-class catch-all party before 1933. The workers supporting the SPD felt the 'bare realities of exploitation and deprivation' (p. 245) often in a different but rarely less hurtful way than the workers supporting the KPD (at least before 1929). The Communist-Social Democratic split often went right through families with the older generation supporting the Social Democrats and their sons (and less frequently daughters) more likely to support the Communists.

Chapters four to seven are the most interesting in the book. They provide the reader with an in-depth analysis of the Communist factory cells (chapter four), Communist street politics (chapter five), Communist perceptions of gender (chapter six), and the forging of a Communist party culture (chapter seven). Communists sought to encourage workplace-based protests wherever possible. They saw them as opportunities to raise the class-consciousness of workers and hence to pave the way for a successful revolution. However, as Weitz argues convincingly, the KPD faced formidable difficulties. First, many workers reacted unwillingly to Communist attempts to politicize strikes, acts of sabotage, theft, piecework calculations, or job shirking. Secondly, the party's own strategies sabotaged its successes. Especially during the 'third period', the KPD attacked reformist trade unionists and so-called 'conciliators' in its own ranks, thereby purging some of its most experienced cadres and losing what (sometimes considerable) influence they had over the local branches of powerful unions such as the Social Democratic miners' and metalworkers' unions. Thirdly, employers were quick to seize on every opportunity to victimize and dismiss known Communists from the factories. Increasingly during the second half of the 1920s the KPD became the party of the unemployed and hence, emphasis began to shift from the factories to the neighbourhoods.

Workplace politics was replaced by street politics. In a subtle analysis of the way in which the constant street battles forged Communist identities, Weitz stresses that combat and militant, even militaristic activism became the very essence of Weimar Communism accentuating in particular the masculine character of the movement. This leads to an extremely persuasive analysis of the ways in which the KPD constructed a highly gendered party culture which found little support amongst women, despite the fact that no other party in the Weimar Republic argued more consistently for the complete emancipation of women in all spheres of life. The image of the militaristic and active male member of the Red Front Fighters' League contrasted sharply with the depiction of women primarily as 'objects of sympathy and pathos' (p. 205). In stark contrast to the idealization of the male factory proletariat, there was little appreciation of women's issues, and the emergence of an autonomous women's politics was resisted even where the KPD championed women's causes such as in the Communist-led campaign against the prohibition of abortion. In its language, images, metaphors, and songs the KPD emerged as an association of battle-hardened, class-conscious, internationally-minded proletarians committed to the defence of the Soviet Union and the revolution.

Chapter eight moves from Weimar Communism to a brief but succinct account of the Communist experience under National Socialism and Communist exile in the Soviet Union. The failure of the party's policies of mass resistance as well as its difficulties in forging a 'popular front' with Social Democrats are perceptively analysed before the importance of the specifically German roots of the history of the GDR is discussed in chapters nine and ten. Chapter nine analyses the constant interplay between 'the politics of intransigence' and 'the politics of gradualism' amongst leading SED cadres in the years 1945 to 1949. According to Weitz, two hearts were beating in the breasts of many Communists in the immediate post-war period: one which aimed at the forging of a popular front in which the building of socialism would become a distant aim, and one in which the Communists seized all power and would begin to build a socialist system along Soviet lines. It was the Cold War which tilted the balance in favour of the 'politics of intransigence'. However, as Weitz emphasizes, in the immediate post-war period as well as during the forty-year existence of the GDR, Communist policies were never based only on repression (although they came to rely on repression to a

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substantial degree); they also rested on an always contested but not totally unsuccessful attempt to legitimize the 'second German state'.

As Weitz shows in chapter ten, workers in the GDR, especially in its early years, experienced considerable social mobility. The regime's 'ideology of productivism' (p. 363) gave pride of place to the working class. Whilst the regime sought to construct a diligent and disciplined working class through the propagation of profoundly conservative cultural values and its own brand of 'socialist nationalism', some of its social and economic policies proved genuinely popular, for example, the egalitarian educational programmes, and the extensive maternalist social welfare programmes. Whilst the SED thus successfully depoliticized wide sections of the working class, it time and again needed to resort to brutal repression of protests, strikes, and unrest, notably in 1953 and between 1956 and 1958. However, compared with other East European Communist states, the legitimacy of the SED state remained relatively uncontested in the public sphere, not least, as Weitz argues, because of the added dimension of the 'German question', the deep divide between workers and intellectuals, and the fact that the SED state claimed to represent the anti-fascist tradition in German history. In a brief conclusion to his book, Weitz defends the claim that what took place in the GDR in 1989 was in fact a genuine revolution and should not be denigrated as a mere 'catching-up revolution' (Jürgen Habermas). The citizens' movement in the GDR was seeking a 'third way' between the liberal capitalist order of the FRG and the state socialism of the GDR. Whilst Weitz leaves few doubts that the epoch of Communism definitely came to an end in 1989, the reader is left to ponder whether the vision of the citizens' movement in the GDR as one which sought to establish a civil society combining liberal constitutional values with a de-centred and particularist understanding of politics will form the utopia of tomorrow.

Weitz's book is brimming with new insights and complex, fascinating arguments, many of which are extremely convincing. It is clearly structured, well written and illustrated, and in an eclectic manner makes good use of the considerable literature on the political and social history of German Communism as well as the history of everyday life and the poststructuralist concern for discursive practices. It is at its most original where it can draw on the author's valuable micro-studies of the Communist milieu in the Ruhr and in Prussian Saxony (that is, the Halle-Merseburg region). Overall, Eric Weitz has written a book

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that will be read with great benefit by both specialists on German Communism and lay readers with an interest in the history of the German left in the twentieth century.

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NORBERT FREI, *Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 464 pp. ISBN 3 406 41310 2. DM 78.00

This is, by any standard, a major work. It is not always easy to read, is probably too long, and – for a non-German, at any rate – occasionally rather obscure. Yet it is a landmark study, proof of the truly significant contribution that German contemporary history can make to the study of its political culture. Frei illuminates the early activities of the new West German political class, and shows at once that consensual approaches to political problems (a distinctive and enduring feature of German political culture) existed at the very start of the new German politics in the West. Beyond this, Frei's book prompts reflection on a wide and fruitful set of issues, all of which are fundamental to any proper perception of the Bonn Republic, and the attitude taken to Germany's Nazi past. These range from the straightforwardly historical (the examination of the role played by specific politicians and parties in the early years of the Republic in dealing with its pre-history) to moral and legal matters, which transcend German political life, and with which all Western democracies still wrestle today. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* was, and is, a bitter chore for any society, but particularly so for Germans, and all too frequently left to the historian to accomplish (not always with distinction as some of the contributions to the *Historikerstreit* showed). This has been unfortunate, particularly in the case of human rights abuses, in which the recording of them, and the way in which they were dealt with after 1945, affects not just the state as a whole.

Frei's book is divided into three parts: the first is a description of how West German policy and law-making sought to exonerate many of those involved in abusing the fundamental rights of their fellow humans during the Third Reich. He relates how various amnesties, in particular the *Straffreiheitsgesetze* of 1949 and 1954, which covered offences committed in the final year of the regime (and were accepted by the whole of the *Bundestag*, despite the reservations of the three High Commissions), and the April 1951 law on the civil service, allowed many Germans who had in some way contributed to the brutality of Nazi rule to go free, or escape without any punishment of any kind and gain unfettered entry into the life of the new Republic. Frei suggests that the desire to reintegrate offenders produced a variety

of consequences. Whilst a bureaucracy and a political élite were established who were ready to work within the new democratic and republican guidelines, they were nevertheless able to exert pressure on policy-makers so that, jointly, they could construct a web of silence around the Nazi past, and neglect the punishment of perpetrators. This, in turn, led to a (limited) rehabilitation of Nazi ideas, and ideals.

The second part of the study deals with those loosely called war criminals. Very few of these were soldiers who had broken the Hague conventions; most had been members of the SS, party functionaries, and civilian concentration camp personnel found guilty of murder, manslaughter, and torture. Many had been sentenced to death during the occupation of Germany. The concerted attempt to gain reprieves for them began in 1946-7 and was spearheaded by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. Frei shows that the churches' opposition was generally not based on moral objections to the death penalty, but on what they claimed was the unsatisfactory nature of 'victors' justice'. They were able to exert huge pressure on a willing Federal Government to intercede on behalf of these people, and they achieved their objective in many (but not all) cases.

The third part of Frei's book explores what he terms the 'normative Abgrenzung' (demarcation) with the past that entered into West German public consciousness as a result of these amnesties, and the arrest and trial of a number of former (or new) Nazis. He shows how the early 'anti-Nazi consensus' of 1945 was threatened by those who sought to justify, in public, Nazi crimes, particularly the murder of the Jews, or to attack as 'traitors' the men and women of 20 July 1944. Examples include the right-wing *Bundestag* member, Wolfgang Hedler, Otto Remer, the incursion of the *Sozialistische Reichspartei* (banned in 1952) and, finally, Werner Naumann, arrested and tried by the British early in 1953.

Frei's research shows how large were the numbers affected by the exculpatory actions. The various laws amnestied both those already convicted of offences committed in 1944-5, and those, not yet tried, who could face conviction and a sentence of six months (the 1949 law), or three years (the 1954 law). The general model, it seems, was the amnesty the Nazis gave to their comrades locked up during the Weimar Republic.

Some 800,000 people were the beneficiaries of the first law, of whom the majority, it should be noted, had been found guilty of black market

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racketeering, and *not* of Nazi crimes. In addition, as Frei points out, these amnesties benefited not only those guilty of crimes under Third Reich law, which had not yet reached the limitations statute, but also those who had adopted a false identity to escape internment and de-Nazification. He estimates that some 10,000 Nazi wrongdoers escaped punishment as a result. The April 1951 law helped 300,000 former civil servants and soldiers to re-enter the fold of public life, as well as many tens of thousands of others, heavily implicated, including former Gestapo members, who exploited the atmosphere of forgetfulness to slip back into former jobs. A critical knock-on effect was that by 1954 the number of people being prosecuted for Nazi crimes reached a record low – 183 compared with 2,500 in 1950. In addition, most of those convicted in the Nuremberg follow-up trials had been freed. Some 3,000 people formally convicted of abuses of personal freedom (chiefly SA and SS officers involved in the shipment of people to concentration camps and ghettos) were likewise freed. Frei also estimates that some of the 20,000 persons convicted of manslaughter, or attempted manslaughter, and 5,200 accused of crimes whilst in office will have been Nazis, as were the 180 people convicted of crimes against religion (desecration of Jewish cemeteries and so forth).

It is perfectly true that Frei may at times overstate his case, or appears to do so because of the rhetoric he employs. Adenauer (like Brandt after him) never deluded himself that the Federal Republic could be considered a 'normal' democracy because of its Nazi past, and he understood the negative force of its legacy, particularly in foreign affairs. Privately, he made it clear that he had sympathy with those who had suffered, especially the Jews, but very little for those who had caused it, and that he genuinely sought to atone for what had been done (Frei does not mention Adenauer's December 1951 meeting with Goldmann, at which he offered one billion dollars in reparations, although this policy, too, was a part of *Vergangenheitspolitik*). The Chancellor's support for a policy of 'allowing the past to be the past' ('*Vergangenes vergangen sein lassen*') – of silence – was not motivated by any sinister goals, and must be differentiated from open criticism of the judgments at Nuremberg and elsewhere by others. Nor should we forget that even if Nazis still existed after 1945, they were noteworthy partly because there were so few of them. The biggest threat they represented was their attempted subversion of the Liberals, the FDP. A free-standing neo-Nazi party could never be a runner. Furthermore,

the amnesties were confined to the limited period of the 'collapse' (although the underlying logic had more general application), and a number of Nazi criminals were subsequently punished both by West Germans and their occupiers (the Nuremberg tribunal had generated twenty life sentences, twenty five death sentences, and thirty five acquittals; more than one hundred death sentences were passed after the Dachau and Malmedy trials). Retribution did take place, and more than 50,000 people were dismissed, for specified periods, because of what they had done. The principle, at any rate, that human rights abusers were criminals had been established in part, if not in whole; the length of sentence (and its severity) is not the important test.

Frei is right to regard all these issues as seminal. He approaches them through a series of extended and extremely detailed case studies. It has to be said that some have been explored before, particularly, perhaps, by Jörg Friedrich (but we should not ignore Tom Bower's original work in this area). Yet revisiting them is valuable in itself. Given the added, and compelling, details provided in this account, and Frei's own scholarly (and often wry) insights, conclusions may be drawn which are both innovative, and – as is proper for the subject – provocative.

Why, then, did Adenauer's government seek to overcome the legacy of the Nazi past in this particular way? Virtually the whole of the West German political class seemed to want to subvert the rectitude of the trials that had taken place and then quickly proceed to forget the past, in the hope that the trauma would thereby disappear. In Frei's view, a mixture of motives thus determined policy. He shows that large numbers of influential Germans kept up an attack on the Nuremberg process and its principles, but not for moral reasons. Parties sought to win electoral support from those who liked, or benefited, from a 'clean slate' approach. In 1950 both Adenauer and Heuss began an attempt to trade an agreement to re-arm West Germany for American clemency towards convicted war criminals. Every party in the *Bundestag* joined in, pursuing what they believed to be a popular policy to win votes.

Frei provides devastating evidence of the ways in which some of West Germany's most prominent citizens sought, systematically, to combine to denigrate the Nuremberg verdicts. This in turn helped undermine the Nuremberg message on human rights abuses in a state that perceived itself as committed to the protection of those rights. Few reputations emerge unscathed, but the FDP's attitude seems to have

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been particularly difficult to defend. They exerted continuous pressure on the new Federal Government, and its Chancellor. At his first cabinet meeting on 26 September 1949 Adenauer had said all now desired a *tabula rasa*, and in 1949 all parties in the *Bundestag* supported the process both of ending the purge, and reversing its results.

The Protestant *Land* bishop of Stuttgart, Wurm, together with other church leaders, did not simply attack the de-Nazification process, but said the Nuremberg verdicts would have the 'terrible effect' of indicating that 'justice had ceased to exist', and that laws were simply 'dictated by those with power'. Wurm also insisted that it had not been just the Germans who had committed war crimes and that 'criminal methods and abhorrent tortures' had been used against defendants in the Dachau trials. Meanwhile, Roman Catholic bishops, led by Cardinal Frings, wrote to Lucius Clay likening the Nuremberg trials to Nazi 'special tribunals', and claiming evidence against the Dachau defendants had been manufactured by 'professional witnesses, homosexuals, child molesters, communists and habitual criminals'. This onslaught forced the Americans to waver, and an American review confirmed that some witnesses had 'criminal records ranging from robbery to homosexuality'. Given the nature of the defendants' duties and the fact that their victims included Jews (presumably the 'professional' witnesses alluded to) as well as others deemed 'undesirable' by an odious regime, these objections were, it must be said, nothing short of disgraceful.

One cannot help recalling Adenauer's 1946 private statement of despair in respect of the Catholic Church, noted by Hans-Peter Schwarz (but not by Frei): 'In my view, the German bishops and clergy must bear a large burden of guilt for what happened in the concentration camps ... people knew perfectly well that personal liberty and the rule of law were being trampled underfoot. The Jewish pogroms of 1933 and 1938 took place in public. We officially announced the murders of hostages in France. I believe that if the bishops had all spoken out together on one particular day much could have been prevented. They did not do so, and they have no excuse for not doing so. The best thing now is to stay silent.' Ludwig Bergsträsser (who is quoted by Frei) wrote in 1948 that when people were arrested and tortured for speaking their mind in the Third Reich, the Church had spoken out only very quietly, and even then only when a pastor was involved. He said the church should not interfere with the verdicts, but counsel those affected, and educate the population so that barbarism did not recur.

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It seemed more than ironic that the two great Christian Churches found it possible to speak up for those indicted for Nazi human rights abuses, but virtually impossible to speak up a decade or so earlier for those whose rights were being so terribly abused. Silence during the Third Reich, Frei seems to suggest, ought to have disqualified, on moral grounds, objections made subsequently (after all, those being punished had been responsible for the fear which had engendered the silence). Much the same could be said for the 610,280 signatures delivered to the White House in May 1951 to plead for the lives of seven Nazi war criminals (who were hanged in June at Landsberg in the presence of Vice-Chancellor Blücher). On the other hand, it is hard to blame West Germans for making full use of the fact that they now lived in a genuine democracy.

Dehler, the Minister of Justice, was the strongest supporter of an amnesty. He justified this on two grounds: that 'certain trials' in the period from 1946 to 1948 (we know which ones he had in mind) had produced sentences that had been 'too harsh', and that such an amnesty would be a fitting way to mark the new beginning that was the Federal Republic. Yet Dehler's comments were not confined to criticism of Nuremberg, or musings on the noble aim of re-inventing German political culture. Rather, he sided with the abusers in a December 1949 debate, which touched on the massacre at Oradour where the 2nd SS Panzer Division had murdered 642 men, women, and children, and later spoke up for a man who had personally beaten several concentration camp inmates to death, and supervised the removal of their gold teeth. Dehler wrote to Heuss that 'under the pressure of harsh orders, this man beat inmates to maintain discipline' but denied this had caused their deaths. Frei indicates that evidence from the *Landtag* elections of the summer and autumn of 1950 suggested that the FDP was benefiting electorally from this stance. It was true that by 1950 33 per cent thought the trials were unjust – but this important statistic also illustrates the fact that very many West Germans did *not* think the trials were unjust. It is hard to be sure that the political class spoke for the democratic majority and not simply for the tainted minority, whose votes they believed they were obliged to seek. More generally, he concludes that the success of the CDU in 1953 and the failure of the extremist parties indicates that the German voter was happy with the policy towards the past.

Dehler's undignified attitude towards justice in this area was mirrored by Carlo Schmid and the Federal President Theodor Heuss in

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their support for Martin Sandberger, commander of the *Einsatzgruppe* Ia who in the autumn and winter of 1941-2 had 'cleansed' Estonia of Jews and killed many Communists as well. He became head of the Security Police and SD there, and then in Italy. He was sentenced to death in 1948 during the *Einsatzgruppen* trial at Nuremberg. Heuss, Carl Friedrich von Weizsaecker, a friend of Sandberger's sister, the educationist Hellmut Becker, and no less a figure than Carlo Schmid took up the fight for his life. Schmid claimed that Sandberger, whom he had taught at Tübingen, had helped him to protect Jewish students in 1934. Becker told Heuss that although one was obliged to accept that the killing of Jews had been carried out in Sandberger's name, 'in German law' this did not constitute participation in murder. In 1954 Heuss took up the case again. But it was only in May 1958 that he and three others were released in conditions of great secrecy. They were the last Nazi war criminals to be held in Germany during this period (the exceptions were those held in Spandau under direct allied control), while others were held in Holland, France, Belgium, and Italy. Other leading Germans, including Herbert Wehner and Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, spoke up for guilty individuals and groups in ways which could too easily be misunderstood by their fellow countrymen, and by the Western democracies. At the same time, individuals such as Franz Josef Strauß, Hermann Höcherl, Fritz Erler, and Josef Müller made their opposition to broad amnesties quite plain.

On the credit side, then, the Republic knew it could now count on its civil servants, the deeply dangerous subversion of the FDP by new Nazis was firmly halted, and any ideological acceptance of Nazism or attempted justification of the Holocaust became a political taboo. On the debit side, however, thousands of criminals were allowed to escape investigation, or punishment. Dick de Mildt has estimated that of the 103,823 Germans investigated for Nazi crimes, only 6,230 were convicted (6 per cent), and of these less than 1,000 (15 per cent) were found guilty of serious crimes. If to these we add the many thousands who might have, and ought to have been convicted, but were not, we may gain some idea of the dimension of the issue. What is more, de Mildt shows that prosecutions failed to materialize not because their legality was questionable under the German Legal Code, as was often asserted, but quite simply because the authorities did not want to press charges. In his view, many of these abuses were crimes even under German law during the Third Reich; this is certainly a point worth testing. If Nazism

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was successfully expunged, this was, as Frei emphasizes, more the product of the policies of the Federal Republic's Western Allies than of those pursued by the West Germans themselves. He is adamant that the contribution made by the British, symbolized by their arrest of Naumann, and by the Americans, who resisted most, if not all, of the pressure put upon them, was hugely significant, and decisively safeguarded the tender shoots of post-war German democracy from the predatory inclinations of neo-Nazis and their sympathizers.

The policy produced by Adenauer's coalition government, Frei deduces, set the seal on the attitude both to past Nazi crimes and any possible resurgence of Nazism in the Federal Republic for at least a decade. It was not until 1958 that the Ludwigsburg office began to compile evidence against new suspected Nazi criminals (thanks mainly to the efforts of one individual, Erwin Schüle, the Ulm public prosecutor, who became its first head). They were not merely swamped by the size of their task (Christa Hoffmann speaks of 1.5 million suspects, and 14,000 indictments), but up against the statute of limitations set for 1965, although then extended.

Would it have been better to have pursued a more rigorous policy, tried more people, and punished more people, with greater severity, as Frei believes? Was the amnesty policy as misguided as he suggests? Essentially, there appear to be three different models of coping with an appalling political legacy: first, the 'truth and reconciliation' model (currently on display in South Africa) where, to put it bluntly, truth may be bartered for justice. Its supporters recommend it for a polity so badly torn by racial injustice and conflict, in which such appalling acts were committed, that truth without justice is thought better than no truth and no justice. Whether truth without justice is actually worth having is another matter.

The second paradigm was provided by the Nuremberg process. Here justice is used both to extract the truth, and to seek retribution from the abusers. The trials were not 'victors' justice' (with the emphasis on the first word, so that the second word might be forgotten), or monumental hypocrisy as far as the United States and Britain were concerned. In fact, Germany's Western victors were remarkably careful in their administration of justice; often self-critical, they were not slow to revise verdicts that were unsatisfactory for various reasons. Whilst we may be repelled by the use of capital punishment, the value of the Nuremberg process in establishing the existence of human rights laws

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which transcend national law can hardly be overrated, especially in the context of recent abuses in the former Yugoslavia, or Rwanda. Whilst the judges and prosecutors were indeed chosen from the victor nations, this did not diminish the justice they delivered. This is true even for the Soviet ones, whose own country failed to uphold the standards that Nuremberg sought to establish. Without victory over the Third Reich, there would have been no justice at all.

The third model is one which uses amnesties to seek to cover up the past, and to 'move on', in the hope that time will heal all wounds. In our time, Germans have tried, or been forced to accept, all three paradigms, and sometimes a mixture of them. What is more, with the collapse of Communism in 1989, Germans have been obliged to revisit these options. It has already been decided that after 31 December 2000 no new cases of serious human rights abuses, including manslaughter (but excluding murder), which were carried out under the East German Communist regime, may be the subject of police investigation, or criminal proceedings (although cases where proceedings have already been initiated may be brought to a conclusion). This is, in effect, an amnesty by another name. At the same time, the *Bundestag's* two Commissions of Enquiry are seeking to uncover the truth about the German Democratic Republic in the hope of providing reconciliation.

Might a 'truth and reconciliation' model have purged German politics of Nazism to better effect? The answer is complex, not least because the well-functioning democracy of the Federal Republic is actually a product of all three paradigms (though the third one has only ever been informally pursued in respect of the Third Reich, chiefly by historians). It is certainly clear that there would have been far fewer trials, and perhaps none, had Germany not been occupied. That in itself conveys a depressing truth. But even so, can it really be claimed that German democracy, and its core Western and European ties, could have been constructed if extensive human rights trials had been held under a constant domestic critical barrage fired by the political élite? Was silence after Nuremberg not the wisest course? Is it not better to forget a terrible past if there is a chance of creating a better future?

On balance, it seems the answer must be no, and for reasons of politics as well as history. National Socialism, or a variant of it, would certainly have exploited any general failure to criminalize it, which would have been an admission of grave political weakness. Frei shows that their failure to act soon came to diminish the standing of the post-

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war judiciary. It enabled a certain sympathy for National Socialism to endure, and produced an element of harshness towards those who had suffered, but some solidarity towards those who had caused the suffering. Historically, it is plain that the amnesty policy gave unwanted ammunition to all those hostile towards the Federal Republic, and did not satisfy the next generation of West Germans, who felt they had been misled, and behaved accordingly. It did not heal the wounds that the Third Reich had caused; rather, it prevented them from healing. These things were unfortunate, and have caused numerous difficulties which persist to the present. The Bonn Republic became a model democracy. But Frei must be right to claim that history, however awful, must never be ignored. Had the West German political class taken a more robust line at the start, the Federal Republic might have become healthier, and more respected, much sooner. As it was, the successful overcoming of Nazism – regrettably – probably owed more to the determination of Germany's Western occupiers than to the Germans themselves.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Power and Authority in Theory and Practice. English and German Towns, 1000-1650. A conference of the German Historical Institute, held on 5-8 February 1998 at the GHIL.

In her introductory remarks, Bärbel Brodt (GHIL) emphasized that the study of power and authority in relation to late medieval and early modern towns is of special interest because of the varying ways in which, and degrees to which, towns were both subjected to the power and authority of rulers, and themselves also exercised power and authority, sometimes to a very substantial extent. By comparing the English and the German evidence, the conference sought to address the constitutional framework of the two quite different realms and their towns. Furthermore, while towns provided the basic administrative unit of power and authority, the exercise of power was also closely linked to individuals, in particular, the municipal officers. It was one of the major aims of the conference to outline the means and the varied use of power in everyday urban life. However, there was another equally complex picture to be considered. Another main focus of the conference was on the experience of those subjected to power, authority, and, indeed, control by municipal officers, namely the majority of the urban population.

The opening session was chaired by Heinz Schilling (Berlin). Christopher Friedrichs (Vancouver) spoke on 'Some Reflections on the Continuity of Urban Political Culture'. Focusing on the political rhetoric in the Cologne uprisings in the 1680s, Friedrichs conceptually differentiated between 'power' and 'authority'. Dealing with the role of town councils in general, Friedrichs concentrated on the rise of oligarchic rule in particular. He tackled the question of urban autonomy by examining the fiscal position of towns and their individual status within nation-wide taxation. Friedrichs argued convincingly that despite important political and social-economic changes, there was a continuity of urban political culture from the later Middle Ages to the end of the *ancien régime*. David Palliser (Leeds) then spoke on 'Towns and the Crown in England: the Counties and the County Towns'. He stressed the tradition and longevity of the administrative unit of the English shire and the importance of the county town as seat of the regional administration. Referring to the Midland shires as

'artificial creations', Palliser emphasized that the Normans had taken over and strengthened the Anglo-Saxon shire system. He also demonstrated that there were only a handful of effective shifts of shire towns between 1066 and 1700. These were almost always the result of the geographical position of the town in question and its proximity to London.

The first session on Friday was entitled 'Idea and Image – the Town in Theory and Literature' and chaired by Peter Clark (Leicester). Peter Johaneck (Münster) dealt with 'Urban Historiography and Historical Tradition in Germany during the Middle Ages'. He pointed out that urban historiography was not restricted to annals and chronicles. Because of the high proportion of the population of medieval towns who were illiterate or semi-literate, pictures and murals, statutes and especially pageants, often depicting the foundation myths, played a vital role as well. Urban historiography and historical tradition were central points of the municipality's strategies to legitimize their authority. However, they also served to integrate individual groups of inhabitants who took an active part in their dramatization. Michael Reed (Leicester) quite literally added to the picture. His paper, 'Visual Representations of English Towns', focused on another form of urban historiography, namely, town maps and plans, as well as panoramas. His impressive examples outlined the development of urban pictorial self-presentation from the relatively simple maps of the fifteenth century to the elaborate and highly skilled coloured panoramas of the late eighteenth century.

The following session, 'Urban Constitutions', chaired by Bärbel Brodt (GHIL), outlined the constitutional frameworks of urban power and authority. In his paper 'The English Urban Constitutions, c. 1200-1400' Geoffrey Martin (London) first demonstrated the overall importance of fiscal and judicial privileges in the earlier urban charters, more than one hundred of which antedate the thirteenth century. He also outlined the general development of urban corporations, while stressing that merchant guilds were not necessarily always prominent in this. The German evidence was presented by Eberhard Isenmann (Bochum). In his paper on 'Basic Features of German Urban Constitutions in the Later Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period' he focused on the urban charters, and, in particular, the *Ratsverfassung* as their nucleus, which he referred to as a normative model with a centuries-long life. The institutional model with its typological constitutional components has to be interpreted historically. Often, the majority of a town's

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population had only a limited knowledge of the town's constitutions, yet they still claimed rights of participation, and indeed control, most often by organizing themselves in committees and syndicates. The session was concluded by Penny Tucker (London). In her paper, 'The Nature of London's Constitution in the Later Fifteenth Century', she presented an illustrative case study focusing on the degree of 'openness' in the participation of London's municipal government, while providing a general account of the complicated mechanisms of power and authority in the capital of the realm.

Saturday's session, 'Means of Power', chaired by Paul Slack (Oxford) and Christopher Friedrichs (Vancouver), was opened by Robert Tittler (Montreal/Yale) who spoke on 'Civic Building and Urban Identity in England and Central Europe, c. 1540-1640'. By focusing mainly on 'civic halls' he was able to present contrasting evidence from Germany and England. In German towns, often privileged by emperor or seigniorial lords as 'local bulwarks', the civic halls to a larger extent reflected municipal self-understanding and pride as well as their assumed – and often real – political importance. He also stressed the greater degree of urbanization and the larger urban populations on the Continent. Furthermore, according to Tittler, other factors to consider were the different historical traditions and the relative geographical isolation of England with regard to the Continent, and thus the lesser Italian influence on urban architecture. But in England as well as on the Continent civic halls and their interior and exterior decorations reflected not only the pride of the municipal officers but also their claim to authority.

An altogether different means of exercising power and authority was presented by Neithard Bulst (Bielefeld) who spoke on 'Dress as Means of Power'. Drawing numerous examples from territorial and urban dress legislation, he illustrated municipal attempts to regulate and indeed to control. Moving on from sumptuary legislation, he illustrated factual absurdities (in sixteenth-century Strasburg, for example, there were more than two hundred differentiations with regard to dress and thus to those who wore them), and characterized the dress legislation as integral part of everyday urban life. He also pointed out that the numerous confirmations and reinforcements of these laws present valuable evidence of disobedience and the difficulty of enforcing them. Robert Jütte (Stuttgart) then discussed 'Memorials and Political Power'. One of his main themes centred on the 'Stadt als

Erinnerungsgemeinschaft', which he illustrated by giving accounts of the urban uprising in Frankfurt in 1614-16 under the leadership of Vinzenz Fettmilch and the *Gülich* uprising in Cologne in 1683-85. Moving on from there, Jütte analysed the 'official' remembrance of conflicts between urban councils and the inhabitants. According to Jütte, the urban 'memorial culture' used the media of oral tradition, rites, signs and drawings, literary forms, and, finally, memorial sites.

Jan Gerchow (Essen) then led over to the guilds and companies of towns. In his paper, 'Guilds, Fraternities and "Companies" in late Medieval Towns: England and Germany in Comparison', he referred to the different research approaches in both countries, the different emphases placed on the role of authorities, and variations in concentration on urban constitutional questions, all of which he highlighted by a comparative analysis of journeymen guilds. Ian Archer (Oxford) followed with a paper on 'Internal Dissension in London Guilds in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries'. Portraying the administrative structure of a number of London guilds, he stressed that despite major differences they were all still subject to the town's administration. Although the internal discourses on legitimating and apportioning authority and leadership were of great importance, they failed to deny the 'fundamental conversationism of London artisans'.

The session was concluded by Arnd Reitemeier (Kiel) giving a paper on 'Churchwardens in England and Germany: Laical Power in the Community'. Churchwardens, to whom we have references since the turn of the thirteenth century, and their duties can best be traced through an analysis of their account books. In Germany churchwardens were mostly appointed by the town's lord or the municipal council; in England, however, in nearly all cases the appointment was made by the parish council. In both cases, churchwardens administered the life and substance of the parish in a figurative sense.

The final session of the conference, 'Use of Power', was held on Sunday and chaired by Neithard Bulst (Bielefeld). Ann Saunders (London) in her paper 'The Royal Exchange' presented a rare case of unity and co-operation. Although the London Royal Exchange, built on the initiative of Sir Thomas Gresham, was modelled on the *Burse* at Bruges, it was actively supported by both the London municipal authorities and the Crown. Karl Härter (Frankfurt) chose a more general approach. In his paper on '*Policey-Ordnungen* in German Towns 1450-1650' he analysed *Policey-Ordnungen* from the dual point

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of view of urban self-government and the integration of urban communities into the developing territorial state. His principal line of argument was that the territorial state mainly used *Policey-Ordnungen* severely to restrict urban autonomy. The session was concluded by Bärbel Brodt (GHIL) whose paper on 'What Sort of Social Control was there in Towns' was largely a plea for the term 'social control' to be extended to cover care and provision as well as the internal discipline of municipal authorities. While comparing German imperial cities and *Autonomiestädte* and English provincial capitals, she emphasized the function of towns as role models in the field of poor law and social care and provision. In both countries, the Reformation strengthened, but did not initiate this development. The basis and unit of the urban parish remained intact. She also stressed that German urban councils were much more numerous than their English counterparts, and thus questioned their political effectiveness. Another marked difference was the degree to which guilds were involved in these councils; at the level of substantial provincial capitals, York provides the sole equivalent to German towns. It also seems that the English sample towns were more reluctant to amend their constitutions in writing.

The conference was concluded by James Campbell (Oxford) whose paper on 'Integration' was chaired by Peter Wende (GHIL). Starting with Jan Gerchow's observations on the distinctions between the English and the German urban guilds, he expanded this into a more general picture, arguing that these distinctions mainly originated at a different level of *Staatlichkeit*, that is, the centrality of power and authority. In so doing, he picked up the main threads of David Palliser's concept. Referring to Peter Johanek and Robert Jütte, Campbell illustrated the importance of urban *Memoria*, which are found more often and in more variations in Germany than in England. One striking example here was the London mayor Thietmar, a native of Germany; another factor was the outstanding dominance of London in English urban historiography. Campbell also spoke of English urban foundation myths with reference to Grimsby and Norwich, aptly illustrated by the dazzling account of the visit of Queen Elizabeth in 1576 and the *pageants* the city staged on that occasion. He summed up the similarities and differences between German and English towns by speaking about the development of the royal fiscal system. The Institute intends to publish the proceedings of the conference in its English series.

BÄRBEL BRODT

Britain and Germany in Europe 1949-1990. Joint Conference of the German Historical Institute London and the University of Exeter, held in Exeter on 26-28 March 1998.

Anglo-German relations over the last hundred years are marked by rivalry, for the first half of the century of a predominantly hostile nature, in the second half of a more amicable kind. After all, the two countries are allies and partners, since 1955 – at the suggestion of Britain – in NATO, and, since the early 1970s, within the European Community. The relationship, which evolved within a framework of overall stability, has not been given anything like the attention paid by historians to the period of war and turbulence. Therefore the GHIL responded favourably to the idea suggested by the University of Exeter of a joint conference on Anglo-German relations between 1949 and 1990. One further consideration was that the conference was to be the fourth symposium in a series established in 1985 to honour the memory of Professor W. N. Medlicott, Head of the History Department at Exeter during the late 1940s. The conference topic was very much within the range of his interests. Moreover it was felt that, nearly ten years after German unification, and in this no-man's-land between the Bonn and Berlin republics, this was not a bad time for stocktaking. The topic was to be covered in five sessions – European Integration, European Security, German Unification, Elite Perceptions, and Cultural Transfer. While the first three topics followed a more traditional line of enquiry, the last two were meant to emphasize the fact that relations between these two countries in Europe are by no means confined to the political dimension. No doubt, seen retrospectively, Europe has provided the main stage for the Anglo-German agenda over the last forty years.

The first session, however, focused mainly on Britain's reluctant and tortured approach to the European Community in the 1950s and 1960s. Clemens Wurm (Berlin) gave a concise analysis of the prevalent attitudes in Britain towards Europe up to 1955. The mental barriers *vis-à-vis* the Continent were still insurmountable. Britain saw itself at the centre of three interlocking circles: the North Atlantic Alliance, the Commonwealth (Sterling area), and Europe. Informal arrangements such as OECD, WEU, or EPU were acceptable, but any loss of sovereignty as a result of European integration was not. Martin Schaad (Berlin) examined British responses to the challenge posed by the EEC

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in general and de Gaulle in particular. The internal debate in Germany between Atlanticists and Gaullists raised false hopes in London, which sought to use Bonn as a pawn in its endeavours either to scupper the EEC or to join it. Schaad emphasized that Anglo-German relations were always a means rather than an end in themselves. Piers Ludlow (Oxford) elaborated on the same theme covering the 1960s: on the one hand ensuring Britain's membership as a key foreign policy objective of the Federal Republic, and on the other the constantly changing tactics of the British government in pursuit of the same goal. While British membership was clearly in Germany's national, not least economic, interests, this was not the case for France. However, for the German government the desire to preserve good relations with France and not to endanger the development of the EEC clearly had priority. Ludlow believes that emphasis should be placed on Germany's role as a Community power and not on its relationship with the United Kingdom in this period. Alan Milward (London) was concerned with Macmillan's apparent U-turn: his drastic change of direction due to his decision to enter the Community. Milward's careful analysis of all the sources pertaining to this issue reveals that this was, after all, only a tactical shift. Macmillan, the representative of middle England, was no convert to the policies of integration and power-sharing. Confederation rather than federation seemed to ensure British leadership in Europe, provided the balance between Germany and France could be maintained.

The second session was devoted to security matters within NATO. Germany was, after all, *the* frontline state in the Cold War, secure only under the nuclear umbrella provided by the United States. Gustav Schmidt (Bochum) presented ample evidence to show that Anglo-German relations were completely overshadowed by the predominant position of the USA. Both Bonn and London were vying for influence among US decision-makers who, however, avoided giving the impression of favouring one or the other.

In many ways Berlin was the most endangered outpost of the West during the Cold War. It was at the same time the only place where four-power control, once meant to apply to the whole of Germany, was still exercised, even if only in a ritualistic way. Lothar Kettenacker (London) examined Britain's role in Berlin as one of the four powers which had devised plans for a separate zone as the seat of the Control Commission. Though always tempted to abandon the Western posi-

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tion in any of the subsequent crises, Britain always toed the line and, in the end, that is, in 1989-90, turned out to be the most status-minded of the four powers in Berlin. As viewed from Bonn, Britain appeared to be somewhat less confidence-inspiring than the other two protecting powers in Berlin.

One of the greatest problems was to reconcile Bonn to Western strategic planning. Beatrice Heuser (London) gave a masterly overview of Anglo-German relations in NATO from 1955 onwards. Through its readiness to commit British forces to the defence of Europe Britain helped to overcome existing reservations on the part of the other European powers about the full integration of the FRG in NATO. Relations became more strained when Bonn strove for a European nuclear force independent of a US veto. Britain jealously guarded its own nuclear independence. But out of this rivalry grew the increased awareness of European strategic interests *vis-à-vis* the USA. In the resultant mechanisms such as the Nuclear Planning Group Anglo-German co-operation blossomed into what was termed a 'silent alliance'.

The third session dealt with the British approach to the German question, as it was dubbed before unification emerged as a real possibility. Klaus Larres (Belfast) examined British attitudes towards the GDR before recognition became official. The Foreign Office made sure that the British position was not undermined by fellow-travellers. Nor was it swayed by economic arguments. Even after relaxation, the volume of trade remained limited. Larres made the point that Bonn did not sufficiently appreciate Britain's loyalty in this sensitive area. Michael Clark (London) viewed Germany's *Ostpolitik* as perceived by the British government. He stated that the Cold War had once more enhanced Britain's otherwise weakened influence as a global power. Therefore Britain maintained a businesslike scepticism as regards what *détente* could achieve. Nor was a super-power condominium in its interests. London saw the various negotiations from the Berlin settlement to the Helsinki process as one package deal which should not be allowed to unravel. Altogether Britain was one of the staunchest supporters of NATO.

Sir Julian Bullard, former British Ambassador to Bonn, described in vivid detail how London responded to the unexpected cataclysm of 1989-90. He addressed three pertinent issues: that Britain failed to foresee German unification, that it tried to prevent this, and that its role

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in the whole business was insignificant. He elaborated on the FCO's endeavour to limit the damage caused by Margaret Thatcher's negative stance and concluded: 'We were neither so short-sighted, nor so hostile, nor so ineffective, as has sometimes been supposed.'

The following session deviated from the straight and narrow path of political relations in that it was devoted to 'Elite Perceptions'. Charlie Jeffery (Birmingham) showed how the concepts of federalism and subsidiarity as practised in Germany on the domestic scene were applied to the EEC. He compared the German experience with Britain's centralized systems as exhibited in Parliament and a more adversarial style in the political arena. Benedikt Koehler (London), representing the German banking community in the City, described the return of German banks on to the international scene following the London debt settlement of 1951. German bankers were well aware of how they had been materially bankrupted and morally discredited by the preceding catastrophe. He then outlined the many attractions which the City holds for German banks, especially in the age of global trading.

Anthony Nicholls (Oxford), in his capacity as both a practising historian and chief host of a stream of German Visiting Professors at St Antony's College, is perhaps the most qualified person to elaborate on 'The German Historical Profession and its British Counterpart'. The Fischer controversy and new research into the rise of Nazism sparked off British interest in German history and historiography, culminating in the foundation of the German History Society. British historians helped to put the perspective right by qualifying the dominant concept of a 'German *Sonderweg*'. Harald Husemann (Osnabrück), a specialist on the formation of national stereotypes and in possession of the largest collections of cartoons on Anglo-German relations, gave a vivid illustration of the manner in which the alleged German national character has been portrayed by British tabloids. The sinister iconography of the Nazi past, in particular the last war, and poking fun at German economic prowess serve to compensate the British public for the shifted balance of power in Europe.

West Germany might be supplying a great many more consumer goods to Britain, from cars to pencils, than vice versa. But when it comes to 'cultural transfer' the picture looks very different. The period of political re-education after the war was only the beginning. The impact of the English language and Anglo-Saxon pop culture has

proved to be a never-ending process. Peter Alter (Duisburg) looked at the 'institutional framework' which was to facilitate understanding between the two societies. He paid particular attention to a new institution set up after the war and unique to Anglo-German relations: the regular Königswinter Conferences which bring together politicians, journalists, academics, and businessmen of the two countries for an informal exchange of views.

Klaus Reichert (Frankfurt/M.), renowned linguist and literary historian, examined 'The Impact of English on the German Language'. He put the influx of English words and phrases, noticeable above all in the German retail trade, into a historical perspective by showing how much the German vocabulary owed to foreign imports in the past. As a kind of living organism language must be able to adapt to a changing environment: artificial barriers against foreign words make no sense. Nor is the command of English as a second language a bad thing. However, this development, welcome as it is, should not be to the detriment of the German language, which remains indispensable on the level of intellectual communication. Klaus Schönbach (Hanover) described the arrival of English pop music and the inroads it made into German youth culture in the early 1960s, demonstrating how the Beatles left their mark on the charts of popular songs. Radio stations were reluctant to give due credit to the new phenomenon. For some time English texts still constituted an impediment.

As a popular sport football had arrived from England much earlier than modern pop music. In conclusion Andreas Helle (Frankfurt/M.) reflected on 'Football Rivalry as *Ersatzkrieg*' by analysing the language used in commentaries. Whenever national teams meet, especially in the course of World Cup competitions, soccer appears to be the ideal furnace for casting national stereotypes. Helle detects a reversal of roles, not dissimilar to the modernization paradigm: the Germans took over the sport from England, along with the idea of fair play, only to professionalize it and to divest it of its playful character. In this sense football is certainly not meant to be war by other means.

LOTHAR KETTENACKER

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Research Seminar

The GHIL regularly organizes a research seminar at which recipients of grants from the Institute and other scholars report on the progress of their work. Any postgraduate or postdoctoral researchers who are interested in the subjects are welcome to attend. As a general rule, the language of the papers and discussion is German.

The following papers will be given in November and December. Further meetings will be arranged later in the year. Future dates will be announced on each occasion, and are also available from the GHIL. For further information contact Dr Lothar Kettenacker on 0171 404 5486. Please note that meetings begin promptly at 5 p.m. and that there is no public access to the building after this time as the front doors are closed.

10 November Michaela Freund
Prostitutionsbekämpfung am Beispiel der Freien und
Hansestadt Hamburg (1922-1956)

1 December Marc Schalenberg
Rezeption des deutschen Universitätsmodells in Groß-
britannien und Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert

As a matter of interest to readers, we record the following papers which were given before the publication date of this *Bulletin*:

29 September Oliver Gnad
Parteien unter Kuratel – Lizenzierung und Kontrolle
der politischen Parteien in den westlichen Besatzungs-
zonen Deutschlands (1945-1949)

20 October Ulrike Lindner
Maßnahmen und Auswirkungen der Gesundheits-
politik in Großbritannien und der Bundesrepublik
1948-1963 im Vergleich

The Treaty of Westphalia. War and Peace in a European Dimension. One-day symposium to be held at the German Historical Institute on Friday, 4 December 1998.

To mark the 350th anniversary of the Treaty of Westphalia, the German Historical Institute will host a one-day symposium on Friday, 4 December 1998. The symposium will focus in particular on the experience and perception of war and peace, and aims to place the Treaty of Westphalia into a European context. The symposium will be divided into a morning session with specialist papers, and an afternoon panel discussion addressing broader issues. Bernd Kroener (Potsdam) will open the morning session and speak about the relationship between the military and society during the Thirty Years War. Robert Frost (London) will address the rhetoric and reality of atrocities in the Thirty Years War. Ronald G. Asch (Osnabrück) will lecture on religious liberty and the peace negotiations in Osnabrück, 1645-1648, while Claire Gantet (Strasbourg) will illustrate the perception of peace and the phenomenon of *Friedensfeste* in particular. The afternoon discussants are Simon Adams (Strathclyde), David Parrot (Oxford), Bernd Roeck (Bonn), and Heinz Schilling (Berlin). For further details please contact Dr Bärbel Brodt at the German Historical Institute.

'The Island Refuge': Political Exiles in England after the European Revolutions of 1848-49. Conference of the German Historical Institute London to be held at the Institute on 15-17 July 1999.

After all the conferences and events which have recently been held in Germany and elsewhere to commemorate the 1848-49 revolutions, the GHIL is planning a conference which will start where the revolutions ended: in exile. We hope that the conference participants will represent the countries from which the exiles originally came to England. The four sessions will focus on reasons and motives for emigration and

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exile, questions of European asylum politics, émigré politics in England, and everyday life in exile. It will be asked why some of the exiles emigrated further to the USA, while others decided to return to their respective European countries. For further information, please contact Dr Sabine Freitag at the GHIL.

GHIL Project: Reports by British Ambassadors and Envoys to Germany, 1815 to 1870-71

The British Diplomatic Service in the German States in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

In the first half of the nineteenth century political relations between Britain and the German states relied mainly on their diplomatic services. Since foreign matters were rarely brought into the British Parliament's sessions or discussed publicly in the newspapers of that time, foreign policy was carried out as a kind of *Kabinettspolitik* by just a few people. Diplomacy was regarded as a matter between court and court, and the diplomatic despatches written by a small social élite for a small group of aristocratic policy-makers in London were, therefore, never intended to be published or to shape public opinion. Their reports were meant to furnish the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and sometimes the Treasury Department or the Board of Trade, with relevant information about the policies being pursued by the governments to which the envoys were accredited, in so far as these policies affected British interests.

The very first international agreement regulating diplomatic agencies was signed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Influenced by the new geopolitical constellations British missions to the German states had been confirmed or newly established in all the larger kingdoms of the German Confederation (Prussia, Saxony, Württemberg, and Bavaria), and at the German Diet in Frankfurt-on-Main. These missions

were also responsible for reporting on political matters in the minor states of the German Confederation. While the mission to the Hanseatic Towns in Hamburg was downgraded into a consulate in 1824, a new mission had to be established in Hanover in consequence of the separation of the Crown following the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. Although London never regarded the German missions as key positions like Paris or Vienna, and despite pressure from the Treasury Department and economically-minded Members of Parliament who were concerned about the high expenses of the diplomatic service, no missions were ever closed before 1866. However, after the creation of the North German Confederation, the missions in Frankfurt and Hanover were closed down. But since Prussia had become more and more important, the second-class mission in Berlin had been upgraded to the rank of an embassy (ambassadorial status = first-class mission) in 1862.

Envoys usually dealt with every kind of routine contact between the British government and the governments of the German states – for example, the delivery of congratulations for a royal wedding or on the birth of a royal child, or of condolences on the death of a monarch or a member of the royal family. More important than these representative duties was the writing and sending of despatches to the Foreign Office in London. The instructions issued by the Foreign Office on behalf of the King or Queen emphasized what was expected of the envoys in particular. When, for example, the Earl of Clanwilliam was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Prussian Court, the instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, George Canning, urged the envoy ‘to obtain a knowledge of the Temper and Inclinations of His Prussian Majesty, and of His opinions on the several public points which may occasionally arise’, as well as of ‘the characters of the several Ministers employed by him, and [to] ascertain the different degrees of Credit which they may respectively enjoy’. Furthermore Clanwilliam was asked to ‘procure the best information respecting the several Parties or Divisions which at present exist, or may hereafter arise in Prussia’, and he was encouraged to ‘spare no pains for ascertaining the Views and Intentions of any such Parties, whether as they may relate to any proposed Innovations or Reforms, or Changes of any sort in the internal Government or Constitution of the Kingdom, or to its Foreign Policy, and especially so far as they may seem calculated to produce any alteration in the relations of

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Prussia towards Austria, Russia, or France, or in its connection with this Country'. The Foreign Office expected Clanwilliam to 'penetrate into the Councils of The King of Prussia ... to discover any Overtures that may be made'.

Of special interest were reports concerning the finances of the Prussian state. London required information on 'the ordinary Expences of the Prussian Government, of the particulars of the amount and state of the Revenue' and any 'Resources and Powers which His Prussian Majesty may have for levying any, and what, extraordinary Supplies'. Further London was interested in an exact 'account ... of the Countries under the Dominion of The King of Prussia' and the military condition of all Prussian 'Fortifications, the present state of their defence, as also of the number and condition of the Prussian Forces'. Information on the 'state and nature of the Commerce', the conditions of the 'manufactures', and particularly of 'the state of Population' were also required, and Clanwilliam was finally encouraged to 'assist and countenance Our Subjects trading to any of the Dominions of The King of Prussia'.¹ Between the lines was the assumption that the more an envoy was able to make himself known to the most important political decision-makers, the ruling families, and everybody engaged in politics in the state to which they were accredited, the better would he be able to do his job and serve the interests of his own country.

The unreformed diplomatic service in the first half of the nineteenth century typically maintained what were known as 'family embassies', consisting of the ambassador or envoy, his family, and a few young men working as secretaries or clerks in the mission's office. Appointments at every level relied heavily on a subjective system of patronage, and powerful connections were necessary for success. Frederick Lamb, for example, who had been appointed Minister to Bavaria in 1815 and to the German Confederation in Frankfurt in 1817, and Ambassador to Austria in 1831, was the younger brother of the 2nd Viscount Melbourne, the later Prime Minister, and his sister was married to Lord Palmerston. Lamb was a close friend of both Castlereagh and Canning, but it was Palmerston in particular who took an interest in Lamb's career and his promotion to ambassadorial status. Increasing pro-

¹ PRO - FO 64 / 136: Draft of HM's General Instructions to The Earl of Clanwilliam, as HM's Envoy Extraordinary & Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Berlin, 26 May 1823, signed George Canning.

fessionalization after 1853 involving compulsory entrance examinations meant that the civil service offered careers more open to talent, including commoners.

Ambassadors and envoys were predominantly aristocratic and saw themselves as representatives of the ruling upper class. They shared the same social background as England's first political élite of the early nineteenth century. However, it must be remembered that diplomacy was not really a popular profession. For the most part, it was undertaken in the hope of securing the reward of a good job at home. Diplomatic posts did not enjoy as high a reputation as positions in the civil service at home, especially when promotion often took longer than fifteen years to achieve.

It is nothing new that diplomatic despatches are highly subjective. Every single despatch, every piece of information delivered by an envoy depended on his personal talent and intelligence, his social abilities, his political rationality, his interest in the matter, and not least on his personal ambition. Other important factors were the nature of his personal relationship with the Foreign Office clerks, and whether he was well connected and protected by the Foreign Office employees at home, or, as was the case with the commoner George Rose, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin, whether he had to fight for recognition at home by expressing more aristocratic and conservative views on German affairs than his well-connected aristocratic colleagues.

Diplomatic representatives were required neither to like nor to dislike the countries to which they were accredited. They simply had to deliver the required information. But naturally, every diplomat takes a whole set of ideas and predispositions abroad with him. All these circumstances determined the quality and sometimes even the quantity of the despatches, and explain the great diversity among them. Talented men such as Frederick Lamb or Stratford Canning were expected to serve in an exemplary manner. Others were sent because nobody else was available, even if they could not speak German. Because their instructions were expressed in such general terms, envoys had great freedom in finding subjects upon which to report. High politics was just one part; descriptions of the land and the people, and reports on developments in industry and commerce were also valuable and required. Sometimes the envoy needed a little imagination to fulfil his duties. The British envoy to Saxony, John Philip Morier,

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for example, could not find anything of political interest to report. He was so bored with the everyday routine of the mission's office that he decided to write a history of Saxony after the battle of Jena in 1806, when British diplomatic relations with Saxony had ceased. Morier's intention was 'to fill up the chasm'. Chapter by chapter the Foreign Office in London received a lesson in recent Saxon history.²

The Project

The German Historical Institute London, in co-operation with the Royal Historical Society, is preparing an edition of reports by British ambassadors and envoys to Germany, covering the period from the Congress of Vienna to the establishment of the German Empire in 1870-71. The sources for this edition are all Foreign Office documents held at the Public Record Office in Kew; the publication will draw exclusively on ambassadors' and envoys' reports. The following missions are included: Austria (Vienna), Bavaria (Munich), Diet of the German Confederation (Frankfurt), Prussia (Berlin), Saxony (Dresden), Württemberg (Stuttgart), and Hanover from 1837. The amount of material available is so vast that any attempt to produce a comprehensive publication would not be cost effective. The edition is therefore selective and will present the main attitudes to the political, economic, military, and social situation in the German states. Non-German themes that are mentioned in the reports will be included only where they cast some light on the situation inside the German states (for example, news of the Spanish military revolt at the Berlin court, which reflects on Prussia as a state in which the military played a special part). German-British connections, by contrast, will be included as completely as possible.

It is envisaged that the first volume (covering the period 1815 to 1829), which will contain an introduction, a subject index, an index of names and places, and a special thematic index to facilitate the identification of specific themes or aspects in the reports, will be published in 1999 by Cambridge University Press in the Camden Series. All despatches relevant to this volume have been transcribed and anno-

² PRO - FO 68/22: J. P. Morier to Viscount Castlereagh, No 8, 9 March 1819; No 14, 20 April 1819; No 15, 27 April 1819; No 16, 6 May 1818; No 17, 11 May 1819.

tated. The next three volumes, covering the periods from 1830 to 1845, 1846 to 1860, and 1861 to 1870-71 respectively, will be published over the next seven to eight years.

Editorial Principles and Technical Details

The edition consists of official reports sent by British envoys in Germany to the Foreign Office and, where the context requires it, despatches containing instructions or inquiries from the Foreign Office to British embassies and missions in Germany. There are also some copies of letters exchanged between envoys themselves. In many cases, extracts from newspaper articles, or copies or translations of these articles were appended to the reports. Most of these will not be reprinted in the edition, but reference is made to them in the footnotes.

The decision to publish only the envoys' official despatches and not their private letters needs to be explained. It can be argued that more 'real' or 'relevant' information is found in the informal, private correspondence which every Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs maintained with the envoys, especially with those to whom he was personally close. In these private letters things could be said in a more informal and direct way than in the official despatches, which were bound to a highly standardized language. Private letters contain intimate details which do not belong in an official despatch. In private letters, envoys felt freer to express their own private views, or even to indulge in speculation. Private letters could therefore provide an important supplement to, commentary on, or explanation of official public despatches. Castlereagh, for example, made no distinction between private and official letters in his correspondence. As a result, many of his private letters are found in the Foreign Office records, bound with the official despatches. Canning first made a distinction between private letters and official despatches, and published some of the official despatches for political purposes. Palmerston followed in Canning's footsteps. Nevertheless, as Raymond Jones put it in his brilliant study on the British diplomatic service: 'Almost everyone is agreed that private correspondence was never used as a substitute for official despatches.'³ The really important information was never delivered only in private letters, but had to appear first in the official

³ Raymond A. Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1916* (Gerrards Cross, 1983), p. 121.

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correspondence. Despite the fact that private letters, and the third category of sources relevant to Anglo-German relations in the nineteenth century, consulate correspondence, contain valuable information the German Historical Institute has decided to limit the edition to the official reports as a relatively homogeneous kind of source material. The vast amount of material available would also make extending the edition to cover other types of sources an uneconomic proposition.

The principles of transcription are to reproduce individual reports as completely as possible, both to maintain the authentic appearance of the sources, and in order not to anticipate any particular interpretation by providing heavily edited readings selected thematically. Nevertheless, the principle of completeness obviously cannot be binding in all cases, and where it is justified, omissions are made. Contemporary orthography will be retained. Each volume will be ordered on strictly chronological lines. The time scheme is continuous; in other words, it does not concentrate on historical highlights. This allows the editors to include material on events which have hitherto received less attention.

Initial Assessments

The diversity and number of missions within the German Confederation offer the reader an opportunity for a pluralistic perception of German affairs by several British diplomats. It is obvious that the reports do not convey anything that could be called 'a British image of Germany' as a whole. The envoys did not produce a homogeneous image of Germany even though they were a relatively homogeneous social group with similar family backgrounds. The edition will present an image of Germany held by a specific social group, namely aristocratic British envoys.

Furthermore, the edition documents a piece of British diplomatic history. It provides insights into the activities of British diplomats in the German states over a long period of time. The edition shows how information was transferred from one country to another (including practical details such as when messengers, couriers, or private individuals were used); it demonstrates the networks linking ambassadors (connections going beyond German borders, for example, into France); and it reveals the sources of the ambassadors' information, from personal contacts in the highest government circles to unofficial, and sometimes even banned literature. As already mentioned, the edition demonstrates the large part played by personal ability and talents, as

well as the political affiliations of individual envoys, and the generation to which they belonged, in shaping the political analyses produced. Thus the same event (for example, Kotzebue's murder in 1819) is interpreted completely differently by various envoys depending on whether they were reporting from an autocratic or a constitutional state, or, for example, from the German Bundestag in Frankfurt.

As regards the content of the reports, it is quite obvious that there was in many cases a discernible connection between German events and affairs inside Britain. The information delivered by the envoys was used for different purposes at home. The interest of the Foreign Office in all religious matters in the German states was motivated by discussion of Catholic emancipation in Britain. Therefore reports on the position of the Catholic Church in the Prussian Provinces, and its relationship with the Protestant Kingdom delivered useful information. The long and detailed reports from Berlin on the cholera epidemic which had spread from eastern Europe provided the responsible officials in London with information on the extent and severity of a disease which was on its way to the British Islands. Although they had advance information, however, the local authorities were not able to establish effective measures to limit the spread of the epidemic. Statistic material on criminal offences in German cities, explicitly required by the Foreign Office, was used by the Home Office as empirical data during discussions on the establishment of a Metropolitan Police Force in London. The British government was concerned about the restrictions on British economic interests on the Continent. Looking for a continental market, the British government observed the formation of the German Customs Union with worried scepticism. Envoys' reports on industrial and commercial developments in the German states were often transferred to the Board of Trade.

Sabine Freitag

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Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1995-1997

The new edition of this annotated bibliography is now available, free of charge, from the Institute. As in previous editions, the bibliography lists all works, as far as possible, on British history which were published in the Federal Republic of Germany during the years covered. The first part contains short reviews/abstracts written by the Research Fellows of the GHIL, while the second part consists of a list of articles published in journals and essay collections. The bibliography was edited by Andreas Fahrmeir.

Copies of previous editions covering the years 1983 to 1988, and 1989 to 1994 may also be obtained free of charge. For copies write to: The Secretary, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2LP, or telephone 0171 404 5486.

Francis L. Carsten (1911-1998)

The doyen of British historians working on Germany died in London in June this year, two days before his 87th birthday. Until the very last weeks of his life Francis Carsten maintained a keen interest in German historiography and politics. His many friends all over the world remember him as an outstanding scholar and fair observer of current affairs in the two countries closest to his heart and mind, as a prolific writer, a dedicated gardener, a collector of French paintings and pamphlets on the history of the German labour movement in the 1930s, and as a host who, along with his wife and partner Ruth, entertained numerous visitors at their home in Hampstead. To his friends and colleagues Carsten was a most generous and supportive man, someone who detested narrow-mindedness, pomposity, and what he derisively liked to call 'waffle'.

Reading history was by no means Carsten's first choice after finishing school, which he loathed, in Berlin. What eventually made him become a historian were the political, social, and economic turbulences in his youth, his abhorrence of the Nazi dictatorship, and, finally, his

personal fate and that of his family. Initially law and economics were his chosen fields, which he pursued in Heidelberg and then Berlin. In May 1933 he passed the state examination at the *Kammergericht* in Berlin. However, this was already the end of his legal career. Only four months after Hitler's 'seizure of power' so-called non-Aryans were no longer allowed to continue in the civil service. Thus, temporarily, Carsten worked in a bank, opened a bookshop on the Kurfürstendamm and became politically active in the clandestine organization *Neu Beginnen*, which rather bravely aimed at uniting the feuding working-class parties and fighting the National Socialists. Carsten collaborated with men such as Richard Löwenthal, Karl Löwenheim, Waldemar von Knoeringen, and Fritz Erler. They turned the young communist Carsten into a staunch adherent of social democracy.

When, in 1936, the Gestapo was about to crush the organization Carsten briefly went to London and from there to Amsterdam for three years. On the advice of his friend, the socialist Norbert Elias, and in close contact with the International Institute of Social History, Carsten now began research on German history, especially Prussia in the early modern period. After his return to England in 1939 he continued his work, with the help of a scholarship at Wadham College, Oxford. The economic historians G. N. Clark and Michael Postan were his supervisors. Carsten loved to reminisce about those inspiring years, and also about his short internment in 1940, his days with the Pioneer Corps, and then, from 1942 onwards, his work with the government's Political Warfare Executive. Here it was Carsten who rejected the historical part of a handbook on Germany which the PWE had prepared for the guidance of British officers. He considered it too anti-German and full of mistakes and distortions. Undeterred, the author, A. J. P. Taylor, later had it published as *The Course of German History*.

Carsten's academic career in Britain took off shortly after the war. In 1947 he was appointed to a lectureship in modern history at Westfield College, University of London. In 1961 he moved on to the School of Slavonic and East European Studies as Masaryk Professor of Central European History. Here he remained until his retirement in 1976. These were the years when Carsten exerted a major influence on a whole generation of young British scholars whose interest in German history he inspired. These years, too, saw the publication of his distinguished books such as *The Origins of Prussia* (1954), *Princes and Parliaments in Germany* (1959), his pioneering *The Reichswehr and Politics*

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1918-1933 (1966), and his immensely popular *The Rise of Fascism* (1967). The string of publications did not end with his retirement. Most notable during this period were *War Against War* (1982), *Britain and the Weimar Republic* (1984), *A History of the Prussian Junkers* (1989), biographies of August Bebel (1991) and Eduard Bernstein (1993), and, finally, *The German Workers and the Nazis* (1996). Almost all of Carsten's books were translated into German.

To the GHIL Francis Carsten was a most loyal friend and supporter, in fact, one of its founding fathers. He was a member of the Anglo-German Group of Historians, the 'godparents' of the Institute, right from the beginning in 1969, and until very recently he was a regular visitor to the Institute. Many of its members enjoyed his friendship and advice. This modest, tolerant, eminently learned and wise man will be greatly missed.

Peter Alter

LIBRARY NEWS

Recent Acquisitions

This list contains a selection of recent publications in German and English, primarily on German history, acquired by the Library of the GHIL in the past year.

Adenauer, Konrad and Theodor Heuss, *Unter vier Augen. Gespräche aus den Gründerjahren 1949-1959*, ed. by Hans Peter Mensing, Rhöndorfer Ausgabe (Berlin: Siedler, 1997)

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Althoff, Gerd, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1997)

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