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IMPERIALISM AND GLOBALIZATION: ENTANGLEMENTS AND INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND GERMAN COLONIAL EMPIRES IN AFRICA BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Ulrike Lindner

I. *Introduction*

This article addresses the tensions between increasing technical and economic globalization and a tendency towards excessive national rivalry in the period of high imperialism, that is, during the final decades before the First World War. In particular, it focuses on one extremely important aspect of this tension, namely, the colonial commitments of two European powers who were neighbours in Africa. In recent years, much has been written about the conjunction of processes of globalization and the growth of nationalist tendencies at this time, especially in studies of the German Kaiserreich.[1] Interactions between the neighbouring colonies of European empires, however, have hardly been looked at in this context. Yet an analysis of relations between the colonial powers and their mutual perceptions can crucially contribute to a better understanding of this tension, and of the period of high imperialism as a whole.

To a large extent, the period under investigation here was shaped by growing rivalries and increasing diplomatic tension between the

This article is based on a lecture organized by the German Historical Institute London in cooperation with the Seminar in Modern German History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London and held at the GHIL on 28 Jan. 2010.

[1] Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Munich, 2006); see also id. and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds.), *Das Kaiserreich transnational* (Göttingen 2004).

European nations, and especially between Germany and Britain. Britain increasingly saw German naval policy as a threat, while German radical nationals in turn perceived 'perfidious Albion' as their main antagonist, blocking Germany's ambitions to become a world power.[2] Their quarrels and rivalries have often been the topic of historical analyses, and traditional diplomatic history has seen these as the dominant characteristic of this period.[3]

However, the years from the 1880s to the beginning of the First World War also witnessed a large spurt in globalization, resulting in a world which was interconnected in many ways. This period is seen as a time of 'great acceleration', as Christopher Bayly puts it in his book *The Birth of the Modern World*.[4] Technical and economic globalization also reached Africa. There, international connections often developed as the European powers cooperated on such matters as laying telegraph lines and establishing steamer connections in Africa. Germany was initially obliged to connect to the already established

[2] On German naval policy, see Volker R. Berghahn, *Der Tirpitz-Plan* (Düsseldorf, 1971) and Wilhelm Deist, *Marine und Marinepolitik im kaiserlichen Deutschland 1871–1914* (Düsseldorf, 1972). On the contemporary perception of Germany as a threat to Britain see e.g. Ellis Barker, 'Anglo-German Differences and Sir Edward Grey', *Fortnightly Review* (1912), 447–62. The German extreme nationalist view of the British is discussed in Peter Walkenhorst, *Nation – Volk – Rasse: Radikaler Nationalismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1890–1914* (Göttingen, 2007). On radical nationalism in Germany in general see Geoff Eley, *Wilhelminismus, Nationalismus, Faschismus: Zur historischen Kontinuität in Deutschland* (Münster, 1996).

[3] See esp. Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860–1914* (London, 1980), 441–63. See also Zara Steiner, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* (London, 1977), 42–78; Klaus Hildebrand, 'Zwischen Allianz und Antagonismus: Das Problem bilateraler Normalität in den britisch-deutschen Beziehungen des 19. Jahrhunderts 1870–1914', in Heinz Dollinger, Horst Gründer, and Alwin Hanschmidt (eds.), *Weltpolitik. Europagedanke. Regionalismus: Festschrift für Heinz Gollwitzer* (Munich, 1982), 305–31; Gustav Schmidt, 'Der deutsch-englische Gegensatz im Zeitalter des Imperialismus', in Henning Köhler (ed.), *Deutschland und der Westen: Vorträge und Diskussionsbeiträge des Symposiums zu Ehren von Gordon A. Craig* (Berlin, 1984), 59–81; and Jean Stengers, 'British and German Imperial Rivalry: A Conclusion', in Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis (eds.), *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule* (New Haven, 1967), 337–50.

[4] Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004).

British telegraph network in South and East Africa, and in the years that followed, the newly built telegraph networks in the interior of the German and British colonies were connected in many places.[5] In particular, the speed at which information travelled changed. Whereas letters had previously taken months, messages could now be sent home quickly by telegraph, and the steamer lines made it possible for goods and people to be transported ever more quickly. This was true not only of connections between the motherland and the colony, but also of those linking the colonies of different European empires.[6]

Similarly, economic globalization did not stop at the colonies. Companies established themselves in the colonies of various European nations, and trading networks were extended. Streams of indentured labour, which were shifted around between the colonies of the British Empire in particular, were another phenomenon. Entrepreneurs in the German colonies, only recently incorporated into the imperial context, also wanted to profit from this movement of labour.[7]

The various aspects of technical and economic globalization made it possible for the European powers and their colonies to take a close interest in each other. It also enabled an increased transfer of knowledge, and faster cooperation between the colonies. It is, of course, critical to note here that, in contrast to what we think of as globalization today, developments then involved first and foremost an expansion of European empires. European or Western technologies resulted in a new world formation which, even if it created global interconnections such as the migration of Chinese and Indian indentured

[5] Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London, 2001), 6; Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World,* 20; Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson, *Geschichte der Globalisierung* (Munich, 2003), 64–5, 67. On British telegraph connections in general see Paul M. Kennedy, 'Imperial Cable Communications and Strategy, 1870–1914', *English Historical Review*, 86 (1971), 728–52.

[6] Dirk van Laak, *Imperiale Infrastruktur: Deutsche Planungen für eine Erschließung Afrikas* (Paderborn, 2004), 35–40 and 91–3. For the consequences of faster communications, see also Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 461.

[7] See Ulrike Lindner, 'Transnational Movements between Colonial Empires: Migrant Workers from the British Cape Colony in the German Diamond Town Lüderitzbucht', *European Review of History*, 16 (2009), 679–96.

labourers to Africa, always displayed considerable differences in levels of power. At the same time, closer links between the imperial powers, both in Europe and overseas, precipitated attempts at cultural demarcation and gave rise to an emphasis on the individual national styles of imperial and colonial powers. The two processes—interconnection and demarcation—were in most cases closely intertwined.

I will argue here that the concepts of colonial rule and the concrete interaction between the colonial rulers of Africa quite clearly embodied the growing trend towards connection and cooperation, and were much less influenced by antagonisms than relations in Europe, especially during the last years before the First World War.[8] In Africa, the colonial rulers could always focus on common challenges thrown up by their dealings with the Other, the colonized Africans, and the establishment of colonial rule in unknown African countries.

Traditional diplomatic history has usually interpreted the differences between the discourses of colonial policy and antagonistic foreign policy by suggesting that before 1914 the colonial periphery was insignificant as it was unable to have any impact on growing European rivalries.[9] From a less Eurocentric perspective influenced more strongly by global history, however, overlapping developments can be discerned. Global interconnectedness and understanding could simultaneously be found in demarcation processes and rivalry between the European imperial nations, although sometimes in different contexts and in different geographical locations.[10] This perspective responds to Jürgen Osterhammel's call to see the nineteenth century not just as leading up to the First World War, but to allow space for approaches other than the paradigm of European rivalry.[11]

[8] Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', in id. and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997), 3–42, 13.

[9] See e.g. Michael Fröhlich, *Von der Konfrontation zur Koexistenz: Die deutsch-englischen Kolonialbeziehungen in Afrika zwischen 1884 und 1914* (Bochum, 1990), 327–8; and Kennedy, *Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism*, 415.

[10] For a perspective that presents the world around 1900 as created by a variety of non-Eurocentric developments see e.g. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, esp. 451–87.

[11] Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 2009), 578–9.

On the following pages, I will concentrate on the tensions between rivalries and the trend towards globalization in the colonial world of Africa.[12] I shall begin with some general remarks about aspects of colonial cooperation in Africa, which was considerably advanced by the globalization spurt before the First World War. Then, taking as examples the Herero and Nama war in German South-West Africa and the growing influence of Indian and Chinese indentured labour in German and British southern Africa, I will show how much globalization on the one hand and demarcation processes on the other influenced the imperial world before the First World War, and how strongly the different trends were connected with each other. The encounters and mutual perceptions between the two colonizers and between the colonies are analysed as an entangled history,[13] which I understand primarily as a concept bridging classical comparative history and an investigation of transfer processes.[14]

II. *Trends Toward Cooperation among the Colonizers in Africa*

The mutual perceptions of the two colonizing powers involved a considerable degree of envy, as well as efforts to demarcate national colonial styles, which in many respects revived the old stereotype of

[12] The present article is based on the research conducted for my *Habilitation* thesis, entitled 'Colonial Encounters: Germany and Great Britain as Imperial Powers in Africa before the First World War'. In this study, I investigate colonial practices, their mutual reception, and interactions between neighbouring colonizing European powers. Geographically, the thesis deals with neighbouring colonies in East Africa and South Africa, specifically, German and British East Africa and German South-West Africa and the Cape Colony.

[13] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung: Der Ansatz der Histoire Croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft,* 28 (2002), 607–36; and Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002), 17–22.

[14] Hartmut Kaelble, 'Die interdisziplinären Debatten über Vergleich und Transfer', in id. and Jürgen Schriewer (eds.), *Vergleich und Transfer: Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 477.

British–German relations, including that of the pioneer and latecomer.[15] This was quite obvious among the German colonial officials, settlers, and colonial agitators. While the British, with their empire spanning the globe, provided a model of experienced colonial rule, there was always a desire among the Germans to develop their own, presumably superior, colonial style, separate from that of the British colonial power. The British side almost always used the German example to present themselves as the more experienced, better colonial rulers in comparison with the Germans.[16] Here, the transnational element played an important part in sharpening the identity of the colonizer. Such efforts at national demarcation can be found during the whole period before 1914, sometimes more in the foreground, sometimes less.

During their final years as neighbours in Africa between 1907 and 1914—after the wars in the German colonies and before the start of the First World War—a considerable shift can be observed. Another important element came to the fore. The common aspects of the European mission in Africa were now emphasized by both sides, and the exchange of colonial knowledge and skills between the two powers was foregrounded. This was closely linked to the growing interconnectedness of the colonies within the framework of technical globalization around 1900, which made this sort of transfer of knowledge possible in the first place.[17]

The aspect of cooperation played a central part under German Colonial Secretary Bernhard Dernburg, who was in office from 1906 to 1910. He himself admitted, retrospectively, that whenever he had had difficulties with a colonial problem, he had found a solution by

[15] See e.g. Hartmut Berghoff and Dieter Ziegler, *Pionier und Nachzügler? Vergleichende Studien zur Geschichte Großbritanniens und Deutschland im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung: Festschrift für Sidney Pollard zum 70. Geburtstag* (Bochum, 1995).

[16] For the German side see e.g. Paul Rohrbach, *Deutsche Kolonialwirtschaft: Kulturpolitische Grundsätze für die Rassen- und Missionsfragen* (Berlin, 1909), 30–1; Max von Brandt, *Die englische Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialverwaltung* (Halle, 1906). For British critiques of German colonialism see e.g. Fröhlich, *Von der Konfrontation zur Koexistenz*, 233–66.

[17] See Ulrike Lindner, 'Colonialism as a European Project in Africa before 1914? British and German Concepts of Colonial Rule in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Comparativ*, 19 (2009), 88–106, 103–5.

studying British methods.[18] Dernburg, who was an admirer of British colonization, had travelled in the various British colonies in Africa and had modelled his reform programmes on British colonial policy.[19] He regarded cooperation between neighbouring colonial rulers as essential for the successful colonization of Africa, as he once stressed in a talk he gave in London in 1909:

> Most parts of Africa now under British and German dominion have not been acquired by force of arms, but more or less by a common understanding of the European nations and by a more or less complete consent of the governed indigenous races. . . . The truth of this contention had happily been recognized by the two nations in a number of practical terms.[20]

The two imperial powers also wanted to learn from each other. Even if the relationship between Britain and Germany was undoubtedly asymmetrical in the colonial context, during the final years before the First World War this factor featured more strongly in the British view of the African colonies. An article published in the *Bulletin of the Royal Colonial Institute* in 1912 stated programmatically that the Germans would always be willing to learn from the British, and that the British should do this as well and begin to learn from the Germans in colonial matters.[21] In January 1914 Professor Julius Bonn, a German colo-

[18] *The Times*, 23 June 1914.

[19] Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (hereafter BAB) R 1001/6938, *passim*; and R 1001/6882/1 (Dernburg to Imperial Governor of German Dependencies, 17 Nov. 1906), fos. 36–7 for Dernburg's suggestion of a ten-year reform programme in the German colonies, sent to the governors of the German dependencies, which incorporates several ideas drawn from the English colonies. See also BAB R 1001/6938 (Dernburg on questions regarding 'native' policy. Speech of 18 Feb. 1908), where England is portrayed as a role model for its development of an economically rational colonial policy. Pointing to the English example, Dernburg demands better treatment for the indigenous populations of the colonies.

[20] Quoted from *The Times*, 6 Nov. 1909.

[21] Louis Hamilton, 'The German Colonies 1910–1911', *United Empire*, 3 (1912), 970. On this attitude, which prevailed under the Liberal government in particular, see Ronald Hyam, *Elgin and Churchill at the Colonial Office 1905–1908: The Watershed of the Empire Commonwealth* (London, 1968), 429.

nial expert, delivered a lecture about German colonialism at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Society in London,[22] which was very positively received by the British press. In Germany, the English colonial writer and former Governor of Uganda, Sir Harry Johnston, also emphasized the cooperation between the two nations in the African colonies in his lecture to the German Colonial Society (Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft):

> At present I am not aware of any conflicts of interest between our two great nations in the black parts of the earth; no chicanery, no rivalry of the sort that unhappily manifested itself earlier, while these possessions were being acquired, should become apparent. We have both learned to walk hand in hand in our great battles with rebellious nature, in tasks such as combating tropical diseases and other problems.[23]

This form of exchange can also be observed at the highest level of the colonial administration. German Colonial Secretary Wilhelm Solf visited British Nigeria while travelling in West Africa in 1913. Thereafter, he maintained a close correspondence with Governor Frederick Lugard, inventor of the concept of indirect rule, a form of colonial rule that was seen in Britain at the time as being non-invasive, cheap, and mild. He had published a great deal on the theory and practice of colonialism in Africa, and Solf was very interested in Lugard's ideas. They exchanged their last letters in June 1914. Solf wrote to Lugard that he had profited very much from the information he had received and that he would try to put some of the measures that Lugard had taken up in Nigeria into practice in the German colony of Cameroon.[24]

It was very clear that the two colonial politicians not only valued a polite correspondence, but that they aspired to an intense mutual reception of colonial knowledge. The goal was always to strengthen their own position as imperial rulers but, in the view of contemporaries as well, this was only possible by means of cooperation. This

[22] Julius Bonn, 'German Colonial Policy', *United Empire*, 5 (1914), 126.

[23] 'Interkoloniales Verständnis: Eine Wertschätzung deutscher Leistungen von englischer Seite', *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, 7 May 1910.

[24] Bundesarchiv Koblenz (hereafter BAK), N 1053/41 (Solf to Lugard, 16 June 1914).

constant mutual observation and desire to learn from each other seems to me to point to a further phenomenon, one which Ann Laura Stoler has aptly named the 'Politics of Imperial Comparisons': 'Claiming exceptionalism and investing in strategic comparison are fundamental elements of an imperial formation's commanding grammar.'[25] It also implies that the constant perception of, and comparison with, other imperial powers always served to legitimate the self, and to justify the constant exceptional regulations that every empire used.

In my opinion these tendencies go far beyond the forms of 'governmental internationalism' examined by Madeleine Herren for the period before the First World War. Whereas Herren related 'governmental internationalism' mostly to exchanges in technical and scientific fields, which were dominated by experts rather than by politicians, and which were considered of little strategic importance, I would agree with Ann Stoler that the exchange and comparison with other empires should be regarded as an original imperial strategy of great significance.[26] Thus the close interconnection and increased exchange of information which were only made possible by globalization were always closely intertwined with attempts at demarcation. On the whole, they represented an integral part of imperial policy.

III. *Globalization Tendencies versus Imperial Rivalry and National Demarcation: Two Examples*

1. *Cooperation during the Herero and Nama War*

In addition to mutual observation and the exchange of knowledge, we can also find specific examples of military and commercial cooperation in the colonies. The German war against the Herero and Nama (1904–7) in German South-West Africa, including the genocide

[25] Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan, 'Introduction: Refiguring Imperial Terrains', in eaed. and Peter C. Perdue (eds.), *Imperial Formations* (Santa Fe, N. Mex., 2007), 12.

[26] Madeleine Herren, 'Governmental Internationalism and the Beginning of a New World Order in the Late Nineteenth Century', in Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (eds.), *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (Oxford, 2000), 121–44.

of the Herero, has already been broadly investigated. Interaction and cooperation between Germans and their British neighbours during the war, however, has attracted hardly any attention so far. An examination of this aspect, first, provides a new view of the war and, secondly, permits a discussion of the tensions between national demarcation and increasing interconnectedness furthered by globalization.

The behaviour of the German troops in the war was minutely observed by the British. The Foreign Office, the Cape administration, and the British public all criticized the Germans' brutal treatment of the indigenous population in general and African women and prisoners of war in particular. British observers mostly blamed the inexperience of the Germans for the radicalization and escalation of the war into genocide.[27] At the same time, they presented their own colonial rule as exemplary, with British circumspection and more flexible rule allegedly allowing such conflicts to be avoided. Nonetheless, during this long war, the most diverse forms of interaction occurred between the two colonial powers, making it clear that the war was an integral part of a large number of complex relationships between the colonies and the two metropoles.

Here I shall first discuss military cooperation. During the war, the British officers Colonel Trench and later Major Wade were attached to General von Trotha's headquarters, from where they reported technical details about the conduct of the war. They filed forty reports, each about twenty pages long, which were telegraphed to the War Office in London.[28] The British side could be so quickly informed about the German colonial war only because the German colonies were connected to the British telegraph system in Africa. At the end of the war, in 1907, the last important Nama leader, Morenga, whose guerrilla tactics had repeatedly allowed him to evade capture by the German military, was finally killed in the Cape Colony in a joint operation undertaken by the German and British military acting together. Despite fundamental criticism of German methods, the

[27] The National Archives, Kew, Public Record Office (hererafter TNA PRO) WO 106/265 (Gleichen, Military Attaché, British Embassy Berlin, 8 Apr. 1904): 'Briefly, the real source must be sought in the ignorance of the German regarding the main principles of colonial administration and dealing with the natives.'

[28] See TNA PRO WO 106/268 and 269, *passim*.

British aim was to achieve a close exchange of information about colonial warfare at imperial level, and to this end the British and Germans cooperated militarily against the African people. Wars and rebellions endangered the predominant position of the white population in Africa in general; cooperation was therefore necessary despite differing styles of rule.

Economic networks, too, covered a considerable area. Goods delivered from the Cape Colony supplied the German troops, and labourers and transport workers migrated from the British colony to seek work in the overheated war economy of the German colony. In fact, the government of the Cape Colony insisted that only supplies destined for the civilian population could be delivered to the German colony because they did not want to be drawn into the German war, preferring to distance themselves from the German colonial strategy. Thus the border was repeatedly closed to German transports.[29] Nonetheless, the bulk of supplies for the German troops came from the Cape Colony. As deliveries to the south of the German colony, which was hardly settled by civilians, increased hugely, it must have been clear to all those in positions of responsibility that these goods could only be destined for the German military. After all, the population in the south of the colony had not suddenly increased enormously. From December 1904, some of the deliveries were sent via Port Nolloth in the north west of the Cape Colony. From there, goods for the German troops were taken on carts drawn by oxen or donkeys straight across the German border on the Orange River. The German military hired civilians from the Cape Colony to accompany these transports. From 1905, there were always between 1,500 and 1,800 people working in this capacity, including many Boers and Britons

[29] See Tilman Dedering, 'War and Mobility in the Borderlands of South Western Africa in the Early Twentieth Century', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 39 (2006), 275–94, who shows that the Cape Colony's borders were closed on thirty occasions. Dedering also stresses the Cape Colony's critical attitude towards German colonies, but overlooks the economic interests involved and the Foreign Office's at times very different attitude towards the Germans. See also Isabel Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 2005), 131–51.

who were farmers in the Cape Colony, but were glad to be recruited for short periods because of the good pay.[30]

The war against the Nama in the south of the colony could never have been conducted without the supplies of munitions, food, horses, and people provided by the Cape Colony. In February 1906 alone, 1,400 horses arrived in the harbours of German South-West Africa from the Cape Colony.[31] As German South-West Africa produced hardly any food, all provisions had to be imported. Lüderitz Bay, which was located in the desert landscape of the south of the German colony and became an army base for German troops in the Nama war, had no water springs in the immediate vicinity. Therefore even water for the German troops had to be shipped in tankers from Cape Town to the desert-like areas of southern Namibia.[32] Thus very close economic ties were established between the two colonies.

The Cape Colony did exceedingly well out of the war economy, and for this reason there was little interest in stopping this type of support. After the Boer War (1899–1902), the colony found itself in recession, so the Cape government was keen to profit economically from the war in the German colony. However, externally, the appearance of a certain degree of neutrality was to be kept up, as a letter from the South African high commissioner to the colonial secretary in London makes clear:

> My ministers, I understand, desire thus to place on record their adherence to the position which was originally adopted that supplies are only allowed to go into German South-West Africa for civilian purposes but will shut their eyes to the real destination of the supplies and will not take any step to interfere with the existing arrangements unless it is desired by His Majesty's Government that they should do so.[33]

[30] TNA PRO WO 106/268 (Colonel Trench for favour of transmission to the War Office, 24 Oct. 1905).
[31] Ibid. (Colonel Trench for favour of transmission to War Office, 10 Feb. 1906).
[32] TNA PRO WO 106/269 (Major T. H. Wade, 12 Oct. 1906).
[33] TNA PRO FO 367/9 (Hely-Hutchinson to Elgin, telegram, 6 Mar. 1906), fo. 138.

British policy thus wavered between supporting the Germans, and keeping a distance from the German war in order to make British colonial policy appear in a positive light and not to alarm their own African subjects.[34]

Despite the distinction between national colonial styles, however, common imperial interests predominated. In the eyes of the British too, the dominant position of the white European population in Africa could ultimately only be maintained by mutual support.[35] Cooperation and the transfer of knowledge seemed the obvious means of finding solutions to numerous problems on the African continent, and became an important element of imperial rule, at least until 1914. This contrasted with the rivalry of the two nations in Europe, which was increasing sharply just at this time.

2. *Indentured Workers in Southern Africa*

Everyday contact with the Other, the colonized peoples, was to a large extent dictated by working conditions in the African colonies. In all of these, Europeans depended on the cheap labour of Africans and other ethnic groups, in the plantations of East and West Africa as well as on the farms of South Africa and, in general, for all infrastructural projects such as building roads and railways. This applied especially to mining in the Union of South Africa and, in the last years before the First World War, to diamond mining in German

[34] TNA PRO FO 64/1646 (Memorandum on Actions Taken by the Colonial Government Regarding Disturbances in German South-West Africa, Enclosure No. 2 in Secret Despatch of 25 Feb. 1905: 'Since April 1904 when rumours of a further rising in German South-West Africa reached me, it has been a somewhat difficult task, whilst dealing in a friendly manner with the German Government, at the same time to keep on a more or less friendly footing with the natives tribes, a part of whom live in the German territory and part of whom live east of longitude 20° in British territory.')

[35] Léon Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), 535: 'If it is to be worth the while of the European Powers to govern and exploit these territories, they cannot afford to throw away a single ounce of energy in friction one with another. Considering the enormous distances and difficulties of transport, about which I have already said enough, it is fairly plain that it is only by co-operation instead of mutual jealousy that Africa can be made to pay its way in the very slightest degree.'

South-West Africa.[36] In addition to Africans, thousands of members of other ethnic groups lived in Africa, mostly working as indentured labour on plantations or in the mining industry.

The extent of the German colonial empire's involvement in these developments has hardly been investigated as yet. I think it points convincingly to the connectedness of the imperial in world in Africa before the First World War, and provides a good example of the tensions between policies of imperial demarcation and trends towards globalization.

The immigrant groups I refer to here, mainly Indians and Chinese, were classified by most of the racial categorizations in use during the age of high imperialism as occupying a median position between white and black.[37] These racial constructs, moreover, were never definitive, but were constantly changed and challenged. The Chinese, for example, were long regarded as members of a *Kulturnation,* a nation with a highly developed civilization. In the eighteenth century they were looked upon with admiration, and it was not until the middle and end of the nineteenth century that, under the influence of new racial theories, they were classified as a lower Mongolian race that was clearly inferior to the white Caucasian race.[38] Contact with these ethnic groups represented a special chal-

[36] On mining in South Africa see Peter Richardson, 'Chinese Indentured Labour in the Transvaal Gold Mining Industry, 1904–1910', in Kay Saunders (ed.), *Indentured Labour in the British Empire, 1834–1920* (London, 1984), 260–91.

[37] See. e.g. Thieme, 'Die Halbweißen Frage in Samoa', *Berliner Tageblatt* (26 Mar. 1914), 1, as cited in Horst Gründer (ed.), *'. . . da und dort ein junges Deutschland zu gründen': Rassismus, Kolonien und kolonialer Gedanke vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1999), 295. See also Evelyn Wareham, *Race and Realpolitik: The Politics of Colonisation in German Samoa* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002), 55; and Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London, 1995), 104.

[38] For the German discourse see Mechthild Leutner, 'Deutsche Vorstellungen über China und Chinesen und über die Rolle der Deutschen in China 1890–1945', in Heng-yü Kuo (ed.), *Von der Kolonialpolitik zur Kooperation: Studien zur Geschichte der deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen* (Munich, 1986), 401–43, esp. 409–11. For the discourse on the Chinese in the Empire, see Jan Henning Böttger, ' "Es wird aber schwieriger sein, sich ihrer zu entledigen als es jetzt ist, sie vom Schutzgebiet fernzuhalten": Kolonialdiskursive Bedingungen rassenpolitischen Handelns am Beispiel der Einfuhr eines Chinesen nach

lenge to the racial concepts of the colonizers, especially for the German colonial administrators, who were not familiar with multi-ethnic societies at home or in other colonies. British colonial administrations, by contrast, had long been used to such multi-layered forms of colonial society in many regions around the world. They were not less racist in their approach to these ethnic groups, but had acquired a certain degree of experience in dealing with the problems that arose.

In contrast to the German colonial administration, German entrepreneurs, as representatives of an aspiring colonial nation, were keen to be involved in recruiting indentured labour. It had become normal to transport cheap labour on a global scale. Millions of Chinese and Indians were recruited as indentured workers—also called 'coolies'—and sent around the world, especially within the British Empire.[39] Labour was a commodity that could be drawn upon as required by the plantation and mining industries.[40]

Deutsch-Südwestafrika (1906)', in Frank Becker (ed.), *Rassenmischehen – Mischlinge – Rassentrennung* (Stuttgart, 2004), 126–7. For the British discourse, see Heinz Gollwitzer, *Die gelbe Gefahr: Geschichte eines Schlagworts. Studien zum imperialistischen Denken* (Göttingen, 1962), 47–67.

[39] Michael Mann, 'Die Mär von der freien Lohnarbeit: Menschenhandel und erzwungene Arbeit in der Neuzeit—ein einleitender Essay', *Comparativ*, 13 (2003), 13. See Saunders (ed.), *Indentured Labour* for indentured labour in the British Empire. See also Martin Legassick and Francine de Clercq, 'Capitalism and Migrant Labour in Southern Africa: The Origins and Nature of the System', in Shula Marks (ed.), *International Labour Migration* (Hounslow, 1984), 140–60; Pieter Cornelis Emmer, 'The Meek Hindu: The Recruitment of Indian Indentured Labourers for Service Overseas, 1870–1916', in id. and Ernst van den Boogaart (eds.), *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery* (Dordrecht, 1986), 187–207. On indentured labour in general, see David Northrup *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (Cambridge, 1995); and Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* (Oxford, 1974). On the distinctions between free, indentured, and slave labour, see Robert J. Steinfeld, *Coercion, Contract and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001), 1–38.

[40] Aristide Zolberg refers to about 1 million Indian indentured labourers (in addition to many other migrants) who left the subcontinent between 1834 and 1916 and worked in Britain's Caribbean colonies. Thomas Metcalf mentions a figure of 1.3 million. See Aristide R. Zolberg, 'Global Movements, Global Walls: Responses to Migration, 1885–1925', in Wang Gungwu (ed.),

Whenever there was a shortage of labour in the German colonies, voices were quick to call for cheap 'coolies' from India or China.[41] At the end of the 1880s, about 1,000 Chinese 'coolies' were, in fact, recruited for German East Africa, but from Singapore rather than China, which did not permit emigration to German East Africa.[42] Germany's Pacific colonies began recruiting Chinese labour around 1900, and by 1914 there were about 3,500 Chinese workers living there.[43] In German South-West Africa, on which I concentrate here, such endeavours began late because the economic structure of the colony—extensive livestock holdings, no labour-intensive tropical plantations, and little mining—meant that the labour of 'coolies' seemed dispensable. But the discovery of diamonds in 1908 and the forced development of the railways from 1905 on meant that the needs of businessmen in German South-West Africa changed. Both mining and railway companies wanted to participate in the global labour market, and from 1910 they attempted to recruit Indian and Chinese labour to 'import' into the German colony.[44]

German companies and the colonial administration of German South-West Africa were mainly influenced by conditions in neigh-

Global History and Migrations (Boulder, Colo., 1997), 288; and Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920* (Berkeley, 2007), 136. See also Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor Migration to the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia, 1998), *passim*; and Emmer, 'The Meek Hindu', 188–94, for Indian indentured labour in the Caribbean. After the end of the Opium War in 1860, when the Chinese governor was forced to lift barriers to emigration, a constantly growing network emerged which shipped Chinese labourers to America, Africa, Australia, various South East Asian colonies, and South Africa as 'coolies'. The Chinese emigration was probably the largest non-European migration movement of the end of the nineteenth century. Although there are no precise figures, it is assumed that between 1860 and 1920, around 15 million Chinese migrated to South East Asia alone. See Zolberg, 'Global Movements', 288–91.

41 Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation*, 168–73.

42 Ibid. 213.

43 Ibid. 215–17. For Germany's South Pacific colonies in general, see Hermann Joseph Hiery, *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee (1900–1921): Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrungen verschiedener Kulturen* (Göttingen, 1995); and id., *Die deutsche Südsee 1884–1914* (Paderborn, 2002).

44 National Archive of Namibia (thereafter NAN) BLU 30 (Lüderitz Bay Chamber of Mining to Imperial Government, Windhoek, 2 May 1912).

bouring British South Africa. How conditions there were perceived had a considerable impact on German colonial policy, and so I shall briefly describe them here. The plantations and mining industry of British South Africa had always been based on itinerant and indentured labour. Africans from the whole southern part of the continent worked in the gold mines of Witwatersrand, which in 1909 employed a total of about 150,000 workers.[45] Indian and Chinese indentured labour was also employed in various regions of British South Africa. Indian 'coolies' went to Natal as early as 1860 to work on the sugar plantations and later on the tea plantations.[46] Many of the immigrant Indians stayed in the British colony after their contracts came to an end. They were not obliged to return home after the expiry of their contracts, and they often went on to work in other areas, including the coal and mining industries. Others became independent traders, or small farmers,[47] and were increasingly seen as competition by the European population. Various laws were passed to restrict their rights, and moves were made to disenfranchise them. Gandhi, in particular, who went to Durban in 1893, opposed discrimination against Indians. He organized protests against obligatory registration, which seriously restricted the freedom of movement for all Asians. The Indian population's quarrels with the colonial government and, from 1910, with the government of the Union of South Africa, cannot be discussed further here.[48] With respect to the transfer of knowledge and the increasing interconnectedness between the colonial empires, what is important is that the German consuls in the various British colonies, the German Colonial Office (Reichskolonialamt) in Berlin, and the government of German South-West Africa closely followed

[45] Legassick and de Clercq, 'Capitalism and Migrant Labour in Southern Africa', 141; Richardson, 'Chinese Indentured Labour', 262.

[46] Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, 138.

[47] N. Naicker, 'Indians in South Africa', in Anirudha Gupta (ed.), *Indians Abroad: Asia and Africa. Report of an International Seminar* (New Delhi, 1971), 276–7. See Emmer, 'The Meek Hindu', *passim*, for Indian indentured labour in general.

[48] On the Indian movement in Natal see Judith Brown (ed.), *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politics* (Pietermaritzburg, 1994); and Surendra Bhana, *Indentured Indian Emigrants to Natal, 1860–1902* (New Delhi, 1991). For Gandhi and the Natal Indian Congress, see Surendra Bhana, *Gandhi's Legacy: The Natal Indian Congress 1894–1994* (Pietermaritzburg, 1997).

discussions concerning the Indian immigrants.[49] The government of the German colony of South-West Africa paid special attention to the reports from Durban. The success of Gandhi's movement was seen as highly problematic by the German observers.[50]

If we look at the Chinese indentured workers in British South Africa we see that migration started considerably later. The South African gold industry had completely collapsed during the Boer War (1899–1902), and reconstruction only began after peace was concluded in 1902. The need for labour increased quickly, and could not immediately be met by African workers. Between 1904 and 1907, therefore, about 63,000 Chinese indentured labourers were recruited for the goldmines in the British colony of Transvaal.[51] In the Transvaal, the 'import' of Chinese labourers was controversially discussed. White workers and traders in particular feared the competition of the Chinese, and were doubtful about immigration.[52] The Chinese therefore had to submit to strict and in many respects inhuman regulations. The Transvaal administration wanted at all costs to prevent a group of Chinese people from settling permanently in the colony.[53]

The reception of the conflicts with Indian and Chinese migrants in British South Africa had a considerable impact on the strategies of German colonial policy. The administration of German South-West Africa perceived the problems in Britain's South African colonies as a deterrent, and increasingly regarded the immigration of 'foreign-

[49] See e.g. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (hereafter PA AA), R 14863, and *Die Südafrikanische Union*, iv (1910), *passim*.

[50] See e.g. the reports from the consulate of Durban, which were collected in Windhoek in a voluminous file entitled 'Eingeborenen-Verhältnisse in der südafrikanischen Union' (NAN ZBU 2059, *passim*). Detailed reports were collected on passive resistance, newly developed by Gandhi, and on the coal workers' strike. See transcript, consulate Durban to Auswärtiges Amt, 11 Nov. 1913 and 4 Dec. 1913, fos. 105–30.

[51] Peter Richardson, 'Coolies, Peasants and Proletarians: The Origins of Chinese Indentured Labour in South Africa, 1904–1907', in Marks (ed.), *International Labour Migration*, 167.

[52] NAN ZBU 2076, WIV R1 (transcript, German consulate Johannesburg to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, 16 Aug. 1912), fo. 43.

[53] BAB R 1001/8747 (Schnee, Colonial Advisory Board London to German Foreign Office, Colonial Section, 26 Mar. 1906), fos. 142–3.

ers' as a threat to its own colonial order. At the level of everyday colonial life in German South-West Africa, we can observe this phenomenon especially in the south of the German colony, in the harbour town of Swakopmund and the diamond town of Lüderitz Bay, where the boom in diamonds created a quickly growing and highly diverse society. Workers and entrepreneurs moved there from many places, especially from the British Cape Colony.[54]

In particular, German mine owners and businessmen localized in the southern region of the colony hoped that by 'importing' Indians and Chinese, they would get better and harder working labourers than they thought they could find among the country's indigenous population. African workers from the neighbouring Cape Colony, who also migrated to German South-West Africa in large numbers in order to work in the diamond fields and on the railways, were highly valued, but also considered to be relatively rebellious. The mine owners complained first about the higher wages that they had to pay the 'Cape boys', and secondly feared that they would organize and make more demands:

> In order not to become dependent on them [workers from the Cape] while having access to the necessary number of workers, we urgently need to find replacements from elsewhere. I therefore regard it as necessary to put into practice the plan, already articulated by the previous management, to obtain Chinese for the plant here. The Chinese have proved their value as mineworkers. They work hard and their demands in terms of wages and food are moderate.[55]

However, putting this plan into practice turned out to be difficult, as commercial interests were inconsistent with the ideas of the German colonial administration. Since 1910, the Lüderitz Bay Chamber of Mining had been trying to persuade the government that more immigration of indentured labour was required to fill existing labour

[54] For the development of Lüderitz Bay, see Lindner, 'Transnational Movements between Colonial Empires'.
[55] NAN ZBU 2076, W IV R1 (Otavi Mining and Rail Association to Governor of German South-West Africa, 2 Dec. 1909).

shortages.[56] They applied for permission to 'import' about 1,000 Indian indentured workers. Thereupon the government of German South-West Africa imposed numerous conditions on the Chamber of Mining: the Indians were to be examined for illness at the place where they were recruited, and again before they landed in Africa; they were not permitted to move to the interior of the country; if Indians withdrew from their labour contracts, they had to be transported home at the Chamber of Mining's expense. The regulations were modelled closely on those that applied to Chinese indentured labourers in the Transvaal.[57] Again, we see forms of knowledge exchange between empires that were part of everyday colonial policies.

The German colonial government, too, wanted at all costs to prevent indentured labourers from settling permanently in the colony and complicating its racial structure by forming a further group between the African and the European population. The government of German South-West Africa already regarded the immigration of workers from the Cape Colony as a challenge; the immigration of other ethnic groups was seen as an even more sensitive matter. In principle, German colonial officials were highly suspicious of Asian immigration:

> All the colonies that put up legal barriers to the immigration of Asians justify them in the same way, namely, that because of their modest needs and low standard of living by comparison with Europeans, Asians, and in particular, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese are superior to the white race in the competitive struggle, and further, that to have a commercially strong Asian population in a colony that belongs to the white race will precipitate dangers and difficulties as they acquire political rights.[58]

[56] National Archives of the Republic of South Africa, Pretoria (hereafter NARS) NTS 201 3038/12/7473 (transcript, Consul Müller to Foreign Secretary, 23 Apr. 1912).

[57] NAN BLU 30 (Governor of German South-West Africa to District Office Lüderitz Bay, 20 Apr. 1912). For similar regulations in Transvaal, which the German Colonial Office took note of, see BAB R 1001/8747 (transcript, German Consulate General Shanghai to Chancellor von Bülow, 29 July 1904).

[58] BAB R 1001 /8731 (The Treatment of Asians in Foreign Colonies, 1912), fo. 1.

With regard to the recruitment of Indians, an exception had already been made in 1910. A German company in South-West Africa, Tsuneb Mine, which had been mining copper and lead in Namibia since about 1900, had employed around 200 Indian 'coolies' as workers in the German colony in 1910. They had been recruited not in India, but in the Cape Colony, where the hiring of Indian workers whose contracts had expired was permitted. While this was known to the government, the details were not. The official responsible, district officer Blumhagen, merely noted in a letter to the government: 'One does not hear many favourable comments about their productivity.'[59]

The German colonial administration considered the situation in the diamond mining region of Lüderitz Bay to be particularly problematic. Many different population groups already lived there, and a British consul was on the spot to look after the affairs of Britons and African workers from British colonies.[60] Attempts by German mine owners to recruit Indian indentured labour were, in fact, noted by the British consul in Lüderitz Bay, Müller, who had been stationed there since 1909. He informed the British Foreign Office and the South African government in detail about the German plans, and expressed his own considerable misgivings:

> I have cabled in this connection as it may be considered advisable to inform the Indian Government as early as possible as to what is going on. Attention has frequently been drawn to the condition of natives in this country and Indian coolies according to existing laws come under the category of natives. In Samoa, where the labour difficulty is even greater, the German Government has been compelled to place the Chinese labourer on the same level as the white. The Chinese Government prohibited its subjects from going to Samoa on any other terms, owing to the complaints with regard to treatment, made by Chinese labourers, who had gone thither on contract. If

[59] NAN BLU 30 (Imperial Government of German South-West Africa to Imperial District Office Lüderitz Bay, 16 May 1912).
[60] NAN BLU 3 (transcript, enclosure to Blumhagen, Government of German South-West Africa to District Office Lüderitz Bay, 10 May 1912).

> coolies are permitted to come to this country the conditions should be clearly understood beforehand.[61]

Nevertheless, despite these complications the German government decided to grant the mine owners the permission they sought, because it was itself dependent on the high profits of diamond mining, and therefore wanted to oblige the entrepreneurs.[62] The immigration of Indian indentured labour, however, had to be agreed with the German Colonial Office in Berlin as well as with the British and Indian governments. The German Colonial Office should really have known that this venture had little chance of success.[63] By this time Indian indentured labourers worked almost exclusively in British colonies. The Indian government permitted emigration only where particular standards were met, and German South-West Africa did not want to guarantee these.[64]

Still, the German ambassador in London, Kühlmann, wrote to the British Foreign Secretary in August 1912, requesting permission for 300 and later another 500 Indian indentured labourers to be taken to German South-West Africa and employed in the diamond mines at Lüderitz Bay. The German Chamber of Mining promised to provide the Indians with adequate food and accommodation. However, they were not permitted to travel to the interior of the colony and could not conduct any independent business. The Chamber of Mining had also undertaken to send the Indian workers back at the end of their contracts.[65] The Indian government refused to grant the Germans permission to recruit, as German South-West Africa demanded

[61] NARS NTS 201 3038/12/7473 (transcript, Consul Müller to Foreign Secretary, 23 Apr. 1912).

[62] BAB R 1001/1232 (Governor of German South-West Africa to Imperial Colonial Office Berlin, 20 Apr. 1912).

[63] In general, Berlin attempted to compile knowledge about Asian immigrants and to learn from the other colonial empire, as is shown by the detailed report 'Treatment of Asians in Foreign Colonies' (1912), which was based on official reports from the British colonies and on the *Handbook of British Colonies*. See BAB R 1001/8731 (The Treatment of Asians in Foreign Colonies, 1912), fos. 1–29.

[64] BAB R 1001/8747 (Schnee, Colonial Advisory Board to German Foreign Office, Colonial Department, London, 26 Mar. 1906), fo. 142.

[65] NAN BCL 8 (transcript, Kühlman to Sir Edward Grey, 16 Aug. 1912).

immediate repatriation of the 'coolies'.[66] The mine owners now attempted to hire Indians in Natal and the Cape Colony to work in the German colony, as the recruiting of Indians who lived there and had no further contractual obligations to fulfil was subject to no further restrictions.[67] They had little success, however, as the German colony held few attractions for the Indians living there.[68] Altogether, only around 200 to 250 Indians from the Cape and Natal ever lived in the German colony as workers.

The Lüderitz Bay Chamber of Mining itself gave up trying to 'import' Chinese workers when it became known in German South-West Africa that from 1912, Chinese in the German colony of Samoa had to be treated as 'non-indigenous'.[69] This had been preceded by protracted negotiations between the German colonial administration and the Chinese government.[70] German South-West Africa would have had to apply the same classification in 1912, as the Chinese government would not have allowed Chinese indentured labourers to be treated as 'indigenous' in another German colony. Under no circumstances did the Chamber of Mining want to employ Chinese workers under similar conditions to Europeans, and therefore it abandoned the whole undertaking.

The example of Indian and British indentured labour allows us to observe the transfer of knowledge between colonial empires, and increasing commercial and technical cooperation within Africa. It also shows clearly how closely the colonies of various empires were involved in the global streams of labour migration. While businesses wanted to take advantage of the chances offered by globalized migration, the German colonial administration insisted on maintaining its own national colonial policy, which was associated with certain racist notions. Similar conflicting tendencies can be found in the British colonies, as we have seen in British South Africa. In general, we clearly see the conflicting paradigms of globalization and national demarcation in the colonial word of southern Africa.

[66] BAB R 1001/1232 (Crowe, Foreign Office, to Imperial German Embassy London, 25 Sept. 1912).
[67] NAN ZBU 2076 W IV R2 (Lüderitz Bay Chamber of Mining to Consulate Durban, 12 June 1912), fo. 49. [68] Ibid.
[69] NAN ZBU 2076 W IV R1 (Lüderitz Bay Chamber of Mining to Government Windhoek, 25 Oct. 1912), fo. 48.
[70] Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation*, 216.

IV. *Conclusion*

These episodes from the history of the neighbouring colonies of German South-West Africa and the Cape Colony demonstrate that—despite growing European rivalries—a considerable degree of interconnectedness was achieved between the colonies, between different colonial empires, and across continents. This was only made possible by technical globalization, which allowed not only information and goods, but also people, to become increasingly mobile.[71] These phenomena did not stop at the German and British colonies in Africa. The colonial powers were often forced to make use of existing technical connections. Germany's use of British telegraph cables is one example.

Even in a remote African colony, it was not possible to wage war without maintaining a complex network of interactions and relations with neighbouring colonies, and the neighbouring European colonizers. The total dependence of German troops on food and supplies from the Cape Colony placed German actions into a European imperial context. Moreover, it became clear that the war against the Herero and Nama was being closely watched by the British colonial power. Direct observation by British officers of Germany's conduct of the war served to expand their own knowledge of colonial warfare. The criticisms they expressed of Germany's inexperience and inflexibility were used to present themselves as the better colonial military force, and this also formed part of the public discussion in the motherland.

In the interactions around the indentured workers the German colonial administration and especially German entrepreneurs watched the British system of indentured labour closely and were keen to adopt similar strategies.

Both examples, the Herero and Nama war as well as the case of the 'coolies' in southern Africa, show forms of imperial comparison that were constitutive for the shaping of colonial policies and imperial identities. In these processes, cooperation and demarcation were often closely intertwined with each other.

We have also seen that in spite of many attempts at delimitation, the colonizers cooperated with each other in numerous situations in

[71] On the first wave of economic globalization before the First World War see Cornelius Torp, *Die Herausforderung der Globalisierung: Wirtschaft und Politik in Deutschland 1860–1914* (Göttingen, 2005), 27–50.

the age of high imperialism. European supremacy over the indigenous population in Africa was to be maintained without the expression of any doubt or criticism. Other considerations were subordinate to this rule. Major conflicts between increasing globalization and racial and national demarcation in the age of high imperialism could result in upheavals even within a colony. On the whole, however, globalization and the trend towards interconnectedness significantly promoted cooperation in the colonial world of Africa, and shaped the policy of the imperial rulers. Until the outbreak of the First World War, mutual support between the imperial powers clearly predominated. Thereafter, many cooperation processes were, of course, interrupted. Common imperial interests, however, were soon revived in many ways: for example, in the discipline of African studies in the 1920s, or in European policy towards Africa after the Second World War.

To sum up, this article has shown that it makes sense to look at colonial empires with the approach of an entangled history, and to focus on relations, connections, and mutual observations between colonies. On the one hand, this opens up whole new areas of research, such as interactions concerning indentured labour; on the other, topics which have already been thoroughly researched, such as the Herero and Nama war, are placed into a new perspective. Thus the approach taken here has brought us to a more differentiated understanding of the tensions of the imperial age. No longer dominated only by European rivalries and demarcation processes, the whole picture has become far more complex.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

MICRO VIEWS OF NATIONAL HISTORY: LOCAL AND REGIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE END OF THE OLD REICH IN 1806

Torsten Riotte

ERICH-OLIVER MADER, *Die letzten 'Priester der Gerechtigkeit': Die Auseinandersetzung der letzten Generation von Richtern des Reichskammergerichts mit der Auflösung des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation*, Colloquium Augustana, 20 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 458 pp. ISBN 3 05 004090 4. €59.80

WOLFGANG BURGDORF, *Ein Weltbild verliert seine Welt: Der Untergang des Alten Reiches und die Generation 1806*, Bibliothek altes Reich, 2 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), viii + 390 pp. ISBN 3 486 58110 4. €49.80

ANDREAS KLINGER, HANS-WERNER HAHN, and GEORG SCHMIDT (eds.), *Das Jahr 1806 im europäischen Kontext: Balance, Hegemonie und politische Kulturen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), 394 pp. ISBN 978 3 412 19206 8. €39.90

Historians have long debated about how to best approach a topic in historical research. Those investigating small social units, individual experiences, or local communities faced criticism that their findings could not be generalized. Interpretations by others who discuss structural changes in society, political developments at national and international level, or broad economic changes have been attacked for a lack of real-world experiences and human intercourse. Structure and agency have for some time now been competing as key concepts of historical analysis. Embedded in the discussion is the debate about the importance of national events and regional experiences. The anniversary of 1806 produced a number of interesting books that contribute to the question of personal experiences and historical legacies. The three publications reviewed in this article examine the

major German and European political and military events of 1806 with a specific local or geographical focus. The dissolution of the Old Reich and the defeat of Prussia at Jena and Auerstedt are discussed for a city, locality, or region; hence the personal or local dimension of national or international history is analysed.

The three publications also contribute to the debate about 1806 as a turning point in German and European history. The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in August 1806, the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine (*Rheinbund*) in the same month, and Prussia's military defeat at the battles of Jena and Auerstedt have long competed as reference points for historians and contemporaries. In traditional historical narratives Napoleon's military victory over the Prussian forces has received the widest attention. Two of the authors reviewed here, however, argue that the end of the Old Reich months before the military conflict proved just as crucial to contemporaries. The third volume under review examines how the battles at Jena and Auerstedt and the successive changes affected the political, social, and economic spheres of Germany and the Saxon region in particular. As the studies demonstrate, specific historical events gained importance both from their relevance to individuals and their broader implications for society as a whole.

Erich-Oliver Mader's study of the city of Wetzlar discusses the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in August 1806. Mader's account focuses less on the town itself than on the Imperial Chamber Court (*Reichskammergericht*) situated there. Although the author discusses the importance of the Chamber Court to the local community, he is more interested in the responses of the judges at Wetzlar to the dissolution of their 'work place'. His study consists of an introduction, four parts, and a conclusion. After a discussion of the historiography of the end of the Old Reich in 1806, the first part shows that the highest judicial representatives shared a common identity based on an imperial ideology and originating in similarities in their education and the importance of professional and social networks. The Imperial Chamber Court at Wetzlar, where imperial law was taught and practised in its strictest form in a place to some extent significantly removed from the political realities of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, responded to the changes which occurred around 1800 differently from the politicians and sovereigns in the large capitals of the Imperial Estates. This makes the Court and its

personnel predestined for a revisionist interpretation. However, the strength of Mader's study lies in its well-balanced analysis of old and new. He is aware of the changes that occurred at Wetzlar from the early 1780s and during the subsequent revolutionary era. A trend towards increasing professionalization and, partly resulting from this, new social dynamics, caused a change in recruitment patterns, not least because a career at the highest court of the Old Reich had to compete with the prospect of a professional future in the growing regional administration of the Imperial Estates. Despite these dynamics, as Mader illustrates, the judges at Wetzlar can still be characterized as a group with a common mindset and values closely connected with the existence of the Holy Roman Empire.

The importance of the Reich to the judges was not based on a political creed alone. In the second part, entitled 'Momentaufnahmen des Jahres 1806' (Snapshots of the Year 1806), Mader presents the dissolution of the Old Reich as a severe ideological and professional crisis for the judges of the Imperial Chamber Court. Mader's interpretation is especially persuasive as it combines the more theoretical question of the importance of the Reich with a discussion of financial compensation. On the one hand, the judges' emoluments depended on the Reich and the readiness of the Imperial Estates to accept its financial obligations. Hence in their publications, most of the judges never tired of justifying the Reich's existence and denying the legality of the dissolution of its political structures. On the other hand, the judges at Wetzlar appear to have had few reservations about attacking attempts by their colleague attorneys working at the Imperial Chamber Court to secure financial compensation from the estates. As the clash between judges and attorneys illustrates, professional survival competed with political convictions in the crisis of 1806.

This point is pursued further in the third part, where Mader shows how the judges gave up their united position in the aftermath of the Empire's dissolution. While the overall approach stresses the unity of the group, increasing political pressure and changing political and military circumstances caused the majority of the judges to divert their energies and ambitions to an alternative future. Increasingly relying on support from outside the imperial system, differences emerged in how strongly they fought the Court's case. Hence those well connected beyond the Wetzlar elite would find a position in an estate's administration, while social newcomers were left with

little but their claim for compensation, and/or withdrawal from the profession.

Finally, the author discusses the judges' subsequent careers and stresses their influence on the political structures of the German Confederation. Part four follows the biographies of the twenty-four judges beyond the Napoleonic Wars and right up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Two conclusions are particularly striking. Mader convincingly shows that a specific late eighteenth-century interpretation of natural law theory dominated the world view of most of the judges. Secondly, understanding of justice and jurisdiction continued to be personally and ideologically influenced by the dissolution of the Old Reich in general, and the Imperial Chamber Court in particular. As most of the judges succeeded in re-launching their careers after 1806, some even gaining influential positions in the bureaucracies and ministries of the new states, this linked the emerging political structures of the sovereign states of the German Confederation with the legal tradition of the Old Reich. Constitutional ideas were still coloured by the political culture of the Old Reich, a fact that has been overlooked by historiography so far.

Thus, as Mader concludes in his final chapter, discussion of a small elite group can help to trace the legacy of the Old Reich beyond 1806 and right up to 1848. The fact that not all judges were lucky enough to find a new career underlines that the change from old to new proved more difficult than is often assumed by historians. Mader's study elegantly masters the difficulties which arise when evaluating the importance of a turning point to contemporary society. Wetzlar and the Imperial Chamber Court did not represent the centre of military conflict or political negotiation, but were crucial for the discussion of the constitutional and legal dimensions of the past and future. While the first part of Mader's book was able to benefit from published literature, the second part is based on his own new and important empirical findings.

Like Mader, Wolfgang Burgdorf examines a group of Reich representatives, in this case the representatives at the Diet in Regensburg during the crucial months of the summer of 1806. Although both publications originated in a research project in Munich, the two are very different in language and content. Burgdorf aims higher than Mader. His hypothesis is that the end of the Old Reich caused a deep crisis, not only for the personnel involved in the Reich administra-

tion, but for the majority of the Germans (or, to be more precise, those living in the estates of the Old Reich). Burgdorf identifies 1806 as a national disaster which can be compared to the events of the Thirty Years War and the major military conflicts of the twentieth century. In his attempts to combine individual experiences with collective remembering, he particularly stresses analogies with the year 1945.

The book is divided into five chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter offers a brief theoretical introduction. Burgdorf takes an approach in which 'generation' becomes a key methodological concept. Those socialized in the Old Reich experienced the dissolution of the Empire as a major turning point which those born later failed to understand. The brief methodological introduction is followed by an account of a journey undertaken by Johann Friedrich Hach, representative from Lübeck, in March 1806. Entitled 'The Old World', the second chapter's length shows that the book is aimed at a more popular market. While the theoretical reflections are brief, Hach's journey from his home town to the Diet in Regensburg is described in minute detail, and covers his means of travel, communications, the weather, and climate. The third chapter, in which Burgdorf examines the responses at Regensburg to the dissolution of the diet, is more challenging in scholarly terms. Based on his masterly knowledge of the sources—his bibliography lists fourteen archives and vast amounts of printed material—Burgdorf explains why so little happened at Regensburg despite the severity of the crisis. Deserted throughout the summer recess, there was no political representative present who could have adequately responded to the political events. Those who had remained at Regensburg were overwhelmingly subordinate clerks who perceived the situation as going beyond their authority. Additionally, as the diet was not sitting, no platform was available to discuss or decide a response to the threat of dissolution.

The fourth chapter, entitled 'Perception', seems the most innovative. Like Mader, Burgdorf argues that the absence of source material indicates the importance of events. As the consequences of the situation remained unclear, few felt entitled to comment on what had happened. Although such argument invites some criticism, the author persuasively demonstrates how much there is to say about why people did not put on paper what they thought about the events of 1806. Throughout his book Burgdorf works with analogies comparing the changes of 1806 to other turning points that have been bet-

ter researched. This is particularly striking in his fifth chapter on how contemporaries recounted the loss of the former world order. Drawing on a wide range of sources Burgdorf convincingly describes how the memory of August 1806 disappeared or, to use his own terminology, how it was compensated for by other ideas of a German nation and a German nation-state.

This is a highly readable book for anyone interested in the Diet at Regensburg. The responses by the diplomatic representatives who did not disappear from the city after the summer of 1806 explain the dynamics of German federalism in the context of the Napoleonic Wars. The questions Burgdorf raises are intellectually highly stimulating. The broad generalization of a 'generation 1806', however, proves difficult to establish empirically. In a similar sense, the broader transformations caused by the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars are in some cases difficult to link to the dissolution of the Reich. The hypothesis that 1806 was a fulcrum for the changes which took place from 1780 to 1830 will remain controversial.

In part, this has to do with the dominance of the narrative of the Prussian defeat at Jena and Auerstedt as the birthplaces of the German nation-state. If we accept Mader's and Burgdorf's hypothesis, much seems to speak against an interpretation exclusively focused on Prussian dominance in the emergence of a national idea in Germany. These two historians are following a trend in the historiography of the Old Reich in arguing against a Borusso-centred understanding of German history and in attempting a revaluation of what happened outside Prussia. As such, it is particularly interesting to read these two accounts against the contributions in the volume edited by Andreas Klinger, Hans-Werner Hahn, and Georg Schmidt. Based on a conference held in Jena commemorating the anniversary of the battles at Jena and Auerstedt in October 1806, this publication posits the centrality of the military events. Subtitled *Balance, Hegemonie und politische Kulturen* (Balance, Hegemony, and Political Cultures), the volume consists of twenty essays divided into four sections. The first section, entitled 'Internationale Beziehungen und Diplomatie um 1800' (International Relations and Diplomacy around 1800), offers a discussion of legitimacy and power. Heinhard Steiger and Volker Sellin, both historians with a strong interest in the history of law and jurisdiction, demonstrate that much of what happened in 1806 could not be explained in contemporary legal terms and

hence had to break with ideas of justice and legitimacy. Neither Napoleon nor his adversaries could claim to be fighting a just cause and many of their political and military decisions violated international law. The second section discusses Europe and Napoleonic hegemony. It provides four narratives by some of the greatest experts in the field. Etienne François writing on the Napoleonic system, Dieter Langewiesche on the federal tradition in German history, and Michael North on the continental blockade provide good surveys of traditional narratives and recent discussions. Tim Blanning's contribution stands out as a case study that examines the nexus between politics and art. Known for his expertise on the culture of power, Blanning offers a reading of an Italian painting and a German composition that illustrates the need for sovereignty to be present and represented.

The third section discusses the turning point of 1806 in the context of political culture. Jörn Leonhard's essay stresses the importance of the public sphere to the political changes around 1800. His hypothesis that changes in the justification of war were intertwined with the idea of a nation-state in the modern sense sees Jena and Auerstedt as the last time that war remained a monarchical prerogative. Subsequent military conflicts would include the 'nation' to a much greater degree than before. Horst Carl further draws the reader's attention to the monarchical element of the Napoleonic era. Contrary to the paradigm of a decline in the influence of monarchical culture, Carl points to the renewed importance of dynastic representation, though coloured in a specific Napoleonic sense. Thomas Biskup's account of Napoleonic propaganda and the Emperor's efforts to utilize the Prussian defeat in 1806 to legitimize his position as a European monarch, illustrates an additional aspect of Napoleon's awareness that power needs visualization. The third part is completed by contributions on universal monarchy (Andreas Klinger) and the position of women under the Napoleonic Code (Siegrid Westphal). While Klinger stresses that contemporary attempts to resolve the dichotomy between French occupation and German nationalism in the concept of universal monarchy failed, Westphal illustrates the survival of judicial procedure as opposed to judicial codification. Both essays examine how Napoleonic hegemony was actually lived, an approach that seems particularly useful for grasping the importance of the events of 1806.

However, in the context of this article, the last section on 1806 and the region around Weimar and Jena ('1806 und der Ereignisraum Weimar-Jena') seems the most original. Six essays examine whether Napoleonic hegemony actually reached the regional and local communities. Gerhard Müller suggests that it was less the Napoleonic Code that caused constitutional reform in the smaller Thuringian states than the financial and political obligations of the member states of the Confederation of the Rhine. Hence incentives for change were less ideological than strategic. Social or societal changes sufficiently influential to alter the constitution were, for once, rooted in longer traditions and, furthermore, took much longer to succeed than might be concluded from existing interpretations. Klaus Ries identifies 'the professor as politician' as a central character for the period after 1806. While education and politics were still relatively separated during the 1790s, lectures, publications, and the biographies of the most famous university professors in the humanities are good indications that politics entered several German universities thereafter. Ries stresses the importance of the University of Jena as a place where these developments were as strong as in Berlin. Of course, both Weimar and Jena had long traditions of scholarly education, which is discussed in a further essay. Temilo van Zantwijk offers a reading of Fichte and Hegel that similarly stresses the immediate impact of scholarly debate on everyday life. In this view, the character of German idealism contrasted strongly with traditional philosophical convictions. Marco Kreutzmann, on the other hand, illustrates the continuities that existed in personnel and political etiquette in the Saxon region. His interpretation of the Saxon aristocracy's role in the debate about a German nation-state explains why the nobility in Saxony participated in the liberal national discourse—not because of its political convictions, but because of its dominant role in politics. Network analysis and political discourse show that some proved to have a more flexible political imagination than others. Werner Greiling questions the traditional view that Weimar represented a centre of freethinking and liberal thought. He is particularly critical of Duke Carl August, who, unlike the duke's biographers, he sees less as idealistic than as pursuing *Realpolitik*. Finally, Alexander Schmidt examines the political survival of the small states in the context of international relations and illustrates that a link remains between centre and periphery, regional interests and European politics.

He argues that international relations should also be read from the perspective of a minor state. His account of the political decisions and foreign policy strategies of Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach suggests that political change reached the periphery in different forms from the capitals of Europe. Many of the essays provide brief accounts of more substantial research yet to appear or already published.

Like the publications by Mader and Burgdorf, this volume convincingly argues that it is worth changing perspective and examining the local and regional outcomes of national events (and vice versa). The year 1806 and its legacy invite competing analyses. The dynamic transformations that started before the French Revolution and went on beyond 1815 are now traditionally seen as a period of change. By linking these longer traditions to specific events historians are not necessarily reducing historical reality. Instead, they are demonstrating how much is overlooked by arguing for the primacy of one view over another.

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HANS-ULRICH WEHLER'S DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE

A. J. Nicholls

HANS-ULRICH WEHLER, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, v. *Bundesrepublik und DDR 1949–1990* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2008), xvii + 529 pp. ISBN 978 3 406 52171 3. €34.90

More than twenty-five years ago, Hans-Ulrich Wehler set out to write a single, if doubtless large, volume which was intended to demonstrate what a history of German society in the modern era might look like. By 2008, and five volumes later, he had completed a massive survey of German social development from the seventeenth to almost the end of the twentieth century.

In this volume, he considers the nature of society in two very different German states, the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. In carrying out this Herculean task he has not only provided his readers with a mine of information; he has also presented them with critical assessments of historical, and particularly sociological, interpretations of his subject. Nor does he ignore political history, realizing that to understand social developments, it is necessary to consider the political context in which they take place. So far as West Germany is concerned, he is appreciative of the stability created by the Bonn Republic, but does not fail to note its shortcomings, in particular, its expensive system of social welfare. On the other hand, he is completely contemptuous of the 'German Bolsheviks' in the Soviet-controlled GDR, and ironically quotes Stefan Heym's plaintive question as to whether their regime might turn out to be only a 'footnote in World History'.

Looking back over the years between 1871 and 1949, Wehler is struck by a unique lack of continuity in the political governance of Germany. The authoritarian *Rechtsstaat* of the Wilhelmine Empire was followed by the short-lived democratic experiment of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi dictatorship of the Third Reich, which led to total defeat and occupation by enemy forces. Even though the inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire might doubt the uniqueness of this experience, it is clear that the Germans had undergone a disori-

entating period of political instability. Yet Wehler also notes a remarkable continuity in the German class structure, extending from Bismarck's Reich to the Federal Republic. This applies in particular to the middle-class elites. Despite the fact that twentieth-century German nationalism rejected the ideas of the Enlightenment and was contemptuous of 'bourgeois' culture, it was the German upper middle class which emerged as the social group best equipped to flourish in the liberal, market-oriented Federal Republic. Continuities were strikingly evident in the economic elites. With the exception of German Jewish entrepreneurial families, dispossessed and often murdered during Nazi racial persecution, the ownership of industrial or commercial enterprises showed remarkable continuity with the pre-war period. Similarly, the intellectual elite, the academically trained *Bildungsbürgertum* of senior state officials and university professors, maintained and increased its influence in society, with academic families showing considerable success in retaining their positions at the top of the social tree.

It is true that Soviet occupation of East German territories, including those now in Poland or even Russia, broke the political and the economic power of the Prussian aristocracy. But most of them were able to establish themselves in West Germany, where their noble titles gave them an entrée into an existing aristocratic society which possessed remarkable wealth—including 1.3 million hectares of land, much of it supporting lucrative commercial forests. Although support for the Third Reich and contempt for democracy had been widespread amongst German aristocrats, they were reassured by the security against Communism vouchsafed to them by the Federal Republic, as well as its readiness to protect private property. Their own, understandably exaggerated, stress on their role in the resistance to Hitler helped them to assimilate into the Western-oriented Republic, whilst maintaining their social exclusiveness at the family level.

When explaining the success and stability of the Federal Republic, Wehler gives priority to the economic boom which lasted from 1948 to the oil crisis created by the Yom Kippur War in October 1973—albeit with a blip in the mid 1960s. He attributes this to the technically advanced state of German industry, the export opportunities presented by the Korean War, and the fortunate circumstance that international trade was in the process of liberalization. Important though

these factors undoubtedly were, more stress might have been put on the role of Ludwig Erhard and those in the Bizonal Economics Administration who, in 1948, battled fiercely to reintroduce market economics and the free price mechanism when the Western Allied governments implemented their currency reform. It was that liberalization that proved crucial in galvanizing the West Germany economy, a fact that was demonstrated by the negative experiences in the French and the Soviet Zones, where currency reform also occurred, but economic liberalization did not. So far as the Anglo-American Zone was concerned, Erhard's policy, supported by a scarce hard currency and the prospect of Marshall Aid, generated a new dynamism in the economy. Absenteeism dropped sharply, over-manning was reduced, and industrial inventories which had been hoarded or used for barter were combed out and put to productive use. If, as had seemed most likely before Erhard's appointment in the spring of 1948, the system of bureaucratic allocation and price controls taken over from the Nazis by the occupation authorities had been maintained into the Federal Republic, the economic 'miracle'—a term which Erhard himself rejected—in West Germany might have come too late to give the new regime its flying start.

At one point Wehler also presents his readers with the somewhat quaint idea that the industriousness of West German workers was a legacy of the fanatical Nazi commitment to *Leistung* or individual achievement leading to higher production, inculcated into the labour force during the Third Reich. In fact, before the summer of 1948, West German workers showed little sign of commitment to *Leistung*. They were more likely to devote themselves to growing tobacco, dabbling in the black market, or engaging in barter transactions which were of little use to the economy as a whole. General Lucius D. Clay, Military Governor of the American Zone, was critical of German labour morale, and at one point bemoaned the sight of young Germans sunbathing with their girlfriends whilst the Allied occupiers were working overtime to try to set the West German economy on its feet. As late as July 1948, the unsatisfactory progress of a programme of rolling stock repairs was being partly attributed to the 'incredible laziness' (*Lässigkeit*) of some workers.[1] Interestingly enough, it was in

[1] A. J. Nicholls, 'Zusammenbruch und Wiederaufbau: Die Reichsbahn während der Besatzungszeit', in Lothar Gall and Manfred Pohl (eds.), *Die Eisenbahn*

the Soviet Zone that the 'German Bolsheviks' trumpeted the virtues of *Leistung*, following the Stakhanovite teachings of their Russian masters. Erhard, on the other hand, outraged the puritanical inclinations of German Social Democrats and New Dealers in the US occupation administration by favouring consumer goods over heavy industrial production, reckoning that material incentives were more effective than exhortations when persuading people to work.

It was, of course, true that the post-war boom in the West did give the West German state an advantage denied to its Weimar predecessor. But, as Wehler himself points out, it also owed much to its constitutional structure, created by politicians who drew the right lessons from the disasters of the past, and to the shrewd leadership of Konrad Adenauer. It was his determination to root the Federal Republic in the Western Alliance which effectively freed it from the financial and psychological burdens of defeat that had proved so intractable in the 1920s.

From the 1960s onwards British visitors to West Germany were struck by the relatively high standard of living enjoyed by the majority of the population. The class divides which characterized the United Kingdom did not seem so glaring in the Federal Republic. West German social scientists, like Helmut Schelsky, claimed in the 1950s that Germany's class structure was undergoing a 'meltdown' as the result of the Third Reich and its aftermath. But Wehler successfully demonstrates that, so far as the ownership of property was concerned, wealth was highly skewed in the Federal Republic and that, as time has gone on, this imbalance has not been evened out. On the contrary, it has become more marked. In 1986, 12 per cent of West German households owned 60 per cent of all statistically recorded private wealth. Industrial property (*Betriebsvermögen*) was even more heavily concentrated: 7,700 households owned over half of it. Overall, one-quarter of all households possessed 80 per cent of recorded wealth, set against the poorest 30 per cent, which had to make do with 1.5 per cent. The gap between the affluent and the less fortunate grew wider throughout the period Wehler is studying. Already by 1960 it had been noticed that the concentration of wealth in the upper echelon of West German society was more marked than that in the USA, Britain, or Sweden. In this context Wehler notes that inheri-

in Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (Munich, 1999), 270. See also 266.

tance tax in Germany was only a quarter of that charged in the USA. However, he also records that, by 1980, two-thirds of German households possessed wealth worth on average 100,000 DM and that in 1990 one in two households possessed wealth of 200,000 DM or more. This he refers to as the quiet 'upward lift effect' which benefited most of the population. However, when describing the social stratification of the Federal Republic, he emphasizes the concentration of wealth on the uppermost floor of the West German market economy. He does note that in the 1980s Reaganism and Thatcherism—neither of which was 'neo-liberal' in the German sense—intensified the uneven distribution of wealth in the USA and Britain. But he claims that the Federal Republic quickly followed this trend, which continued under successive Social–Liberal and Christian–Liberal governments.

It is in many ways this issue of apparently inhibited social mobility in the Federal Republic which concerns Wehler most throughout the volume. For example, he expresses disappointment over the failure of West Germany's school system to improve the prospects of social mobility for working-class children, and particularly the children of unskilled workers. Between 1960 and 1980 there was a huge expansion of state spending on education. The number of teachers rose by more than 70 per cent, while the pupil–teacher ratio improved from more than 30 to one to 18.5 to one. It is interesting to compare this situation with that of state education in Britain. On the one hand, there were similarities. There appeared after 1975 the same tendency amongst officials and politicians to seize upon demographic forecasts of falling pupil numbers as excuses for cuts in funding rather than as opportunities to create smaller classes. As in Britain, the forecasts proved misleading, not least because immigration expanded pupil numbers. As in Britain, school education was also vulnerable in this period to interference by academic educational theorists, described by one German historian as 'didactic locust swarms'. The influence of the so-called student revolution in 1968 also created a horror of 'achievement terror' (*Leistungsterror*) in educational circles, thus inhibiting motivation amongst precisely the children who needed it most.

There was, however, one great difference between the development of the German and the British school systems. In Britain the publicly funded county grammar schools were fiercely attacked, even though, or perhaps because, they provided the most effective

ladder of social improvement for the majority of the population who could not afford expensive private education. Sociologists and left-wing politicians, many of them privately educated, complained that not enough children of manual workers were being educated in grammar schools and that the latter were too 'middle class'. As the result of political pressure, they were widely replaced by comprehensive schools. In Germany, the prestige of the state *Gymnasien,* upon which the British county grammar schools had been modelled from the beginning of the twentieth century, was too great for the proponents of comprehensive education to undermine them. The fact that the Federal states had responsibility for education also worked in their favour. When the Social Democratic government in North-Rhine Westphalia tried to introduce comprehensive education throughout its region it was crushingly defeated in a referendum, and thereafter enthusiasm for comprehensives among politicians waned sharply. The reason for this was the popularity of the *Gymnasien* and of the more technically oriented *Realschulen,* a type of school promised to the British in the 1944 Education Act and never delivered to them. Between 1990 and 1980 the number of *Gymnasien* pupils rose by 230 per cent and the number of *Realschule* pupils by 310 per cent. By 1990 there were 1.5 million children attending *Gymnasien*—many of them newly built—and 857,000 in *Realschulen*. The number attending the equivalent of secondary modern schools in Britain, the *Hauptschulen*, had fallen to 1.2 million, a much lower proportion of the total than had been the case thirty years earlier.

Wehler bewails the fact that relatively few children from the working class, and almost none from the ranks of unskilled workers, attained places in the *Gymnasien*. Whereas in 1950 the children of academically trained parents were twenty times more likely to enter higher education than working-class children, by 1990 they were still fifteen times more likely to do so. The schools to which the poorest parents would send their children had not only fallen in numbers, and therefore prestige, they were also the destination for the children of non-German-speaking immigrants, such as Turks or supposedly ethnic Germans from Russia. This made it even more difficult for such schools to overcome the handicaps under which children from poorer families were bound to suffer: lack of parental motivation, limited vocabulary, little exposure to books, and inadequate space in which to carry out private study. All these problems affect British

comprehensive schools, but at least each of them can claim an appropriate share of public funding. It is not clear from Wehler's account whether the funding per pupil in a *Hauptschule* equalled that of a pupil of the same age in a *Gymnasium* or a *Realschule*. His dismissal of comprehensive schools as a political stunt promising an instant cure for the problems of mass education, whilst actually achieving nothing but a levelling down of standards, would doubtless be music to the ears of the British critics of comprehensive education. So far, however, nobody in Britain has come up with a more acceptable system. Nevertheless, the Federal Republic, with its preponderance of schools focused on equipping their pupils with the intellectual disciplines needed to fulfil their potential in adulthood, would seem to be better placed to enhance social mobility than is the United Kingdom.

There is also the question of apprenticeships. In Germany it is an understandable source of pride that every year hundreds of thousands of apprenticeships are on offer to school leavers. This has often been advanced as a reason for Germany's ability to maintain high levels of per capita production and technical excellence. After the Second World War there were also industrial apprenticeships in Britain, but trade union obstruction made it difficult to increase them. In the 1980s and 1990s there was a drastic reduction of jobs—and therefore of apprenticeships—in industries such as steel, ship-building, and engineering. Furthermore, the managerial ethos supposedly based on 'shareholder value' led to a disinclination on the part of employers to invest in training young people when it was easier to poach experienced workers trained by others. From time to time government agencies have tried to encourage employers to offer more apprenticeships, but the results have not been encouraging.

From all these points of view, therefore, the Federal Republic today is looking a good deal more open to social mobility than Britain—or, for that matter, the USA. It would be both churlish and unrealistic to demand that Wehler should write a social history of Britain as well as of Germany, but when examining his criticism of the Federal Republic we do have to ask whether there actually are Western countries, roughly equivalent in size, which have managed to create less unequal societies than that of Germany. This question does have a contemporary edge to it because the media in Britain and Germany have, since 1949, tended to be particularly sensitive to social and economic rivalry between the two countries. Until the

1980s Britain was perceived in Germany as an economic disaster area; by the beginning of the twenty-first century there was strident triumphalism in the British press about the supposed superiority of the United Kingdom's dynamic, money-led, service-based economy as against the stagnation apparent in the Federal Republic, with its inflexible labour market and its dependency on industrial exports. Such Anglo-Saxon smugness was effectively torpedoed by the meltdown in the financial services sector in 2008. But if the British economy is not as impressive as it was made out to be, what of social inequality and social mobility in the home of the welfare state?

It has finally dawned on politicians in the United Kingdom that over the last twenty-five years British society has become more stratified rather than less, and that the gap between the very rich and the rest of us is growing wider all the time. A former Labour Minister and Member of Parliament, Alan Milburn, recently chaired an inquiry into Fair Access to the Professions which found that, unless 'drastic action' was taken, 'tomorrow's generation of talented young people will miss out on a new wave of social mobility'.[2] Among the points made about the current situation in Britain were:

> The typical lawyer or doctor of the future will today be growing up in a family better off than 5 in 6 of all families in the UK. The typical journalist or accountant of the future will today be growing up in a family better off than 3 in 4 families in the UK.
> . . .
> Over half of professional occupations such as law and finance are currently dominated by people from independent [i.e. private] schools which are attended by just 7 per cent of the population. Seventy-five per cent of judges and 45 per cent of top civil servants were independently schooled.
> A typical professional born in 1958 came from a family that earned 17 per cent more than the average family income; but by 1970 the family income gap between those who went on to pursue a professional career and the average family had risen

[2] News release from the Cabinet Office Homepage. CAB060/09. 21 July 2009. 'Fair Access to the Professions Panel Publishes Over Eighty Recommendations', <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/newsroom/news_releases/2009/090721_accessprofessions.aspx >, accessed 18 Jan. 2010.

> to 27 per cent, with journalism—along with accountancy—seeing the biggest shift to more social exclusivity.[3]

A newspaper article based on the Milburn Report notes that 54 per cent of top journalists, 55 per cent of solicitors, 68 per cent of top barristers, and 70 per cent of finance directors attended independent schools.[4]

The problems Wehler has detected in the Federal Republic are therefore rampant elsewhere. One recent study of relative inequalities in developed economies demonstrated that in Singapore the richest 20 per cent of the population are nearly ten times better off than the poorest 20 per cent. Of the twenty-three countries listed in the survey, the USA displays the second highest inequality, with the top 20 per cent enjoying 8.5 times as much wealth as the bottom 20 per cent. The United Kingdom lay in fourth place—its richest fifth were 7.1 times better off than the bottom fifth. The Federal Republic, on the other hand, shows up fairly well, with the upper 20 per cent getting only 5.2 per cent of the wealth of the bottom 20 per cent. This means that Germany comes out as the eighth best nation in terms of equitable wealth distribution, twelve places ahead of Britain and fourteen ahead of the USA.[5] Of course, such surveys are bound to be approximate, and different results can be obtained by focusing on different segments of society. But it does not seem that Germany has too much to be ashamed of when compared with other major European countries, let alone the USA.

Discussion of social mobility is bound to raise questions of definition. What is the nature of the 'working class' and the 'middle class' in the Federal Republic, and have these classes changed over time? Where does the lower middle class end and the upper middle class begin? In what sense are the very rich 'middle class'? Wehler dis-

[3] Ibid. From the summary of recommendations produced in this publication it becomes clear that the solutions proposed by the Fair Access to the Professions Panel will demoralize schools and undermine the professional excellence of British universities. Perhaps fortunately, it is improbable that the money will be found for their implementation.

[4] Patrick Wintour, 'Britain's Closed Shop: Damning Report on Social Mobility Failings', *Guardian,* 22 July 2009.

[5] Richard Wilkinson and Kate Picket, *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better* (London, 2009), 17.

cusses class structure at length and has much of interest to say about it. But the more one reads about the complexities of German society, the more one doubts whether the term 'middle class' is particularly helpful. Again, this is not just a German problem. Most people in Britain refer to themselves as 'middle class' even though many of them in white-collar or even professional employment earn less than train drivers or skilled artisans.

As Wehler himself documents, the 'economic lift' effect of West Germany's economic success has reduced the proportion of its citizens in the ranks of unskilled manual workers. Whereas in 1950, 66 per cent of the working class were in this category, by 1990 this percentage had shrunk to 25 per cent, while the numbers in white-collar, semi-professional, and service sector occupations had risen strongly. These people were not 'bourgeois' in the Marxist sense of owning the means of production, nor were they particularly wealthy. But they were more likely to want higher education for their children, even if they did not have it themselves. In that sense the 'educational revolution' has had a big impact on Germany, and there is nothing like the gulf between privately and publicly educated children which has grown wider in Britain over the last three decades.

So far as universities are concerned, Wehler is rather conservative. In Germany, as in Britain, there was a tremendous expansion of university education. Between 1960 and 1980, twenty-four new universities were founded and existing institutions of tertiary education were greatly expanded. In 1960 the number of students had already risen from 100,000 in 1949 to 247,000. By 1990 it was 1.7 million. This meant that more than twenty per cent of the population in the relevant year's cohort were matriculated. Of these, 41 per cent were women, and soon thereafter female students outnumbered the men. However, the proportion of working-class children in universities remained low; despite attempts to encourage them into higher education, the percentage of students coming from working-class families was stuck at 7 per cent. Since overall student numbers were rising sharply, this must have meant a considerable increase in the number of students with working-class backgrounds, but they remained underrepresented as a proportion of the population as a whole. On the other hand, 38 per cent of lawyers' children and 45 per cent of medical doctors' children followed their parents into the same profession.

It is difficult to see what could be done about this, and it is noteworthy that in this context Wehler does not touch on the subject of student finance. By 1990, university students in Germany did not pay fees, and there were opportunities to gain scholarships to help with maintenance. But the length of time required to complete a course of study in overcrowded and under-staffed universities must have made it an unattractive option for parents and children from poorer backgrounds. Attempts to reduce the period required to obtain a university qualification were resisted on the one hand by the professoriate—described by Wehler as 'the backbone of any Western university'—and the organized student body on the other. It is ironic that the 'student revolution' of 1968 actually prevented pragmatic and sensible reforms which might have improved staff to student ratios and shortened the period of study. Instead, it tried to 'democratize' universities by imposing on them a complicated and inefficient system of government. The foreseeable upshot of this was virtual paralysis in university administration and the frustration of any progress towards serious reform. Wehler is rightly critical of the federal state governments in West Germany during the 1980s for their parsimony towards the universities, which led to declining staff numbers at a time when student numbers were increasing. In the Federal Republic, as in Britain, politicians preferred overcrowded universities to rising youth unemployment figures. But without the impact of the radical excesses of 1968—which crippled many humanities and social science faculties, but left the most conservative ones, like law and medicine, virtually unscathed—changes might have been made which could have helped German universities through the lean years which followed the oil crises of the 1970s.

A great many more areas of social and cultural development are covered in this stimulating book. Wehler describes clearly the important changes in the nature of confessional politics in West Germany after 1949. These were caused by liberalizing trends in both the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches and by the relative equality of both confessions in the Federal Republic in contrast to the Protestant dominance in the old Reich. The passages concerning the vibrant press and periodical culture of the Federal Republic are particularly impressive, not least because of the willingness of the author to criticize sharply the dumbing down of popular culture as the result of commercialization of TV and circulation wars in the press.

Here again, West Germany's experience is all too familiar to a British reader, although the regional character of the better German newspapers has helped to save them from the deterioration that has afflicted most of their British counterparts.

Another issue about which Wehler expresses firm but controversial views is that of immigration from Muslim countries. He notes that for too long West German governments tried to maintain the fiction that Germany was not an 'immigration country' (*kein Einwanderungsland*), but he then raises the spectre of Muslim extremism. He describes the large Muslim minority in Germany as a new ethnic underclass, living in ghetto-like circumstances, immune from assimilation and Western education, and thus vulnerable to the growing influence of fanatical fundamentalism. He claims that this is more threatening than the perceived 'Red danger' from the proletariat in the nineteenth century. His solution to the problem is that the explosive potential of this underclass must be defused by an intensive policy of integration. This is a worthy aim, but experience shows that it is difficult to achieve without arousing resentments which may then produce the opposite of the desired effect.

In his Epilogue Wehler stresses once again the remarkable continuity in social stratification in the Federal Republic, despite the political upheavals that Germany has experienced. Yet a few pages later he describes again how enormous changes have taken place in Germany's social structure: the once much feared industrial working class is now greatly diminished; the agricultural working class has almost disappeared; and the aristocracy has lost the political influence it had enjoyed even in the years after 1919. These changes would seem to indicate a radical upward social trend in social mobility, even if the elites at the top of the pyramid show much continuity.

Although Wehler pays tribute to the pragmatism of the two major parties in West Germany, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats, he denounces the continuous expansion of social welfare measures, especially after the appearance of the Social–Liberal coalition in 1969. He claims that the increasing costs of social security were accompanied by an ever-growing amount of state regulation, which itself amounted to a discontinuity in West Germany's social development because it reduced the individual's responsibility for controlling his own life. He takes it for granted that, since this 'hypertrophied' social security system can no longer be financed, it must be

decisively reformed, despite the opposition of its 'pampered clientele'.

Of course, the problems of the social state in West Germany were serious, and they became more so when the former GDR had to be incorporated into the Federal Republic's social welfare system. Doubtless the growth in the proportion of the labour force employed directly or indirectly by the state has been a burden on the economy in general, and Wehler quite rightly traduces the absurd level of subsidies and fixed prices enjoyed by the agricultural sector in the Federal Republic. It is worth remembering that Ludwig Erhard never had any control over agriculture in Germany, and that he disliked the agricultural protectionism practised by the European Community. The increasingly rigid regulation of the labour market over the period from 1969 to 1990 also made it difficult for the private sector to create jobs. But when looking at the man-made global disaster brought about by malpractices in the financial services sector in London and New York, it is difficult to find too much fault with the Social Market Economy in Germany. German neo-liberals never believed in unrestrained laissez-faire, any more than did Adam Smith. They recognized that a strong state was needed to set and enforce the rules of the game, whilst avoiding the temptation to play the game itself. To be fair, Wehler makes the same point in the penultimate paragraph of his book, when he stresses the need for state action to curb the excesses of large enterprises and to restrain the 'turbo-capitalism of globalization', just as the private capitalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was civilized by social and legal measures implemented by constitutionally based nation-states.

Alongside his thought-provoking and well-documented account of social and political developments in the Federal Republic, Wehler has added to each chapter a briefer survey of developments in the GDR. This relative brevity can be justified by the fact that the population of the East German state was much smaller than that of West Germany, and that the regime of the 'German Bolsheviks' as Wehler calls them, ended in complete failure. No serious historian would wish to defend Ulbricht's totalitarian methods, or his misguided economic policies. Indeed the most interesting section of Wehler's comments on the GDR is a comparison between the Nazi and Communist dictatorships in Germany. He carefully notes the differences as well as the similarities between the two regimes, concluding that it would

be false simply to equate the two, but that the GDR was, nevertheless, an example of a left-wing totalitarian dictatorship. Few would dispute that proposition.

However, Wehler might perhaps have demonstrated more sympathy for the unfortunate citizens of the GDR, who had to endure forty years of Soviet tyranny without having any prospect of rescue from the West. The division of Germany, like the division of Europe, was secured by the recognition that a third world war would be the worst possible outcome for all concerned. It is therefore worth stressing that, while the West Germans had emerged by the end of the 1955 as the equals of their occupiers, the citizens of the GDR were left to pay the bill for the war in the East. As Wehler himself notes, the result was a period of savage—and often mindless—Soviet requisitions, followed by enormous transfers of goods from current production. This catastrophe cancelled out any advantages the Soviet Sector in Germany might have enjoyed owing to industrial development under the Third Reich or its relative security against air raids for most of the war. The Soviet Zone was, and remained, an occupied country. Ulbricht was not ousted because he was obstructing economic reforms, but because the Soviet leadership thought he was getting too big for his boots. Honecker was rightly seen as a subservient person who would toe Moscow's line without wavering.

Once the Berlin Wall went up in August 1961 the Germans imprisoned in the GDR had to make the best of a bad job. When listing the differences between the Third Reich and Ulbricht's dictatorship, Wehler points out that the Third Reich was fundamentally a home-produced (*hausgemacht*) German product, whereas the GDR lacked genuine support among East Germans. Their liberation did not result from the impending bankruptcy of the system in East Germany; a Stalinist dictatorship would have used that to justify a new round of repression. The real cause was a change of policy in Moscow, brought about by a number of factors. These included the debilitating impact of the war in Afghanistan and the improved atmosphere between the Soviet Union and West Germany as the result of a consistent policy of détente followed by SPD and CDU-led governments after 1969. Once the Soviet domination over its satellites began to waver, however, the citizens of the GDR took matters into their own hands. By a combination of massive peaceful demonstrations and 'illegal' migration to the West through a newly porous Iron Curtain,

they forced the collapse of Honecker's dictatorship, a process which culminated in the opening and subsequent destruction of the Berlin Wall.

Wehler does not seem overly impressed by their achievement. He does not make many allowances for the difficulties faced by Germans trapped in a totalitarian Communist system for over forty years. He presents them as people who left their Christian roots, despite the survival of the Protestant church in the GDR, and were brainwashed by anti-Zionist—and therefore anti-Semitic—SED propaganda. Leaving aside the question of how justifiable it is to equate criticism of Zionism with anti-Semitism, we would do well to remember that the most dangerous racist political parties in Germany have their origins, and their funding, in the old Federal Republic, not the GDR.

Unification certainly involved enormous costs for the Federal Republic, and the transformation of the GDR's crumbling infrastructure was a brilliant achievement. It was, however, unavoidable that the change from a command to a free market economy, not to mention the importation of West Germany's complex legal procedures and its highly complicated health and welfare systems, would be traumatic for many inhabitants of the GDR. The assumption that West German private capital would flood into the new Federal states proved false; the collapse of the Soviet system of distribution, Comecon, meant that the GDR's export markets disappeared and imports had to be paid for by the Federal government. In any case the over-manned, under-capitalized socialist enterprises could not survive in a global environment. In the years immediately following unification, many administrative and professional posts were filled by incomers from the West. Even though in many cases this was unavoidable, it caused understandable resentment among the population of the new Federal states. Relatively little effort seems to have been made to integrate those who had made professional careers in the GDR, leaving aside such obviously repressive institutions as the Stasi. This may well have contributed to the survival of the 'post-Communist' PDS into united Germany. Now operating throughout the country as the Left Party, it has begun to splinter the electoral support of moderate Social Democrats.

It has been rightly pointed out that in the West it has not been adequately appreciated what an enormous effort of reorientation was required of the East Germans after unification. They were used to

absolute security in their workplace and regarded it to a considerable extent as their second home, which formed, beside their family, their most important focus of socialization and security.[6] Large state enterprises, however uneconomic they may have been, did provide social benefits, among the most important of which were childcare facilities for working mothers. Although Western welfare benefits were more generous than those of the GDR, they were often more complicated in their administration. More important was the sudden loss of security and of solidarity with workmates who were usually contemptuous of the Communist apparatchiks, and had little reason to fear them in a system which was desperate to maintain its labour supply. At a stroke, this security disappeared. Whereas there had been very little job mobility in the GDR, by the end of 1993 only 29 per cent of East German employees were in the same workplace that they had occupied in November 1989. Women were particularly hard hit by the change; in 1993/4 their unemployment quotient was double that of male employees. One result of this was that the birth rate, which had been low to start with, fell dramatically for several years to a level half that of 1989. [7]

It is, of course, unfair to criticize Wehler for not taking into account matters which go beyond his period. Some of the differences between the old and the new Federal states do, however, reflect different social experiences during the period of German division. Although there are few regrets in the new Federal states about the demise of the GDR, a poll taken in 2006 showed that 66 per cent of men and 70 per cent of women in that region believed that they were not receiving their fair share of the nation's prosperity.[8] It is also not without interest that a survey in 2004 showed that 60 per cent of West Germans considered themselves to be part of the 'middle class' and about 10 per cent claimed membership of the 'upper middle class', leaving barely a third describing themselves as working or lower class. In the new Federal States, on the other hand, almost 60 per cent

[6] Gerhard A. Ritter, *Wir Sind das Volk! Wir sind ein Volk! Geschichte der deutschen Einigung* (Munich, 2009), 138.

[7] Ritter, *Wir Sind das Volk!,* 140.

[8] This compared with 38 per cent of men and 37 per cent of women in the former West Germany who took the same view. Ritter, *Wir Sind das Volk!,* 142, citing Statistisches Bundesamt (ed.), *Datenreport 2006*: *Zahlen und Fakten über die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 2006), 457.

saw themselves as working or lower class, about 40 per cent as middle class, and only 3 per cent ventured to put themselves in the upper middle or upper class.[9] This suggests that notwithstanding the widespread rejection of Communism, which evidently failed at any point to engage the loyalty of the East German population, the social attitudes inherited from the Third Reich and the GDR would take some time to change.

Fortunately, the rehabilitation of the GDR after 1990, which required enormous sums of public money, has been a remarkable success, despite resentments on either side of the old Iron Curtain frontier. It is an accomplishment of which Germans in both parts of the country can be proud and which laissez-faire alone could not have achieved.

The fact that Wehler's book may provoke argument as well as admiration is all to the good, and in no way detracts from its importance. To have produced such a well-documented and detailed account of Germany's social development over a period in which so many economic and cultural changes were taking place is a magnificent achievement. No historian writing about this period will be able to ignore this book. It is unlikely to be surpassed for many years.

[9] Ritter, *Wir Sind das Volk!,* 142.

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BOOK REVIEWS

KLAUS HERBERS and NIKOLAS JASPERT (eds.), *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa,* Europa im Mittelalter, 7 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), 459 pp. ISBN 978 3 05 004155 1. €69.80

Any collection of essays dedicated to the relationship between east and west in medieval Christendom must inevitably grapple with the question of what 'Latin Europe' comprised in the Middle Ages; whether, indeed, it had any meaning for contemporaries. This group of twenty essays, plus an introduction by the editors, brings together scholars from Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, and Britain to approach aspects of the 'shaping' of Europe. Although most of the essays are in German, and by German scholars, the collection is formed by pairing case studies of Latin Europe east of the Elbe with the Iberian peninsula.

Two essays lay the groundwork for the collection. Klaus Herbers, 'Europa und seine Grenzen im Mittelalter', presents historiographical perspectives on the geographical integrity of the notion of Europe in the Middle Ages, comparing, for example, early twentieth-century German historiography, which proposed the notion of a Christian *Abendland* as early as the Carolingian period, with critiques by Peter Moraw and the consciously anti-Weberian Michael Borgolte, which emphasize variability in type and pace of development in 'east' and 'west', and discussing how concepts such as cultural transfer can offer alternative models. Nikolas Jaspert, 'Grenzen und Grenzräume im Mittelalter', discusses different approaches to the notion of the border: theological, political, sociological, biographical. Jaspert is sceptical about whether the notion of the border meant anything to medieval people; but if it did, it evoked a more complex and variable set of ideas than simply a line on a map. In particular, Jaspert prefers to see borders as 'zones of contact', in which unique problems resulted in the creation of unique institutions, most obviously the Military Orders.

The first two case studies deal with questions of assimilation on specific frontiers. Jan M. Piskorski, 'Slawen und Deutsche im Pom-

mern im Mittelalter', argues that German colonization was not the most important agent in the process of assimilation and acculturation that characterized Pomerania for most of the Middle Ages; assimilation, indeed, owed more to postcolonial developments, lasting in some respects well into the nineteenth century. In 'Pobliamento y organización del espacio en la Mancha', José Angel García de Cortázar focuses on La Mancha, the border region dividing Castile from Andalus in the period between the eleventh-century rise of Castile and 1235. Here, Islamic settlement types based on hilltop fortresses changed into the *villa y tierra* pattern of organization under Castilian colonization, in which towns dominated scattered villages and the rural economy. With conquest and settlement came castles, which gradually replaced the hilltop *husun* sites.

In the next pairing of essays, Andreas Rüther examines how law codes and jurisdictional practice operated in the regions of German settlement east of the Elbe. He argues that although the law created a conceptual as well as a geographical frontier zone, the networks operated by juridical culture were not based on notions of ethnic belonging but on expressions of legal rights. In contrast, in Spain, Pascual Martinez Sopena argues in 'La doble frontera: Hispanos, francos y musulmanes en los fueros y cartas de población de los siglos XII y XIII', the law created categories within newly conquered regions to enable Christian rulers to distinguish between settler communities and existing conquered communities, who were given entitlement to remain on lands the status of which had changed around them.

Religious categorization is the theme addressed by Christian Lübke, '"Germania Slavica" und "Polonia Ruthenica": Religiöse Divergenz in ethno-kulturellen Grenz- und Kontaktzonen des mittelalterlichen Osteuropa (8.–16. Jahrhundert)' and Jean-Pierre Molénat, 'L'autre de chaque côté de la frontière: mozarabes et mudéjars dans la péninsule Ibérique médiévale (VIIIe–XVIe siècles)'. In the Slavic territories that came to form the states of Poland and Lithuania, the indigenous populations came under the rival gravitational pull of, on the one hand, Catholic German colonizers and, on the other, the Orthodox princes of Greater Russia and Ruthenia. In Lübke's analysis, divergence of religious affiliation was the agency that served to create a frontier zone within Slavic-speaking lands where political borders were not previously apparent. Molénat examines the failure

of *convivencia* in Spain despite shared culture and, in many places, language, and examines the variable factors governing treatment of Muslim minorities by Christian conquerors and mozarab Christians by Muslim rulers.

Two essays dealing with ethnicity follow. Nora Berend's 'Immigrants and Locals in Medieval Hungary' examines the different treatment of indigenous and immigrant populations in Hungary from around the period of conversion to Christianity (early eleventh century) to the late thirteenth century. She finds that religious affiliation and ethnic customs made a difference to the legal and political status of settlers, but that there was no discernible pattern to treatment of them; indeed, a genre of writing in Hungary contested various ideas surrounding the desirability of encouraging settlement from outside. In 'Convertirse en un árabe: la etnicidad como discurso politico en al-Andalus durante la época de los Omeyas', Eduad Manzano Moreno looks at cases of conversion to Islam among the original Visigothic nobility of Spain, and argues that although converts both maintained and were regarded as a separate entity by the Arabs, ethnic difference in itself was relatively unimportant except as part of the political rhetoric underpinning the caliphate of Cordoba.

Cultural transfer represents quite a different aspect of the conceptual frontier. Matthias Maser's examination of Arabic–Latin textual translations in Spain shows that such activities do not readily fit under a template of communications between a dominant and subaltern culture. Instead, medieval Iberia should be seen as a society characterized by alterity at simultaneous but varying cultural boundaries. In this situation, translations did not attempt to alleviate otherness, but rather to define and draw attention to it. Felicitas Schmeider's essay 'Pragmatisches Übersetzen: Texttransfer zum Nutzen von Handel und Mission' examines the often overlooked transfer of texts from Latin Christendom to the eastern frontiers. Here, the imperative was economic and colonizing rather than cultural, and this governed the choice of texts for translation: glossaries, dictionaries, biblical and liturgical texts.

Language and language barriers provide the material for essays by Christiane Schiller and Jürgen Lang. Schiller's investigation of 'borderland languages' concludes that a complex set of political circumstances, resulting in the union of Lithuania and Poland, also laid the basis for the development of what would eventually become the

Lithuanian language, through sustained contact between Lithuanians and their Slavic neighbours. Lang's analysis of Arabic passages embedded in fourteenth-century Old Castilian literature concludes that they do not demonstrate cultural transfer, but rather the extent to which the language had already become part of the cultural heritage of the peninsula.

By the later Middle Ages, frontier zones that had been contested sites of colonization east of the Elbe had developed into states. Henryk Samsonowicz's study of diplomacy in central Europe shows how the incorporation of Ruthenia into the kingdom of Poland acted as a bridge, established through trade and political expediency, between the Hansa cities and the wealth to be exploited in the east. At around the same time, in the Iberian peninsula, what had begun as a purely political divide between Castile and Portugal in the twelfth century developed, by the fifteenth, into a border zone characterized by cultural features as well.

A comparison between saints' cults in Iberia and Poland, as demonstrated in essays by Roman Michalowski and Patrick Henriet, shows that whereas local cults in Poland and Silesia stuck close to ethnic and linguistic identities, thus reifying the notion of the border, in Spain the frontier between Christianity and Islam played a negligible role in shaping saints' cults, and that Spanish hagiography already by the eleventh century shared many standard features with more general tendencies in the west.

Finally, the last pair of essays compares aspects of the institutional Church in Poland and Spain. Jerzy Strzelczyk explains the rise of Poland from colonized frontier region to sovereign state in terms of the structural organization of its dioceses, and pays particular attention to the missionary character of the Polish Church in its approach both to pagan Balts and the Orthodox communities to the south and east. José Luis Martín Martín shows how the institutional nature of the Iberian Church was determined by tensions between memories of the pre-Arab Romano-Visigothic Church and the perception of the peninsula as a site of conflict between Islam and Christianity, especially from a papal perspective, which resulted in an influx of Frankish appointments to sees.

Other frontier zones might usefully have featured in this collection; might, indeed, have strengthened the main thrust of the arguments underlying the book by offering similar findings from widely

varying theatres of settlement and expansion in medieval Europe. The Welsh marches, the Anglo-Scottish border zone, the Baltic, southern Italy, and Outremer might all claim to offer case studies of acculturation, apartheid, and pragmatism in the accumulation of power in culturally and politically porous territories. As it is, it is difficult to see exactly what basis of comparison draws together Iberia and east-central Europe in isolation from these and other regions. Nevertheless, this collection provides further valuable material for the growing genre of medieval 'frontier studies', both geographical and conceptual, in the Middle Ages.

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PETER D. CLARKE, *The Interdict in the Thirteenth Century: A Question of Collective Guilt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), x + 300 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 920860 9. £65.00

The interdict was a thoroughly medieval legal institution by which church authorities withdrew pastoral care, including most sacraments, from entire communities or whole geographical areas in order to enforce compliance with ecclesiastical laws or policies. As a rule, the transgressions which prompted interdicts were perpetrated by rulers or ruling bodies, while the ecclesiastical censure was also aimed at their subjects: they were either considered to be partially guilty for abetting the wrongs committed by their rulers, or supposed to bring pressure against them and thus force them into submitting to the ecclesiastical authorities. While this procedure accorded well with medieval political cultures and practices, rooted as they were in a feudal mode of thinking which linked rulers to the people they ruled over and forced subjects into community with their superiors, the interdict posed numerous problems in legal thinking. At the centre of these was the question of whether it was justified to sanction people for crimes that they themselves had not committed. This was the case with most interdicts and, even if partial or indirect guilt could be found on the part of a community, it really was the individual ruler, for example, a king or a count, or a small number of people, such as the members of a town government, whose acts had caused the rift with the church authorities. With the systematization of canon law at the beginning of the thirteenth century the interdict, too, had to be accommodated within the legal doctrine of the church and the question of justification turned out to be one of the most fiercely discussed issues among canon lawyers.

These discussions form the subject of Peter Clarke's first chapter. His approach to the history and development of the interdict in the thirteenth century is thoroughly based on traditional canon law scholarship. Primarily drawing on legal treatises, law codes, and papal letters in which the popes formulated and developed their interpretation of the legal principles governing interdicts, Clarke considers the various elements of the procedure of the interdict in the light of legal opinion as it developed throughout the thirteenth century. Apart from the legal justifications of the interdict, he discusses, in separate chapters, the different kinds of interdict, the laying of

interdicts, the various possible terms set for an interdict, and the conditions leading to the lifting of interdicts. In all of these chapters, Clarke is primarily concerned with the legal principles and procedural minutiae pertaining to these points as discussed by canon lawyers and ecclesiastical law-makers. This results in very detailed discussions reflecting Clarke's great knowledge and expert interpretation of the canon law literature of the thirteenth century, including a number of hitherto unpublished treatises. Clarke has rendered the legal historian and canon law specialist a great service by filling a gap in an important area of canon law studies.

The interdict, however, was not only a legal issue heating up canon law discourse; it was also an instrument of ecclesiastical politics which shaped the conflicts between lay and church powers at the time. Of course, Clarke acknowledges its political importance and keeps referring to the problems of implementing canon law precepts in practice. For the general historian, the book only comes alive in chapter five, when Clarke considers three exemplary cases of 'The Interdict in Action'. The first one is the interdict laid on the commune of San Giminiano between *c.*1289 and 1293 by the Bishop of Volterra. The other examples are two cities which were also interdicted by their own bishops in south-western France: Dax in 1242–3 and Béziers in the late 1290s. Here the book comes alive as it is possible to study the circumstances leading towards, and governing, the interdict. Even if the sources do not yield every detail, one gets a good picture of the problems a medieval community faced when put under interdict. People resisted or tried to circumvent the bans on pastoral care and the sacraments, leading to further problems with their clergy. It also seems that interdicts were never wholly successful in restricting church life to the bare minimum. But for a community, living with the interdict was a stigma which made everyday life cumbersome and annoying. While ecclesiastical authorities never quite managed to enforce full adherence to the interdict in all details, they could usually use it to their own advantage by forcing recalcitrant lay bodies to seek an accommodation with the church.

It is this chapter which whets the appetite for more and more systematic discussion of the politics of the interdict in the thirteenth century. In particular, one would like to know more about the exact relationship between the different levels of ecclesiastical government with regard to the application of the interdict. What role did the

papacy play as the court of appeal in conflicts between local bishops and their lay folk? How did the proliferation of papal legates and judge delegates in the second half of the thirteenth century affect the practice of the interdict? What role did the interdict play in the steady expansion of the power of communes in northern and central Italy during this period, in particular with regard to the papacy's attempts to tighten its political control? These are just a few of the numerous questions which are left unanswered at the end of this study. But rather than deploring a lack of answers which the present study probably never set out to provide, one should congratulate the author for bringing these issues to our attention and, it is to be hoped, encouraging others to continue where his study leaves off.

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NICHOLAS EDWARD MORTON, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190–1291* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), xiv + 228 pp. ISBN 978 1 84383 477 9. £55.00

The Teutonic Order was one of the three major military orders of the Middle Ages, along with the Temple and the Hospital of St John. Its history begins in the 1190s, when a small crusader hospital, founded in Acre by Germans from Bremen and Lübeck, was transformed into a religious congregation and thereafter into a military order following the example of the Templars and Hospitallers. After the fall of Acre in 1291, the Teutonic Knights transferred their headquarters from the Holy Land first to Venice and then, in 1309, to Prussia, which largely explains why the Order is today generally best known for its activities in the Baltic.

The medieval history of the Teutonic Order has been described in numerous books and articles and, perhaps surprisingly to some, to the present day more studies have been conducted on the Teutonic Knights than on the Templars or Hospitallers. General knowledge of the Order is not evenly distributed, however, and in particular the history of the Order in the crusader states in the Holy Land remains far less well known than that of its presence in southern and western Europe, or in Prussia and Livonia. Detailed studies on various aspects of the Order's history in the Holy Land do exist, of course. But despite the fact that new developments in the field of archaeology, such as Adrian Boas's excavations in the former Teutonic castle of Montfort, have shed new light on many related questions, an exhaustive monograph dealing with the Order's history in the Levant has so far been lacking.[1]

Morton's book is developed from his doctoral thesis, which he submitted in 2007. It provides the first general overview of the Teutonic Order's history in the Latin East from its foundation in the 1190s to the fall of Acre in 1291, and offers the first serious treatment

[1] Adrian Boas and Rabei Khamissy, 'The Teutonic Castle of Montfort/ Starkenberg (Qual'at Qurein)', in Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg (eds.), *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture. Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Mittelmeerraum und Baltikum: Begegnungen und Konfrontationen zwischen Religionen, Völkern und Kulturen. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Bari-Lecce-Brindisi, 14–16 settembre 2006*, Acta Theutonica 5 (Galatina, 2008), 347–59.

of the Order's history written in English, albeit covering only the first (but arguably most important) one hundred years of its existence. It is divided into two parts. The first, comprising six chapters, deals with the political and institutional history of the knights, while the second covers topics such as the Order's politics, hierarchies, organization, possessions, and economy.

The second part is the more innovative, with chapters covering the division of resources between the Holy Land and the Baltic, where the knights had already settled by the 1230s; the Order's politics in the Levant; the military organization of the Order; and its structure and possessions there. Morton's detailed description, using appendixes, of the Order's structure, landed property, castles, and revenues in the Holy Land in particular needs to be appreciated. He himself has been to Israel and has seen the castle of Montfort, the former residence of the Order's chapter. He does not merely describe the Order's possessions (see his list of its rural properties on pp. 196–7, for example), but also includes an enormous amount of detailed information about the Order's various urban and rural activities and revenues. On this and other points, Morton demonstrates an excellent knowledge of the many edited primary sources of the Order and the Crusader states.

The first part of the book, comprising a general history of the Teutonic Order during the first hundred years of its existence, is less innovative. But as this is the first serious history of the Order in English, these chapters are necessary. In no way, however, will it replace Klaus Militzer's seminal study *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, which still provides the best treatment of the topic.[2] Morton is not afraid to disagree with existing historical opinion and it would seem that his position outside the dominant circle of the Teutonic Order historians offers him an advantageous freedom of expression as well as the benefit of a broader perspective. He thus leaves no doubt that his point of departure is not the Order itself, but developments in the Latin East.

From 1190 to 1291, the history of the Teutonic Order was marked by three major problems. These concerned its foundation; its relations with the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen,

[2] Klaus Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg: Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 56 (Marburg, 1999).

and the papacy; and its double engagement in Prussia and Livonia and in the Holy Land. With regard to the foundation of the Order of the Brothers of the Hospital of St Mary Theutonicorum in Jerusalem, studied in detail by Udo Arnold,[3] Marie Luise Favreau-Lilie,[4] and Klaus Militzer, Morton offers a detailed but not very original summary. However, he misses a good opportunity for a comparison with the history of St Thomas of Acre, the military order that developed from an English hospital founded at about the same time and at the same place as the Teutonic hospital. A large section of the book (chapters two, three, and four) deals with Master Herman of Salza and the relationship between his Order and Frederick II. Herman was the first master of the Order with real influence and between 1209–10 and 1239 he completely transformed the Order. It was under his rule that the lay members of the Order assumed military functions and that the Order achieved a status equal to that of the Temple and the Hospital of St John, thus developing into the third important military order of the Middle Ages. From 1216 on Herman spent considerable time at Frederick II's court, frequently acting as an intermediary between the popes and the emperor. On these topics, Morton more or less follows James M. Powell's interpretations,[5] and by doing so, I believe, he overestimates the range and impact of the Order's disagreements with Frederick during the last decades of his rule. He does, however, offer very detailed information about the manifold repercussions of the Order's relations with the emperor in Sicily, mainland Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, and elsewhere. One of the book's most crucial underlying theses is that Herman of Salza was more than simply an ally of Frederick II eager to maintain equidistance between the popes and the emperor. This is not a new idea, having already been expressed by Udo Arnold and Klaus Militzer, but it is nonetheless helpful to be reminded by Morton that the Teutonic Order was not an institution of the imperial court.

[3] Udo Arnold, 'Entstehung und Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens', in Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann (eds.), *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 26 (Sigmaringen, 1980), 81–108.

[4] Marie Luise Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Kieler historische Studien, 21 (Stuttgart, 1974).

[5] James M. Powell, 'Frederick II, the Hohenstaufen, and the Teutonic Order in the Kingdom of Sicily (1187–1230)', in Malcolm Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot, 1994), 236–44.

With the death of Frederick II in 1250, a new period in the history of the Order began. On one hand, the knights continued to fight quite intensely for the Holy Land, especially from the 1270s to the fall of Acre in 1291. On the other, they settled in Prussia and Livonia and had already increased their presence in Germany and other parts of western, central, and southern Europe. The problem that needed solving was which theatre of engagement, the Baltic or the Middle East, should henceforth be given precedence. Debates over the solution, in turn, led to a division of the membership of the Order into a pro-Baltic party and a pro-eastern one.[6] In Morton's view, which he expresses throughout the book, the Order's engagement in Prussia seems to have led to a downscaling of their Levantine operations. Even worse, it diverted German crusaders away from the Holy Land (pp. 116–17). I for one cannot agree with either of these two statements. So far, I have seen no evidence that the German presence in the Holy Land was reduced as a result of the Baltic crusades. Rather, it seems to me that Morton takes a convenient shortcut here by regarding the Teutonic Order as representative of German crusaders, while neglecting its transnational structure and international character.[7] The armies who fought the Lithuanians in Prussia were neither entirely nor exclusively Germanophone and the 'Prussian expeditions' attracted noblemen from many European countries.[8] Furthermore, the Order defended the kingdom of Jerusalem to the last and continued to spend a major part of its resources on the wars in the Holy Land. Large amounts of money and many fighters from Europe were expended on the final defence of Acre in the spring of 1291, an event which Morton describes, undeservedly briefly, in a mere one-and-a-half pages. From the fall of Acre to the end of the first decade of the fourteenth century, the knights participated in all military expeditions attempting to regain their lost possessions. It was, in fact,

[6] Klaus Militzer, 'From the Holy Land to Prussia: The Teutonic Knights Between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309', in Jürgen Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1999), 71–81, at 78.

[7] See e.g. Houben and Toomaspoeg (eds.), *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico*.

[8] Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Francia, Beiheft 17, 1–2 (Sigmaringen 1989–95).

not until 1309, and only after long internal debates, that the ideal of a predominantly Mediterranean-based order was abandoned and the transfer of the headquarters to Prussia concluded.

The foundation, politics with Frederick II, and internal division over engagements in Prussia and the Holy Land apart, Morton also debates a number of other questions, including, for example, the Order's alliance with Venice and its relationship with the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital in the East. His observations and conclusions are often new (and should stimulate further research), as is his proposed explanation for the capitulation of castle Montfort in 1271 (pp. 155–8). Others, however, can seem hazarded, such as his insistence on locating the Teutonic Order's headquarters in Acre rather than at Montfort, where Militzer previously placed it (pp. 169–72).

Morton's arguments have a solid documentary and bibliographical basis which, however, is not complete. His list of secondary literature is relatively short and lacks a number of useful studies from France, Germany, Italy, and Poland. To give only two examples, his treatment of Herman of Salza would have benefited from Hubert Houben's published research on the master's death and burial place.[9] My own published research on envoys from the kingdom of Sicily would have allowed him to enhance his view of the economic supply from overseas while avoiding getting bogged down in the primary sources.[10] Some of the more important aspects of the Teutonic Order's history in the thirteenth century, such as the knights' presence in the Burzenland in the Kingdom of Hungary (the prelude to their presence in Prussia), for example, are mentioned only very briefly. And in general, all arguments which are not directly linked to the Holy Land seem to be treated rather superficially. The importance of the battle of Lake Peipus (and not Pepius as in the book) of 1242, for one, is clearly overestimated (p. 97).

[9] Hubert Houben, 'Alla ricerca del luogo di sepoltura di Ermanno di Salza a Barletta', *Sacra Militia*, 1 (2000), 165–77.

[10] Kristjan Toomaspoeg, 'Le ravitaillement de la Terre Sainte: l'exemple des possessions des ordres militaires dans le royaume de Sicile au XIIIe siècle', in *L'Expansion occidentale (XIe–XVe siècles): Formes et conséquences. XXXIIIe Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiéviste de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public. Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 23–26 mai 2002*, SHMES, Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 73 (Paris, 2003), 143–58.

Admittedly, the author's aim was to give an account of the Teutonic Order's history in relation to the Latin East. On this point, the book is a convincing and at times even innovative study. It clearly has some weak points and some of the arguments Morton advances are liable to be contested. What this book does is provide the English-speaking scholar, student, or history buff with a general idea of the Teutonic Order's developments during the first century of its existence, a period when the Teutonic Knights became important contributors to the defence of Christendom and formed 'a major military order of comparable significance to either the Templars or the Hospitallers' (p. 188).

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SIMON PHILLIPS, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), xiv + 210 pp. ISBN 978 1 84383 437 3. £50.00. $95.00

Over the last two decades, the history of the Hospitallers in the later Middle Ages has become a hot topic in international scholarship on the Crusades. This work has focused mainly on the headquarters of the military Order, known in contemporary sources as the Convent. Based on the island of Rhodes after the fall of the Crusader states, it was relocated to Malta in 1530. This somewhat one-sided interest is warranted by the importance of the headquarters for the Order as a whole, for Rhodes like Malta from 1530 on was the residence of the grand masters. It functioned as the seat of the Order's government and housed its largest Convent, with 300 to 500 brethren living within its walls. Moreover, the Convent had the Order's main hospital and naval base, which meant that Rhodes and Malta were the hubs of the Hospitallers' main activities: charity and waging war against the Muslims. However, the Order's economic hinterland and recruitment area were still primarily in western Europe, where it had amassed vast tracts of real estate, parishes, and legal titles since its foundation in the early 1100s. This network of establishments, which covered the whole of Latin Christianity, consisted of commanderies and bailiwicks; these in turn were integrated into provinces (priories).

These local structures have so far not attracted the same degree of attention from students in the field. Until recently, the only coherent account of the history of the Hospitallers in the British Isles could be found in Edwin J. King's in part unreliable monograph dating from the 1920s.[1] Gregory O'Malley's splendid study, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460–1565* (2005) was, therefore, deservedly applauded by critics. Although O'Malley still gives his readers a 'view from the headquarters', his work has also greatly contributed to a better understanding of life in the Order's British branch, which was geographically divided into the priories of England (Wales and Scotland including the commandery of Torpichen), Ireland, and, from the fifteenth century, the quasi-autonomous capitular bailiwick of Eagle. (The English Tongue or *langue* was an organization of brethren from the British Isles in the central Convent.)

[1] Edwin J. King, *The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of Saint-John of Jerusalem: A Short History* (London, 1924).

Now, within a short time, a second monograph which merits our attention has been published on the British branch of the Order of St John. Whereas O'Malley covered the entire branch of the Order on the British Isles, Phillips confines himself to a single office, that of the English Prior of St John, the Order's senior official in England. Oddly, the author does not mention that his book is a revised version of his Winchester dissertation of 2005. Phillips's main concern is to marshall arguments for a 'new perspective' (p. 18) on the role of the English priors in their home country. Traditionally, scholars have viewed relations between the Hospitallers in England and the Crown as strained. The privileges and exemptions which the Order had secured from the papacy and its orientation towards foreign authorities (the Grand Master and Chapter General) meant that from this perspective, the Hospitallers constituted an obstacle to the concentration of state power. Shifting from an Order-centred view to an 'English' angle, Phillips aims to challenge this 'current historical orthodoxy' (p. 162) by demonstrating that the bond between priors and their grand masters was less strong than that between priors and their respective secular overlords, the kings, because 'the Prior [was] an Englishman first . . . with his first loyalty to the crown, and a Hospitaller second' (p. 18). Consequently Phillips, unlike O'Malley, does not draw on the Order's main archives in the National Library of Malta. As the priory's archives have been lost, he uses mainly 'UK sources', among them unpublished royal documents from the National Archives, such as the Chancery and Exchequer records. The book covers the period between 1273—when Edward I appointed Joseph Chauncy, then treasurer of the Hospitallers and later English prior, royal treasurer—and 1540, when Henry VIII suppressed the Order in England.

The introductory chapter outlines the general history of the Order's establishments in England. These had at first formed part of French priories and were only combined into an independent province of the Order at the end of the thirteenth century. In the following century, the crucial event was the cession of the Templars' property to the Hospitallers, which was formally instituted in 1313, but in fact dragged on until the final years of the century. Unlike other priors of the Order, the English priors subordinated one commandery after another to the priory's seat at Clerkenwell, thus creating a much more centralized structure in their province. This, in turn,

boosted the priors' finances, a development which reflected and conditioned their rise as important servants of the Crown. The following chapters elaborate on the nature of their services as financiers, soldiers in the service of the Realm, royal administrators, and politicians.

The role of the priors in the realm of royal finances is examined first. In places Phillips is the first to demonstrate that priors repeatedly fulfilled duties for the kings as financiers (lenders and loan negotiators on behalf of the Crown), bankers (collecting and storing tax revenues), and royal treasurers (priors Joseph Chauncy from 1273 to 1280, Robert Hales in 1381, and John Langstrother in 1469–70 to 1471 combined this royal office with their responsibilities as superiors of the Order). Thus to a certain extent the Hospitallers filled the gap left by the dissolution of the Templars in their capacity as His Majesty's financial service providers. Yet not all the arguments put forward in this chapter support the author's main thesis, which is that most of the time, Anglo-Hospitaller relations were harmonious. The seizure, on behalf of the king, of the province's contributions (known as 'responsions') to headquarters in Rhodes in 1337, which Phillips discusses in the context of the 'loans' which monarchs accepted from priors, supports the received wisdom that relations between the Order and the Crown were ridden with conflict.

From the Order's financial services the investigation then turns to the role of the English priors as Defenders of the Realm. The brethren giving their secular rulers military aid was always a delicate matter because the statutes of the Order, although somewhat ambiguously, forbade brethren to engage in wars between Christians. Nevertheless, priors often contributed directly or indirectly to the Crown's war efforts. Prior Philip Thame was appointed Keeper of Southampton in 1339 by the king, and priors Richard Pavely (1360) and Robert Hales (1376–7) served their monarchs as admirals of the fleet. In the fifteenth century the military commitment reached a different level, to the extent that priors now were also deployed in offensive wars. Prior Docwra's participation in Henry VIII's French campaign against Louis XII (Battle of the Spurs), which contemporaries branded a violation of the Orders' statutes, highlights this change.

Next, the Hospitallers' various uses as royal administrators are discussed. By involving priors in the finances, management, and defence of the realm, kings could count on the expertise the priors

had accumulated during their careers in the Order. The prior was the Order's most senior official, answerable only to the grand master, and superior to the highest officials in the Convent's administration, the conventual bailiffs who headed each Tongue. By the time of their appointment, priors had generally served a long term within the Order, including many years in the defence and administration of the headquarters. Priors were therefore able administrators. In addition, they could draw upon a broad general culture acquired in Rhodes (later Malta) as members of a multinational community in which brethren from all over Europe mingled with indigenous Greeks and merchants from the whole Mediterranean basin. It is therefore not surprising to learn that priors also described themselves as international ambassadors, a title which provides the heading of chapter four. According to Phillips, the Crown had charged English priors with diplomatic tasks as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, albeit on a rather modest scale. The height of the Hospitallers' diplomatic activity on behalf of the Crown began in the middle of the fifteenth century, when priors virtually became the Crown's foreign affairs specialists for the Levant, the Roman Curia, and the Teutonic Order in Prussia. This development peaked during John Kendal's term of office as prior (1490–1501). Kendal was involved in almost all of the Crown's diplomatic missions and belonged to the 'core of Henry VIII's diplomatic corps' (p. 81). Thus David Allen's statement that Hospitallers often played a crucial role in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century diplomacy proves to apply to the previous centuries as well.

The Hospitallers' political functions, finally, are examined in chapter five, which is entitled 'National Statesmen'. Here Phillips turns to the priors' role in the domestic politics of the realm in other than financial and treasury matters. In particular, their access to Parliament, the Great Council, and the King's Council are extensively discussed. To sum up, Phillips shows that from the beginning of the fourteenth century, priors were regularly summoned to Parliament and to the Great Council, whereas they were called to attend the more informal inner circle of the King's Council only from the middle of the fifteenth century. In order to assess the role they played in these bodies, Phillips adopts a statistical approach and thoroughly analyses summonses and attendances. This reveals little about the character of the priors' policies in Parliament and Council,

and so the vital question of how the priors used their positions in the various bodies to serve the interests of their Order remains unanswered (except for a few hints, for example, on p. 117).

The priors' growing importance in different areas of English policy in the fifteenth century went along with the Order's gradual secularization in England. The fact that, from the middle of the fourteenth century, kings counted priors among the temporal rather than the spiritual lords would seem to exemplify this process. This development is also reflected in the management of the priory's estates, which mainly consisted of leasing out the Order's possessions. Aspects relating to leases, along with appointments, annuities, and presentations to parishes, are dealt with in the book's sixth and final chapter, entitled 'The Prior and the Secularisation of the Order in England'. For the purposes of his book, Phillips defines the term 'secularisation' as 'the Prior's loss of control of possessions to lay persons'. This took the form of leasing land to non-members of the Order, providing pensions to non-members, and selling rights of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices. After a diligent analysis of lease books, sources that provide a wealth of information about the daily business conducted by the priors, the author finds evidence that Crown servants were leasing an increasing share of the Order's real estate. To some extent, this encroachment of state officials on the Order's properties can be considered a prelude to the later seizure of the Order's property by the king.

In this chapter, as in the earlier parts of his book, however, Phillips takes no account of the Order's late medieval statutes. Nor does he draw upon Jürgen Sarnowsky's fundamental study, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts* (2001), which would have provided both welcome general background and a summary of the Order's legislation in the field. The statutes help to place Phillips's findings into perspective. Leasing out the Order's possessions, including to seculars, was tolerated by the Order's government to certain degree. Only the definitive alienation of estates was strictly prohibited. Total loss of property, in fact, can only be proved in two cases, and in both of them the Order was appropriately compensated. Nevertheless, the Order maintained almost its entire patrimony intact until its suppression in 1540. Thus the priors' estate management should not necessarily be considered an indicator of decay and loss of religious character. Perhaps leases were an efficient way

of obtaining a predictable surplus that could meet the needs of the central Convent.

In his conclusion, Phillips returns to his initial concern, namely, the allegedly blurred perspective of Crusade historians who viewed the English prior primarily as a servant of the Order, occupied first and foremost with maximizing surpluses destined to maintain the central Convent and protect the Order's privileges. Nonetheless, it is hard to justify the author's claim that this view needs to be revisited in the light of his findings. The reader is more likely to agree with the lower pitched statement on the same page, that the book offers a 'refinement and qualification' of the existing research. There is no compelling reason to question the tensions in Anglo-Hospitaller relations produced by the Order's international affiliations, despite the valuable insight provided by Phillips's research that in day-to-day practice, the two sides mostly managed to come to terms with each other. The data on the English priory's leases, estates, and incomes, which the author has made accessible with the help of numerous figures, provides valuable information for further research. Finally, this book puts the Order's local hierarchy on the stage as a vital part of the social and political architecture of pre-modern Europe. This aspect, on which material from the Order's central archives sheds only a dim light, deserves more attention from historians in future.

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BEAT KÜMIN, *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe,* Early Modern History: Society and Culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), xx + 283 pp. ISBN 978 0 230 55408 5. £58.00

From the Middle Ages to the long eighteenth century, contemporaries regarded public houses as a confusing world with blurred boundaries. The products on offer varied from establishment to establishment. Many people considered them to be synonymous with unsatisfactory service, diluted wine, and bad beer. The variety of regional names for public houses gives an idea of the difficulties that anyone working on this topic today faces when trying to define his or her subject: ale/beer house, cabaret, drinking house, inn (with accommodation), public house, tavern. 'Most areas [throughout Europe] distinguished between establishments restricted to the sale of alcoholic beverages (drinking houses) on the one hand, and those offering a full hospitality service inclusive of accommodation, hot dishes and banquets (inns) on the other' (p. 17). Swiss-born historian Beat Kümin, who teaches at the University of Warwick, has investigated this institutional chameleon which, along with the church, town hall, and market place, was one of the most important public places in the urban and especially the rural area. It offered food, beverages, and temporary accommodation as its basic service. However, for modern historians, the public house matters primarily as a social centre, as a place of governmental control, a battle ground for competing concepts of masculinity and gender, and as a laboratory for researching communications between individuals and groups.

In his study Kümin analyses two central European regions in greater detail: the city-republic of Berne in the Swiss Confederation, the largest city-state north of the Alps; and the principality of Bavaria in the Holy Roman Empire. The source situation for a study of public houses is not entirely satisfactory as tavern archives have rarely been preserved intact. In most cases, therefore, historians, including Kümin, have to rely on government files, travellers' reports, literary texts (such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*), sermons, and didactic texts (for example, Hippolyt Guarinoni's *Die Greuel der Verwüstung Menschlichen Geschlechts* of 1610). Kümin's book is divided into three sections. Part I, 'The Context of Public Drinking', describes the setting of pre-modern public houses, that is, the various types of drinking

establishments, their topography, and the built environment in which they were located. The agents of pre-modern hospitality, the publicans and patrons who usually had a tense relationship with the authorities, are also dealt with. Part II, 'Functions of the Early Modern Public House', looks at aspects of the accommodation and service offered, and at communication (infrastructure, exchange of media, and stabilizing and subversive functions). Part III, 'Public Houses in Early Modern Society', examines the public house from the outside. How contemporaries interpreted the public house, how scholars today analyse them, and public houses as social centres are at the centre of interest.

Hospitality in early modern Europe was characterized by great institutional diversity. A range of external factors influenced the way in which public houses were organized. The Little Ice Age of the late sixteenth century, for example, changed Bavaria from a wine-drinking to a largely beer-drinking region, which had an immediate impact on the public houses. In addition to full public house licences, the authorities also issued licences only for beverages, which made it possible for citizens to serve home-made wine or home-brewed beer. Moreover, family rooms, guild premises, and drinking rooms could temporarily be run as public houses. And then there were hospitals, pilgrimage hostels, monastic guesthouses, and lodgings for journeymen which doubled as public houses. Thus a considerable variety of institutions ran public houses: guilds, monasteries, brotherhoods, municipalities, landlords, and private individuals. The services offered with regard to beverages, food, and accommodation also displayed a considerable range. Apart from regions on the periphery (such as Scandinavia and southern Italy), Europe maintained a large number of public houses, which increased during the eighteenth century. According to tax lists, there was one public house for every 471 inhabitants in Bavaria in 1580 (in 1806 the ratio was 1:289); in Berne there was one public house for every 421 inhabitants in 1628 (1:394 in 1789). In 1577 alcohol-loving England and Wales alone had an estimated 24,000 public houses in 1577, rising to 60,000 in about 1700. This makes on average 84 inhabitants per public house in 1700. Since it is extremely difficult to identify the number of unlicensed premises (in German, *Winkelwirtschaften*, that is, establishments hidden away on dark street corners), these figures might change considerably in the future.

The spatial distribution of early modern hospitality depended primarily on location. In the eighteenth century, the building of spacious new roads created advantageous new locations, while other establishments could be ruined by a change of route. The layout of public houses also varied: 'The spectrum ranged from single lounges and small cellars to combinations of several buildings and extensive grounds' (p. 37). In terms of architecture, two basic designs (as in the case of early modern hospitals) can be distinguished: (1) one-roomed places; and (2) buildings grouped around one or several courtyards (either in parallel or connected lengthways). Inns could run their own bakeries, breweries, stables, barns, and so on. Depending on the size and function of the establishment and regional customs, the furnishings of guestrooms also varied.

The central problem was the division into public and private space, which sometimes resulted in conflicts with guests and the authorities. Before the introduction of house numbers, signs depicting names taken from the religious sphere, hunting, heraldry, mythology, or remarkable events in the past (such as an elephant passing through central Europe in the sixteenth century), advertised premodern hospitality. Publicans, frequently of bad reputation, often had no proper training and worked in this profession as an ancillary trade, while also running a butcher's shop or a bakery, for example. Often the publican was only a tenant, not the owner of the premises. According to a Bavarian list, in 1806, 36 per cent of public houses were owned by the nobility, 34 per cent by territorial authorities, 27 per cent by the Church, and only 3 per cent by local municipalities (p. 55). Publicans of larger establishments, however, sometimes acquired considerable wealth and also served on representative bodies, such as town councils. Gradually, as the trade of inn keeping became more professionalized, it also became more organized with the growth of guilds. But it was still a long way from the standardized hospitality which we take for granted today. For a long time historians considered public houses as primarily for men ('masculinization') and the lower classes. Yet going to a public house was often a luxury for the guests: 'Buying a measure of wine could easily absorb between a third and two-thirds of a labourer's daily wage' (p. 65). On the whole, the clientele of early modern public houses was much more mixed in terms of social class and gender than previously thought. Finally, public houses attracted the interest of the authorities because they

were taxed and needed tight policing. Measures to control trade and foreigners, and to discipline the population socially (drinking bans, closing public houses during mass, and so on) were de rigueur in early modern Europe.

Of course, supplying food, drink, and accommodation was the core business of the pre-modern hospitality trade, the subject of the second part of the book. The selling of alcohol provided the publican's main income, but public houses also offered a number of other functions. Historians have recently analysed the wider economic dimension of public houses: the nobility benefited from the wine trade; urban breweries were one of the most important factors in the local economy; and agricultural products were sold at the public house market in a regional context. It was—and still is—not easy to collect taxes from public houses, but the tax on alcohol in particular was a crucial source of income for early modern states, one which should not be underestimated. In other respects, too, early modern public houses had an important role. Their long tables provided the setting for drinking rituals, loan negotiations, and labour markets. Despite complaints by Reformers, alcohol was the financial backbone of the public houses. But meals—in most cases, breakfast, lunch, and dinner were served—also generated important income streams, while 'takeaway facilities and event catering' have also been mentioned for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Denominational differences had a direct impact on the menu which was influenced, for example, by fast days, sumptuary laws relating to weddings, funeral services and so on. For the moment we know little about the quality of accommodation, although we may safely assume rather spartan conditions. For an extra payment, however, comfort improved dramatically; sometimes an extra charge was levied for chamber pots. 'Prices in public houses varied depending on type, standard and location, but they were hardly cheap' (p. 113).

Public houses were also essential to early modern communication. Often the imperial post and the regular postal connections of individual territories maintained small stations at public houses. In many cases the owner, who was usually well informed and may have acted as a spy for or against the authorities, was also the postmaster—and thus the region's central communications contact. The central 'news room' of the pre-modern age was headed by a publican acting as a kind of 'broker'. Horses, post chaises, and coaches could

be rented at many inns. To some extent, then, the inn as the main political forum of the pre-modern age served to stabilize society. Janus-faced, however, the public house also included a subversive communicative component. A critical public increasingly started to emerge in these establishments during the eighteenth century. The public house of the pre-modern age was also a stage for 'social plays' and conflicts such as insults, quarrels, and so on. Court files all over Europe contain ample evidence of swearing, blasphemy, excessive drinking, gambling, violent offences, and criminal sex taking place at or around the public house. 'Between a fifth and a third of all offences dealt with by secular and ecclesiastical courts had an explicit link to drinking establishments' (p. 135). The 'deceitful', 'smart', 'sly' publican as a receiver of stolen goods who offered accommodation to shady characters was a popular topos of European literature and, rightly or wrongly, earned the distrust of the authorities.

The standing of public houses within pre-modern society and the position of public houses in the emergent modern age forms the subject of the third part of Kümin's monograph. Three main strands can be distinguished in the contemporary perception of public houses in the early modern age: first, the 'instrumentalizers, utilizing public houses for (ulterior) pragmatic or artistic purposes'; secondly, 'Lobbyists and critics, taking sides for or against the drinks trade out of convivial, moral or metaphysical impulses'; and, thirdly, 'evaluators, assessing the phenomenon as a whole' (p. 147). The book's numerous illustrations (19 coloured and 31 black-and-white images) give a good impression of these three divergent approaches. The analysis of European public houses according to space and time also reveals a great typological range. The growth of the network of public houses over a long period during the Middle Ages is demonstrated, as the public house became a fixed part of the European environment. Only during the nineteenth century, with the appearance of mass media, did a constant erosion in the political role of the public houses begin. For a long time it had also served as a *contre-Eglise*, a setting for lower-class popular culture and a secular festive culture. That is why the Council of Trent tried to dissociate the Church from the public house. For ordained Catholic priests, visiting the public house was made as difficult as possible—with doubtful results. Pilgrimages involving extended visits to public houses also enraged secular and spiritual reformers of the eighteenth century.

Public houses, however, also encroached on other spheres of public life. Examples of the brewery/public house combining with the town hall illustrate the close connection that existed between these two worldly decision-makers. Here Kümin's results fit well with Peter Blickle's communalism thesis. 'State control over drinking houses and social discipline within them, therefore, remained targets rather than achievements. Central authorities staked their claims, but rivalling powers and (not least) conflicting interests among the ruling elites themselves undermined the effect of individual measures' (p. 184).

Another topic that has occupied historians more recently is the understanding of space within the public house—the debated division between private and public in the early modern age. In this respect the eighteenth century marked a turning point in the history of the public house: the habits of consumers and the demands of the market were changing. Nevertheless the sober coffee house cannot be said to have made a momentous change in the sense of creating a reasoning, bourgeois public, as some historians claim. For far too long, subjects of the state, drinking beer and complaining about their landlords, were not taken seriously enough by researchers—wrongly, as Kümin shows. The *Zedlersches Universal-Lexikon*'s comprehensive coverage of the public house reveals the great contemporary interest in the topic.

All in all, Kümin's book yields much that will encourage further research. In and around one and the same public house, for example, the denominational differences in Europe played a surprisingly minor role. The view of the public house as male-dominated space, long a frequent topos of literature, is revised. The public house also emerges as an economic factor which must be taken seriously. Thus the history of the public house is increasingly moving from the sphere of cultural history to that of economic history. The overall change, which became apparent during the eighteenth century and gradually resulted in a standardization of public houses, was due to many factors which, at the time, were only partly recognizable. Extremely flexible in its structures, the public houses reacted to changed contexts, changed demand, and new communicative media. The provision of food, drink, and communications was the essential function of public houses; annual sales of between 4,000 and 10,000 litres of beer or wine per establishment were not exceptional. 'The

social construction of public houses involved a complex interplay of human, functional, contextual, spatial and chronological variables. Analysis of prominent factors such as political constitution, confession and regional setting accounts for specific differences, but on the whole similarities across all contexts are even more striking' (p. 195).

Beat Kümin has written a highly readable social history of the public house that combines analysis of specific cases (Berne, Bavaria) with a general overview. Although, on the whole, the state of research on public houses is still unsatisfactory, the outlines of this essential European institution of hospitality are gradually emerging. The emphasis of this book is on the numerous functions of the public house as a communications centre, which varied according to region. Kümin introduces the publican as a news broker located between subjects and authorities. However, he resists the temptation to provide simple answers to his complex questions, and this is one of the strengths of his book. Furthermore, his findings can easily be connected with other mainstream concepts of research on the early modern age, such as, for example, the development of the state, the communications revolution (Taxis Galaxy), gender research, the relationship between macro and micro history, cultural history, and so on. When looking at the development of the nation-states and the foundation of political parties in particular, more research needs to be done on the public house of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Further regional studies are desperately needed. Reading Kümin's excellent book is great fun and makes us want more field research.

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PETER H. WILSON, *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), xxii + 997 pp. ISBN 978 0 713 99592 3 (Hardback). £35.00

Europe's Tragedy is a highly readable and important book which draws on a great deal of evidence and makes profound judgements. Peter H. Wilson offers an impressive wealth of information, insights, and illuminating comparisons, but his book surpasses other syntheses mainly because he is able 'to view the war on its own terms as a struggle over the political and religious order in Central Europe' (p. xxi). In his introduction, Wilson firmly rejects all attempts to find a common denominator between the Thirty Years War and other wars of the first half of the seventeenth century. The long war at the centre of Europe was not a European war, he suggests. It cannot seamlessly be subsumed under the general crisis of the seventeenth century, and it certainly cannot be understood as a necessary inferno out of whose ashes European civilization could rise, as Heinz Schilling has argued.

After a short, incisive introduction, Wilson tells the political and military as well as social and cultural story of this war, which was fought for the sake of the central European order. The parallel wars interlocking with the Thirty Years War had their own causes, courses, and consequences. The book is divided into three main parts dealing with (1) the origins and causes; (2) the war itself; and (3) the socio-cultural consequences. The author's wide reading of older accounts provides rich detail, as reflected in the plans and precise descriptions of battles, military equipment, and tactics and strategy. Quite incidentally, but in masterly fashion, Wilson the military historian closes the serious gap in research that has existed since the work of Michael Roberts and Fritz Redlich. In addition, he uses the view 'from outside' to cast new light on misinterpretations in the German-language research in particular. Thus Wilson does not claim events in Bohemia as belonging to the Reich, but speaks of the war as a trauma of German and Czech history. He also points out that in France the war is seen not as a trauma, but as the beginning of the country's sovereignty and greatness.

The war was fought in and for the Holy Roman Empire, which Wilson, a little surprisingly, characterizes as 'monstro simile' (p. 12). Samuel von Pufendorf himself later retracted this phrase. It related only to the Aristotelian system of categories, but has repeatedly been

used, incorrectly, to denounce the Reich as a non-state. This interpretation was only possible with reference to the medieval-seeming feudal empire including Bohemia, Lorraine, and western Poland, but also the Netherlands, northern Italy, and even Switzerland. Wilson's maps on the inner covers of his book include all of these. Contemporaries, however, referred to the Empire of the German Nation, and to the Imperial constitution which integrated only this smaller area. The German Empire in the narrower sense resembled constitutionally modern, multi-level systems such as the European Union. It provided the political framework within which the princes and towns as Imperial Estates acted, and it also plays a central part in Wilson's argument concerning the political culture of 'German freedom'. The striking difference between 'German freedom' as the claim of the Imperial Estates to a share in government, and 'freedoms' as privileges granted, however, is not consistently worked out in this book. Consequently, the constitutional dimension of the war remains pale, for freedom in the old republican sense is a key to understanding the war waged by the Imperial Estates against their own Emperor. This constitutional dimension of German freedom was expressed in pamphlets and songs, but also at the Westphalian peace congress. Friedrich Schiller, a later contemporary of the Old Reich, placed it at the centre of his history of the Thirty Years War. This view was forgotten in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The path of freedom, which led from late medieval Italy via the Netherlands to Britain, did not, however, bypass Germany.

Wilson's main focus is not on this history of political ideas context, although he gives due regard to the discourse of patriotism around the Peace of Prague. While his narrative of the events of the war and the political and confessional backgrounds never dispenses with structural classifications, the larger lines are sometimes obscured by the wealth of detail. Two hundred and seventy pages are devoted to describing the prehistory of the war, and this section concludes that the argument that the war was inevitable was wrong. All the main powers had their own problems, and none of them wanted war. And against a forced national view, Wilson argues equally unequivocally: 'In short, there was no match between confession, language and political loyalty, and attempts to portray events as a national movement against German oppression are anachronistic' (p. 309, see also p. 348). In addition, he argues, neither

the Dutch Sates General nor Spain was interested in intervening in the German war. This continued in the 1620s only because the various opponents still had troops and were constantly formulating new aims. Indeed, the superiority of his own troops permitted Emperor Ferdinand II in 1629 to help the Spaniards in the Netherlands and in Italy, and the Poles against Sweden. This internationalization, however, was related to the war in Germany. It provoked a reconsideration of ways of thinking and attitudes which can be interpreted as a political culture of the Reich directed against the Emperor and Wallenstein, and was temporarily able to reconcile religious differences. Yet of course: 'Confessional solidarity proved insufficient to forge an alliance between the Dutch, Swedish and German Protestants' (p. 527).

After the Peace of Prague (1635), the Emperor wanted to expel foreign armies from the Reich, while France and Sweden allegedly fought for the German freedom that had been destroyed in the Peace of Prague. Wilson offers a convincing explanation for the ensuing events of the war, which are mostly presented as obscure and complex. He suggests that as troop units became smaller, the war became more mobile. The peace congress was sitting in parallel to this war with many fronts, but it could only successfully deal with German affairs when the Imperial Estates were also allowed to participate. In conclusion, Wilson looks at some of the long-term consequences of the war, and emphasizes how the function of the state changed from 'guardian of the established order to promoter of the common good' (p. 811).

Europe's Tragedy is a narrative history for the twenty-first century. It leaves behind disputes about 'correct' historiography—which, in any case, were not conducted with the same bitterness in Britain as in Germany—in favour of a fluent narrative drawing on facts, events, and processes which are formed into a whole showing how it was, or could have been. Yet many of the details presented are themselves based on narratives and, like the descriptions of battles, draw on existing images. This means that the events of the war could also, perhaps, have been narrated differently. Wilson has quite rightly not focused on the historian's dependence on point of view or on futile attempts to escape from the hermeneutic circle. But his narrative could have given a little more space to the notion of uncertainty. This is where the differences lie between German historiography, which

concentrates more on problems, and British historiography, which tends to make past events unambiguous through narrative. It is to be hoped that Wilson's monumental work not only finds many readers, but is also translated into German soon.

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STEFAN KROLL, *Soldaten im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Friedensalltag und Kriegserfahrung: Lebenswelten und Kultur in der kursächsischen Armee 1728–1796*, Krieg in der Geschichte, 26 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006), 654 pp. ISBN 978 3 506 72922 4. €88.00

For understandable reasons, military history was not an entirely respectable field for German historians for a generation or so after 1945. For equally understandable reasons, much post-war work on Germany's substantial military past written by non-German historians, if it dealt with periods before 1870, was fired by the desire to research the roots of German militarism and its perceived responsibility for what Michael Roberts once termed 'the abyss of the twentieth century'. As Peter Wilson has pointed out, specialist accounts of the German military past often differed little from a popular view which generalized 'largely from the Prussian experience to chart the seemingly inexorable rise of German military power and bellicosity from the Great Elector, or at least Frederick the Great, through Bismarck and the generals of the Second Reich to Hitler and those of the Third'.[1] The lack of detailed studies of military history by specialists meant, as Stefan Kroll argues in the introduction to this book, that social historians tended unquestioningly to adopt this paradigm into their work, encouraged by Otto Büsch's influential 1962 dissertation, which argued that the Prussian experience was paramount.[2] With the introduction of the *Kanton* system of recruitment in the early eighteenth century the *Gutsherren*, who often served as company commanders, possessed both patrimonial and military jurisdiction. They were thus able to threaten their serfs with draconian punishment and belabour them into obedience, the *Gutswirtschaft* became a 'School of the Army', the brutal disciplinary practices of the Prussian army spread out into society, and German culture became increasingly militarized.

Yet Prussian social structures and military experience during the early modern period were far from typical. The variations in military development within the Holy Roman Empire were far more substan-

[1] Peter H. Wilson, *German Armies: War and German Politics 1648–1806* (London, 1998), p. xv.

[2] Otto Büsch, *Militärsystem und Sozialleben im alten Preussen 1713–1807: Die Anfänge der sozialen Militarisierung der preussisch-deutschen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1962).

tial than traditional military histories of Germany suggest. If they deal with anything other than a Prussian model taken to be the epitome of ruthless, organized military power, they contrast it with an Austrian model whose reputation has never quite recovered from the caricature presented in Hašek's immortal *Good Soldier Švejk*. Another problem was that since 1945 it has been difficult to undertake comprehensive research into the Prussian military system of the early modern period owing to the extensive loss of records following Allied bombing during the war.

In the last quarter of a century, however, military history has revived strongly in Germany, given a new lease of life by engagement with themes made respectable in Anglo-Saxon historiography under the rubric of New Military History. In place of the old concentration on battles, campaigns, great leaders, and the conduct of military operations, historians, whether or not they accept the theory of the Military Revolution proposed for the early modern period by Michael Roberts and Geoffrey Parker, have recognized the central importance of the military in the development of the modern state and its relationship to society. Yet while much 'new' military history written in the Anglo-Saxon world has remained distressingly old-fashioned in its focus, German scholars have paid far more than lip service to the need to research in detail the connections between the new standing armies which emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century across Europe, and have begun to produce detailed, textured studies of military life which shed dramatic new light on the relationship between soldiers and the rest of society. Most significantly, they have mounted a powerful challenge to Büsch's simplistic portrayal of German military development.

Stefan Kroll's imposing study of the Saxon army between 1728 and 1796 is in many ways a triumphant vindication of the new German military history. It rests firmly on the collections of the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden, which rivals Stockholm's Krigsarkivet as one of the great military archives of early modern Europe; fortunately they emerged unscathed from the 1945 destruction of Dresden. The book, for all its size, is by no means a comprehensive history of the Saxon army in the period, for Kroll has decided to focus on ordinary soldiers and non-commissioned officers, rather than the officers whose experiences, because of the rich survival of officers' correspondence, memoirs, and diaries, usually dominate

accounts of early modern military life. His book thus sits firmly in the recent and flourishing tradition of *Alltagsgeschichte* in Germany, and will be of interest to far more than merely historians of the military.

Kroll's self-denying ordinance—accounts of officers are cited only when they shed substantial light on the experience of soldiers and non-commissioned officers—nevertheless creates problems of its own, since there are relatively few ego-documents produced by ordinary soldiers for this period. Where they do exist, they tend to say much more about the experience of war than military experience in peacetime, which forms a substantial theme of the book. He has made good use of those that he has found, in particular, the substantial and revealing autobiography of Fourier Friedrich Christian Sohr, published in Görlitz in 1788. This is a frank and full account of Sohr's military experience in both peace and war, including his desertion after several years' service in March 1784, and his eventual pardon and demobilization after eight months in Prague and Vienna.

Despite these constraints, Kroll's book is a subtle and thoughtful evocation of a military system which was in many respects very different from that of Prussia, not least because after the end of the Great Northern War, the Saxon army recruited overwhelmingly within the electorate's borders, and did not raise substantial numbers of 'foreign' troops, as the Prussians did, despite the *Kanton* system. He begins his study with the 1728 military reforms of Elector Friedrich August I in response to the chastening experience of the Great Northern War, rather than the introduction of the standing army in 1682, and ends it with the war of the First Coalition against France (1793–6). In every respect it is superior to the greatly outdated and often inaccurate three-volume study by Schuster and Franke, published in 1885, and the works of Bernhard Wolf, also dating from before 1914, though these, alas, remain the only substantial studies of the period 1682 to 1728.

Kroll begins with the organization and recruitment of the army. He examines closely the social and geographical background of recruits, before moving on to look at the everyday life of soldiers in peace and war, covering discipline and the development of *Korpsgeist* and *Kameradschaft* through the use of military symbols and ritual, including standards, uniforms, and music. Particular attention is devoted to family life and the women, both married and unmarried, who accompanied Saxon armies in peace and war. Interaction with

broader Saxon society is covered with close examinations of garrison service, the substantial extra-military economic activities of soldiers, and the vexed question of quartering in an age which had not yet begun to build barracks: this section will be of particular interest to urban historians. The wartime experiences of soldiers are examined in great depth. While Kroll does cover experience of battle, he is mostly concerned with other matters, including the role of *Vaterlandsliebe* and *Gottesfurcht* in the motivation and disciplining of soldiers, experiences of marches and encampments, and of violence against the civilian population and women. Captivity, sickness, and the experience of wounded and invalid soldiers are given close attention, before a major section on the problem of desertion concludes the study.

The picture which emerges is rich and highly detailed. It will also be surprising in many respects to those who cleave to the old picture of German military development. Kroll pays particular attention to the Saxon 'military enlightenment' of the second half of the eighteenth century, in which officers and others with military experience sought both the moral improvement of the ordinary soldier and, through their writings, to change the traditionally negative view of the soldier in German society. By use of such material, and through his detailed examination of everyday life, Kroll powerfully and convincingly contests the view of Peter Burschel, who argued that a new type of soldier emerged in the seventeenth century. In contrast to his predecessors, he was characterized by bondage (*Unfreiheit*), rigid obedience, and a lack of autonomy.[3]

In fact, Kroll demonstrates that this Büschian picture did not hold in Saxony, where soldiers enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. He emphasizes that a firm distinction needs to be drawn between the necessarily different conditions prevailing in time of war, in particular in the face of the enemy, and in peacetime, or away from the front. Most soldiers had much wider experience of peace than war; many would pass their entire careers, as did Friedrich Christian Sohr, without experiencing a single major battle. Discipline, even in

[3] See Peter Burschel, 'Krieg, Staat, Disziplin: Die Entstehung eines neuen Söldnertypus im 17. Jahrhundert', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht,* 48 (1997), 640–52 and id., *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*: *Sozialgeschichtliche Studien*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck Instituts für Geschichte, 113 (Göttingen, 1994).

peacetime, was undoubtedly strict, and corporal punishment was regularly applied, particularly through the feared practice of running the gauntlet, yet the use of force was strictly regulated. From 1730 the practice of eliciting confessions through beatings was banned, and the use of torture was abolished in the military in 1738, long before it was abolished in criminal cases in Saxony in 1770. The army's disciplinary code was, moreover, only applied to soldiers, and did not cover the very large numbers of women who accompanied the army in both peacetime and wartime.

Kroll's findings on these women are interesting. Soldiers had to ask for permission from their company commanders to marry, and it was stipulated that only one-fifth of a regiment's strength (one-sixth in the cavalry) should be married at any one point. If, on the whole, Kroll finds that these norms were largely kept to, they did vary from regiment to regiment, depending on the attitude of the commanding officer (or perhaps on his efficiency and attention to detail). Nevertheless, even if they could not officially marry, many soldiers formed long-lasting partnerships and started families with women. The limitation may have been due to another surprising finding in the book. Kroll's close study of desertion rates in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–9), for which there are particularly rich sources, suggests that it was the experienced soldiers, including non-commissioned officers, with long periods of service who were more likely to desert. He suggests that this may have been because the experienced soldiers were the ones who tended to be allowed to marry, and who therefore had stable families to return to.

There are many such insights in the course of what is an important and revalatory book. Kroll is very sensible and judicious in his judgements on individual phenomena. If there were to be a criticism, it is that, despite an excellent introductory chapter in which he offers powerful and informed critiques of much modern historiography of the military, he deliberately shies away in the book from tackling the big picture. He takes little account of recent Anglo-Saxon scholarship apart from the detailed works of Peter Wilson; Michael Roberts makes no appearance in the bibliography; and Geoffrey Parker is cited for one minor article translated into German. This reluctance to engage with some of the larger schemata of military history is understandable, however. The book does engage in detail and convincingly with debates on all the areas which form the focus of its study.

It provides a great deal of hard information and statistics which will be invaluable to scholars, and will challenge many a broad generalization. It demonstrates quite clearly that Saxony's military development, while similar in some respects to that of Prussia, was very different. Despite its talent for choosing the wrong side in the many wars it became involved in after 1682, Saxony was a state which counted, and was as different from the Hessian mercenary state studied by Charles Ingrao, or Württemberg, which formed the basis of Wilson's doctoral work, as it was from Frederician Prussia. It proves that German military development was far more complex a picture than Büsch allowed. The book is excellently produced, though the maps will only be of use to those with youthful eyes or a powerful magnifying glass.

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HUBERTUS BÜSCHEL, *Untertanenliebe: Der Kult um deutsche Monarchen 1770–1830*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 220 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 419 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 35875 7. €71.00

Inside this portly volume there is a slender but interesting book trying to get out. Hubertus Büschel has visited the Prussian, Bavarian and Thuringian (Weimar, Coburg, Gotha) archives to test generalizations commonly made about the relationship between rulers and their subjects during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Unsurprisingly, he has found them wanting. Among the many previous historians criticized are Bernd von Münchow-Pohl, Johannes Paulmann, Ute Daniel, Andreas Gestrich, Monika Wienfort, and David Barclay. Against them, Büschel contends that there was no embourgeoisement of monarchical ceremonies; no traditions were invented; rulers did not change their attitudes or policies towards ceremonial; and the monarchical cult was not an expression of affection but either a means of 'self-presentation' (*Selbstdarstellung*), a response to social pressure, or an attempt to bring pressure to bear on the ruler to grant favours.

The book is divided into three parts: the ceremonies of the rulers; the attitudes of subjects to the ceremonies; and the cult of the monarchy. As it is subdivided into fifty sub-sections, many of them short, it is difficult to find a coherent line of argument. The most convincing passages deal with specific incidents. A good example is the episode at Elbing in West Prussia in 1818, when officials denied the local citizens' request to greet Frederick William III by taking the place of the horses and pulling the royal carriage into the town themselves. Far from being pleased by the gesture, the King ordered 'the most rigorous investigation' of those responsible. Büschel's speculation that this was an abortive attempt to win favours for the town on the basis of *do ut des* carries conviction. He also makes a good point about the processions staged in Prussia during the same period. If these were intended to impress the general public, he asks, why was the general public excluded? When the great formal religious services were held, for example, the church was cleared, as was the courtyard of the royal palace for major banquets.

There are plenty more nuggets to be found in this carefully researched and ambitious book, but extraction is not easy. It has been

swollen to Michelin-man proportions by recurring and lengthy historiographical digressions. Even by the standards of German doctoral dissertations, these are very prolix. It can be conjectured with confidence that not many of the scholars reading this book will need to be reminded over and over again of what, say, Clifford Geertz or Michel Foucault or Aby Warburg have written about ceremonial. There comes a point when the display of erudition impedes rather than promotes scholarship. The following sentence is not untypical:

> Die von Karl Heinz Kohl und Tilmann Habermas (unwidersprochen) zitierten Autoren Friedrich Pfister und Otto Feinchel projizierten, vergleichbar mit James Frazer, Julius von Schlosser, Sigmund Freud, Marc Bloch und Ernst W. Kantorowicz, ihre—durchaus politisch ambitionierten—Deutungen der Gegenwart auf die Interpretation ihrer Untersuchungsgegenstände.

An unwelcome side effect of this sort of self-indulgence is a corresponding inflation of the academic apparatus—many of the 1,500-odd footnotes consume more space than the main text. In the same vein is the ten-page list of archives consulted, with each and every fascicle listed and described. One cannot help but conclude that the anonymous editor of the series should have told the author that his book would have had twice the impact if it had been half as long.

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HEINZ DUCHHARDT, *Stein: Eine Biographie* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2007), viii + 530 pp. ISBN 978 3 402 05365 2. €29.80

If you consult the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* – published in fifty-five volumes over the years 1875 to 1912 – you will find that more pages are dedicated to Baron Karl vom Stein than to any other political figure of his era. While twenty-seven sides are devoted to the energetic nobleman from Nassau, Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt receive only twenty and twenty-five respectively. With only eighteen pages, Hardenberg trails behind the pack.[1] In 2001, a statistical survey of streets named after historical personalities in a sample of German cities reveals a similar picture. With ninety-six streets to his name, Stein is still well ahead of Hardenberg, who merits only sixty-four, and the Humboldt brothers, who can muster no more than 134 streets between them. (Bizarrely, the lavishly bearded gymnast and xenophobe 'Turnvater' Jahn, who had rated only two pages in the *ADB*, emerges in 2001 as the second most named-after person in the German streetscape, with no fewer than 236 directory listings).[2]

These rather arbitrary measures may not tell us much, but they do at least seem to confirm Stein's continuing status as a German *Erinnerungsort*. In the textual landscape of published history, Stein remained a commanding presence. In the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions, Georg Heinrich Pertz admired him as a counter-revolutionary national liberal made to measure for the realist politics of the 1850s; for Franz Schnabel he was a quasi-republican; for Gerhard Ritter a nationalist power-politician and forerunner of Bismarck. The true apotheosis came after 1949, when Stein was refashioned as the trail-blazer of constitutionalism and the exponent of measured reform, a founding father, so to speak, of the new Federal Republic. Stein became, as Hans-Ulrich Wehler has irritably remarked, 'the favourite child' of German post-war historiography and the 'absurdly overrated' poster-boy for an idealized vision of the Prussian reform movement.[3]

[1] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* 55 vols. (1875–1912), online at <http: // www. deutsche-biographie.de/~ndb/index.html>, accessed 7 Aug. 2009.

[2] Rainer Lübbren, *Swinegel Uhland: Persönlichkeiten im Spiegel von Strassennamen* (Heiloo, 2001).

[3] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1987–2005), i. 397 ff.

Now we have Heinz Duchhardt's magisterial new study of Stein, published on the occasion of the subject's 250th birthday, the first serious treatment of the statesman since Ritter's classic biography of 1931 (re-issued in a revised edition in 1958). Two things above all distinguish Duchhardt's book from Ritter's predecessor. The first is a certain sobriety of tone and judgement. Reflecting on Stein's engagement with the turbulence unleashed by the French Revolution, for example, Ritter observed that 'only in moments of general confusion and cluelessness, in the face of the imminent collapse of the existing order, did Stein recognize his own true capabilities': 'to stand undaunted like a rock, to create around him an atmosphere of unconditional confidence, of vivid, active energy, to grasp with a swift glance the most pressing necessity of the moment, to banish discouraged lethargy with purposeful action.'[4] Duchhardt abstains from such histrionics. The Stein of the revolutionary era, he reminds us, 'was an official who sought to minimize the impact of the war on the region under his responsibility—nothing more and nothing less. He was . . . an organizer, not a tribune of the people' (p. 81). The Nassau Memorandum of 1807, once celebrated as 'the key text of the Prussian reforms', as the 'most comprehensive, most famous and biographically the most important of [Stein's] political utterances' (Ritter again), receives the same sedative treatment. The Memorandum, Duchhardt notes, is neither 'exciting' nor especially philosophical; its flavour is essentially 'pragmatic' and 'administrative', and its 'practical significance should and must not be overrated' (p. 173). Reviewing Stein's accomplishments as a reforming minister, Duchhardt is downbeat. Notwithstanding Stein's achievements, his biographer is struck by the 'randomness of the initiatives launched, the haste with which they were undertaken (which accounts for the fact that the documents not only lack systematic cohesion at many points, but also contain imprecise legal formulations, confusions and contradictions)' (p. 234). Again and again, Duchhardt intervenes to calm the hyperventilating reader: Stein was not the forerunner of Bismarck; he was not the German executor of the 'ideas of 1789'; he was not really a liberal (though he was not 'illiberal' either) and he was not a conservative; he was not a herald of the modern German nation, his 'nation-

[4] Gerhard Ritter, *Stein: Eine politische Biographie*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1931), i. 102.

alism' was focused on the diffuse *Verfassungsgefüge* of the old German Reich, not on the new Reich of 1871, which lay far beyond his political horizons. His antisemitism was virulent, even by the standards of his time (p. 451). Stein was not anything that we can comfortably pigeon-hole using today's political vocabulary; he was a 'contradictory personality, who cannot be captured under a single categorical label' (p. 446).

This insistence on nuance and differentiation prompted one reviewer to discern in Duchhardt's book the dying fall of a Germanic historiographical culture on the point of expiring through sheer lack of enthusiasm.[5] The verdict is funny but unfair, and not just because fine distinctions are what good history should be about, but also because Duchhardt's demolition of the *Mythos Stein* actually brings to light something much more interesting than the myth. By integrating the domain of private experience with the record of public service—and this is the second key difference between Duchhardt and Ritter—the author is able to invoke a three-dimensional individual poised on the threshold between historical eras. That Stein was personally aware of the rupture that defined his age becomes clear in a letter written two years before his death, in which he looked back almost with envy at his father, who had died in 1788, 'in the last year of the old order, before the downfall of the old age' (p. 83). Duchhardt sees in the painful break between old and new the defining metaphor of Stein's life. Stein's central concern was to mediate between the ages, to save what could be saved of the old world and prepare it for service in the new. Hence the hybrid quality of his societal vision, in which formal equality among citizens and a strong orientation towards the state coexisted with a monarchical executive and corporate social structures. By striving for such combinations, Stein 'narrowed the gap between the pre-modern and the modern' (p. 233). This energetic tension between the old and the new remained at the centre of Stein's life after his retirement from politics, when he became one of the most influential exponents of the archival preservation of documents (especially those ecclesiastical collections that became homeless after the secularizations of the 1790s) and of the great editorial project known as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, launched in 1819. It is a merit of this biography that every

[5] Gerrit Walther writing in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 July 2008.

epoch of Stein's life, including his long and very engaged 'retirement', is approached and appraised in its own terms.

Duchhardt's Stein will no longer do service as the forerunner of the German nation-state or of modern German democracy—he is too much the prisoner of his time for that. And yet the conflicted, transitional, nostalgic figure portrayed in these pages speaks to us more directly than the red-cheeked *Streiter* of Ritter's classic. That is one of the enjoyable paradoxes of this excellent book.

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MICHELE GILLESPIE and ROBERT BEACHY (eds.), *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*, European Expansion and Global Interaction, 7 (Oxford: Berghahn Books Ltd., 2007), 278 pp. ISBN 978 1 84545 339 8. £50.00. $90.00

The Atlantic world has long been the focus of an extensive historical scholarship. The study of the networks of migrants, commerce, and culture that held the old and new worlds together is largely concentrated on the Anglo-American context. Looking at the life journeys, beliefs, communities, and culture of the Moravian Brethren, *Pious Pursuits* offers a fresh vantage point. The Moravians (*Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*) established a tightly knit network of settlements and missionary outposts throughout Europe, the Americas, and beyond. They thus offer a prime example for examining the comparatively unexplored contributions made by German Protestant groups to the shaping of the Atlantic world during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The volume consists of fifteen essays divided into three sections. The four essays of part one analyse Moravian spirituality, culture, and the social practices that helped to sustain close links between the old and the new world. A wide array of topics is covered. Mack Walker compares the specific structures of Moravian settlements with the German guild economy. Robert Beachy analyses the organization of transatlantic communication and the functions of the periodical *Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine*. Craig Atwood emphasizes the vital role an eroticized theology of blood and wounds played in the spiritual life of European and American settlements. Renate Wilson explores Moravian physicians and their use of European medical knowledge in the context of their communities in colonial America. All four contributions question the long-held view that emphasized differences and tensions between Moravians in the old and the new world. Rather, they point to confessional commonalities and conscious efforts on the part of the Moravians to maintain a common identity, despite the large distance between European and American settlements.

The five essays of part two examine not only how Moravians constructed their communal identities within the wider Atlantic world, but also how those identities were challenged over time. Cultural and economic assimilation, so the tenor of this section, undermined the

once global vision of the Moravians, giving way to more parochial Protestant communities. Elisabeth Sommer's essay looks at the symbolic meanings of Moravian dress emphasizing simplicity and spiritual equality before God, and its fading significance after the death of the group's founder, Count Zinzendorf, in 1760 out of a desire better to blend into American society. Scott Rohrer's case study of three Moravian communities in North Carolina points to the centrality of the experience of conversion in unifying distinct groups of people into a shared community. Katherine Carte Engel analyses the Moravian involvement in transatlantic trade and argues for a closer examination of the role of religion in eighteenth-century economic developments in general. Emily Beaver's essay on the transformation of the economy of the Moravian settlement Salem during the revolutionary era also highlights the changing relationship between piety and profit within Moravian communities. Michael Shirley takes Engel's and Beaver's arguments a step further by examining the successive acculturation of Salem Moravians as Americans who, in the first half of the nineteenth century, increasingly chose individual success over commitment to their wider spiritual community.

The essays of part three highlight constructions of gender and race in the Moravian community. They all emphasize the uniqueness and exceptional status of Moravian culture and spirituality within the Protestant Atlantic world. Beverly Smaby draws attention to the high degree of female spiritual authority among the Moravians but also examines how this was gradually eroded after Zinzendorf's death in an attempt to make Moravians more acceptable to the wider society. Marianne Wokeck argues in a similar vein. Her comparison of Lutheran and Reformed *Pfarrfrauen* and Moravian ministers' wives underscores the uniqueness of Moravian gender relations. Moravian ministers' wives were not expected to serve their husbands' and households' interests, but to be responsible for the spiritual welfare of female members and converts. This gender-specific system of spiritual care persisted well into the nineteenth century, a fact to which Anne Smith's examination of the relationship between Moravian and converted Cherokee women in the American South in the early nineteenth century attests. According to Smith, Moravian and Cherokee women lived in worlds largely separate from men, and Cherokee women appreciated the similarities between the matrilineal nature of the clan system and the system of female choirs which

characterized Moravian settlements. The final two essays of this section explore the question of race. Ellen Klinker analyses the complex and changing relationship between African-American slaves, the colonial establishment, and Moravian missionaries in the Dutch colony of Suriname in the nineteenth century. Jon Sensbach examines how Moravians had to accommodate Afro-Caribbean religious beliefs in their efforts to convert slaves in eighteenth-century St Thomas, and in some cases even allowed converts full membership of the Moravian fellowship.

As A. G. Roeber points out in his concluding remarks, the study of the Moravians makes an important contribution to a history of the Atlantic world and, in a broader sense, to a global history of diaspora Christianity. Though not all essays in this volume are of the same quality and analytical depth, *Pious Pursuits* provides an excellent introduction to key themes of Moravian history and a good basis for further explorations.

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WARREN ROSENBLUM, *Beyond the Prison Gates: Punishment and Welfare in Germany, 1850–1933* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), xii + 326 pp. ISBN 978 0 8078 3204 2. $49.95

In recent decades, the historiography on crime and punishment in Germany has expanded remarkably. Whereas during the 1980s and 1990s research focused mainly on the early modern period, interest has lately shifted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Above all, the growing influence of scientific expertise in the sphere of criminal policy has attracted much attention.[1] Most of these recent studies have stressed the highly ambivalent consequences of the rise of modern criminology. The reinterpretation of offences from the conscious actions of free-willed individuals into symptoms of an abnormal biological constitution, so the basic argument goes, paved the way for radical exclusion which culminated under the National Socialist regime.

Warren Rosenblum, Associate Professor of History at Webster University in St Louis, has added another book to the growing number of studies on criminal policy in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany. However, he proposes a decidedly different interpretation. In his view, the new master narrative of criminal policy in the age of criminology has overestimated the role of bio-medical science and underestimated the impact of social approaches to crime. Today Germany has one of the lowest incarceration rates in the world, and social welfare principles play an essential part at all levels of the criminal justice system. Rosenblum wants to demon-

[1] Richard Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000); Peter Becker, *Verderbnis und Entartung: Eine Geschichte der Kriminologie des 19. Jahrhunderts als Diskurs und Praxis* (Göttingen, 2002); Silviana Galassi, *Kriminologie im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Geschichte einer gebrochenen Verwissenschaftlichung* (Stuttgart, 2004); Christian Müller, *Verbrechensbekämpfung im Anstaltsstaat: Psychiatrie, Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform in Deutschland 1871–1933* (Göttingen, 2004); Imanuel Baumann, *Dem Verbrechen auf der Spur: Eine Geschichte der Kriminologie und Kriminalpolitik in Deutschland 1880 bis 1980* (Göttingen, 2006); Peter Becker and Richard Wetzell (eds.), *Criminals and their Scientists: The History of Criminology in International Perspective* (New York, 2006); Désirée Schauz and Sabine Freitag (eds.), *Verbrecher im Visier der Experten: Kriminalpolitik zwischen Wissenschaft und Praxis im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2007).

strate that the roots of this welfare-oriented approach to handling crime can be traced back to the reform movements of Imperial and Weimar Germany. These reform movements, he argues, aimed to replace state institutions of incarceration with measures of protective supervision by charity organizations. At their heart, he asserts, was an optimistic faith in welfare as a means of rehabilitating offenders, and this optimism has moulded German criminal policy to the present day.

The book is divided chronologically into eight chapters. Chapter one offers rather sketchy insights into the relationship between classical liberal ideals of the rule of law, the nineteenth-century prison reform debate, and the still limited attempts by early prison associations to care for convicts and their families. Rosenblum's main argument is that even the purest forms of liberal jurisprudence authorized measures which reached beyond the term of imprisonment, namely, the revocation of certain civil rights, police surveillance, and workhouse detention. Not liberal jurists, he stresses, but conservative Christian social reformers challenged these stigmatizing and exclusionary mechanisms of criminal justice. Chapter two describes how Christian charitable approaches to crime were reconstituted during the Imperial era. Protective supervision on a large scale began in this period as a voluntary welfare measure for released prisoners, indigent wanderers, and sexually 'endangered' women. Rosenblum focuses particularly upon the worker colonies set up in the early 1880s by Pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh. These sanctuaries for homeless men were meant to save them from sliding into habitual vagrancy and eventually to reintegrate them into society.

Chapter three turns to the debate on deportation to overseas colonies which started belatedly in Germany around the turn of the twentieth century. Rosenblum does not interpret this project, which was never realized, as reactionary or exclusionary, but as a utopian variant of protective supervision. The idea of penal colonies was inspired by a rising tide of criticism of prisons and penitentiaries which failed to improve inmates, and by the hope that all criminals could be made useful to the nation if they were given a proper place and meaningful work. Thus deportation was to replace incarceration and offer suitable offenders the chance of rehabilitation. Chapter four examines the growth of popular empathy for the fate of ex-convicts by looking at the story of the Captain from Köpenick, an old prison

bird who became a national hero in 1906. The affair intensified criticism of police surveillance and banishment of former delinquents, who could be denied the right freely to choose their place of residence. As the Köpenick incident blatantly illustrated, such measures actually counteracted rehabilitation. In its wake, the cause of reformers who advocated benevolent supervision instead of police harassment received huge support.

Chapter five deals with issues of penal policy during the First World War. The ideology of national solidarity and the goal of mobilizing all available resources furthered the re-integration of ex-offenders who were willing to fight or work, as Rosenblum argues. Moreover, the extraordinary situation of war, which produced specific forms of unlawfulness, supported social interpretations of crime. Chapter six describes the founding of the Bielefeld System during the war years. It gave petty offenders convicted of begging, vagrancy, or prostitution a chance to avoid workhouse detention if they accepted supervision by charitable institutions such as worker colonies. Under the Bielefeld System, private charities gained direct access to the courts. They served as auxiliaries, investigating the backgrounds of offenders, pointing out suitable cases, and organizing alternatives to workhouse incarceration.

The ideal of protective supervision had it greatest success during the Weimar period, when the Bielefeld System developed into social court assistance, explored in chapter seven. Social court assistance spread widely across Germany during the 1920s. It was applied to all categories of crime and gave welfare advisers an even stronger position, as their reports could now influence not only administrative measures following punishment, but the punishment itself. On the other hand, the institution provoked harsh controversies between the judiciary, charities, and public welfare offices about who was to control the social investigations and how exactly they were to be used. The last chapter turns to the growing tensions within the reform movement, which reflected the political polarization and deepening economic crisis of the late Weimar Republic. While left-wing activists and intellectuals usurped the traditional issues of Christian reformers, spreading a compassionate image of convicts as victims of society, right-wing authors decried an excessive softening of criminal justice. Confronted with these diverse pressures, Rosenblum argues, reformers finally resorted to scientific criminology in an effort to re-

stabilize their crumbling cohesion and credibility. The breakthrough of criminal biology was not a backlash against the social welfare approach to criminal policy, but a strategy to rescue its plausibility.

Rosenblum has written a competent study based on an impressive corpus of published and archival sources, although numerous spelling mistakes in the quoted German titles slightly impair the overall positive impression. Like most recent writers on criminal policy in this period, he deals mainly with debates among middle-class professionals and activists, while the everyday practice of criminal justice and the experiences of offenders are referred to only sporadically. Yet his analysis of reform initiatives is innovative in several respects. One point which stands out is the strong focus on petty offences such as begging and vagrancy, disregarded by most other studies of criminal policy. Rosenblum convincingly demonstrates that the debates on these misdemeanours decisively encouraged the intertwining of the discourses on criminal and social reform. Other chapters deal with topics also covered by other recent books, some of which Rosenblum did not, or could not, take into account.[2] However these topics are presented in a new way and are well chosen to support his overall argument.

Rosenblum is certainly right that the reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should not be assessed in a teleological manner as leading inevitably to the atrocities of the National Socialist regime. The history of German criminal policy cannot be told simply in terms of biological determinism and exclusion. The medico-scientific model for explaining delinquency was generally only partially adopted. Moreover, the Imperial and Weimar periods witnessed an unprecedented expansion of welfare initiatives which unquestionably encompassed many measures in favour of the rehabilitation of offenders. Punishment became milder and more pedagogical, assistance for ex-convicts more effective, understanding of the social causes of crime grew, and the question of crime was

[2] On prison reform see e.g. Martina Henze, *Strafvollzugsreform im 19. Jahrhundert: Gefängniskundlicher Diskurs und staatliche Praxis in Bayern und Hessen-Darmstadt* (Darmstadt, 2003); on the Captain from Köpenick affair, Philipp Müller, *Auf der Suche nach dem Täter: Die öffentliche Dramatisierung von Verbrechen im Berlin des Kaiserreichs* (Frankfurt, 2005); and on the development of welfare for offenders, Désirée Schauz, *Strafen als moralische Besserung: Eine Geschichte der Straffälligenfürsorge 1777–1933* (Munich, 2008).

increasingly pulled into the realm of welfare discourse. Yet the rise of welfare had another, problematic side which Rosenblum tends to pass over. He admits that the model of protective supervision opened doors to new, more expansive controls over deviant persons beyond the prison gates; that its proponents increasingly sought coercive power over the supervised, whom they conceived of as particularly weak human beings; and that the strict juridical safeguards against violations of individual freedom, which had been so important to liberal legislators of the nineteenth century, were thus compromised. Such concessions remain rare, however. In his endeavour to highlight the rehabilitative aspirations of reformers, Rosenblum runs the risk of being just as one-sided as the master narrative which he criticizes.

His account of reform movements driven by a tremendous faith in rehabilitation results from a somewhat eclectic procedure. If, for instance, Rosenblum had followed the discourse on the vagabond question more continuously, he would have had to acknowledge that the dominant tone was not optimistic at all. The rehabilitative results of the worker colonies soon turned out to be disappointing, and from the turn of the twentieth century welfare activists gladly accepted the findings of psychiatrists who explained this failure as due to the defective mental constitution of their clients. The credo that the bulk of notorious beggars and poor wanderers was 'mentally inferior' (*geistig minderwertig*) was firmly established well before the First World War. Reformers therefore criticized the useless routines of punishment, but at the same time they called for legal instruments to detain such wayward people in closed institutions indefinitely. Rosenblum, however, barely mentions the legal projects on welfare custody. Nor does he go into the debates on security confinement for habitual criminals. Only in the last chapter does he turn to these exclusionary implications more explicitly. Here he points to the frustrations of reformers which made them embrace scientific diagnostic tools in order to sort out the 'hopeless' elements as a strategy to rescue the overall success of rehabilitative welfare. There was, however, nothing new about this logical linkage between inclusion and exclusion. The proponents of a welfare approach to deviant behaviour had always calculated that a substantial proportion of offenders would be unfit for rehabilitation, and since the turn of the twentieth century the aim of segregating such burdensome individuals permanently

from society had figured prominently on their agenda. Although Rosenblum's emphasis on faith in rehabilitation is not wholly convincing, he has written an inspiring contribution to the historiography of German criminal and social reform policies. He, too, tells only part of the story, but he highlights aspects which have so far been neglected.

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KLAUS NATHAUS, *Organisierte Geselligkeit: Deutsche und britische Vereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 181 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 328 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 37002 5. €39.90

The expansion of voluntary clubs and societies based around common leisure, social, and commercial interests from their early modern origins into an explosion in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century 'age of associationalism' has been the focus of a great deal of historical attention over the past few decades. Analysed for their role in processes as diverse as state formation, the development of new forms of national and regional consciousness, changing modes of consumer culture, shifts in class society, the formation of intellectual and scholarly disciplines, and the growth of mass politics, the rise of the association in modern Europe has been woven into a diverse range of fields. Klaus Nathaus's *Organisierte Geselligkeit*, based on the author's Ph.D. thesis, seeks to bridge many of these approaches by examining the growth of associational life in modern Britain and Germany as a general phenomenon from the perspective of socialization and sociability. As its theoretical starting point, the work 'regards associations as a suitable "probe" through which the prevailing relations within a society can be analysed' (p. 13), and seeks comparatively to examine the role of associations within the two countries as a means of comparing broader social trends and processes of integration.

Of course, a major issue in such a work is precisely what the units of study actually are. The diversity of forms of association in modern Europe is a problematic issue for all scholars working in this area, all the more so for a comparative study, where it is not always clear whether *Vereine*, *Gesellschaften*, and *Verbände* in the German context are necessarily the same sorts of institutions as clubs, societies and associations in Britain, or, indeed, if different organizations carrying these labels are the same within national boundaries. As such, a broad definition is presented, encompassing groups characterized by 'voluntary entry, independent administration, a dedicated purpose, formal membership, in addition to the waiving of all financial profits' (p. 11). This evidently covers a very large range, and examples are drawn from organizations as diverse as Masonic lodges, trade unions, and savings societies. However, the main focus falls upon

what could be termed 'recreational' associations, particularly gymnastics groups, choirs, drama societies, and sports clubs, organizations which can be seen to have a relatively continuous existence throughout much of the long period under consideration, and an unambiguous 'social' role.

The structure of the book is largely chronological and juxtapository, splitting the period being surveyed into a number of chronological blocks, with long separate sections on each country followed by a short supplementary comparative stock-taking. These divisions correspond roughly to: a gestatory period from the early modern period to the early nineteenth century (ending in 1835 in Britain and 1850 in Germany, itself an interesting point); the mid nineteenth century to the First World War, seen as a period of rapid expansion and commercialization, with a major acceleration in the decades after 1890; the 1914 to 1945 period, taken to be one of continued growth and divergence; and an epilogue-like final examination of the post-war period. One major benefit of this book is precisely this extension into the twentieth century. Associations have overwhelmingly been studied as a nineteenth-century phenomenon, with their relative decline in recent decades overshadowing their continued importance in much of the first half of the twentieth century.[1] Many societies and associations in both countries seem to have massively increased their membership over the 1920s, even in the face of increased competition from less structured forms of leisure and popular culture such as cinema and music halls—for example, the Deutsche Sängerbund grew from 185,000 members in 1912 to a high point of 516,000 members in 1929, and the Amateur Athletics Association in Britain grew from 500 clubs in 1914 to around 1,000 in 1930. This suggests important trends and a rich seam to research, which this work follows through productively.

The wide focus and broad chronology mean that the argument is a general one presented in broad strokes: of a tendency towards social strata-specific (*schichtenspezifische*) British and cross-strata (*schichtenübergreifende*) German associational structures. This is

[1] This is a trend borne out by much of the later section of the work, although sporting associations are shown to be a major exception. The Deutscher Sportverband e.g. is shown to have grown from 3.2 million members in 1950 to over 18 million by the 1980s (p. 272).

judged as having grown from the place of associational life within wider social networks and processes: the market and class divisions are shown to have played a stronger role in the British case, leading to essentially separate working-class and middle-class spheres; while the dominance of social elites, the state, and cross-class integrative practices (at both local and national level) were more significant in Germany. This is certainly a plausible general argument given the known higher importance of the state and national movement in Germany and the long entrenchment of consumer culture in Britain. However, it is in many ways a familiar and expected one which mirrors much of the—albeit often diffuse—existing secondary literature. In Britain, the works of Ross McKibbin and Patrick Joyce have tended to approach associations from the perspective of the growth of consumer society and cultures of class, while in Germany, the general trend since the field was instigated by scholars such as Thomas Nipperdey in the 1970s has been to study the *Vereine* in their own right as agents of mobilization and integration. This essentially forms the core argument and focus of this work, which ensures that it primarily reflects and systemizes the two national historiographies of associational life rather than presents new interpretations.

Following this, British associations are primarily examined through the dual prism of the strength of market society and the dynamics of a sharply defined class system. The middle-class associations, aiming at respectability and the promotion of a particular vision of the social order, are seen as attempting to instil a sense of morality throughout society, and particularly towards the lower orders, through the promotion of 'rational recreation' and educational movements in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Yet despite these pretensions, they are shown as largely unsuccessful, with British workers' associations maintaining an 'organizational and cultural independence from the patronage of the middle class' (p. 102), a trend which only increased as the period went on. A telling example is presented by the Working Men's Clubs, initially established in the 1860s with the intention that 'once the workers belonged to a club, they would fall under the restraining influence of the clergy and members of the "middle class", becoming reoriented through a sort of social "osmosis" to religious views and a desire for education' (p. 52). However, these were to be themselves reoriented by the need to cater to a consumerist working-class leisure culture with a

heavy emphasis on smoking, alcohol, and entertainment, transforming them away from 'moral imperialist' agendas into what George Orwell would describe as a 'glorified co-operative pub' by the 1930s. This is one example of a broad trend where a rising market-based popular culture is shown as giving the working-class organizations, through dynamics of self-help, consumerism, and close connections to sponsors such as travel agents, pubs, and local companies, the ability to maintain a high degree of economic and social autonomy away from the middle classes.

German associations meanwhile are studied for their relationship to vertical forms of social integration, dominated by elite politics and never having the broad sense of class separation found in British associations, despite some resistance from the 1890s and 1900s from organizations formed by other social or political groups, particularly the Social Democrats. Strong connections to regions and localities, and thereafter to nationalism and unity, are shown to have been of crucial importance in fostering large societies, as was a greater emphasis on ritual, corporate identity, and status. The association as a binding collective is seen to have tied itself behind the concept of a nation unified across regions and classes, a powerful idea as 'to underprivileged Germans it signified the principle of equality, which appeared to be realized under the patriotic associations. Such a union under the banner of the nation was also acceptable to the middle class, as the national community could be reconciled with the existing social order' (p. 113). A less well-developed commercial popular culture, 'as the concept of advertising was still too new, the state railway systems opened no space for independent travel agents, and the press saw their task as the instruction, not the entertainment, of their audience' (p. 142), is seen to have worked against the autonomy of working-class organizations. This meant that the hold of patronage and the predominance of general and local associations remained a key trend, and when consumer leisure culture expanded from the end of the nineteenth century, it was largely separate from the world of the *Vereine*.

Both of these trajectories are shown to have been exacerbated in the period immediately following the First World War, when the influence exercised by the Weimar state in Germany over the development of associational federations through its control over the granting of tax-exempt status is judged to have been crucial. A very

interesting section shows how this was bestowed for reasons of the 'conceptual Hydra' of 'social utility' (*Gemeinnützigkeit*), which meant that 'the state controlled the process of the formation of federations, because it possessed the power to define the term *Gemeinnützigkeit* and decided on its recognition' (p. 150), allowing it to condition the character and structure of associational life in the years following the First World War. The large comparative point in this period is that associational life in Britain remained more continuous with pre-war forms, connected with increasingly distinct levels of class society as a means of social differentiation. While the importance and scale of this shift in the German context does slightly overshadow the increasing role of the state in inter-war Britain, which, while certainly never approaching the German levels, still marked something of a change from earlier forms, it still presents a very thought-provoking section.

There are expectedly some gaps and unevenness in the coverage, as complex topics such as the effect of war-time conditions on voluntary associations and the complexity of the role of traditional *Vereine* under National Socialism are appropriate subjects for full monographs in themselves. More pressingly, however, the divided structure works against deep comparisons, and often obscures some fascinating points, such as the parallel rise but differing characters of defence leagues and shooting associations in the two countries. In Germany these developed into durable mass national organizations linking members of many different classes (pp. 108–14). However, similar associations in Britain tended to be localized, fluctuated in membership, were predominantly 'middle class', and failed to bridge the gap between the two associational worlds, being roundly mocked and laughed at when they went on parade (pp. 61–3). Likewise, an archival research-based comparison between associations in Essen and Sheffield features sporadically in the nineteenth-century sections, but almost gets lost in the broad overall argument. A closer examination of these types of case-studies would perhaps have been more effective in drawing out the central argument than the comprehensive but often secondary source-dependent approach which is followed. Issues of transnational contact and interchange are also not examined, even if some of the briefly cited examples, such as the importation of football, tennis, and boxing from England, the 'Mutterland des Sports', to Germany in the 1890s (p. 123), would have offered a very interesting field of analysis. There is also some

degree of asymmetry, in that some types of organization are discussed in one national context, but not in others. A particularly notable example is the case of the Boy Scouts and similar youth groups in Britain, who are given a fairly significant section, while their German equivalents barely feature at all, despite also being highly active and prominent.

Nevertheless, these are minor points within a generally comprehensive work, which should be of use to historians in highlighting the potential of research in this area of modern history, as well as surveying processes of class-formation, mass consumer society, and the changing roles of the state and the market in the two countries.

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ANNIKA WILMERS, *Pazifismus in der internationalen Frauenbewegung 1914–1920: Handlungsspielräume, politische Konzeptionen und gesellschaftliche Auseinandersetzungen*, Schriften der Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte, NS 23 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2008), 348 pp. ISBN 978 3 89861 907 3. €39.90

At the centre of Annika Wilmers' excellent new study of pacifism and feminism during the First World War lies the Women's Peace Congress, which took place in The Hague in April–May 1915. This event saw the foundation of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP), with its main administrative seat in Amsterdam and national branches in different countries. A second international congress held in Zurich in May 1919 led to the renaming of the ICWPP as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), with a new base in Geneva. Both organizations combined a feminist condemnation of war with the demand for female suffrage and the inclusion of women's representatives in any future peace conference.

Of course, there is no shortage of previous works on women's anti-war activism during this period. However, Wilmers' book is the first to understand the foundation of the ICWPP/WILPF as an event not just in feminist history, or in the history of negotiations for peace, but in the development of transnational communications and of cultural mobilization/demobilization for war. In this sense, she presents the participants in the Hague and Zurich congresses not only as radicals who stood outside the pro-war mainstream, but as an imagined community, imagined on the inside by the delegates themselves, and on the outside by their opponents in the wider women's movement, and in the left-wing and right-wing press more generally.

Such an approach has the advantage of posing new questions about the cultural construction of wartime pacifism, nationalism, and internationalism. For instance, in 1915 the women who attended the Hague congress may well have placed their main hopes on appealing to neutral governments and public opinion in the United States, the Netherlands, or the Scandinavian countries, where the cause of women's rights was furthest advanced and the mood was more generally in favour of peace by negotiation. Wilmers focuses on reactions in the belligerent nations France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria, however, where the general expectation, at least until 1917–18, was

that a permanent peace would only come through military victory by one side or the other, and where women's involvement in politics was still largely frowned upon. Even so, internationalist pacifism was by no means a dead cause in these countries, and it was taken seriously by the powers that be, at least in the negative sense that it was seen as a threat to their respective war efforts.

Thus one clear indication of the political significance of the 1915 Hague congress was that it forced critics of radical pacifism inside the respective national women's movements to redefine their own positions in opposition to it. 'Patriotic' or pro-war French and Belgian feminists, for instance, claimed that 'real' pacifism could only exist as a force *against* Prussian militarism and the German occupation of Belgian and French territory. This allowed them to dismiss the Hague congress as a 'pro-German' affair, dominated by Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann, while reaffirming their own pacifist credentials. In Germany, on the other hand, the mainstream Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine (BDF) completely rejected the label 'pacifist', but was still forced to rethink its understanding of 'motherhood' and 'sacrifice' in response to the ICWPP's claim that it was the duty of women as mothers to oppose war. The result was a growing emphasis on motherhood or 'organised motherliness' as a patriotic duty, and a dismissal of internationalism as 'unmotherly' and 'unpatriotic'.[1]

In wartime Austria, the 'peace question' was further complicated by the 'nationalities question', for while the bureaucratic Habsburg state demanded unconditional loyalty from all its citizens, male or female, an individual's sense of belonging often depended on family, religious, or political ties to a particular region or national grouping. And, of course, not all parties, regions, or nationalities were equally convinced that they had a just quarrel with Belgium and France, or that they were 'naturally' allied with 'Protestant' Germany against the Catholic countries of Europe, including, after May 1915, Italy.

On top of this, all women's movements were forced to redefine what they understood by citizenship in light of the Hague congress's proclaimed internationalism, as the latter implicitly challenged their own battle for suffrage within the existing framework of empires and

[1] See also Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, trans. Stuart McKinnon Evans (2nd edn.; Oxford, 1997), 162–3.

nation-states. For pro-war French feminists, citizenship involved political rights and responsibilities, including the duty of national defence above the rival claims of internationalism. Yet after 1918 they were faced with the fact that German and Austrian women, the moral as well as political losers of the war, had won the vote, whereas they, the (moral) victors in a just war against a foreign invader, remained disenfranchised. Furthermore, the women of Alsace-Lorraine had lost out on the benefits of suffrage in the new Germany as a result of their liberation from almost fifty years of 'Prussian' rule and their reincorporation into France. German women in the BDF, on the other hand, who retained a strong emotional attachment to the Kaiserreich, were unable fully to endorse the Weimar Republic as they associated it with the humiliation of defeat and foreign occupation, even if they did initially approve of some aspects of the 1918–19 revolution.

Finally, socialist women, who had staged their own international congress in Berne in March 1915, organized by Clara Zetkin, found themselves having to distinguish more clearly between their particular brand of 'proletarian' internationalism and the 'bourgeois' pacifist ideology on offer from the ICWPP/WILPF. This was no easy task, especially when they also had to fight their own corner against sexist attitudes within the male leadership of socialist parties themselves.

Opposition to the feminist peace movement was therefore considerable and fierce. Yet the ICWPP was also marked by some of its own divided assumptions about class, gender, and the legitimate role of men in feminist endeavours. For instance, what kind of relationship should it construct with male-dominated pacifist movements in the warring countries? Here opinions differed, as Augspurg and Heymann remained radical separatists, who understood and fought war as an expression of male dominance in society, whereas others like Lilli Jannasch preferred to emphasize their solidarity with male peace activists such as the exiled French writer Romain Rolland or the German socialist Eduard Bernstein. Yet in 1918–19 even Augspurg and Heymann supported the new USPD government of pacifist Kurt Eisner in Munich, while condemning the more violent Bavarian revolutionaries who came after him.

A second dilemma arose out of the question as to whether pacifist propaganda should condemn war as a brutal attack on humanity as a whole, or whether the gender-specific aspects of wartime violence

and, in particular, crimes like rape, separation of mothers from children, compulsory gynaecological examinations, and enforced prostitution, should be given special prominence. In the former case, pro-war French feminists could easily attack the participants in the Hague and Zurich congresses for relativizing the particular suffering of French and Belgian women under German military occupation, and thus for failing to recognize the need for a 'just' peace which sought adequate legal and political retribution for such crimes. On the other hand, if war was explicitly linked to the repression of women and the violation of their bodies, then how could the ICWPP/WILPF address the problem that most national women's groups only recognized wartime atrocities committed by the other side, and not by their own?

The third dilemma related to the argument, which reappeared at Zurich, that women were 'naturally' more prone to pacifism than men, and therefore better equipped for the task of peacemaking. For it was exactly this argument that was used by men to justify the exclusion of women from the Paris peace talks after the war, on the grounds that their presence would lead to a milder treatment of the defeated aggressors, Germany and Austria–Hungary, and therefore to an unjust settlement.[2] Some radical feminists, such as Amy Lillingstone in Britain and Helene Stöcker in Germany, took the more controversial line that women were 'no more for peace than men are' (p. 132). In their view, female suffrage and women's entry into national and international politics would have to be combined with re-education of both sexes if wars were to be avoided in the future.

In the end, only one issue united all the women pacifists assembled at Zurich in May 1919, namely, their condemnation of the continuing Allied economic blockade and the attempts by diplomats in Paris to impose an aggressive, non-negotiated peace on the vanquished Central Powers. Yet even this helped to expose their ongoing differences with the pro-war feminists in France, who continued to justify the blockade as something German women as well as men had brought upon themselves, and as the only way of forcing them to accept defeat. In a way, the WILPF was now engaged in its

[2] See also Erika Kuhlman, 'The "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" and Reconciliation After the Great War', in Alison S. Fell and Ingrid Sharp (eds.), *The Women's Movement in Wartime: International Perspectives, 1914–19* (Basingstoke, 2007), 227–43, at 228–32.

own efforts at cultural demobilization, attempting to break down the negative thoughts and attitudes which it had developed towards 'patriotic' feminists and, to a lesser extent, towards socialist women's movements during the war. But this was easier said than done, especially when peacetime polemics often seemed to be a continuation of the war by other means. The simpler option, which many in the WILPF continued to take, was to consider themselves as an elite 'avant-garde' who were somehow separate from, and superior to, the 'chauvinists' in the mainstream women's movements.

Overall, then, Wilmers has written an innovative and empirically rich study which does not shy away from addressing some of the ambiguities and paradoxes in the internationalist feminist position, while effectively challenging the accusation that the Hague and Zurich congresses were in any way 'pro-German' (or indeed 'pro-French'). Particularly revealing is her material on the often awkward relationship between the different national branches of the ICWPP/WILPF, and the misunderstandings which frequently arose, especially after long interruptions in postal communications caused by wartime restrictions. On top of this, the German and French members were principally interested in communicating with each other, as the much publicized coming together of Lida Gustava Heymann and Jeanne Mélin at Zurich suggests. Only a few anti-war feminists managed to develop a genuinely transnational approach which went beyond the Franco–Belgian–German conflict to consider broader pan-European and global issues.

If I have one criticism, however, it is that Wilmers could have done more to highlight the often secret and hidden relationships between radical feminists and anti-war socialists. Of course, these contacts, by their very nature, could not be publicized in the heavily censored press or, indeed, in socialist publications, and they did not directly shape public discourses on the link between war and the denial of women's rights. Nonetheless, evidence can be found, particularly in police archives, which suggests at least some limited instances of practical or perceived collaboration during the war, a phenomenon which was bound to cause much more alarm to the militarized leaderships of the warring states than the Hague congress on its own. Indeed, in the years 1917 to 1920, the spectre haunting the ruling classes of Europe was not internationalist feminism, a minority concern without much hope of success, even in neutral countries,

but socialism, a cause in which significant numbers of working-class women, as strikers and food protestors, were already involved. Needless to say, the feminists had made their mark, and had forced their critics, both socialist and non-socialist, male and female, military and civilian, to acknowledge their existence, their arguments for peace, and their contribution to the larger anti-war movement.

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BERNHARD FULDA, *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), xvii + 324 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 954778 4. £55.00

There is a long tradition of studies of the relationship between 'press and politics' in Britain. Voluminous books such as *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain,* by Stephen E. Koss,[1] have shown in detail, drawing on rich archival material, how British newspapers interacted with political parties and politicians. German media historians, by contrast, have traditionally focused on different topics. They used to concentrate much more on techniques of censorship and political control and rarely analysed the political impact of the media and journalists. This has changed in recent years, especially in the context of studies written under such rubrics as the 'cultural history of politics', or the 'new political history.' This strand of research reminds us that media and politics are not two separate systems trying to influence each other, but are connected in complex and multi-faceted ways.

Bernhard Fulda, whose study is based on his Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, is well aware that the role and influence of the media are not clear cut. Consequently, he begins by observing that the liberal German Democratic Party (DDP) ceased to exist after 1930, although the majority of the press in Berlin supported it. This example warns us against believing in simple stimulus–response models and opens up Fulda's main question: why did people read what kind of newspaper with what content and effect? He also wants to highlight the role of journalists as political actors and assess their impact within the political system and on politicians. Fulda refrains from theoretical reflections and is much more interested in specific case studies. He does not, as the title of his book suggests, offer a complete history of 'press and politics in the Weimar Republic'. Instead, he focuses on selected newspapers from Berlin and on examples concerning famous and sensational political campaigns. His main interest is the general political content of the papers and their perception of politicians, but his book offers many arguments and findings of general importance.

[1] Stephen E. Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain,* 2 vols. (London, 1981–4).

The first chapter gives a brief overview of the press in Berlin. Fulda shows the shortcomings of several party newspapers—financially and with regard to readers' opinions—by comparison with the powerful tabloids, which had a partisan *Weltanschauung* and political contents. He then looks at the tabloid press in Berlin at the end of the Weimar Republic. As his statistics show, the circulation of the political papers decreased between 1925 and 1930, while that of the tabloids increased. Fulda argues that the strong press of Ullstein's and Mosse's publishing houses did not stop the decline of the liberal democrats because they had a rather vague political message and often addressed Social Democratic readers. At the same time, Hugenberg's successful right-wing newspapers had a 'decisive electoral impact', which limited the decline of his conservative party and promoted the rise of the Nazi party (NSDAP) (p. 41).

Subsequent chapters examine the campaigns against Matthias Erzberger and Friedrich Ebert, and the Barmat scandal. The campaigns against Erzberger are interpreted as successful examples of agenda-setting—for right-wing politicians they provided a 'toolkit for the construction their own political pronouncements' (p. 73). The campaigns against Ebert are also used to demonstrate cooperation between the right-wing press and the justice system during the Magdeburg trial. Another interesting chapter looks at the provincial press around Berlin. Here Fulda examines coverage of the presidential election campaign in 1925 and the referendum concerning the expropriation of the princes in 1926. Both cases show that the so-called 'unpolitical' provincial press openly supported Hindenburg in the 1925 election and avoided reporting on the expropriation campaign (p. 125).

The final chapter of the book attempts to explain the rise of the NSDAP. Here Fulda argues that after the anti-Young Plan referendum it was not Hugenberg's newspapers, but the constant bad news concerning Hugenberg's German Nationalist People's Party (DNVP) that was responsible for the success of Hitler's party (p. 167). The press coverage of communist violence, the Sklarek scandal, and government indecision had a similar impact. In this context Fulda argues that the scandals indicate the right-wing tenor of the Weimar press because the right wing's sensation-mongering was successful. Moreover, Brüning's dismissal is explained as an exaggeration of the existing political violence and crisis in the press. As Fulda states,

even around 1932 there was a 'war of the words' produced by the press rather than a 'civil war'. However, many historians might wonder whether the violence of those years was not more real than a discourse within the newspapers.

The main argument of the book is developed in its conclusion. Fulda suggests that the elite newspapers had little impact on voting behaviour, but a large impact on the political and parliamentary debate. Politicians were professional newspaper-readers, and they were affected more than anyone else by the press because they overestimated the impact of the media on 'the masses'. The tone of political newspapers was much more polarized and polemical than politics, and this made it much more difficult to find compromises in parliament. Nevertheless, Weimar politicians not only preferred the German partisan press to the much more neutral Anglo-American model, but also advocated laws against the freedom of the press because they were not able to tolerate the partisan polemics of other party newspapers. Consequently, Fulda observes a 'structural crisis of German *Weltanschauung* journalism' (p. 222).

The majority of these arguments are quite convincing. Sometimes they seem a little vague or even contradictory, but this is because the impact of the media is hard to assess. The book leaves many points for further research. One problem is that this book is mainly based on public discourses, conducted either in the newspapers or by observers such as politicians and academics. Fulda argues, for instance, that political speeches in parliament were 'based on cutting and pasting, put together from a number of leading articles' (p. 206). This important argument pointing to the strong impact of the press on politicians sounds convincing, but it is based on a quotation from a contemporary article. What we need for a more detailed knowledge of relations between press and politics is, in this case, a systematic comparison of newspaper articles and parliamentary speeches. Also, the relationship between journalists and politicians remains somewhat vague. Of course, comparatively little material on journalists can be found in German archives. However, future research in this field could also examine the archival papers of politicians (such as Erzberger and Ebert in the case of this book) and their correspondence with and about the press. Finally, the book tells us less about journalists, who are rarely even mentioned by name, than about politicians who became targets of the press. Future research on 'press

and politics' should also focus on the biographies of those involved. This might reveal in more detailed how the careers and milieux of journalists and politicians were connected.

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RICHARD J. EVANS, *Cosmopolitan Islanders: British Historians and the European Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xv + 255 pp. ISBN 978 0 521 19998 8 (Hardback) £35.00. $60.00. ISBN 978 0 521 13724 9 (Paperback) £12.99

Inaugural lectures are a particularly demanding genre. They have to be interesting, possibly even entertaining. They should present the speaker as a pleasant colleague and a deep, innovative, uncompromising scholar. They must pay tribute to predecessors and colleagues, yet hint at omissions and shortcomings to be avoided in future. The audience is discerning and has heard all types of lectures many times, but probably contains few specialists in a particular subdiscipline. In short, inaugural lectures make contradictory demands which are tempered in practice by the absence of questions, thoughts of nibbles and drinks to follow, limitations of time, and the general awareness of the genre's peculiarities.

Richard Evans's most recent book has emerged from his latest attempt to square the inaugural lecture circle. When he became professor of modern history at Cambridge, he engaged with the broad public image of Germany and the two world wars in Britain. In his second Cambridge inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of History, Evans starts with a similar, but much broader question. Why is it that British historians are so concerned with the history of other countries, whereas most of their Continental counterparts focus on their national history? And why are British historians of Europe so successful at what they do that their books are often translated, whereas Continental research on Britain does not find much acceptance on the British book market, despite translation subsidies?

As an approach to the inaugural lecture problem, the choice of topic is nothing short of brilliant. It allows Evans, one of Britain's foremost historians of Germany, to place his intellectual interests in a broad context without denying him room to narrate his own career path and to highlight the direction it is likely to take. One way to tell the history of British historiography on Europe is to do so through the eyes of, or at least with reference to, previous Regius professors, making room for tradition. The topic is innovative—there are few serious analyses of why or when the British historical profession became so international or transnational—generally accessible, and relevant to the British historical profession as a whole.

Evans divides his book into five chapters. First, he makes his case. Is Britain really different? Apparently so. Statistics on the geographical structure of historians' interests in the UK, the USA, France, Germany, and Italy reveal that the research interests of British history departments are more cosmopolitan than those in France, Germany, and Italy, though less so than in the USA. However, British historians as individuals are more likely to focus on the history of a single country, while Continental historians' interests are likely to be either national or comparative.

On the basis of written interviews with British historians who practise Continental history (a major source for the book) and a discussion of selected titles and their history of translation (or lack of it), Evans makes a qualitative case for the impact of British historians on the Continental reading public. This, he suggests, is conclusive evidence that relationships between the historical profession in Britain and other European countries are indeed 'unequal exchanges' (p. 1).

The following two chapters analyse when the British preoccupation with Continental history originated and what motivated it. This is where Professor Evans's predecessors receive their due—and where the attempt at quantitative analysis is dropped in favour of a more or less canonic survey of the likes of Carlyle, Seeley, Acton, Gooch, Carr, and Cobb. Broadly speaking, Evans identifies two motivations for the study of non-British history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the impact of the French Revolution, and the two world wars. The wars increased interest in the diplomatic and military history of Europe, and induced historians or future historians to join the army, become diplomatic advisers, or undertake duties in the intelligence services, sometimes bringing them into first contact with the countries they would later study, sometimes boosting their careers because of their intercultural competence. Moreover, from 1917, the political pressures of communism, fascism, National Socialism, and the Franco regime drove men and women into exile in Britain, where they could advance to academic posts which allowed them to study (or continue to study) the history of their native countries and to pass this interest on to their students.

While a survey of a century and a half of historiography with special reference to Regius professors is of necessity episodic, Evans's analysis returns to a more systematic mode in his chapters on the internationalization of British historical scholarship in the post-war

era. Evans credits the expansion of universities in the 1950s and 1960s with opening up prospects for careers focused on the national history of European countries. As travel became easier, and Continental cuisine often remained ahead of its British equivalent, consulting archives abroad could offer more excitement than doing so at home. On the basis of his survey, Evans argues that the attraction of the object of study was particularly strong for historians of Italy and France, whereas the fascination with Germany had more sinister origins and was often created by a personal experience of exile or by the signs of destruction left behind by the Second World War. Judiciously chosen excerpts from historians' responses to Evans's questionnaire (which is, regrettably, not documented anywhere) recounting lives as undergraduate and graduate students make for some of the liveliest moments of the book.

To study the history of Continental European countries requires knowledge of at least one foreign language. The last chapter of Evans's account is thus aptly entitled 'The Language Question'. It describes when, where, and how individual scholars acquired their linguistic skills, and poses the question of whether British historians are in the process of losing their cosmopolitanism. Knowledge of foreign languages is no longer required to read history at British universities, so that teaching at undergraduate level is entirely in English (as is Evans's guide to further reading). A-levels in foreign languages are dropping precipitously, doctoral dissertations need to be completed quickly, leaving no time to acquire additional language skills and less time for research abroad—increasingly, Evans appears to fear, specialists in non-British history will have to be Continental *Gastarbeiter*.

This book has all the advantages one expects of a text by Richard Evans: an interesting subject, clear prose, a broad sweep, decisive opinions, snap judgements—and thus the ability to provoke on a massive scale. Evans's endorsement of Boyd Hilton's claim that American historians of Britain are 'respectable at best' (pp. 6, 11) has led American historians to wonder aloud on H-Albion whether Evans's account suffers more from 'xenophobia' or 'provincialism' or is an attempt at irony gone wrong. Ironic or not, the question of the basis of Evans's judgements is not entirely limited to an ill-judged sound bite. Evans is not particularly clear on how he judges worth or impact or, put differently, he appears to apply different tests to dif-

ferent epochs. The first chapter gives the impression that success is mainly related to sales figures and translations, though Evans occasionally accepts that academic quality does not automatically guarantee huge print runs. By contrast, his survey of the nineteenth century is mainly interested in a canonical list of 'important' works and authors, without much regard to their sales figures or their international reception.

The argument might have been more convincing if Evans had distinguished between mass market books and academic discourse, as Gérard Noiriel did in his seminal discussion of the French historical profession (*Sur la 'crise' de l'histoire*). Moreover, commercial success can hardly be understood without some analysis of questions linked to business history. When did national markets for academic books diverge? What is the impact of international publishers' market positions, company formats, advertising budgets—or of literary agents? Do such factors influence the structure of historiography, and enhance or diminish its credibility in academic circles abroad? Such problems have recently been studied by, among others, Olaf Blaschke and Peter Mandler, and even discussed in *Private Eye*.

Indeed, there is some discrepancy between the questions Evans poses and the sources on which he bases his answers. The book ostensibly seeks to explain why Britons who decided to make a career (or, if they were independently wealthy, a name) for themselves by studying history chose European subjects; why these individuals were hired in significant numbers by British universities from the 1960s; and why their books had an international impact. The first question concerns individual personal, academic, and professional interests; the second, institutional processes of decision-making which determine the profile of history departments and who is hired to work in them; and the third, channels of academic and semi-academic communication. Questionnaires and interpretations of the products of historical scholarship at different times can answer the first question, but not the second or the third.

The way in which Evans constructed his survey also contains a methodological stumbling block. He deduces the characteristics of Britain's European historians by looking at this group (and at Boyd Hilton cast, somewhat regrettably, in the role of the insular historian), not by comparing it with Britain's British historians. For example, Evans implicitly assumes that British historians of Britain were

constrained in their choice of topic—they studied British history because they did not know, or were not willing to learn, a foreign language well enough to do anything else. But that British historians of other countries read or fluently speak the language of the country they study, and like to spend time there (interesting though the individual motives are) does not prove that British historians of Britain can only communicate in English, will eat only lamb in mint sauce washed down with warm bitter, holiday in Blackpool, and aspire to remain within ten miles of their birthplace. In fact, Evans himself states that in the 1960s, every student of history had to demonstrate proficiency in several foreign languages to be accepted by the leading history departments (p. 189; he does not state when this requirement disappeared). In terms of language skills, British and European historians cannot thus have been very different. Some inspiration, intellectual curiosity, or a different concept of the historians' social role must have been decisive, which does not (and for systematic reasons cannot) emerge from Evans's account. When the account of the nineteenth century implies that the different degrees of cosmopolitanism of British and Continental historiography have long-term origins, this is also based on an observation of the British, but not the Continental, side of the story.

These criticisms prove no more, of course, than that the inaugural lecture format does not always translate well into a written text. What serves as a pleasant spoken provocation blunted, most probably, by a reception and composed in a limited time leads to probing follow-up questions and demands for further research (as well as footnotes) when read at leisure and several times over. Thus, if the goal is to understand why British history departments have developed so differently from their 'European' counterparts, and how long they are likely to remain so, the topic Evans has identified remains in need of a more comprehensive study. But if the goal was to provide provocative food for thought to an audience that had missed the Cambridge lecture, then Evans's book must clearly be judged a success.

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Citizens and Aliens: Foreigners and the Law in Britain and the German States, 1789–1870 (1997); *Ehrbare Spekulanten: Stadtverfassung, Wirtschaft und Politik in der City of London* (1688–1900); and *Citizenship: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Concept* (2007).

CONFERENCE REPORTS

German Images of 'the West' in the 'Long Nineteenth Century', conference organized by the German Historical Institute London and the University of St Andrews, School of History, held at the GHIL, 2–4 July 2009.

'The West' has been a prominent concept of research in twentieth-century German history. However, little is known about its conceptual evolution and the historical multiplicity of images of 'the West'. What exactly was meant by 'the West' in different historical contexts? Which political, economic, and socio-cultural phenomena did the term evoke at different times? These questions and more formed the basis of a conference held at the German Historical Institute London with the aim of providing a conceptual analysis of 'the West' reaching back to its beginnings in the nineteenth century. Following the concept of *Begriffsgeschichte*, the conference set out to analyse the development and shifting semantics of the term from the early nineteenth century onwards. It sought to scrutinize the spatial dimensions reflected in German images of 'the West', as well as the ways in which they were used politically. It engaged with the transnational rationale behind constructions of 'the West' and tried to identify caesuras in its conceptual history. Four panels focused on the nineteenth century, while one panel examined receptions of nineteenth-century notions of 'the West' in West German discourse after 1945.

The first panel discussed the formation of German images of 'the West' in the early nineteenth century. Christopher Bauer (Bochum) took his cue from Hegel's contention that 'world history goes from East to West, for Europe is simply the end of world history, just as Asia is its beginning'. Hegel constructed a contrast between East and West that set a precedent for subsuming European history within a larger, single, self-contained historical evolution. What was to be realized in the movement from East to West was a process of universal human history. In particular, Bauer discussed the antagonistic structure of values central to 'Western modernity' such as liberty and equality, and Hegel's suggestion as to how to resolve these troubling 'value antagonisms' through mediation.

Johannes Rohbeck (Dresden) evoked the Hegelian and Rousseauian roots of Karl Marx's thought to shed light on the role of 'the West' in his philosophy of history. In particular, he stressed the importance of the Enlightenment's notion of 'the West' for Marxian thought. For Marx, the West was 'the motor of modernity', the space where the universalities of modernity were situated and thus where revolution was ripe to happen. This area of an expected revolution was broadly defined against Russia which was considered to be not far along enough on the process of world historical development to be counted in the space of imminent revolution.

Amidst the Pandora's Box unleashed by the French Revolution and Prussia's fluctuating territorial borders before and after the Revolution, Michael Rowe (London) explored contemporary debates over locating and defining what it meant to be Prussian during the reform era. Rowe stressed the fluidity of geographical and geopolitical concepts at a time when established ideas of a European North–South divide and new ideas of a European East–West divide were competing in contemporary discourse. In discussions on Prussian identity, however, 'the West' did not figure particularly prominently, he argued. Rather, the Prussian reformers thought in categories of 'old' versus 'new' Prussia and followed the conceptual framework of great power politics. It seems that a significant shift occurred in the 1830s, when the East–West dichotomy became prevalent following the November uprising in the former Polish territories, a theme which was later taken up by Benjamin Schröder (Berlin).

In the first keynote lecture, Alastair Bonnett (Newcastle) reflected on 'the West' as a 'crisis concept'. Drawing largely on British discourses of 'the West' from the early decades of the twentieth century, he discussed the Janus-faced nature of 'the West' which either figured in narratives of decline or offered ways of triumphantly transcending inner contradictions. In particular, he argued that the idea of 'the West' gathered momentum as a powerful rhetorical commonplace in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when it helped resolve some of the problematic and unsustainable characteristics of 'white supremacism', namely the 'failed attempts to marry social elitism with racial solidarity'. 'The West', so his argument went, proved to be a much more flexible idea than 'whiteness'.

The second panel scrutinized German images of 'the West' in political discourse between 1848 and 1918. Christian Jansen (Berlin)

focused on German liberals' perceptions of Britain after 1848–9. Their image of Britain was initially based on Romanticism and *Vormärz* ideas that the two nations were bound by cultural–literary ties and a racial affinity between Germans and Anglo-Saxons. This affinity was mainly pitted against the South and the Mediterranean. After 1848–9, when Britain became the main destination for liberal and revolutionary refugees from the German lands, the perception became more differentiated. In particular, the British public sphere served as a substitute for an oppositional German one. Most importantly, Britain was increasingly seen as a role model and ally, especially given Britain's and Germany's perceived complementary strategic concerns about Russia and France. It seems that images of 'the West' featured only marginally in liberal thought. For the most part, they were rather fuzzy and loosely influenced by Hegelian ideas. In the wake of 1848–9, of course, it seemed as if 'Eastern' absolutism was threatening to overrun 'the West'. This changed again with the Crimean War, Jansen argued, when 'Western powers' were thought to be fighting against 'the East'.

Thomas Rohkrämer (Lancaster) contested the view that Germanness in the late nineteenth century (especially from the 1860s to the 1880s) was primarily defined by a 'Western other', be it the 'abstract' French or the 'pragmatic' British. Rather, he claimed that conservative cultural critics at the time were far more concerned with the 'other' within Germany. Anti-Semitism in particular, he pointed out, was a much more widespread phenomenon than any anti-'Western' feeling. Cultural critics could not assert any German superiority over 'the West', as this would have suggested the achievement of an ideal state of affairs yet to be realized in Germany itself: through the unification of all 'true Germans' in a single communal faith. Thus the true targets of German cultural critics were socialism, ultramontane Catholicism, and, above all, the Jews.

In analysing German political discourse during the First World War, Marcus Llanque (Augsburg) identified the year 1917 as a significant caesura. The war had intensified classical stereotypes and turned Germans against 'Russian barbarism', 'French decadence', and 'British imperialism'. However, 1917 took the Tsarist enemy out of the equation to be replaced by the democratic United States of America. The 'sinngebende Kriegsgegner' could now be crystallized as 'the West'. During the war, 'Western democracy' became a rhetor-

ical commonplace on all sides of the conflict. While France, Britain, and the USA wholeheartedly embraced the concept, Germany conceived of itself as the West's 'other'. This, of course, confused those German intellectuals who could still remember the critiques of mass democracy articulated in 'Western' countries before the war. Perhaps most importantly, however, all those who wanted to democratize Germany were now facing the dilemma of not appearing anti-German when arguing in favour of 'democracy'.

More often than not, notions of 'the West' were intertwined with perceptions of the United States. The third panel highlighted this relationship in both structural and ideological terms. Unfortunately, Jürgen Zimmerer had to cancel his paper on 'Karl May and the "Wild West" as the Land of Opportunities'. Susanne Hilger (Düsseldorf), however, presented concrete examples of the experiences of large German enterprises coming to terms with the rise of the USA as the world's leading industrial power in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. America and its business practices proved to be a blueprint, a market, and a competitor, leading to an intricate process of transfer and adaptation in industrial production within the context of an ever growing Atlantic space of social interaction. Interestingly, however, 'the West' was largely absent in the realm of perceptions.

The fourth panel analysed 'images of "the West" in the context of German federalism'. Following on from the preceding paper, Siegfried Weichlein (Fribourg) discussed perceptions of the 1787 American Constitution by German liberals. Weichlein was particularly interested in the relevance that German liberals saw in the American Constitution for their own debates over an envisioned German *Bundesstaat*. It seemed an ideal reference point for republicans, since its federal structures reassured both those concerned with freedom and those concerned with the unity of the nation. While 1848 began with the hope of realizing a federated republic and constituted the high point of the federalist reference to the USA, the final assertion of the constitutional-monarchical principle in the Paulskirche meant the collapse of the republican *Bundesstaat* utopia. In its place, democratic leftists increasingly embraced the model of the central state and used the example of the American Constitution to advocate the principles of the *Rechtsstaat* and *Grundrechtstheorie* instead. As prominently as the USA featured as a point of reference in political discourse and as a concrete model around 1848, it was not

yet seen as part of a larger—politically deployable—spatial entity called 'the West'.

Ewald Frie (Tübingen) set out to locate 'the West' on the mental map of nineteenth-century Prussia and argued that the rhetorical deployment of the term 'the West' was consciously avoided in Prussian political discourse. Since 'the West' was understood as encapsulating the universal values of the Enlightenment, as a number of quotations from Otto von Bismarck and Theodore Fontane showed, the awareness that the still fragile Prussian state belonged structurally to both 'West' and 'East' led to a relative silence on the issue. After all, the project of creating a unified Prussia was still ongoing at the time. Only the foundation of the Reich allowed for a framework, a new 'middle', in which Prussians East or West of the Elbe could take a clear stand: distancing themselves from 'the West' and subsuming themselves into a German identity.

Christian Müller (Münster) examined images of 'Western' constitutional developments which German contemporaries perceived and used in daily politics. Specifically, he focused on German perceptions and adaptations of English, French, and American constitutional and political developments from 1848 to 1890—namely, the French constitution from Bonapartism to the Republic, the English constitution and the reception of Mill and Bagehot, discussions of proportional representation, and fears of an 'Americanization' of politics. As Müller pointed out, 'the West' played no distinct part in these debates. Instead, it was the individual nation-states and their respective political cultures that mattered to contemporaries.

The potentially ambiguous position of Germany between 'West' and 'East' was explored by Benjamin Schröder (Berlin) in his study of Rhenish and Badenese liberals during the *Vormärz*. Prussian-Rhenish liberals especially were able to see the internal differentiation in political and economic development by contrasting the Rhine Province with the East Elbian heartland, while more powerfully realizing that Prussia and Germany as a whole were behind their 'Western' neighbours. Indeed, it was only the extremely negative picture of the 'despotic East' that allowed these liberals to locate themselves and Germany in 'the West'. Furthermore, it eclipsed notions of a North–South divide which had been dominant before. The imperatives of the varied strands of nationalist thought meant that while 'Western' neighbours could function as examples of progress along similar 'Western'

lines, liberals desired a specifically German path towards their constitutional goals, which rendered the notion of the 'middle' attractive.

Delivering the second keynote lecture, Anselm Doering-Manteuffel (Tübingen) explored the historical processes that influenced the changing relationship between Germany and 'the West' in the twentieth century. The 'crisis of liberalism' in the wake of the First World War led to an irreconcilable contrast and conflict between the two during the era of National Socialism. However, many of those intellectuals and artists who emigrated during the 1930s experienced 'the West' firsthand and subsequently became prominent advocates of 'Westernization' after the war, thus laying the groundwork for a fundamental redefinition of Germany's relationship with 'the West'.

Following on from Doering-Manteuffel's keynote lecture, the last panel investigated 'German images of "the West" after 1945 and their origins'. Dominik Geppert (Berlin/Bonn) opened the panel with an analysis of 'homeless left-wing' intellectuals who, in the years preceding the foundation of the Federal Republic, advocated post-war Germany functioning as a bridge between 'West' and 'East'. Voicing their views in publications such as *Der Ruf, Frankfurter Hefte*, and *Ost und West*, they hoped to claim a space in which the excesses of both capitalist democracy as embodied by the USA and totalitarian communism as practised in the USSR could be overcome. Their alternative was a Germany, and for many a united Europe, defined against both 'West' and 'East' and rooted in 'socialist democracy', 'socialist humanism', or a 'socialism of Christian responsibility' that would renew Germany's traditional role as a *geistiger Vermittler*.

Riccardo Bavaj (St Andrews) examined one of the major representatives of a particularly powerful image of 'the West' in the Federal Republic: the rémigré political scientist Ernst Fraenkel. While Fraenkel's experience of American political culture and his engagement with the constitutional history of the USA influenced his image of 'the West', it was only in the early 1960s that he became obsessed with the term 'Western democracies'. Bavaj argued that Fraenkel's frequent use of that term was part of his art of persuasion geared towards a fundamental transformation of West Germany's political culture. The interesting conflation of a spatial concept and a keyword of political thought allowed him to anchor the Federal Republic firmly in the realm of pluralist democracies: a supposedly homogenous political space called 'the West'.

Although the German conservatives' political decision to integrate into 'the West' after 1945 was a determined one, appropriation of the ideological model of 'the West' was far less so. It posed a considerable challenge to conservative politicians and intellectuals, since at its core it demanded a positive stance towards liberal democracy. Martina Steber (London) analysed the manifold conservative adaptations in the 1960s and 1970s which witnessed an intensified debate about what it meant for the Federal Republic to be part of 'the West'. Although essentially contemporary models of liberal democracy were appropriated, the references were drawn from nineteenth-century political theory, more precisely, from the works of Alexis de Tocqueville. From the 1950s to the 1970s she identified four discursive arenas, each specifically bound to a certain interpretation and time and shaped by a specific group of intellectuals and politicians. Generally, the emphasis shifted from appreciation of the 'prophet of the age of the masses' to acknowledgement of de Tocqueville's warning against the dangers of an untamed democratization process. As a matter of fact, the reception of de Tocqueville mirrors the appropriation of democracy by West German conservatism under the flexible roof provided by the concept of 'the West'.

The concluding discussion raised a number of questions. First it was asked whether images of 'the West' could be examined without reference to other spatial constructions, particularly 'the East'. Apparently 'the West' was often pitted against an Eastern 'other' which, from the late eighteenth century on, was associated with the autocracy and 'barbarism' of Tsarist Russia. Moreover, 'the West' seems to have been referred to when the conceptual framework of the nation-state was deemed insufficient to articulate universal values and Enlightenment traditions. Furthermore, the question of periodization was discussed in greater detail. While a number of papers suggested that 'the West' first surfaced as a recognizable image in the 1830s, it underwent significant conceptual transformations from the 1860s until well into the twentieth century. Thus rather than hanging on to Eric Hobsbawm's concept of the 'long nineteenth century', the idea of a second *Sattelzeit* was posited, between the 1890s and 1930s, during which 'the West' developed as a key reference point in politics, economics, and culture. As a basis for further investigation, the organizers advanced the concluding hypothesis of a convergence of *Struktur-, Handlungs-* and *Wahrnehmungsraum* to explain the emer-

gence of 'the West' as a powerful rhetorical commonplace from the late nineteenth century on. Before this convergence, which clearly crystallized during and after the First World War, 'the West' often proved elusive. Nonetheless, the term did appear at decisive historical junctures and periods of crisis such as 1830, 1848–9, and the Crimean War, working as a relational concept that carried notions of progress and modernity (*Zukunftsargument*). In methodological terms, it was argued that the intricate relationship between mental maps, political concepts, and spaces of social interaction would be an exciting field of future research.

ANDREW DODD (University of St Andrews)

'Gentle Bobby' and 'Rigid Pickelhaube'? Communicating Order, Policing Society: A Comparison of Policing in Britain and Germany in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Twentieth Colloquium for Police History, organized by the German Historical Institute London and University College London and held at the GHIL, 9–11 July 2009.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the history of the police emerged as new approach in historical studies, demystifying the institution and its nimbus. Since then, the examination of police and policing in society has proved to be a productive field of historical research. The Twentieth Colloquium for Police History furthered this trend by comparing the relationship between communicating social order and policing society in Britain and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After a note of welcome by Andreas Gestrich, Director of the GHIL, and an introduction by Philipp Müller (UCL), two keynote lectures opened the colloquium. In his keynote lecture entitled 'Trends and Developments of Policing in Britain', Clive Emsley (Open University, Milton Keynes) scrutinized the cliché that the British and Welsh police are 'the best in the world'. He questioned their allegedly 'non-military' and 'non-political' character by examining patterns of British policing on the beat, institutional structures, and the challenges posed by technology and the recording of information. Emsley pointed to the rather slow pace of technological advancement and the lack of research on police discretion in Britain. He argued that technology had reduced discipline among the police during the inter-war period; several decades later, taped interviews demonstrated the police's use of violence to obtain confessions. Broadcasting these interviews at times complicated the picture even further. Closed circuit television (CCTV) is another problem for the modern British police. According to Emsley, CCTV, more part of the European policing style, produces a huge amount of information while the means for sorting it efficiently are still absent.

Alf Lüdtke (University of Erfurt) introduced his keynote lecture, 'The *Longue Durée* of Policing in Modern German History', by opposing Raymond Fosdick's observations on the 'paternal regulatory practices' of the 'English democratic police' and 'the freedom of public control'. Commenting on the *long durée* of paternal regulation in Germany, for example, Lüdtke emphasized that research on the his-

tory of the police has shifted from looking at domination as a labelling process (stereotypes) to seeing policing as a social practice. This has made the 'dominated' visible as 'active co-participants in situations of policing'.

Herbert Reinke (Technical University of Berlin) examined a specific aspect of the relationship between the public and the police in his paper on 'Police Violence and Traffic: Regulating Traffic in Germany in the 1920s'. Reinke argued that for the German police, regulating traffic was hardly an issue during the Kaiserreich and the 1920s. This changed, however, at the end of the 1920s, as indicated by the issuing of regulations, the installing of traffic simulations, and the publication of instructions for pedestrians. Not until the 1930s did the German police authorities seek to achieve an understanding of the operation of traffic. In his comment, Michael Haunschild (University of Hanover) supported Reinke's investigations and pointed to the general neglect of the topic because of historians' apparent penchant for theories of social control. Haunschild suggested considering traffic control as an 'emotional battleground'; scrutinizing fears and their role for traffic could further insights into traffic as a social convention. Anja Johansen (University of Dundee) explored the intricate relationship between police and public by examining citizens' complaints about police malpractice in London and Berlin between 1890 and 1914. By comparing the different policies pursued by the London Metropolitan Police and the Berlin *Schutzmannschaft*, Johansen revealed that the police's rhetoric of defence shaped the public understanding of order and expectations of policing, accounting for the different perceptions of the Gentle Bobby and the rigid Berlin *Schutzmann*.

Jakob Zollmann (Berlin) introduced a second comparative field addressed by this colloquium, namely, the policing of colonies. In his paper 'Policing German South West Africa from 1894 to 1915', Zollmann emphasized the illusions of Imperial rule in the German colonies. The vastness of the land to be policed, the small number of staff, and problems of translation rendered total police control infeasible. A further impediment to the establishment of the colonial state was the ongoing conflict between the Imperial mounted police force, natives, and settlers in the police zone of German South West Africa. Police control in the German colonies was strictly confined to small 'islands' surrounded by vast areas which were in the hands of the local native population. Georgina Sinclair (Open University, Milton

Keynes) approached colonial policing from a different perspective. She looked at the significance of the two-way traffic between metropolitan and colonial police forces and the persistence of this tradition since the nineteenth century, connecting the model of the Metropolitan Police (urban, civil, and unarmed) with that the Irish Constabulary (colonial, semi-military, and heavily armed). Sinclair followed the institutional development of this relationship in the twentieth century, demonstrating the different stages of the internationalization of UK police practice since 1945. In her comment, Radhika Singha (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) argued that when comparing colonial policing, settler and non-settler societies must be differentiated as they impacted differently on the execution of power by the authorities. In addition, Singha pointed to the significance of the circulation of infrastructural power, expertise, and personnel in the colonies.

In the following Open Panel, a traditional part of the Police Colloquium, early-career researchers were invited to present their projects. Nadine Rossol (University of Limerick) presented her postdoctoral research project 'Policing as Pedagogy: The State, the Police, and Civic Culture in Germany, 1920s–50s'. Rossol suggested that all German political systems at this time required the police to have an an 'educative function'. In Düsseldorf as well as in Leipzig, politicians and officials at state, regional, and local levels created a specific role for the police in their respective political systems; this dynamic process was influenced equally by the reactions of the police to these attempts and their own institutional memory. Ciprian Cirniala (University of Potsdam) addressed the question of legitimacy in socialist Romania between 1960 and 1989. He argued that the official, benevolent rhetoric was accompanied by random militia practices, including physical violence, but also included individual negotiation and patronage. Paul Maddrell (University of Aberystwyth) examined the understanding of opposition by the East German Ministry of State Security (Stasi) in the 1950s. In his view, Stasi officers seemed to be trapped inside a conspiratorial universe by their ideology. However, he contended that the Stasi's concept of opposition was both a result of the creation of ideology and a reflection of reality.

In the next panel, entitled 'Representation and Media', Jens Jäger (University of Cologne) presented his research on 'Attempts to Visualize Clues in Germany in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth

Centuries'. Jäger's thesis was that the police media campaign established trust because it helped to familiarize its audience with the work of the police and raised public awareness of police issues. The police's objective of appearing in the most favourable light in public was achieved by a strong focus on criminals and their prosecution in the media. Nik Wachsmann (Birkbeck College, London) set off the discussion by asking what differences there were between rural and urban areas, suggesting that the various audiences should be differentiated. Wachsmann also raised the question of to what extent ordinary criminals caused insecurity and fear rather than prompting an awareness of police measures among the people.

The last panel, 'Recording Individuality', addressed the subject of technology and its significance for policing. In her paper, Jane Caplan (St Antony's College, Oxford) separated registration, recording, and documentation (*Erfassung*) from police surveillance (*Beobachtung*) in Nazi Germany. Caplan's analysis revealed Nazi Germany's strong faith in records and official forgeries (for example, fake death certificates produced for murdered concentration camp prisoners), emphasizing the proximity of recording to fiction, and its potential to disguise disorder and a lack of safety. Chris Williams (Open University Milton Keynes) spoke on the introduction of the UK's Police National Computer Project from 1958 to 1977, which meant that for the first time, a national institution was able to police in real time. Computerization was supposed to achieve both an efficient management of police and the betterment of society. Williams's analysis showed how everyday police work benefited from the new technology, but he also addressed the limits of the computerization of the 'real' and its complexities. In her comment Cornelia Bohn (University of Lucerne) supported the speaker's pioneering research on the administrative tools of control and discussed the operational capacities of computation, the problems addressed by technology, and the new challenges and problems they pose.

A lively and concise discussion concluded the conference. The debate chaired by Philipp Müller focused on the questions and challenges facing research on the history of the police, and the contrasts between policing in Britain and Germany. Richard Bessel (University of York) stressed the significance of discontinuity when considering Germany's history of policing and called for a comparative analysis of both institutions and practices. He underlined the problematic

nature of the assertion of differences between democracy and communism, and asked what democracy would be without policing. Paul Lawrence (Open University, Milton Keynes) pointed out several aspects worth investigating, such as the physicality of the police, their presence, and buildings. Alf Lüdtke stressed the question of our own practice when it comes to the making of history. He called for greater reflection on our traces and stressed the need to render our historical material more transparent. Other ideas discussed by the participants included the division between rural and urban, corresponding shifts in insecurity, policing narratives, emotions on the beat, consent and the international dimension, and the spread of private security organizations.

CIPRIAN CIRNIALA (University of Potsdam)

Communities in Conflict: Civil Wars and their Legacies, international and interdisciplinary conference organized by the University of Swansea in collaboration with the German Historical Institute London and held at Swansea University, 4–5 Sept. 2009. Supported by the GHIL and the Swansea School of Arts and Humanities.

The aim of this conference was to discuss and analyse civil wars as defining moments in the development of political communities, and to assess the legacies of civil conflicts for modern states. The papers engaged with key issues raised by intra-state conflicts such as the legitimacy of political authority, religious and ethnic conflicts, nation-building, and the substance and making of national identity. Speakers from the UK, the USA, and the Continent discussed these problems from a wide variety of disciplines, including history, classics, politics and international relations, American Studies, literature, and media and journalism. The papers offered a selection of representative case studies from antiquity to the present.

The keynote speech, entitled 'Intrastate Violence and Institutional Change in Latin America: Civil Wars as Critical Junctures', was given by Caroline Hartzell (Gettysburg College, Pa.). Her paper approached the subject of Latin American civil wars during the post-Second World War period from a comparative perspective. The main categories of her analysis were the level of economic development, the duration and intensity of civil wars, and the means of their resolution. Hartzell argued that unequal economic development and the resulting class conflicts were key factors in the outbreak of civil wars. Institutional change was one of the main outcomes of almost every Latin American civil war. Following on from this Hartzell inquired into factors influencing institutional change in favour of an inclusive or exclusive system. With regard to her categories, she concluded that neither the duration nor the intensity of civil wars played an important part in creating institutional change. According to Hartzell, only the means by which civil wars were settled were significant in this respect. She suggested that inclusiveness was more likely in the case of a negotiated settlement or a victory on the part of the subordinate social actors.

The first panel was entitled 'Monopolizing Violence: Negotiated Power and Civil Conflicts in Pre-Modern Europe'. It started with Fritz-Gregor Hermann's (Swansea) paper, 'Theory and Perception of

Civil War in Classical Greece', in which the speaker pointed out that while the term 'civil war' was not used in Classical Greece, 'stasis' was a relevant key concept. Herrmann pointed out that many wars between Greek states or cities were accompanied by inner-state conflicts comparable to civil wars. Regarding the theory and perceptions of these intra-state conflicts, Herrmann focused on Platonic ideas of statehood. According to Plato civil wars can be linked to individual ambition and the quest for honour. It is the task of the state to avoid inner-community conflicts in order to provide harmony for the collective.

The next paper was given by Penny Roberts (Warwick) speaking on 'Contested Authority: Peace and Violence during the French Religious Wars'. In her presentation Roberts emphasized that the French religious wars were embedded in a broader context of general debates about the nature of the king's authority, different models of the state, and national identity. She stressed that their long duration could be explained in terms of a struggle for power between various interest groups within the Catholic party, such as the church, the king, and the ministers. According to Roberts, these conflicts meant that none of the various parties had the authority to define a clear strategy for the Catholics, and achieving a diplomatic settlement was therefore extremely complicated.

John Spurr (Swansea) spoke on 'Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion: Forgetting the English Civil Wars'. He stressed the exceptionally high number of casualties in the English Civil Wars. The commemoration of these civil wars therefore had to be managed by King Charles II in a way that would stabilize his rule. In addition to advising the public not to look back, Charles took measures to create a collective sense of guilt, so that no single party could be blamed for the cruelties of the wars. He instituted two public holidays whose major themes were to generalize guilt by interpreting tragic experiences as God's punishment for mankind.

Regina Pörtner's (Swansea) paper entitled 'Observations on Civil War and Civil Society in the Age of Enlightenment' explored the relationship between Enlightened legal and political thought and political practice regarding civil wars in the eighteenth century. Pörtner demonstrated the ambivalence of contemporary uses of Enlightened thought on civil society, balance of power, and third-party intervention in civil conflicts: for example, the notion of a common European

cultural and political heritage provided ideological support to contemporary peace-keeping initiatives. On the other hand, the same idea served as an argument in support of European colonial expansion, and in allegedly defensive military action in the French Revolutionary Wars.

The second panel, 'Defining Communities: Civil Wars and National Identity from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century', began with Andreas Gestrich's (GHIL) paper dealing with 'Civil Wars and State-Formation in Nineteenth-Century Europe'. He highlighted that every nineteenth-century civil war was connected with the impact of the French Revolution, and therefore with the questions of liberal constitutionalism and social conflicts. To prove this theory, Gestrich compared three different case studies: the Swiss *Sonderbund* War, the Spanish Carlist Wars, and the the Prussian army's crushing of the last revolutionaries from 1848–9 in Baden.

In his paper Jon Roper (Swansea) concentrated on the commemoration of the American Civil War in the South and argued that American society is still influenced by the Civil War. In Roper's opinion this is because the American South designed its own picture of the military defeat and therefore isolated itself from the rest of America. This would explain why the former Confederate states were, to a large extent, excluded from political participation in Washington.

Sebastian Balfour (London School of Economics) focused on 'Nation and Identity in Contemporary Spain'. He argued that after the end of Franco's dictatorship, a special narrative concerning the change to democracy was established in Spanish society. In this narrative, terms such as 'consensus', 'compromise', and 'rationality' played a key part. According to Balfour, this narrative was used by the conservative elites to avoid dealing with the past.

The panel's next speaker was Robert Bideleux (Swansea), who examined rival conceptions and explanations of the post-Communist Balkan conflicts. In his presentation Bideleux argued that neither psychological nor structural theories were sufficient explanations for the outbreak of ethnic conflicts. He preferred the model of a basic clash between ethnic uniformity and liberal cosmopolitanism which existed in every modern society. Following this argument, Bideleux stated that violent conflicts and even genocide are possible in any democratic country reaching a critical point.

'Nationalism and Civil War in Finland and Ireland' was the topic of William Kissane's (London School of Economics) paper. According to Kissane, Ireland and Finland shared many similarities regarding their processes of nation-building. Neither country could develop a common national identity because each had been under the rule of foreign powers for a very long time. Kissane stressed that the political powers in both countries were unable to establish unity because of arguments about the further character of the nation-states. In Kissane's view, this lack of unity was the reason for the outbreak of civil wars in both countries shortly after independence.

The third panel, 'War on Civilians: The Social Costs of Violence', started with Helen Brocklehurst's (Swansea) presentation on 'Child Soldiers and Civil War'. Brocklehurst criticized the Western treatment of African child soldiers. She pointed out that many difficulties were the result of using normative Western models of childhood which were inappropriate in the case of these children. For example, she argued that former child soldiers often received the wrong treatment from Western organizations because of inappropriate categorizations.

Linda Mitchell (Cardiff) spoke on 'The Role of the Media in Civil Wars and Peace-Building with Special Reference to Africa'. She concentrated on the case of Sierra Leone, which was an example of the 'new war' during the early 1990s. In Sierra Leone, Mitchell stated, a strong media network had been established by the outbreak of the civil war. After that, most journalists left the country and the few that were left did not receive enough financial aid. Therefore corruption spread among them and quality decreased. Consequently, trust in the media declined and they were unable to play an important part in the peace-building process.

The fourth panel focused on the subject of 'Civil War and the International Community: Intervention and Settlement'. The first speaker was Marie-Janine Calic (Ludwig Maximilians University Munich), who looked at questions concerning international efforts in the peace-building process in the Balkans. She called for a unique, long-term strategy in international efforts instead of the present search for short-term solutions. Calic stressed that many of the current peace-building approaches were inefficient because of the lack of a fixed division of labour and powers between the international actors in the Balkans.

The next speaker was Fikret Adanir (Sabanci University Istanbul), who gave a paper on Turkey's Kurdish question. He rejected theories which reduced the reasons for the violent conflicts in Kurdistan to the region's economic backwardness. Instead Adanir favoured the struggle for a Turkish national identity as an explanation for the conflicts between the state and the country's minorities. According to Adanir, this struggle produced a Turkish nationalism which tends to be aggressive towards ethnic minorities.

The last panel was on 'Representing and Commemorating Civil Wars'. David Anderson (Swansea) spoke on 'Lost Cause Found: Memory and Commemoration in the Post-Civil War South'. He stated that after the Civil War, a special kind of commemoration of the pre-war South was created. This myth drew a very positive picture of a society consisting of gentlemen, decent ladies, and happy slaves singing in the fields. Anderson mentioned that many institutions, such as the United Confederate Veterans, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Southern Historical Society had contributed to this process.

Zira Box Varela (Universidad Complutense Madrid) investigated 'The Commemoration of the Spanish Civil War during Early Francoism'. She argued that the Franco regime had to create different myths in order to include the various pressure groups playing important parts in the dictator's political system. Varela concluded that two basic streams of commemoration existed during the first years of the dictatorship. The first, favoured by national Catholic circles, painted the Civil War as a crusade against Communism. The other stream, which was propagated by the fascist movement, saw the Civil War as the nation's death and resurrection.

Nicola Cooper (Swansea) spoke on the commemoration of the French colonial past, and especially the Franco-Algerian War. Cooper stressed that French society is still influenced by (post-) colonial conflicts. As an example, she mentioned the struggle of particular groups, such as the Harkis, for recognition by the French state. She argued that in general, two opponents can be identified in the post-colonial discourse. On the one hand there are groups who accuse the French state of a criminal past; on the other, there is a large group of people who stress the positive aspects of French colonialism.

In his comments Michael Sheehan summarized the papers and discussions. He particularly emphasized the significance of the set-

tlements of civil wars for the further development of the states and suggested that special attention should be paid to contemporary discussions about civil wars after their settlement.

The final discussion revealed that civil wars were defining moments in past and present communities. In particular, civil wars had a demonstrable impact on the formation of national identities. The contributions to this conference highlighted the significance of acts of commemoration for the process of constructing or reconstructing civil society in the aftermath of intra-state conflicts. It was emphasized that a further conceptualization of the term 'civil war' was needed, and that alternative classifications such as 'rebellions', 'revolutions', and 'wars of independence' had to be accounted for.

MATTHIAS KUHNERT (Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich)

New Approaches to Political History: Writing British and German Contemporary History, summer school organized by the German Historical Institute London and held at the GHIL, 7–12 Sept. 2009, with financial support from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

'For some time, historians in Britain and Germany have been thinking (often independently of each other) about how a "new" political history can be written. . . . So far there has been little exchange between British and German historians.' This statement formed part of the invitation to the GHIL's summer school, whose conveners, Martina Steber and Kerstin Brückweh (both London), wanted to set this exchange in motion and to concentrate the dialogue on German and British history since 1945.

Twenty-two German, British, and American doctoral and post-doctoral researchers reflected theoretically and methodologically on the topic while discussing their projects with the following experts: Callum Brown (Dundee), Frank Trentmann (London), Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (Florence and Bielefeld), Willibald Steinmetz (Bielefeld), Steven Fielding (Nottingham), Eckart Conze (Marburg), and Patricia Clavin (Oxford). The four sessions concentrated on the following themes: the significance of religion and emotion; the relationship between politics and society; state and parties; and connections between politics and globalization.

Two main ideas guided the papers and discussions: first, the boundaries of the political and political history; and secondly, consideration of the perspectives from which contemporary political history will be written in future. Each session started with a comment by one of the experts, who outlined the topic under discussion and pointed out the possible directions which research could take. The papers given by participants were commented on by another participant, and then discussed. Papers, commentaries, and discussion all dealt with the topic at a high level.

Opening proceedings, Andreas Gestrich, Director of the GHIL, welcomed a large number of guests to a podium discussion. Under the chairmanship of Stefan Berger (Manchester), Gareth Stedman Jones (Cambridge) and Willibald Steinmetz introduced the traditions of political history since 1945 in Britain and Germany respectively, presenting developments and historiographical trends. The first session, 'Changing Focuses of Attention: Religion and Emotion', dealt

with the relationship between religion and politics in a secularized society. In his controversial introductory comments, Callum Brown referred to secularization processes which, anchored in the cultural sphere, had occurred since the 1960s, and suggested that they were responsible for the loss of significance of religious arguments in the political discourse. Sebastian Tripp (Bochum), by contrast, assessed the political commitment among West German church groups to opposing the apartheid regime in the 1970s as a dialogue with the social function of religion at the time, and as a form of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) concerning the role of the Protestant churches in the Third Reich. Luke Fenwick (Oxford) emphasized the creative role of the churches in the Soviet occupation zone during the immediate post-war period, and explained the growing influence of socialism as arising out of the confrontation between the Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party. Liza Filby (Warwick) also questioned Brown's paradigm of secularization. The Church of England, she argued, which took an increasingly political role during the 1980s and criticized Margaret Thatcher's social and economic agenda throughout, had to face the fact that the Conservative Party found renewed strength by appealing to Christian doctrines. The discussion referred to the different national concepts of statehood in relation to (institutionalized) religion.

The second part of this session was entitled 'Feelings and Politics in "Emotional Times"'. The introductory remarks by Birgit Aschmann (Kiel) were read out in the author's absence and emphasized the increasing value of genuinely interdisciplinary research on emotions for more than just contemporary historiography. Sabine Manke (Marburg) analysed letters from members of the public that reached Willy Brandt on the occasion of the parliamentary vote of no confidence in April 1972. Their sheer mass, she suggested, gave them the 'character of a plebiscite'. Letters to politicians, Manke argued, cast light on the complex relationship between rational and emotional aspects of politics. In her paper Judith Gurr (Freiburg) examined personal relationships between individual politicians and their impact on political acts, taking as examples the relationship between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan on the one hand, and Tony Blair and Gordon Brown on the other. Emily Robinson (London) took as her subject the collective identities and subjective experiences of party memberships, looking in particular at the debates around the

collapse of the British Communist Party and the breaking away of the Social Democratic Party from the Labour Party. The controversial panel discussion refused to see contemporary history as an especially 'emotional' time and suggested that all periods have to develop strategies in order to allow the transformation of emotion into political acts or relationships of loyalty, for example, to be demonstrated on the basis of the sources.

The second session was entitled 'Linked Spheres: Politics and Society'. The first part of this session dealt with categorizations of societies and their political significance. In their introductions, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Frank Trentmann commented on the interaction between political sphere and society. They referred, for example, to the impact of 'political visions' on political decision-making and pointed to the significance of non-institutionalized political actors and acts.

Martina Steber introduced the debate within the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Socialist Union on co-determination in the 1960s and 1970s. She showed that in the course of this debate, the West German conservatives discussed different models of society and various forms of democratic constitution, and the place of politics in them. Christoph Neumaier (Mainz) was also interested in looking more closely at social categories and changes in values as the objects of politics. On the basis of social science statistics which, since the 1960s, have been used to demonstrate the 'death of the family', Neumaier enquired into the influence of family values on party politics and vice versa. A similarly structured research project on Britain was presented by April Gallwey (Warwick), who is investigating the 'discovery' of one-parent families by empirical social research. In her work, social science statistics are complemented by oral history interviews, which cast light on the experiences of single mothers in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s. The panel discussion concentrated on the methodological treatment of contemporary sociological models, some of which are simply adopted as categories of historical analysis without further reflection.

Frank Trentmann and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt opened the second part of this session, entitled 'Political Behaviour in the Consumer Society', by discussing the supposedly 'depoliticized' consumer society. Alexander Clarkson's (London) study, based on interviews, investigated the influence of urban subcultures on the political cul-

ture of West Germany during the Cold War, and its relationship to consumerism and property. Anne-Katrin Ebert (Vienna) also placed consumer behaviour at the centre of political discussion, and elucidated the concepts of sustainability and orientation towards the future in ways of living. The discussion asked when consumption becomes political, and among other things endorsed the acceptance of intellectual traditions and approaches drawn from the history of ideas.

The relationship between the state and political parties was the subject of the third session, entitled 'New Rules of the Political Game: State and Parties in Transition', which started by examining changes within party democracies. While Steven Fielding identified the history and function of the political parties as an important field of research in Britain, Willibald Steinmetz suggested that German researchers are less interested in party structures than in factors such as the behaviour of voters and leadership strategies. The influence of NGOs on political decision-making processes was a dominant theme in the papers given. David Richardson (Birmingham) focused on economic interest groups in Britain after 1945 and the contribution they made to the discussion of European integration. Shelley Rose (Binghampton, NY) cast light on the ambivalent relationship between members of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and pacifist interest groups after the 'Kampf dem Atomtod' campaign of 1958. The idea of peace was also negotiated through transnational political contacts, and distanced itself from dominant opinion within the party. Peter Itzen (Freiburg) used the British debate around the reform of the divorce law in the 1960s to show how representatives of the Church and politicians reflected social changes in the demarcation between institutionalized religion and the state. The topics addressed in the discussion included the nexus between high or low politics and top-down relationships, and called for a historicization of these models and self-ascriptions.

The next group of papers was given under the heading 'The State in International Context'. Steven Fielding established that few British historians would include Europe, the European Community, or the European Union in political history narratives. Willibald Steinmetz, observing that the papers presented here were about organizations rather than the state, pointed out that in Germany in particular, there is a tendency to relativize the state in historiography. Thomas Zim-

mer (Freiburg) spoke on the founding of the World Health Organization (WHO) in the context of British experiences during the Second World War. Health policy discussions, especially concerning the National Health Service, influenced international developments around the establishment of the WHO. Jacob Krumrey (Florence) looked at forms of political representation. Understanding politics as the locus of symbolic action makes it possible to examine perceptions and expectation on the one hand, and statements and representations on the other. Krumrey investigated these in the context of the early diplomacy of the European Community. Christoph Schneider (Freiburg) tested methodological approaches to the 1970s as the crisis years of European integration. These, he argued, are to be found in the cultural history of politics, that is, in the interplay between national and supranational actors, and in the integration of transnational interest groups into historical analysis. The panel discussion emphasized the significance of the state for contemporary political history. A call was made for a dynamic understanding of statehood in order to permit a definition of the degree to which nation-states in Europe have been subjected to change.

The fourth session, finally, looked at 'Politics in a Globalized World: Security and Transnationalization'. The first part brought together contributions on issues of force, threat, and security. Eckart Conze claimed that what shaped the period after 1945 was the 'search for security'. Patricia Clavin pointed out that this must be understood not only as protection against the force of weapons, but also as a need for economic security. Matthew Grant (Sheffield) presented the volunteer Civil Defence Corps, founded in Britain in 1949. Its notion of the nation standing together against the nuclear threat influenced, among other things, the political debate on questions of security. Daniel Gerster (Florence) looked at the ambivalent attitude of West German Catholics to war and violence in the 1960s and 1970s, focusing on religious semantics in this context. Taking the East Pakistan conflict as an example, Florian Hannig (Freiburg) drew attention to the growing significance of small pressure groups which influenced international conflicts from a humanitarian point of view and thus changed institutionalized international politics.

The second part of this session brought together papers on transnational political contexts. Patricia Clavin asked whether 'global moments' exist, and established that transnational perspectives pro-

duce new chronologies. She suggested withdrawing from the European perspective and integrating smaller states more strongly into historiography. Thereupon Eckart Conze proposed reflecting on 'transnational moments', investigating the state and statehood more closely, and in this context defining the relationship between transnationalism and (de)nationalization. In addition, he suggested, political actors and their motives should be taken more seriously. Starting from the assumption that in the 1970s the Western European states pursued a largely uniform policy of regulating immigration, Marcel Berlinghoff (Heidelberg) investigated the patterns of national migration policy and transnational influence on them. Stephen J. Scala (Maryland, USA) analysed the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) foreign policy expertise. Influenced by work from the West, politicians denied the fundamental antagonism between capitalism and socialism, and came to see the GDR as a 'normal' foreign policy actor. This attitude finally manoeuvred them into a position of political isolation. Reinhild Kreis (Munich) looked at the significance of America Houses in West Germany. Established as diplomatic instruments of a 'soft power strategy', they allowed the presentation of, for example, forms of US self-representation in West Germany and the sometimes conflict-ridden German appropriation of American ideas and offers. The discussion turned to the significance of supranationality as a characteristic of contemporary history, called for stronger comparative views, and emphasized the role of experts.

The concluding discussion, moderated by Kerstin Brückweh and Martina Steber, presented four characteristic features of the new historiographical approaches to political history. First, the political has become recognizably more dynamic to the extent that the borders of clearly established conceptual fields and areas of research, such as statehood, the nation-state, and international relations, have been extended by the inclusion of other perspectives and new actors such as NGOs. Second, political history has become much more varied as a result of interrelations between various approaches to political history. Third, several perspectives can usefully be integrated in investigating a single topic. And fourth, the papers presented reflected a non-dogmatic approach to political history.

The comparison between Britain and Germany in particular showed the different significance of national histories (embodied in the terms 'empire' and 'Holocaust', for example) for their respective

historiographies which cannot be overlooked by a political history that takes transnational developments seriously. Rather, it is one of the tasks of contemporary history to define the reciprocal relationship between national and transnational factors. Presenting their research projects, making comments, and contributing to discussions, all participants displayed a willingness to come to terms with these demands and to apply the insights gained in their future work on political history.

HEIDI MEHRKENS (Technical University of Brunswick)

Nobility and Religious Opposition: Britain and the Habsburg Territories in Comparison, conference organized by the German Historical Institute London and the Historisches Seminar of the University of Freiburg and held at the GHIL on 18 Sept. 2009.

This gathering, jointly organized by Professor Ronald G. Asch (Freiburg) and Michael Schaich (GHIL), addressed the problem of religious opposition by the nobility, or certain sections of the nobility, in the Habsburg monarchy and the British Isles between *c.*1560 and *c.*1660. In both countries, parts of the nobility betrayed a religious allegiance which deviated from the dominant faith as imposed by the reigning dynasty, although the starting positions varied considerably. Whereas in Austria the majority of noblemen were Protestant before the turn of the seventeenth century and quite a number of noble families tried to defend and maintain their Protestant faith even after 1620 (at least in Lower Austria, where the legal situation was more favourable than in Österreich ob der Enns and Inner-Austria), Catholic peers in England comprised only a minority of the aristocracy. Nevertheless, this minority (before 1642 probably between 15 and 20 per cent of the peerage if the church Papists are included) managed against heavy odds to maintain their social status, not least at the local and regional level. What is more, some Catholics or crypto-Catholics gained influence at court, in particular during the 1630s but in some cases even under James I. Nevertheless both Protestant noblemen in Austria and Catholics in England were confronted by the problem of how to define their status and identity as nobles in a situation where access to offices was difficult or could only be gained at the price of hiding one's religious convictions. Moreover, choices constantly had to be made between allegiance to a faith which had been rejected by the ruler, and the need to preserve one's property and local influence.

Significantly, for a long time the fate of these noble minorities has been neglected and left to specialist historians. Only recently have the Catholic gentry and peerage in Britain and their Protestant counterparts in Austria come back into the mainstream of their respective national historiographies, thanks to the work of Michael Questier, Alexandra Walsham, Thomas Winkelbauer, and others. Against this background, as Asch explained in his introductory remarks, a Freiburg-based research project has started to explore the phenome-

non from a comparative perspective. In particular, it asks whether these noble families developed a distinct cultural identity which set them apart from the rest of the nobility, be it by adopting traditional positions and values, or by emphasizing their cultural patronage in an attempt to compensate for their lack of actual power at court. In addition, the extent to which the Catholic gentry and peerage in Britain and the Protestant nobles in the Habsburg monarchy made up their own religious belief systems is at the centre of the investigations. After all, clergymen in noble families who found themselves in a minority position were much more dependent on their aristocratic patrons than in countries where normal ecclesiastical structures existed. And, finally, the group of Freiburg historians aims to break up simple typologies with regard to confessional identities. Facile dichotomies which pit sincere believers against turn-coat careerists who change their faith for political and secular gain are often too crude to capture the complex historical realities.

To continue these discussions with British, Irish, and German historians and to widen the scope of the investigation was the aim of the conference held at the GHIL. The first part, chaired by John Morrill (Cambridge), was devoted to 'Confessional Allegiances in the British Isles', and three speakers approached the specificities of the English-speaking Catholic nobilities. Michael Questier (London) opened the debate by re-assessing the role of 'English Catholic Peers and their Clergy in late Jacobean and early Caroline England'. As a social group, Catholic nobles were less likely to be punished according to the penal statutes against Catholics. They were also not entirely excluded from positions of power in the early Stuart period as they should have been. They were thus well qualified to take a position between confessional allegiance and loyalty to the state. This, on the other hand, raises the question, as Questier stressed, of whether their Catholicism was just coincidental to their role as peers of the realm. Although an answer is difficult to find given the paucity of family papers and the lack of explicit political statements, there are ways to approach this problem. By looking at the proposals of peers and their chaplains about reform of their own church and by reconstructing ecclesiastical debates such as the discussions surrounding the appointment of Catholic bishops in England or the so-called Approbation controversy, valuable insights into the thinking of the Catholic nobility can be gleaned, which also shed new light on polit-

ical developments (personal rule of Charles I, Catholic royalism in the Civil Wars). The complex relationship between faith and the state was further explored by James Kelly (London) in his paper on church papists entitled 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Catholics, Conscience and Secular Influence in Late Sixteenth-Century England'. Taking the example of one individual, Sir Johne Petre, he showed that the traditional view of church papistry as a feeble form of attachment to the Catholic Church was misguided. Although at first glance Petre conformed in all important respects to the demands of the Elizabethan state, even serving on commissions which were meant to enforce the allegiance of Catholics to the powers that be, he was also associated with activities that smacked of recusancy. In the end, as Kelly concluded, Petre's outward conformity was a means of allowing him to advance the Catholic cause. Church papistry could take on far more political overtones than has often been conceded by historians.

In contrast, Irish Catholic nobles faced a rather different situation, as Jane Ohlmeyer (Dublin) demonstrated in her talk on 'Religious Allegiance among the Irish Peerage in the Seventeenth Century'. At the beginning of the seventeenth century they formed the vast majority of the (resident) Irish peerage. And although the religious composition had changed by the middle of the century, half of the peers still professed to be Catholic. In addition, the penal legislation was only erratically enforced, leaving Catholic peers to live a devout life and practise their religion openly. They also continued to exercise political power and were major landowners. Of the twenty top landowners in Ireland, nine were Catholics and many of the Protestant big landowners had converted to Catholicism in the early parts of the century. A further testimony to the open state of affairs in Ireland is the occurrence of intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants and its ready acceptance by contemporaries. Even devout Catholic families contemplated marriages with Protestants. In the last resort, it was more important to a peer to marry a woman of honour than one of the same faith. This testifies to the importance of honour as the main context within which the Irish peerage of both confessions operated. The startling contrasts between Ireland and England were also picked up in the discussion, which was opened by John Morrill's comments on all three papers. He stressed, in particular, the differences between the British and Irish penal laws and, in addition, drew

attention to the importance of the individual in deciding how to react to the faith versus state divide. Other issues debated were the different roles of church papists in Ireland and England, the importance of conversions, and comparisons with other European countries.

The comparative aspect was developed even further in the second session, chaired by Alexandra Walsham (Exeter), which took a closer look at 'The Protestant Nobility in the Habsburg Monarchy'. In the first paper Andreas Klein (Freiburg) introduced the audience to 'The Protestant Nobility of Austria and their Clergy 1570–1620'. Drawing upon a wide variety of case studies he showed how fluid the confessional borders still were around 1600. Local parsons often showed a blatant disregard for the norms of the Catholic church (celibacy, communion under both kinds) without, however, always incurring the wrath of the church superiors. Their aristocratic patrons were not too steadfast in their confessional allegiances either. When it came to the education of their offspring, they more often than not attached greater importance to the quality of the teacher or the university than to the correct theological viewpoint. The picture was further blurred by the fact that the Lutheran camp experienced an internal rift about dogmatic questions which helped confessional hardliners (Flacians) to gain influence and emphasize the importance of a clear-cut division from Catholicism. Thus both supporters of a strict separation of the confessions and those who showed greater ambiguity can be found in the Austrian lands before the Thirty Years War. The situation changed after 1620, at least in Lower Austria, as Arndt Schreiber (Freiburg) outlined in his paper, 'Religious Opposition and Political Loyalty: The Protestant Nobility in Lower Austria after the Battle of White Mountain'. The Protestant nobility was on the defensive in the aftermath of the battle that effectively ended the reign of the Winter King. Their legal position was precarious and their numbers declined in the decades that followed. To stem the tide, the noblemen pursued a cautious strategy of voicing their confessional opposition in moderate terms and limiting their actions to obstruction and subterfuge rather than showing open resistance. At the same time, they vociferously declared their loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy and abstained from any collaboration with invading Swedish forces during the war, instead supporting the defence of the country. In this way they could reconcile their religious antagonism with political loyalty to the dynasty.

The theme of blurred confessional boundaries resurfaced in the last paper of the day, given by Jörg Deventer (Leipzig). Speaking on 'Refashioning Confessional Identity: Conversions to Catholicism among the Bohemian and Silesian Nobilities', he looked at processes of negotiation and inter-confessional dialogue in the Bohemian crown lands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to overcome a traditional paradigm of confessionalization which applies a top-down approach to religious issues. In particular, he analysed the conversions in the Bohemian and Silesian nobilities that were a mass phenomenon during the period. In examining these shifting religious allegiances it would, however, be misleading, as Deventer stressed, to ask questions concerning religious sincerity and honesty, or to take the conversion narratives which often survive at face value, because they were informed by pre-existing discourses. As he illustrated with reference to a number of case studies, however, reconstructing the biographies of converts from other sources allows historians to discover factors that were conducive to conversions (for example, study trips to Italy and France) and to observe nobles in their attempts to refashion their and their families' histories *post festum*. The ensuing discussion, which centred mainly on conversions, was again started by comments from the chair. Walsham addressed, in particular, the problem of confessional boundaries which contemporaries had to navigate, the tension between resistance and loyalty which was played out in different ways in Britain and Austria, and the role of conversions as forms of cultural and political reorganization. She also highlighted aspects that were largely absent and should receive further attention, such as the occurrence of intermarriage, the issues of generational change, the emotional experience of conversions, and the significance of the shared values of a transnational noble culture.

These points led into the final discussion, chaired by Hamish Scott (Glasgow/St Andrews). Scott identified a number of common themes which had run through all the papers, namely, the importance of education, the defining role of periods of violence, and the surprising finding that, despite differences, there were stronger parallels between the situation in Ireland and Austria than between Ireland and England. He also posed the question of whether historians of the nobility should get away from explanations based on family strategies, a problem that triggered a lively disucussion among

the participants. Thus the conference went at least some way towards shedding new light on the history of early modern nobilities and on processes of confessionalization which have long occupied historians of early modern Europe.

MICHAEL SCHAICH (GHIL)

Medieval History Seminar, organized by the German Historical Institute London and the German Historical Institute Washington and held at the GHIL, 8–11 Oct. 2009.

The sixth meeting of the Medieval History Seminar, the second such tri-national seminar, was opened by Frank Rexroth comparing 'Three Doctoral Students'—John of Salisbury, Hermann Heimpel, and Kerstin Seidel—and how their work was influenced by the discipline of their time. Papers were given by seven German, one Swiss, four American, one Latvian, and three British Ph.D. candidates and recent Ph.D.s, and then discussed with mentors Michael Borgolte, Patrick J. Geary, Dame Janet Nelson, Frank Rexroth, Barbara H. Rosenwein, and Miri Rubin. The seminar organizers considered proposals from all areas of medieval studies, and the projects selected covered a broad range of thematic perspectives, methodological approaches, and periods of medieval history. Papers were distributed ahead of time, so the eight panels could be spent on discussion. Each panel featured two papers introduced by fellow students acting as commentators rather than the authors themselves. The intriguing papers opened a window on to current research in medieval history in Germany, Britain, and North America, and the resulting discussion was constructive and lively.

The opening panel started with a presentation of Immo Wartnjes's dissertation 'The Munich Computus: Text and Translation. Irish Alternatives to Bede's Computistics'. Warntjes stressed the importance of the study of computistical texts not only for historians of science, but also, and especially, for linguists and cultural historians. Using hitherto unknown source material, he argued that Bede's scientific work can only be understood as the culmination of an Irish tradition, thereby deconstructing the myth of Bede as the only outstanding scientist of his age. Daniel Föller's dissertation 'Verflochtenes Denken: Kognitive Strategien in der Runenschriftlichkeit der Wikingerzeit' focused on how information was conveyed on rune stones in order to analyse the intellectual basis of Scandinavians' acculturation to other European cultures from the ninth to the eleventh century. He stressed that an entire network of semantic significations indicated by different media (content, form of the text, presentation, ornamentation, pictures, topography) and methods of presentation (making it mysterious, strengthening the main idea, or

completing it) all had to be taken into consideration together by those reading them to be understood correctly. He maintained that the complexity and dynamic of such mental processes allows us to draw conclusions about the cognitive flexibility expressed within them. This flexibility has to be regarded as the basis of the Vikings' skill at acculturation.

The second panel began with a discussion of Gustavs Strenga's dissertation, which focused on the role of elites in memoria of two non-elite guilds—beer carters and carters—in late medieval Riga. He looked at the impact elites had on the remembrance of the two guilds and put forward the hypothesis that the elite members joined these guilds because they perceived them as guilds of the 'poor', which could be relied on to take good care of commemorating the elite. After that, S. Adam Hindin presented his work on the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague (founded in 1391), which has been considered unique in Central European Gothic architecture. He suggested that its atypical appearance is best understood as wilful participation in an ongoing architectural and social dialogue about ethnic identity and minority status between the Czech and German populations of Prague rather than as a conscious effort at church reform.

In the third panel, Jan-Hendryk de Boer presented his work on doctrinal condemnation at universities in the High Middle Ages. He analysed this not as an 'occupational accident' but as a constructive part of scholastic scholarship that established the banned texts as speech acts on the edge of the system of scholasticism. By banning books, the scholastic system of thought defined the difference between an author and his work, between right and wrong, and between belief and knowledge. Joshua Burson's dissertation dealt with one of the more 'disreputable' topics in the history of Constance—drunken brawls in brothels—and used them as a key to understanding the relationship between the city and the surrounding countryside.

In the fourth panel, Jamie McCandless discussed how different groups competed for control of ecclesiastical property in late medieval Germany, and justified their competition. Dominican reformers often relied on secular authorities (the territorial lord or the free city) to complete reform projects, yet those authorities often used reforms as a means of enhancing their own authority against each other. Reforms, therefore, brought many houses under the con-

trol of the same secular authorities. McCandless suggested that the mendicant orders supported lay and prayer confraternities to offset the loss of power and prestige to the secular authorities, on whom they relied for the success of their reforms.

In the fifth panel, Tanja Skambraks presented her studies of the *Kinderbischofsfest* as exemplified by the English cathedral town of Exeter. Using liturgical, pragmatic, and regulatory sources from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, she examined the ritual and secular character of the festival, and attempts by the church authorities to regulate violations of the rules. She showed that the *Kinderbischofsfest* was important in reducing tensions caused by age and hierarchy, and that it could be interpreted as a substitute ritual sustained by performative magic. Finally, it had an important function in building community. Katharina Mersch unlocked the value of late medieval pictorial sources for the religious and social history of women's convents. Against the grain of common assumptions in the field of gender studies and art history, she showed that Eucharistic piety in women's convents was specific neither to gender nor certain orders. Instead, it resulted from exchange processes between the women's convents and diverse outside influences.

In the sixth panel, Jan Hildebrandt examined the reception of ancient myths in the early Middle Ages. He stressed the diversity of approaches towards these pagan narratives, ranging from scholarly explanation and euhemeristic interpretation to allegorical explication and a method of observation that demonized them. Moreover, he pointed out that the assessment of ancient myths in medieval commentaries ranged from strong scepticism to integration into the Christian worldview. Astrid Lembke studied the ways in which the protagonist of the Jewish narrative *Ma'aseh Yerushalmi* needs to prove himself in the world with its divine and paternal system of rules. The narrative, with its hero conceived of as a literary character and in contrast to the similarly saintly protagonist of another text in which he appears, opens up a discourse on the possibility of masterfully dealing with the law.

In the seventh panel, Alison Creber's study of imperial models for the seals of Beatrice of Tuscany and Matilda of Tuscany was discussed. The seal depictions of Beatrice of Tuscany (*c.*1020–76) and Matilda of Tuscany (1046–1115) have been interpreted in terms of typically 'feminine' priorities. This gendered approach obscures the

role of seals as *Herrschaftszeichen*, or signs of rule. Against this, Creber argued that Beatrice and Matilda were princely women whose seals expressed their political ambitions. Their seals therefore made use of different imperial models to claim and secure political legitimacy against the Salian emperors. After that, the panel discussed Sandra Müller-Wiesner's dissertation interpreting the common side of Konrad Wirz's Genevan altar constructed in 1444. It depicts the 'Wonderful Catch' and the 'Liberation of St Peter' as an expression of the struggle for city rule fought out between the Bishop of Geneva and the Savoyan (anti-)Pope Felix V.

In the eighth panel, Steven Robbie presented his work on the evolution of the duchies of Burgundy and Alemannia during the period 887 to 940. Early tenth-century aristocrats were routinely characterized as players in a contest to claim the dukedom of Alemannia, even though no such office existed. His paper questioned this conventional framing device and suggested that senses of Alemannian identity did not play a significant part in the actual politics of the region, which were driven by magnates competing for resources and access to royal patronage. Leanne Good investigated the terms used in the Freising charters to describe land during the time of the Carolingian takeover in Bavaria. Although the property descriptions in the charters became increasingly more detailed, they did not represent a developed system of ecclesiastical land administration. Rather, she found a variety of competing 'vocabularies' of land possession, foremost among which was the Episcopal thrust to establish canonical jurisdiction over proprietary churches. Levi Roach discussed hitherto unexplored possibilities for using theories developed by German historians of the Ottonian Empire to understand the performative aspects of tenth-century English diplomas. He argued that there were notable similarities between the rituals of charter-granting in both kingdoms, but that we must also be careful not to lose sight of the important differences.

The final discussion focused on differences and similarities between medieval study and scholarship in Germany, Britain, and the United States, and the institutional possibilities and limits of the different university systems were compared.

The seventh Medieval History Seminar for German, British, and American doctoral students and recent Ph.D. recipients will take place at the German Historical Institute Washington, DC in October

2011. If you are interested in participating, please look at the GHIW website for further information and requirements.

CAROLA DIETZE (GHIW) and JOCHEN SCHENK (GHIL)

Eighth Workshop on Early Modern Central European History, co-organized by the German Historical Institute London, the German History Society, and the University of Hull and held at the GHIL on 30 Oct. 2009.

The 2009 workshop on Early Modern Central European History was held in its customary location at the premises of the German Historical Institute London and drew the usual crowd of regulars and newcomers from Britain, Ireland, and Germany. A few of the themes around which the gathering was organized also linked up nicely with sessions of earlier years, for example, the emphasis on new approaches to the political and the relationship between war and society. In one respect, however, the eighth workshop was different from earlier workshops. It did not focus exclusively on Central European or German history but had a wider geographical remit. Several papers branched out into French and Dutch history, a number of others compared German and British history and there was even a sprinkling of papal and Spanish history. As a result the 2009 meeting, organized by Peter H. Wilson (Hull) and Michael Schaich (GHIL), was more European in outlook than most workshops in the past.

This greater geographical scope was already clearly in evidence in the first session, chaired by Michael Schaich, which, after a welcome by Andreas Gestrich, director of the GHIL, dealt with the role of information in early modern history. Arndt Brendecke (Berne) and Matthias Pohlig (Humboldt University Berlin) gave insights into research for their *Habilitation* projects which approached the common theme from two very different angles. Brendecke adopted a normative approach. In his paper 'Integra Informatio' he analysed the formulae that routinely crop up in communications between rulers on the one hand and subjects and officials on the other to legitimize political decisions. Drawing on examples from the history of the papacy and the Spanish monarchy he demonstrated how the claim 'to be well informed' had been used by monarchs since the later Middle Ages to give their statements particular force and to adapt their techniques of rule to a changing environment. Phrases such as 'ex certa scientia' and 'ad aures nostras pervenit nuper' conveyed the impression that decisions were not taken arbitrarily, stressed the pastoral role of the sovereign, and were conducive to the exigencies of rule over long distances as was the case in the Spanish Empire. They gave officials in

Latin America leeway to disregard orders because of the king's limited knowledge without questioning his authority. Leaving the realm of norms and prescriptions, Pohlig concentrated on the basic problems of gaining and controlling information at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In his talk, 'Marlborough's Secret: Gathering Information in the War of the Spanish Succession', he drew on the experiences of the commander-in-chief of the allied forces in Flanders to sketch an infra-structural history of information which sees information flows and the channels of communication as more important than the message itself. From this point of view such mundane activities as the packet boat services that criss-crossed the Channel, the role of information brokers in Marlborough's entourage, and espionage assume a significance that has hitherto often been overlooked by historians. This is all the more surprising because the vast amount of source material in archives and libraries testifies to the information addiction of politicians around 1700.

In the second session, chaired by David Lederer (NUI Maynooth), the focus shifted to rural areas and their particular problems. Abaigéal Warfield (NUI Maynooth), who is preparing a Ph.D. thesis on witchcraft pamphlet literature in early modern Germany, spoke on 'Weather-Magic in the Media'. Her starting-point was the late sixteenth-century theological discussion of whether witches could really change the weather. Although most contributors to this learned debate were rather sceptical, it had little or no effect on the popular imagination, as a close investigation of the reporting on weather magic in contemporary *Hexenzeitungen* demonstrates. In particular, during the 1580s, one of the most severe periods of the Little Ice Age, broadsheets and pamphlets frequently reported cases of weather magic. This is ample proof of deep-seated fears about the bad influence of witches among large sections of the population during the period and also raises a number of questions about the concept of a general crisis of the seventeenth century, a debate which has only recently been revived by American historians. The second paper, given by Markus Küpker (Cambridge), concentrated on 'Migration and Population Development in Pre-Industrial Westphalia'. Aiming to reconstruct patterns of demographic change, Küpker chose the region of Tecklenburg-Lingen in north-west Germany as a case study because its heterogeneous territorial, confessional, and economic structures lend themselves to a detailed analysis of the impact of

migration on the development of the local population. A closer look at the movement of people in this area shows significantly diverging trends in demographic growth between different groups of the population. Whereas villages consisting of weavers engaged in the linen industry or seasonal day-labourers who went to the nearby Netherlands to earn their living experienced rapid growth, communities that relied on itinerant traders who travelled much of northern Europe stagnated. Different kinds of migration entailed positive or negative consequences for the reproduction of the population.

The third session, chaired by Beat Kümin (Warwick), brought together two papers on a topic which has received renewed interest by historians in recent years, namely, corruption. In her talk on 'Political Culture(s) in Early Modern Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg', Mary Lindemann (Miami) presented her on-going comparative research project on three big commercial centres of early modern Europe. The project is structured around the notion of *Grundwerte* or fundamental values as used by Hans-Christoph Rublack and Paul Münch and examines the 'glue' that holds communities together. One aspect of this larger research design is the question of what constituted corruption in the early modern period. Early modern concepts of corruption, as Lindemann explained, differed greatly from those developed since the nineteenth century which are invariably based on a distinction between public and private. In contrast, contemporaries expected the public and the private to overlap. Early modern corruption therefore needs to be understood and investigated as linked to particular personalities and situations. Problems of definition were also at the centre of Niels Grüne's (Bielefeld) talk on 'Political Corruption in the Early Modern Period: Practices and Discourses in England and Germany Compared (1550–1750/1800)', which introduced the audience to a research project located at the university of Bielefeld. This is part of a wider collaborative research project on the debates and struggles about political power (Sonderforschungsbereich 584: Das Politische als Kommunikationsraum in der Geschichte) and again studies corruption in a comparative perspective, juxtaposing developments in Britain and selected German territories and cities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. To exemplify his approach Grüne presented an analysis of ordinances against corruption from the duchy of Württemberg. His findings showed that these became much more articulate and the vocabulary

more straightforward in describing improper behaviour by officials and that, in general, a clarification of norms with regard to corruption took place over the course of the sixteenth century. In the early seventeenth century, then, as a high-profile case involving rivalry between two competing court factions in 1609–10 showed, the language of corruption could be used to discredit individual officials without calling the general system of patronage into question.

The new appreciation of the wider cultural dimension of political history which informed these two papers was also prominent in the fourth session, chaired by Clarissa Campbell-Orr (Anglia Ruskin University), which discussed new methodologies in the study of diplomacy. Both speakers presented doctoral theses originating in a research project on novel approaches to the history of international relations between the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the French Revolution conducted at the University of Berne. Corina Bastian in her paper 'Female Diplomacy?' explored the role of women in diplomatic relations between early modern European courts, taking Catharina Gräfin Wackerbarth (1670–1719) as an example. As the wife of the electorate of Saxony's envoy at the imperial court in Vienna, she formed a working team with her husband, conducting his correspondence while he was absent and even representing Saxon political interests in conversations with members of Viennese court society. Her repeated claims to her own political insignificance can only be understood as disclaimers to make herself unassailable. In reality her informal (and formal) leverage in the negotiations between Dresden and Vienna is just one example of the influence women could exercise in the decades around 1700, a thesis that Bastian also examines with regard to French aristocratic women during the War of the Spanish Succession. In the second paper Tilman Haug looked at another aspect of the history of international relations which has only recently attracted the attention of historians. Speaking on a slightly earlier period he discussed the diplomatic networks of the French crown in the Holy Roman Empire between 1648 and 1678 under the title 'Amis et serviteurs du roi en Allemagne'. In an attempt to replace a state-centred view of diplomatic relations with one that allocates agency to individual actors, he explored the patronage networks that linked German clients to the French crown emphasizing, in particular, the notion of trust that was crucial for the success or failure of this informal means of exercising influence. In contrast,

stereotypical views of the 'other' played no particular role, contrary to what has frequently been assumed.

The final session of the day, chaired by Peter H. Wilson, took a closer look at the relationship between war and society. To start with, Mark Wishon (London) gave an overview of his Ph.D. project on 'British–German Interactions in the Eighteenth-Century British Army'. At the heart of his investigation are the German auxiliary troops and, increasingly from the middle of the century, the German soldiers serving in the British armed forces. Interestingly, the bad reputation of the German allied contingents in the British press, which was closely linked to negative views of the personal union with Hanover, stood in marked contrast to the positive assessment of the German soldiers by their comrades. The lower ranks of the military and the 'little man (and woman)' in general also formed the main theme of Leighton James's (Swansea) post-doctoral research on the experience of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In 'Tales of War: German Central Europe, 1792–1815', he drew on autobiographical writings (letters, diaries, and memoirs) to illustrate the world view of the common soldier and populace during this crucial period in European warfare. In particular, he described the stereotypes and loyalties prevalent in his sources which often run contrary to expectations. Relations between French and Germans could be very cordial whereas the German population saw the Poles and Russians as backward and barbaric. At the same time, local patriotism (*Landespatriotismus*) and tensions between different German-speaking groups remained strong despite a surge in national cultural identity. In this respect as in others, James's research suggests greater continuities during the period in question than have previously been allowed by a historiography that stresses the modernizing tendencies of the wars around 1800.

All the papers were followed by lively discussions which revolved around some of the main themes that had emerged during the day: the role of concepts and ideas, the transmission of information through networks and otherwise, and the significance of identities and shared values.

MICHAEL SCHAICH (GHIL)

European Societies of Work in Transformation: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives on Great Britain, Sweden, and West Germany during the 1970s, international conference organized by the German Historical Institute London and University College London held at the GHIL, 26–8 Nov. 2009.

During the 1970s, many European countries experienced profound structural transformations that affected their character as industrial societies. In particular, the fundamental changes that reshaped the world of work galvanized public attention as much as they puzzled policy-makers and social scientists. Moreover, countless people who were directly affected by an international downturn made their grievances known in public. Focusing on Great Britain, Sweden, and West Germany, this conference compared how these countries responded to pervasive economic change in a broad range of economic, social, and cultural settings.

The first panel approached the topic from the perspective of economic history. In his paper on the Federal Republic of Germany, Werner Abelshauser argued that rather than view the 1970s exclusively through the lens of growth problems, this decade should be understood as initiating a return to older patterns of production characterized by flexible specialization rather than the forms of Fordism that had become dominant during the 1950s and 1960s. In terms of the labour market, Abelshauser emphasized that this change brought with it a growing demand for highly skilled labour while unskilled workers lost employment en masse. With respect to Britain, Martin Daunton pointed out that trends in the financial and fiscal sectors had aggravated comparatively low industrial productivity, thus enhancing strains in the labour market that had started to build up since the 1950s. In contrast to the previous speakers who emphasized the economically transformative character of the 1970s, Norbert Götz highlighted Swedish efforts to preserve and stabilize a welfare model with strong re-distributive elements despite flagging growth. Unemployment thus remained low in Sweden in the 1970s irrespective of the onset of stagflation from 1973.

The second panel focused on transformations of the labour markets. Antoine Capet explored how low productivity and tensions in British workplaces resulted from the behaviour of trade unions as well as a deep-seated class antagonism. Bernhard Rieger, by contrast,

highlighted how Volkswagen succeeded in navigating a severe crisis that required large-scale lay-offs because the management adopted a consensual approach to industrial relations. Gustav Sjöblom focused on the rise of novel computer-based information management routines in Swedish work environments that were to undermine established patterns of industrial relations from the late 1970s on.

The third panel addressed the issue of whether the economic transformations of the 1970s affected concepts of the future during the 1970s. In a comparative paper Rüdiger Graf showed that the so-called oil crisis of 1973 did little to transform British and German attitudes towards energy planning in expert and political circles. By directing her gaze towards the burgeoning field of future studies, Elke Seefried highlighted a change in mentality. The prognoses of futurologists met with increasing scepticism as the decade progressed. Jens Ljunggren concluded this panel with a talk about the importance of opening political analysis for the history of emotions.

The fourth panel, which dealt with educational systems, was opened by Wilfried Rudloff speaking on changes in the English secondary school sector. He showed how educational reforms of the 1960s were halted in 1973–4 as the idea of promoting social equality and mobility through school policies was eroded. Michaela Brockmann and Linda Clarke compared British and German forms of vocational training in a paper that revealed a sharp national contrast. Although aware of the measures put in place in Germany for training skilled workers, British politicians and entrepreneurs failed to implement comparable educational schemes in the United Kingdom. Focusing on Sweden, Jenny Anderson addressed the rise of neo-liberal thought in the wake of the 1970s.

The development of consumerism provided the theme of the fifth panel. Helena Mattson's presentation showed how the Swedish government took up critiques of affluence from the 1960s in a campaign that created a large number of highly successful, consciously unbranded products directed at 'basic consumers'. Alex Mold directed her attention to the increase in heroin use in Britain throughout the 1970s. She detailed the evolution of a black market for this hard drug as the result of an increase in addicts, whose numbers, however, only exploded dramatically in the 1980s. Fernando Esposito compared the West German and British punk movements and showed how their initial rejection of mainstream commercialism quickly

came to be incorporated into the very heart of commercial pop culture.

The last panel dealt with the transformation of the family in the 1970s. Hilary Land's presentation showed how a series of legal reforms furthered female emancipation in the world of work and thus eventually undermined the model of the male breadwinner in Britain. Hans Bertram drew attention to the co-existence of clear breaks and continuities in West German family life in the 1970s as a result of changes in the labour market. While the decade witnessed a dramatic increase in female employment, this transformation did not lead to changes in the sexual division of labour in the domestic sphere, where women rather than men continued to perform the majority of chores.

The concluding discussion revolved around the question of to what extent the 1970s could be viewed as a time of crisis. That this approach can have limited purchase for all three countries had been amply demonstrated by the panels on consumption and on the family. After all, neither the continuing expansion of consumerism nor the growing female presence in the world of work can meaningfully be explored through the prism of 'crisis'. Moreover, the comparative approach revealed a broad spectrum of nationally specific perspectives among contemporaries. In Sweden, talk of crisis could remain marginal despite the country's mounting economic problems. And where crisis experiences were articulated openly, these could differ fundamentally. In Britain, many observers regarded problems of the 1970s, including strained industrial relations and low economic productivity, as a culmination of longer trends since the Second World War. Meanwhile, West German perceptions of the 1970s as a time of crisis were predicated on a sharp contrast with previous decades widely viewed as the 'miracle years' when the economy had boomed. Viewed from these angles, it became increasingly doubtful whether 'crisis' is a useful master category for historical analysis of the 1970s.

BERNHARD RIEGER (University College London)

NOTICEBOARD

Scholarships Awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate and postdoctoral students to enable them to carry out research in Britain, and to British postgraduates for research visits to Germany. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months, depending on the requirements of the research project. British applicants will normally be expected to have completed one year's postgraduate research, and be studying German history or Anglo-German relations. Scholarships are advertised each year in September on H-Soz-u-Kult and the GHIL's website. Applications may be sent in at any time, but allocations are made in April (deadline for applications 15 March) for the current year and October (deadline 30 September) for the following calendar year. Applications, which should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, together with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research, should be addressed to the Director, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ.

During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the Institute's Research Seminar, and British scholars do the same on their return from Germany. In the second allocation for 2009 and first allocation for 2010 the following scholarships were awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Matthias Bauer (Augsburg): Die transnationale Zusammenarbeit sozialistischer Parteien in der Zwischenkriegszeit: Eine Analyse der Kooperations- und Verflechtungsprozesse am Beispiel von SPD, SFIO und Labour Party

Piero del Borrello (Marburg): King-in-Parliament und 'Kaiser und Reich': Zur Eigenständigkeit des englischen Parlaments im letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts im Vergleich zum Immerwährenden Reichstag

Jürgen Dinkel (Giessen): Blockfreiheit und die Bewegung Blockfreier Staaten (1946–2009)
Elisabeth Engel (Cologne): Fighting the Color Line—Fighting Colonialism? AfroamerikanerInnen als AkteureInnen der (De)kolonisierung Afrikas zwischen den Weltkriegen
Monika Freier (Berlin): The Cultivation of Emotions: Hindi Advisory Literature in Late Colonial India
Christian Grieshaber (Trier): Frühe Abolitionisten? Die Rezeption der antiken Sklaverei zur Zeit des schottischen Aufklärung und deren Einfluss auf die britische Abolitionsbewegung (1750–1833)
Florian Hannig (Halle-Wittenberg): Der Einfluss des nigerianischen Bürgerkriegs auf das Feld der humanitären Unterstützung
Christoph Hilgert (Giessen): Jugend im Radio: Hörfunk und Jugendkulturen in West-Deutschland und Groβbritannien in den 1950er Jahren und frühen 1960er Jahren
Raphael Hörmann (Rostock): Representations of the Haitian Slave Revolution in British National Discourse (1781–1838)
Uffa Jensen (Göttingen): Die Verwissenschaftlichung des Selbst: Die transnationale Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Wissenskultur in Berlin, London und Kalkutta (1910–40)
Neula Kerr-Boyle (London, UCL): Social History of Eating Disorders Behind the Iron Curtain: Bodies, Food, and Dieting in the German Democratic Republic, 1949–80
Anna Littmann (Berlin): Repräsentationen und Metropole: Königliches Theater als Erfahrungshorizont der groβstädtischen Gesellschaft in Berlin und London
Paul Moore (London, Birkbeck): German Popular Opinion on the Nazi Concentration Camps (1848–1918)
Ulrich Niggeman (Marburg): Französische Revolutionsemigranten als europäische Akteure
Stephan Petzold (Aberystwyth): Power and Historical Truth: A Sociology of Knowledge of West German Historiography on the Origins of the First World War, 1960–80
Matthias Pohlig (Berlin): Marlboroughs Geheimnis: Informationsgewinnung, Diplomatie und Spionage im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg
Alice Riegler (London, UCL): West Germany and Italy in the 1970s: Mutual Perceptions during a Decade of Crisis

Patrick Schmidt (Giessen): Behinderung und Behinderte in medialen Diskursen der Frühen Neuzeit: Deutschland, Frankreich, Groβbritannien und Nordamerika im Vergleich
Elke Seefried (Augsburg): Prognostik und Politik: Zukunft als Kategorie politischen Handelns in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren
Susanne Trabert (Giessen): Das transnationale Medienereignis 'Ballonfieber' (1783–6): Differenzierung, Transfer und Verdichtung
Kristin Weber (Leipzig): Museale Kultur und Praxis im kolonialen und postkolonialen Tanzania
Dominik Wassenhoven (Bayreuth): Der Handlungsspielraum von Bischöfen: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung am Beispiel der ottonisch-salischen und angelsächsischen Herrscherwechsel
Andreas Weiβ (Berlin): Asiaten in Europa: Begegnungen zwischen Asiaten und Europäern 1850–1950

Postgraduate Students' Conference

The German Historical Institute London held its fourteenth postgraduate students' conference on 14–15 January 2010. Its intention was to give postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history an opportunity to present their work-in-progress, and to discuss it with other students working in the same or a similar field. The conference opened with warm words of welcome by the deputy director of the GHIL, Benedikt Stuchtey. Over the next one and a half days, seventeen speakers from Germany, Ireland, and the United Kingdom introduced their projects to an interested and engaged audience. Sessions were devoted to the nineteenth century, the First World War, the inter-war period, the Third Reich, and the post-1945 period, with no paper on either the early modern period or the Middle Ages. Participants gave a short summary of their work containing general ideas, leading questions, sources, and initial findings, and this was followed by discussion. As well as discussing their subjects and methodologies, the participants exchanged information about archival research in Germany. Many comments came from the floor, and the possibility of the German Historical Institute repeating the well-attended and highly successful palaeography course at the Warburg Institute, which had preceded

the conference, was discussed. Information about institutions that give grants for research in Germany was also exchanged. The German Historical Institute can offer support here by facilitating contact with German archives and providing letters of introduction which may be necessary for students to gain access to archives or specific source collections. In certain cases it may help students to make contact with particular German universities and professors. The German Historical Institute also provides scholarships for research in Germany (see above).

The GHIL is planning to hold the next postgraduate students' conference early in 2011. For further information, including how to apply, please contact the Secretary, Anita Bellamy, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, or by email (abellamy@ghil.ac.uk).

Speakers at the 2010 Postgraduate Students' Conference

Sarah Collins (Nottingham): Philanthropy, Entrepreneurship and Employment: Comparing Women's Campaigns for Professional Opportunities in London and Berlin, 1860–1900
Christopher Dillon (Birkbeck): 'Härte Gegen Sich Selbst': The Dachau SS and Masculinity
Sharon Harrison (Edinburgh): A Social History of Belgian Labour in Germany, 1940–5
Bradley Hart (Cambridge): British and German Eugenicists in Transnational Context, 1930–50
Jochen Hung (SAS, London): *Tempo*: A Tabloid Newspaper as a Representation of the Culture and Politics of the Weimar Republic
Neula Kerr-Boyle (UCL, London): The Slim Imperative: Healthy-Eating Campaigns and Representations of Fatness in the GDR, 1949–89
Michael Larsen (Limerick): Protecting the Endangered Youth: Pedagogy and Youth Policy in Constructing Civic Culture in the Saarland, 1945–59
Brian Long (Melbourne): What Has Been the Role of Cultural Exchange in the Post-World War II Rehabilitation of Germany?
Jamie Melrose (Bristol): How Did the *Revisionismusstreit* of 1898–1903 Form a Discursive Regime?

Mark James Miller (Cambridge): The Use of Propaganda and the Mass Media to Build Socialism and State Identity in the GDR in Response to *Neue Ostpolitik*
Martin Modlinger (Cambridge): Where Literature and History Meet: The Theresienstadt Ghetto Artists
Jeff Porter (Birkbeck): The Causes of the Slow Start to Internal Restitution in Western Germany 1948–51: Allied Sloth or German Resistance?
Felix Roesch (Newcastle): Hans Morgenthau—A Crosser Between Two Worlds: On The Development of Hans Morgenthau's *Weltanschauung*
Tobias Simpson (Cambridge): German Criminology Between National Socialism and Reunification: East and West German Criminology in Comparison, 1961–75
Peter Speiser (Westminster): The British Army of the Rhine and the Germans, 1948–56: From Enemies to Partners?
Helen Whatmore (UCL, London): National Memorials, Local Memories: Community Co-Existence with a Concentration Camp
Tara Windsor (Birmingham): Re-Presenting Germany after the First World War: German Writers and Cultural Diplomacy, 1919–32

Prize of the German Historical Institute London

The Prize of the German Historical Institute London is awarded annually for an outstanding Ph.D. thesis on German history (submitted to a British or Irish university), British history (submitted to a German university), Anglo-German relations, or an Anglo-German comparative topic. The Prize is €1,000. In 2009 the prize was awarded to Jana Tschurenev for her thesis 'Imperial Experiments in Education: Monitorial Schooling in India, 1785–1835', submitted to the Humboldt University, Berlin.

To be eligible a thesis must have been submitted to a British, Irish, or German university after 31 August 2010. To apply, send one copy of the thesis with

- a one-page abstract
- examiners' reports on the thesis
- a brief CV

- a declaration that the author will allow it to be considered for publication in the Institute's German-language series, and that the work will not be published before the judges have reached a final decision
- a supervisor's reference

to reach the Director of the German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, by 18 September 2010.

The Prize will be presented on the occasion of the Institute's Annual Lecture (date to be confirmed).

For further information visit: www.ghil.ac.uk
Email: ghil@ghil.ac.uk Tel: 020 7309 2050

Forthcoming Conferences

Transcending Boundaries: Biographical Research in Colonial and Postcolonial African History. Workshop to be held at the GHIL, 7–8 May 2010. Conveners: Silke Strickrodt (GHIL) and Achim von Oppen (University of Bayreuth).

In this workshop, we will examine the opportunities offered by biographical research to produce a new approach to Africa's colonial and postcolonial history. Careers and life stories of individuals and generations show especially clearly the disruptions and constraints that were caused by colonial and postcolonial rule and the boundaries imposed by it. At the same time, life stories show how these boundaries could become porous or fluid in everyday life, producing new mobilities and continuities that transcended them, and how new individual and collective identities were formed in this field. This applies to politico-spatial boundaries of all kinds, which particularly in Africa conflict with deeply rooted mobilities that have always transcended the boundaries of the continent in all directions. However, it also applies to borderlines between social and cultural spaces and, not least, to the delineations of historical periods, which in colonial and postcolonial contexts were often given a mythologizing absoluteness (pre-colonial/colonial/postcolonial, traditional/modern, and so on).

Commercial Agriculture in Africa as an Alternative to the Slave Trade. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 23–5 Sept. 2010. Conveners: Robin Law (Liverpool University/Stirling University), Suzanne Schwarz (Liverpool Hope University), and Silke Strickrodt (GHIL).
By the mid nineteenth century the view that 'legitimate' commerce, especially the export of agricultural produce, would help to eradicate the Atlantic slave trade and bring mutual benefits to Britain and Africa had become a central tenet of mainstream abolitionist thought. As A. G. Hopkins has suggested, the attempt to establish export agriculture in Africa was part of British efforts to reform the international economic order after 1815 and represented 'Britain's first development plan for Africa'. Recent scholarly literature has explored the impact of the development of legitimate forms of trade on African economy and society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Comparatively little attention has been given, however, to earlier attempts to develop commercial crop cultivation and alternative forms of trade with Africa. By focusing on the period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, this conference will explore the ways in which different interest groups and individuals attempted to exploit the natural resources of Africa through diverse agricultural and trading systems.

LIBRARY NEWS

Recent Acquisitions

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

Abulafia, David, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008)

Adam, Thomas, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s*, Philanthropic and Nonprofit Studies (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2009)

Adam, Thomas, *Stipendienstiftungen und der Zugang zu höherer Bildung in Deutschland von 1800 bis 1960*, Pallas Athene, 28 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008)

Adamski, Jens, *Ärzte des sozialen Lebens: Die Sozialforschungsstelle Dortmund 1946–1969*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Soziale Bewegungen. Schriftenreihe A: Darstellungen, 41 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2009)

Adorno, Gretel and Walter Benjamin, *Correspondence 1930–1940*, ed. Henri Lonitz and Christoph Gödde, trans. Wieland Hoban (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008)

Aly, Götz (ed.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945*, ii. *Deutsches Reich, 1938–August 1939*, ed. Susanne Heim (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009)

Amend, Anja, Anette Baumann, et al. (eds.), *Die Reichsstadt Frankfurt als Rechts- und Gerichtslandschaft im Römisch-Deutschen Reich*, Bibliothek Altes Reich, 3 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008)

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