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ARTICLES

CREATIVE MISUNDERSTANDINGS: CIRCULATING OBJECTS AND THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE WITHIN THE PERSONAL UNION OF HANOVER AND GREAT BRITAIN

DOMINIK COLLET

Early museums have recently experienced a radical reassessment. Once regarded as hermetic assemblages enjoyed by a limited circle of connoisseurs, they are now seen as crucial spaces of encounter. James Clifford and Peter Galison have identified them as 'contact zones' or 'trading zones', while their exhibits have been reconceptualized as 'boundary objects' that stimulate and organize exchange across disciplinary, religious, and national divides.¹ This reinterpretation has become so pervasive that Germany's largest museum project, the Humboldt Forum in Berlin, will be organized around a reinvented *Kunstkammer* that, it is hoped, will embody an alternative, more respectful form of encounter with the world.²

Collections and their objects should, therefore, offer a promising locale in which to study exchanges in a range of transnational frameworks. They might encourage a re-evaluation of the level of interaction, especially in settings where such exchanges have been disputed

¹ James Clifford, 'Museums as Contact Zones', in id., *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 188–219; Peter Galison, *Image and Logic: A Material Culture of Microphysics* (Chicago, 1997); Susan Starr and James R. Griesemer, 'Institutional Ecology, "Translations" and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39', *Social Studies of Science*, 13 (1989), 387–420.

² Friedrich von Bose, 'The Making of Berlin's Humboldt-Forum: Negotiating History and the Cultural Politics of Place', *Darkmatter*, 11 (2013), online at <<http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/category/journal/issues/11-after-lives/>>, accessed 1 Nov. 2013. For a less politicized British attempt to look at objects as agents of knowledge transfer, see Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London, 2010).

or seem to be missing. One such case is the Personal Union of Hanover and Great Britain. This political link connected the north German electorate with the United Kingdom and the wider British Empire from 1714 until the dissolution of the Union in 1837. It provided, amongst other things, a shortcut between the important collecting hubs of Göttingen and London. Research on Britain's 'Hanoverian dimension' and 'continental commitment' has revised much of the older interpretation of the Personal Union as an insubstantial facade or a mere dynastic tool, and placed it firmly within the European tradition of the 'composite state'.³ This reassessment is closely linked to burgeoning studies on intercultural exchange and *histoires croisées* in transnational settings.⁴ Nevertheless, the focus has remained on politics and the revision has been limited in scope—transfers from Hanover to Britain, for example, have remained elusive. A focus on objects and their exchange within the Personal Union and throughout the British Empire might well provide a different view of Anglo-Hanoverian contacts, illustrating vibrant practical forms of exchange and transfers of knowledge.

The new enthusiasm for collections and the associated 'object turn', however, often disregards the problems associated with such exchanges, especially in stratified early modern societies. Collecting is undoubtedly one of the most social of all scientific enterprises. It involves not just physical objects but a unique range of agents, merchants, informers, travellers, and visitors. This intriguing mix can certainly broaden our understanding of who actually brokered ex-

³ Brendan Simms and Torsten Rott (eds.), *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History 1714–1837* (Cambridge, 2007); Jeremy Black, *Continental Commitment: Britain, Hanover and Interventionism 1714–1793* (London, 2005); Stephen Conway, 'Continental Connections: Britain and Europe in the Eighteenth Century', *History*, 90 (2005), 353–74; Nicholas B. Harding, *Hanover and the British Empire 1700–1837* (London, 2007).

⁴ See Johannes Paulmann, 'Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer: Zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 267 (1998), 649–85; 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. For a recent application of these concepts to the Personal Union see Steffen Hölscher and Sune Schlitte (eds.), *Kommunikation im Zeitalter der Personalunion (1714–1837): Prozesse, Praktiken, Akteure* (Göttingen, 2014).

changes during the Personal Union. But meetings of this heterogeneous group held potential for conflict as well as contact. In addition, exchanges in a museum setting required not just a translation between different social spheres, but also fluid and repeated transfers between different media, objects and texts. This challenging process invited distortions and mistakes. As a result, we might need to acknowledge another ubiquitous form of exchange: creative misunderstanding and unintended consequences.

Because museums are by definition conservative institutions, the analysis has to start some time before the Personal Union. This allows us to illustrate two closely connected cases of cultural exchange in a museum environment: the experiences of the early Royal Society in the mid seventeenth century, and their repetition and emulation by Göttingen academics in the late eighteenth century. Both fit rather uneasily into the success story of a museological 'trading zone'. Instead, I hope to illustrate the laborious social work that characterized this process of exchange. The translation across geographical as well as substantial social barriers often fostered unexpected consequences, marking incidental and circuitous but no less potent forms of 'exchange'.

I. An Empire of Things

During much of the seventeenth century, traditional scholars and amateur collectors imagined themselves standing in opposite corners of an intellectual sparring ring. Collecting was characterized by a rigid anti-scholastic attitude, upheld by a social group outside the ranks of classical learning. They saw collecting as a space of gentlemanly friendship, consensus, and sociability in opposition to the notorious disputes that characterized university life. Scholars and academics, in turn, regarded the activities of the collectors as naive and superficial, willing to place form over substance, and visual appeal over learned thought. Such carefully guarded dichotomies, of course, belong to the genre of scholarly self-fashioning, and a closer look at the actual practices illustrates multiple forms of entanglement and interaction. As I will try to show, however, the 'translation' between two social spheres and two scientific codes came with costs attached. The imaginary character of such boundaries does not mean that they

remained inconsequential. Crossing them proved a risky gamble for many, and often had severe consequences if not supported by social skills—consequences that tend to be overlooked in an all too optimistic appreciation of the hybrid, the liminal, and the material.

The tension between scholars and collectors, books and objects, is especially prominent in the case of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge. When it was founded in 1660, its Fellows were decidedly partisan. Following Francis Bacon, they strongly favoured direct observation over textual knowledge. The establishment of a museum, therefore, figured high on their agenda. Such a tool suited their view of science as based on indisputable ‘facts’ rather than philosophical speculation. They hoped that the physical objects would help eliminate the divisive discussions that plagued the scientific debates of their day and English post-Civil War society in general.⁵

The Fellows had ambitious plans to use their planned research collection as a ‘contact tool’ to facilitate direct observations across the British Empire and beyond, an endeavour explicitly directed against the tradition of text-based practice. The collection’s curator, Robert Hooke, argued that books were

for the most part [so] superficial and the Descriptions so ambiguous, that they create a very imperfect Idea of the true Nature and Characteristick of the thing described . . . It were therefore much to be wisht for and indeavoured that there might be and kept in some repository as full and compleat a Collection of all varieties of Natural Bodies as could be obtain’d, where an Inquirer might be able to have recourse, where he might peruse, and turn over, and spell, and read the Book of Nature, and observe the Orthography, Etymologia, Syntaxis, and Prosodia of Natures Grammar.⁶

⁵ Michael Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy: Intellectual Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Britain* (Woodbridge, 1995), 135–50; Dominik Collet, *Die Welt in der Stube: Begegnungen mit Außereuropa in Kunstkammern der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2007), 269–314.

⁶ Richard Waller (ed.), *The Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke: Containing his Cutlerian Lectures and other Discourses, Read at the Meetings of the Illustrious Royal Society* . . . (London, 1705), 365.

Hooke's vision was to transfer the practices of reading books to 'reading nature'. His goal was to challenge the established texts of his day in the museum and replace them with knowledge based on direct observation of objects, a charge that returned in the Society's proud motto 'nullius in verba'.

Putting such an object turn into practice, however, proved rather more difficult. In 1660, when the Fellows set their minds on building a collection, England had been sidelined from the world of collecting on the Continent by the Civil War. Accordingly, their initial collection had to be acquired from a German entrepreneur, Robert Hubert, a gifted showman who had relocated to England as a result of the Thirty Years War and made a handsome profit from introducing this new form of entertainment to Londoners.⁷ In Germany, collections had been around for more than a century and had established their own traditions, a network of dedicated virtuosi, and a rigid canon of collectables. After its acquisition, Hubert's popular collection was found to contain many marvellous curiosities, but few well-documented specimens. Popular rarities such as the bones of 'Giants' and the ribs of a 'Triton or Mereman' accounted for many of its exhibits. They came with a multitude of unmarked 'Chests and Boxes furnished with many hundreds of Rarities . . . all different shapes, and operations, and of divers countries', an assemblage that immediately confronted the Society's membership with the difficulty of 'reading' objects stripped of all contextual information.⁸ As a result, the Fellows decided to acquire objects via their own channels, and switch to a mixture of text and object. For this they chose a well-established tool of control, the questionnaire.⁹ In an ambitious project, learned men of rank and repute from all over the known world were provided with sets of 'inquiries' that listed the desired objects and informa-

⁷ See Collet, *Welt in der Stube*, 278, for Hubert's shows in Germany.

⁸ Robert Hubert, *A Catalogue of Many Natural Rarities . . .* (London, 1664), 1, 26, 59.

⁹ On the use of the questionnaire as a tool of control and governance see Simona Boscani Leoni, 'Queries and Questionnaires: Collecting Local and Popular Knowledge in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe', in Kaspar von Greyerz, Silvia Flubacher, and Philipp Senn (eds.), *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Geschichte des Wissens im Dialog: Connecting Science and Knowledge* (Göttingen, 2013), 187–210; and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See', *History and Anthropology*, 9 (1996), 139–90.

tion. Responsibility for this enterprise fell to another native German, the Society's secretary, Henry Oldenburg. He excerpted long lists of questions and desired objects from travel narratives, translated them, had them printed as broadsheets or in the *Philosophical Transactions*, oversaw their distribution, and collected the returning answers. Almost a hundred of these lists have survived.¹⁰ Inquiries went to respected contacts in the Bermudas, the Bahamas, and Virginia, to the Governor of Bombay, the president of the English East India Company in Surat, the English Consul at Aleppo, and the English agent at Isfahan in Persia, but also to contacts outside the English dominions, to French, Portuguese, and Spanish America, to Japan, Lapland, Russia, and even Ethiopia. In just a few years Oldenburg created a large network of exchange that spread from London to the colonial world.

While this was certainly an impressive achievement, the actual return of objects and answers fell far short of initial expectations. Only a minute number of specimens ever reached the Society's museum in London. Moreover, they were poorly chosen, often fragmentary, and came with little or no contextual information. The collection's influence on the work of the Royal Society remained marginal. Most correspondents simply repeated the questions on the supposed 'otherness' of the extra-European world back at the Fellows in the affirmative. Several self-appointed 'eye-witnesses' confirmed popular stories about gruesome exotic poisons, the presence of unicorns, or humanoid giants. The transmission of specimens did little to mitigate these shortcomings. The objects conformed to a narrow standard of established collectables. Most correspondents simply sent what they knew to be popular in European museums: rhinoceros horns, birds of paradise, or objects that illustrated the alien nature of the indigenous population. In addition, the textual documentation accompanying the objects was virtually non-existent, as most donors were confident that the necessary information could easily be retrieved from printed books, whose erudition they judged to be far superior to their own.¹¹

¹⁰ Royal Society Archives, London: CP XIX 'Questions and Answers'; and Collet, *Welt in der Stube*, 281–98.

¹¹ Dominik Collet, 'Big Sciences, Open Networks, and Global Collecting in Early Museums', in David Livingstone and Peter Meusburger (eds.), *Geographies of Science* (Dordrecht, 2010), 121–38.

A reliance on objects failed to secure a non-partisan, unadulterated exchange of 'Baconian facts'. Indeed, many correspondents were acutely aware that the Royal Society project was never planned as a network of equal partners, but as an enterprise in which knowledge would flow in one direction only. They knew that even innocuous information on natural history could quickly turn into a tool of control and exploitation. The connection between empiricism and empire was rightly feared to be particularly close in the case of the Royal Society, with its many ties to the colonial administration.¹² As a result, many colonial correspondents chose to exploit the delicate and fragile links between object and context, and used them for their own ends. When Philippo Vernatti, an official of the Dutch East India Company, received the Fellows' questionnaire, he responded by sending established curiosities—'stones' from the heads of snakes supposedly useful against poison, a curious 'bird's nest' formed like male genitalia and used in powdered form as an aphrodisiac by 'lecherous Chinamen'—while remaining ominously silent on all questions regarding maps, trade routes, or marketable products. His strategy of sending suggestively contextualized objects as decoys to divert the Royal Society's attention proved successful. The Fellows marvelled at the curious pieces and published Vernatti's 'information' immediately in the *Philosophical Transactions*, while the conspicuous gaps in his selective communications were quickly forgotten.¹³

At the same time, attempts to perform experiments on these products of exchange failed. Vernatti had sent a fascinating report on the 'Makassar poison', a toxin that could reputedly only be treated by the victim consuming his own faeces.¹⁴ When the Fellows finally received a vial of this miraculous poison, they immediately tried it on several unsuspecting cats and dogs, but observed that none showed any symptoms of distress. The Fellows, however, found it impossible to trust their own, poorly documented sample, in the face of an ever

¹² Collet, 'Big Sciences', 129–34. On the larger debate on early natural history and empire see Sarah Irving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (London, 2008); and Arndt Brendecke, *Imperium und Empirie: Funktionen des Wissens in der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft* (Cologne, 2009).

¹³ Collet 'Big Sciences', 126–7. On similar tactics used by John Winthrop in Connecticut see Collet, *Welt in der Stube*, 287–95.

¹⁴ See Daniel Carey, 'The Political Economy of Poison: The Kingdom of Makassar and the Early Royal Society', *Renaissance Studies*, 17 (2003), 517–43.

growing number of mutually corroborative written reports. Rather than questioning the texts, they decided they had the 'wrong' object. The decontextualized specimen proved to be of little use in testing the validity of printed narratives that were uniformly confirmed by colonial observers and European authors alike, who, in many cases, had simply read the same volumes of travel literature.¹⁵

In the end, the Society that sported the motto 'nothing in words' had to settle for information compiled from books, an approach that culminated in John Ray's history of plants, a work of immense erudition comprising three folio-sized volumes of nothing but text—a complete but non-sensical translation of objects into printed words.¹⁶ In the early eighteenth century the grand design for a 'new science' based on the exchanges fostered by objects through a central collection was unceremoniously abandoned. Collecting natural history had proved to be 'big science'. It required a multitude of collaborators from all walks of life working together across large distances, an undertaking ill suited to a scientific system that was based on close personal contact, the reputation of trusted witnesses, and the social status that came with financial independence.¹⁷ Instead, the members refocused on the 'small sciences', such as mathematics and physics, that provided more manageable, repeatable, and decisive results in the confined and controlled environment of a laboratory. The Royal Society's museum quickly developed into a salon rather than a research tool. It served as a meeting place for Fellows and foreign virtuosi and became a major tourist attraction, but slowly lost its place in a Society increasingly set on 'experimentalism'.¹⁸

Unfortunately the Fellows, who were usually such faithful documenters of their activities, failed to record these rather discouraging experiences. Otherwise they might have saved the academics of eighteenth-century Göttingen University some trouble. Instead, they pub-

¹⁵ Anon., 'On the Nature of a Certain Stone, Found in the Indies, in the Head of a Serpent', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1 (1665), 102–3; and Collet, *Welt in der Stube*, 303–5.

¹⁶ John Ray, *Historia plantarum species hactenus editas aliasque insuper multas noviter inventas & descriptas complectens* . . . , 3 vols. (London, 1686–1704).

¹⁷ Collet, 'Big Sciences', 129–34.

¹⁸ Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy*, 150; and P. Fontes da Costa, 'The Culture of Curiosity at the Royal Society in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, 56 (2002), 147–66.

lished a carefully edited catalogue of their collections that served as a model for many later generations.¹⁹ That is why many of their ideas returned, almost word for word, a hundred years later.

II. *A University of Things*

The University of Göttingen, founded in 1737 by the British King George II, is another example of a reform institution. Göttingen had been a provincial backwater, but was transformed into a centre of academic learning when the scion of the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who had acceded to the British throne in 1714 and from then on ruled over both countries in personal union, founded a new university to provide for his German territories and account for his new position in the European hierarchy. Its unconventional combination of academy and university drew many inspirations from the Royal Society and its institutional design. As a result, a central research collection constituted an integral part of the university's conception and even its building plan.²⁰ Financial difficulties meant that the original idea could only be put into practice when, in another parallel with London, a private collection became available. In 1773 Göttingen, with the help of a royal grant from George III, acquired Christian Wilhelm Büttner's large and rather idiosyncratic museum.²¹ The comments of the professors in Göttingen also sound remarkably familiar. Echoing Robert Hooke, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach proclaimed: 'Earlier collections made the mistake of gathering curiosities rather than what is most remarkable in nature

¹⁹ Nehemiah Grew, *'Musæum Regalis Societatis': Or a Catalogue and Description Of the Natural and Artificial Rarities belonging to the Royal Society and Preserved at Gresham College . . .* (London, 1686).

²⁰ Marie Luise Allemeyer, Dominik Collet, and Marian Füssel, 'The "Academic Museum": Göttingen's University Collections as a Space of Knowledge Production and Cultural Heritage', *Opuscula Musealia*, 18 (2010), 15–22; and on the museum building, Gunther Beer, 'Beitrag zur Baugeschichte des Akademischen Museums 1773 bis 1877 mit drei Gebäudeplänen des Akademischen Museums', *Museumsbrief*, 29 (2010), 2–20.

²¹ Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, 'Einige Nachrichten vom akademischen Museum zu Göttingen', *Annalen der Braunschweigisch-Lüneburgischen Churlande*, 1 (1787), 84–99.

... our academic cabinet, however, is not designed for pomp but for utility, it is destined for research and teaching ... and we already find ourselves obliged to speak of it as an epochal phenomenon.'²² This vocal propaganda hints at the museum's secondary aim: to attract well-off students and raise the university's international profile. It also pointed to the fact that universities had opened up to object-centred research only slowly and on the margins of their curriculum.

Like the Royal Society, Göttingen university initially inherited what, on closer inspection, proved to be a rather haphazard assemblage of curiosities. The professors found it increasingly difficult to establish their own scientific model of collecting, separate from the well-established traditions of collectors, especially as the museum was set up as a public institution. Instead of the pioneering research agenda they envisioned, they saw their museum assume a central position on the tourist itinerary and in the sociable exchange of gentlemanly curiosities, developments documented in a sizeable visitors' book with more than 3,000 entries in the first decade alone.²³ In order to counter these tendencies, they decided yet again to acquire objects independently. To achieve this goal, however, they had to employ people outside the university's customary ranks: travellers, agents, and informers. In a university setting, where status and reputation were constantly under threat and constituted important social markers, such a move was fraught with difficulties, even if it stayed within the confines of the Personal Union. Few collectors shared the professors' scientific and social codes.²⁴

This had already become apparent when Albrecht von Haller, president of the Göttingen equivalent to the Royal Society, the Akademie der Wissenschaften, organized an expedition to the

²² [Johann Friedrich Blumenbach], 'Etwas vom Akademischen Museum in Göttingen', in Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (ed.), *Taschenbuch zum Nutzen und Vergnügen fürs Jahr 1779* (Göttingen, 1778), 45–57, at 47–8 (trans. Dominik Collet).

²³ On the visitors see Christine Nawa, 'Sammeln für die Wissenschaft: Das Akademische Museum Göttingen (1773–1840)' (MA thesis, University of Göttingen, 2005), available online at <<http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/master/2010/nawa/nawa.pdf>>, accessed 1 Nov. 2013.

²⁴ Dominik Collet, 'Universitäre Sammlungen als "contact zone": Gesellige und gelehrte Sammlungspraktiken im Akademischen Museum der Universität Göttingen (1772–1840)', *Traverse*, 3 (2012), 41–52.

Americas in 1752. During his time in Göttingen, Haller planned to make full use of the new link with Britain and openly referred to the Royal Society as a model to increase support.²⁵ But Haller was also acutely aware of the professorial traditions of his German university colleagues. As a result, he rejected offers by noble patrons and the Imperial Court in Vienna to finance the enterprise. In order to underline the independent, academic character of his venture, he opted instead for a subscription model, in which scholars shared costs and rewards. Haller publicly linked such a design to British traditions, but it also appealed to professors, who were familiar with it from the book market. In order to cater to the professors' textual traditions of knowledge, he promised subscribers not just objects, but also exclusive written reports and preprints of the travel account.²⁶ The professors, however, were not available to undertake stressful and demanding journeys. As a result Haller had to settle on Christlob Mylius, a Berlin man of letters more at home in the museums than the lecture halls. This immediately became a problem when Mylius died en route in London, after having stayed there for a considerable period. Exasperated Göttingen professors spread vicious rumours about Mylius's dubious character, focusing on the unseemly amount of time he spent with London's amateur collectors. Haller, luckily, was already on the way to his native Berne at the time and escaped the wrath of his duped colleagues. Similar *chroniques scandaleuses*, however, abounded around scholarly collections, suggesting that translating objects into texts required interpreters fluid in both languages. This could be a perilous affair.²⁷

When Haller's colleague, Johann David Michaelis, initiated a similar expedition to the Middle East, he therefore took infinite care to

²⁵ Material on Haller's expedition to America, including printed pamphlets and instructions, is kept in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, department of rare prints and manuscripts, 2 H Lit. Biogr. IV 7270.

²⁶ Ibid. On early British botanical expeditions sponsored by 'crowd-funding' see Collet, *Welt in der Stube*, 241–3, 265.

²⁷ Ibid. 132–65. On the struggle of British naturalists, including the Fellows Joseph Banks and Hans Sloane, to secure the recognition of traditional circles of learning, see Caspar Hirschi, 'Men of Science versus Macaronies: Die Polemik gegen die *Amateur Gentlemen* der Royal Society im späten 18. Jahrhundert', in Frauke Berndt and Daniel Fulda (eds.), *Die Sachen der Aufklärung* (Hamburg, 2012), 193–206.

prevent a second disaster, especially as this undertaking was financed not by the academy but by the Danish king. He carefully selected travellers for their familiarity with the academic world, making sure both principal investigators received professorships before they set out. Additionally, Michaelis, who was familiar with the Royal Society's endeavours from his own visit to London in 1741, copied their scheme of providing extensive questionnaires. But when the leaders of the expedition died of malaria early on, the tragedy was followed by the same vitriolic attacks on their character that Mylius had suffered after his death. As a result, the sole surviving traveller, Carsten Niebuhr was inundated with repeated sets of instructions governing his mediation of the natural world to text. They culminated in a 400-page questionnaire that, while officially directed to Niebuhr, served equally as a justification of his enterprise to Europe's academics. This is why it was printed in several languages.²⁸ In his foreword Michaelis, a linguist by profession, stressed the pitfalls of transferring object knowledge into text in a passage reminiscent of Robert Hooke's earlier claims for books and objects:

Most travellers . . . would have enhanced our scholarship far more if they had not been lacking two indispensable prerequisites. The first is the knowledge of the language . . . The foundation of natural history, its alphabet so to say, is in fact a proper dictionary ranged in order after the natural classes . . . Such a dictionary becomes useless if everyone uses a language of his own . . . The second deficiency consists in the lack of proper guidance through questions and instructions. The traveller sees a multitude of things and will—without instruction—report what ten travel writers before him have already reported, rather than providing what the scholars in Europe need to enlighten the darkness.²⁹

²⁸ Johann David Michaelis, *Fragen an eine Gesellschaft Gelehrter Männer die auf Befehl Ihro Majestät des Königs von Dännemark nach Arabien reisen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1762); Johann David Michaelis, *Receuil de Questions, Proposées à une Société de Savans qui par Ordre de sa Majesté Danoise font le Voyage de l'Arabie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1763).

²⁹ Michaelis, *Fragen*, 'Vorrede' (trans. Dominik Collet).

For the linguist Michaelis, the major challenges for museological exchange were the translation of object into text, and the translation of amateurs into scholars.

As in the case of the Royal Society, such professorial control came at a price. Michaelis's printed questionnaire did, indeed, reach Niebuhr in India, after he had crossed Egypt, Arabia, and Yemen and before he returned via Persia, Turkey, and the Balkans. After his arrival back in Europe, however, it took Niebuhr almost ten years of diligent study to answer all the questions.³⁰ When he had finished, his work repeated the fate of the Royal Society's *History of Plants*. While Niebuhr's text met the highest standards because it conformed exactly to his superiors' expectations, his natural objects lay, disregarded, in the basement of the Academy of Sciences in Copenhagen. When Carolus Linnaeus asked Michaelis to inquire about them just ten years later, his Danish colleague sent a mortified reply, reporting that most had crumbled away and decayed without anyone ever having looked at them. The specimens of exchange had become mute and illegible without context or interpreters.³¹

In another repetition of the Royal Society's experiences, the Göttingen professors then tried to make objects speak on their own. Because their exhibits came with virtually no contextual documentation, this again proved to be exceptionally difficult. When in 1781 the Danish king donated an Egyptian mummy to Göttingen, the professors immediately jumped at this chance. Not only was the mummy a popular object of myth and superstition, but it was also a royal gift that, while it was certainly welcome as a symbol of the university's reputation and contacts, needed to be 'academicized' and stripped of

³⁰ Carsten Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien: Aus eigenen Beobachtungen und im Lande selbst gesammelten Nachrichten* (Copenhagen, 1772). See also Daniel Carey, 'Arts and Sciences of Travel, 1574–1762: The Arabian Journey and Michaelis's *Fragen* in Context', in Ib Friis, Michael Harbsmeier, and Jørgen Bæk Simonsen (eds.), *Early Scientific Expeditions and Local Encounters: New Perspectives on Carsten Niebuhr and The Arabian Journey. Proceedings of a Symposium on the Occasion of the 250th Anniversary of the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia Felix*, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters (2013), 27–50.

³¹ See Johann David Michaelis, *Literarischer Briefwechsel*, ed. Johann Gottlieb Buhle, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1794–96), ii. 202; and Reimer Eck, 'Christlob Mylius und Carsten Niebuhr: Aus den Anfängen der wissenschaftlichen Forschungsreise an der Universität Göttingen', *Göttinger Jahrbuch*, 34 (1986), 11–43, at 34.

its aristocratic associations. As with the Royal Society's Makassar poison, a unique interdisciplinary team of professors from linguistics, archaeology, anthropology, and medicine descended on the specimen in a well-publicized dissection.³² Their work was so thorough that almost nothing remained in place. Their findings, however, even though published in lengthy reports, were unimpressive. No one could tell them where exactly the object had come from, so they could not relate it to other known facts. Nor did they have anything to compare it to. In fact, the only other 'mummy' in the collection came from a local undertaker who had displayed the dried corpse of an unlucky local man in Göttingen's alehouses for a living.³³ When the professors later asked the Danish king for a second specimen, it was not for purposes of comparison, but because the first one was now too disjointed to be displayed with the king's name attached.

Of course, such endeavours did not remain without criticism. People who knew British collecting from personal experience had a rather more reserved attitude to the museum. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, for example, had travelled to England in 1770 and 1775 and drafted a bitter satire on British collectors shortly after the opening of Göttingen's academic museum. His text described the objects owned by a London collector, easily identifiable as Sir Hans Sloane, former president of the Royal Society and in this role a model for the Göttingen enterprise. According to Lichtenberg's satire, his collection contained 'a bed in form of a sarcophagus—for methodists and pietists . . . a suite of clothes for a child with two-heads' and 'double-ended spoons, for twins'.³⁴

As Lichtenberg had feared, by 1800 the Academic Museum of Göttingen's faithful emulation of the Royal Society's 'object turn' had yielded strikingly similar results. The collection of this public institution reflected the tastes of visitors, donors, and merchants rather than the interests of the academics. Even the celebrated collection of ma-

³² *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, 123 (8 Oct. 1781), 985–92.

³³ On the mummified body of Conrad Schachtrupp in the Academic Museum see Gudrun Schwibbe, *Wahrgenommen: Die sinnliche Erfahrung der Stadt* (Münster, 2002), 184.

³⁴ For the 'Inventory of a collection of appliances, which are to be auctioned in the house of Sir H. S. [Hans Sloane] in the coming week', see Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Schriften und Briefe*, ed. Wolfgang Promies, 4 vols. (Munich, 1968–72), iii. 451–7.

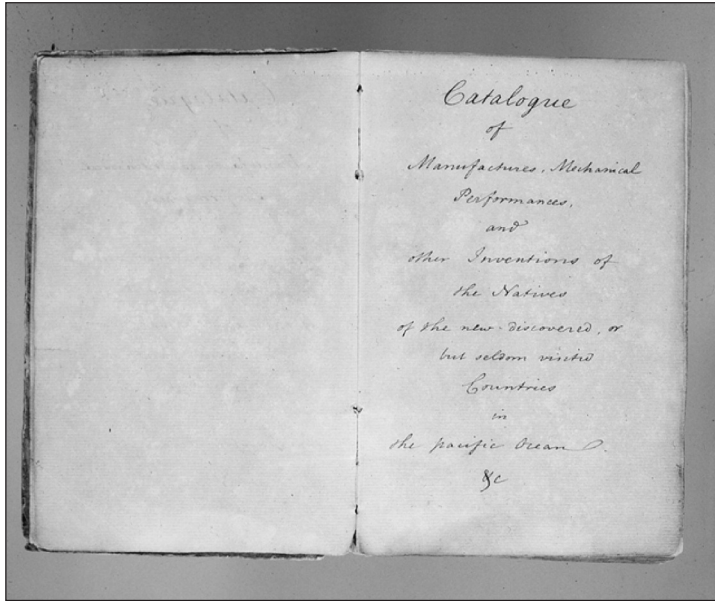


Illustration 1: George Humphrey, *Catalogue of Ethnographic Objects from the Voyages of James Cook sent to the Akademisches Museum in Göttingen on behalf of George III* (London, 1782). By courtesy of the Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen University.

terial from the voyages of James Cook, acquired in 1782, did not contain the natural specimens that the professors had asked for, but ethnographic 'exotica'. Nor did its composition reflect the tastes of the nominal patron, King George III. Instead, the exotic clothes, weapons, and utensils mirrored the preferences of the merchant George Humphrey and the virtuosi collectors he catered for (see Illustration 1).³⁵ In fact, in some cases it might have been indigenous people themselves who influenced the composition of the collection. For example, several skulls of Maori warriors could arguably be read as embodiments of the Personal Union of Hanover and Great Britain,

³⁵ Humphrey's taste is well documented in his manuscript catalogue of the items, now kept in the Institut für Völkerkunde in Göttingen. See Thomas Nutz, 'Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts': *Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen in der Zeit der Aufklärung* (Cologne, 2009), 277–81.



Illustration 2: Mokomakai, presumably the 'Head of a New Zealand Prince', donated by Hugh and Charlotte Percy, Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, to the Akademisches Museum in Göttingen in 1822. Private collection.

or as potent materializations of the British Empire (see Illustration 2). One skull did, indeed, arrive in Göttingen in 1822 as the gift of Hugh and Charlotte Percy, Duke and Duchess of Northumberland. Two others were acquired in 1834 through the intermediary Heinrich Ludwig Goertz, a humble upholsterer at the Court in Windsor. All of the visually striking tattooed skulls, however, had been mass produced by Maori craftsmen specifically for the European market. In some cases Maori craftsmen even used the heads of murdered white explorers to satisfy the growing demand and their own need for fire-weapons.³⁶

³⁶ Gundolf Krüger, 'Mummified Heads (mokomokai/upoko tui) from New Zealand in the Ethnographic Collection of Göttingen University', in Dominik Collet, Marian Füssel, and Roy McLeod (eds.), *The University of Things: History, Practice, Epistemology*, Yearbook for European Culture of Science, 9 (forthcoming Suttgart, 2014).

Contemporary research on these objects, custom-made to European tastes, was, of course, futile. Instead, in Göttingen as in London, research on objects was gradually replaced by text-based practices with the exhibits serving as illustrations rather than as source material. Even in areas where it is possible to trace intense, personal contact within the framework of the Personal Union, their symbolic value was high but the scientific results remained limited. The many exchanges between the president of the Royal Society, Joseph Banks, and the museum's director, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, are a case in point. Blumenbach certainly received numerous human skulls through Banks's extensive network. His influential theory on the genesis of human races, however, had been firmly in place long before they arrived, and was based on travel literature rather than actual objects.³⁷ Similarly, when in 1790 he was looking for illustrations to his momentous natural history, he skipped the extensive collection at his disposal and turned to books instead. His instructions to his engraver, Daniel Chodowiecki, stated:

1st human variety: an oriental scene – people of princely learning and slender frame – the whole scene breathing the utmost salaciousness – costumes in the style of Niebuhr's travels . . .
2nd variety – Chinese – in the distance their bizarre follies some drinking tea as in DuHaldes Description of China . . . 4th variety Brazilians – some parrots in the tree, the men in the style of the Virginian in Hollarts book' (see Illustration 3).³⁸

Of course, many such objects were close at hand and had often been acquired through the Personal Union's colonial networks. But because of their dubious documentation Blumenbach preferred the tried and tested authority of established books, using the museum's objects as tools of visualization rather than as evidence.

³⁷ Nutz, 'Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts', 260–1; and Céline Trautmann, 'Die Werkstatt Johann Friedrich Blumenbachs (1752–1840)', in Hans Erich Bödecker and Philippe Büttgen (eds.), *Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen in Göttingen um 1800: Wissenschaftliche Praktiken, institutionelle Geographie, europäische Netzwerke* (Göttingen 2008), 213–54, at 237–8.

³⁸ Frank William Peter Dougherty, *The Correspondence of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 2006–12), i. 289 (trans. Dominik Collet). The

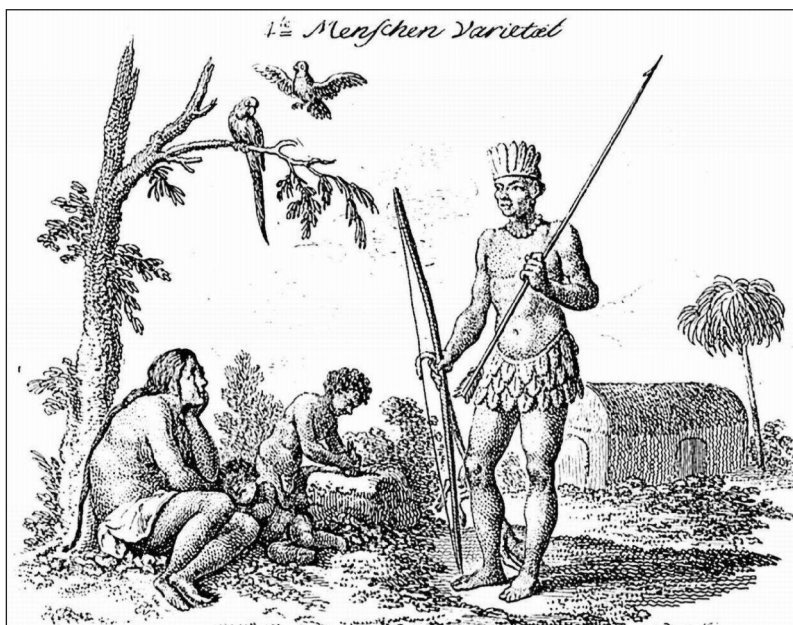


Illustration 3: Daniel Chodowiecki, 'Brazilians', in Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1806). By courtesy of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen.

It would be tempting to surmise that the intellectual self-fashioning in Göttingen based on British precedents within the framework of the Personal Union simply produced similarly limited results, a conclusion that would fit into the dominant interpretation of the supposedly one-sided and feeble Anglo-Hanoverian contacts. In an unexpected and somewhat surprising turn, however, the objects in Göttingen soon took on a life of their own. They certainly failed in the role that their early promoters had envisioned for them. The objects, however, soon acquired other, no less substantial roles. The Königlich Akademisches Museum quickly became a showcase for Göttingen University's international networks and reputation, as manifested in the academically disappointing but geopolitically

illustrations are published in Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1806).

charged James Cook collection.³⁹ It also served as a public showcase for the university and constituted a space of memorial culture for the professors and their achievements. Blumenbach also exploited the potential of the collection in other fields. His social skills allowed him to use the museum to expand the university's range of patrons. He also used this unique public space to open the university to new groups of experts and supporters in a move that might have been more instrumental for Göttingen's pivotal role in natural history than much of the research of its early professors.⁴⁰

Most importantly, however, the museum objects played a crucial role in the process of disciplinary differentiation. They delineated emerging academic disciplines, naturalizing their cultural construction and giving material evidence to fragile claims for distinct professional identities. Many academic subjects were established in close connection with the university's collections. In the hands of Blumenbach, the James Cook collection legitimized and visualized early claims for an ethnography or *Völkerkunde*. In similar vein, the 'economic garden', eagerly supported by Banks, provided physical support for the field of forestry to break away from biology. What might have started as a misreading of earlier British success quickly turned into an influential catalyst for the emergence of new disciplines and scientific practices.⁴¹

III. *Creative Misunderstandings, Incidental Exchanges*

Early collecting constituted a 'contact zone' involving a heterogeneous body of contributors. For seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and early

³⁹ The 'Cook-Forster' collection was, of course, a scientific failure only in terms of contemporaries' expectations. Dougherty, *Correspondence*, i. 327. Today, its unique material record of the Pacific and North America constitutes a crucial resource for ethnographic research on a global scale, a reminder of the frequent revaluations that academic 'Cinderella collections' experience. See Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger (eds.), *James Cook: Gaben und Schätze aus der Südsee* (Munich, 1998); and Collet, Füssel, and McLeod (eds.), *University of Things*.

⁴⁰ Collet, 'Universitäre Sammlungen' and Trautmann, 'Die Werkstatt'.

⁴¹ See Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (ed.), *Dinge des Wissens: Die Sammlungen, Museen und Gärten der Universität Göttingen* (Göttingen, 2012).

nineteenth-century scholars, the main challenge, therefore, was to overcome not the *geographical* distance between Hanover, England, and the colonial world, but the *social* distance between the many participants, especially in the fragile world of ‘academics’ and ‘collectors’.

Replacing texts with objects failed to mitigate this problem. Once removed from their context and without functioning referential chains to tie them back to their original setting, objects lost their power to substantiate knowledge claims. In many cases the specimen and its documentation travelled along separate paths. The objects moved along the selective channels of traders and brokers, while supplementary information took a detour via the printing presses and had to be gleaned from books. As a result, foreign objects turned from a tool of verification into a subject of what might be called ‘projective ethnography’.⁴²

When the professors in Göttingen looked for models of improvement and reform, they looked towards the new cultural and social spaces provided by the Personal Union with Britain. Their rather credulous adoption of the Royal Society’s scientific claims can be read as a misunderstanding, a mistake that was at least in part inspired by the will to work within the new alliance of Hanover and Britain. It did, however, cause unexpected innovation. The presence of this very public collection fostered new disciplines, new experts, and new forms of sociability, proof, and evidence—features that are now understood to be at the heart rather than at the periphery of the scientific process.⁴³ It is surprising but not coincidental that many of these ‘unintended consequences’ later found their way back to Britain. Many Göttingen alumni introduced Blumenbach’s taxonomies to the British Museum and London’s scientific societies during the early nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The dynamics of such ‘creative misunderstandings’ are particularly visible and traceable in the realm of culture and science. They do, however, constitute a particular form of circumstantial transfer that might be equally frequent and

⁴² Collet, *Welt in der Stube*, 332–48.

⁴³ Steven Shapin, *Never Pure: Historical Studies of Science as if it was Produced by People with Bodies, Situated in Time, Space, Culture and Society, and Struggling for Credibility and Authority* (Baltimore, 2010).

⁴⁴ See Thomas Biskup, ‘The University of Göttingen and the Personal Union, 1737–1837’, in Simms and Riotte (eds.), *The Hanoverian Dimension*, 128–60.

potent in other areas as well – areas where we have so far been quick to dismiss exchange altogether.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ The potential for a reappraisal of exchange processes during the Personal Union in the fields of the arts, the sciences, diplomacy, military culture, and economics is documented in Hölscher and Schlitte (eds.), *Kommunikation*; Horst Carl and Uwe Ziegler (eds.), *‘In unserer Liebe nicht glücklich’: Kultureller Austausch zwischen Großbritannien und Deutschland 1770–1840* (Göttingen, 2014); and Katja Lembke (ed.), *Hannovers Herrscher auf Englands Thron 1714–1837*, exhibition catalogue (Dresden, 2014).

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**COFFEE WORLDS:
GLOBAL PLAYERS AND LOCAL ACTORS IN
TWENTIETH-CENTURY GERMANY**

DOROTHEE WIERLING

This article outlines a project which started, many years ago, with an interest in colonial products and the notion of the 'colonial' in everyday life and consumption. Over the years, this interest narrowed down and focused on one product, coffee, and one group of actors, the overseas merchants who were the most important link between the producer and the consumer of 'colonial' goods. The article looks at the coffee trade as a global and local, as well as an economic, social, and cultural phenomenon.

Why coffee? In one way or another, coffee shapes national and regional economies all over the world. It is exclusively produced by countries in the southern hemisphere, while consumption is dominated by the industrialized countries of the north. Unlike sugar and cotton, there is no alternative product that can replace it, as none of the surrogates made from grain or chicory contain caffeine, the stimulating essence of 'real' coffee. It has, since the late nineteenth century, been a commodity for mass consumption in coffee-drinking countries such as Germany, where its availability is an indicator of 'normal' living conditions at the level of society and individual. In 1909 the per capita consumption of coffee in Imperial Germany was 3.3 kg, a figure that, after two world wars and economic crises, was only reached again by West Germany in the early 1960s.¹ Governments

This article is based on my inaugural lecture as Gerda Henkel Visiting Professor 2013/14, delivered at the German Historical Institute London on 22 October 2013.

¹ Julia Laura Rischbieter, *Mikro-Ökonomie der Globalisierung, Kaffee, Kaufleute und Konsumenten im Kaiserreich 1870–1914* (Cologne, 2011), 256. Numbers vary, mostly because some statistics count green coffee, others roasted coffee, which is about 15 per cent lighter than the unroasted beans. For figures for the 1960s by comparison with other *Genussmittel* (stimulants, luxury foodstuffs) such as tobacco and alcoholic beverages, see Gero Thalemann, *Die soziale Marktwirtschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland – ein realisiertes Konzept?*

led by various parties were aware of the importance of coffee for consumers and saw it as a factor in their own legitimacy. As such, coffee can be seen as a 'political' commodity. At the same time, it has been central to nation-building and the development of infrastructure in the producing countries, in particular in Latin America. During its long history as a consumer good, coffee has been endowed with a variety of contradictory connotations, such as luxury *and* normality, leisure *and* intense work, the public *and* the domestic sphere, a male *or* a female drink, an attribute of the older *or* the younger generation. An ever increasing amount of coffee is transported and marketed over long distances.²

The other choice I made was that of one specific group of actors, namely, merchants engaged in the international trade with this formerly colonial product. Only by analysing this group can we fully understand the existence of global commodities and the mechanisms by which they became 'global' in the first place. Through their communications and interaction, merchants shaped a universe in itself, filled with speculation, information, and often invisible transactions which took place 'in-between'. They concerned not only the commodity itself, but involved a large number and variety of people, currencies, contracts, social classes, nation-states, cultural meanings, and images. In the historiography of commodity chains, however, the merchants are still a missing link.

Adding political history as a third strand to the economic and socio-cultural approaches outlined here, the project explores the more recent history of the coffee trade by reflecting on the conditions under which it was carried out in the twentieth century, characterized as it was by economic crises, social change, political ruptures, and, especially, by political violence and two world wars. These different worlds—the global sphere, the place of the merchants, and the political framework of the nation-state—are brought together in

Eine Analyse von Genesis, theoretischem Gehalt und praktischer Verwirklichung (Hamburg, 2011), 203. There appears to be no perfect English translation for the German term *Genussmittel*. It refers less to luxury than to the fact that these goods are non-essential, and are consumed for the sheer pleasure ('Genuss') of tasting or being stimulated by them.

² Steven Topik and Alan Wells, 'Commodity Chains in a Global Economy', in Emily S. Rosenberg (ed.), *A World Connecting, 1870 to 1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), 593–812, esp. 773 ff.

order to understand the conditions and terms of trade (in a broader sense) under which coffee, a 'modern' commodity, was transformed along its 'chain' and over time. In order to be able to answer these general questions, the project looks at one specific case, that of Hamburg's coffee merchants. My starting point is that of a social historian interested in everyday practices and the subjective experiences of concrete actors. But in order to understand the meaning of the social, it is crucial to look at its material, that is, its economic foundation. This article will elaborate on the three approaches mentioned above that I believe are necessary for a complex understanding of the coffee trade in the twentieth century.

I. Coffee as a Global Commodity in the Age of De-globalization and Re-globalization

In the 'coffee year' of 2011/12,³ more than 144 million 60 kg-bags containing green (unroasted) coffee beans were produced all over the world, the majority by Brazil, Vietnam, Indonesia, Colombia, and Ethiopia. Forecasts predicted an increase of around 7 million bags for the following year. Since the millennium, world production of coffee has increased (from more than 117 million bags), and world consumption has also risen, from almost 113 million to more than 141 million bags. In the EU alone, more than 44 million bags of coffee were consumed in 2011/12, putting Europe at the top of the rankings, followed by the USA, which consumed more than 23 million bags. Altogether, world exports, consumption, and stocks accounted for a total coffee distribution of more than 254 million bags in 2002/3, and more than 280 million bags in 2011/12.⁴ Although coffee is not, as has been claimed, the second largest export commodity (in trading value) behind oil,⁵ there can be no doubt that coffee is of crucial

³ Statistically, the coffee year begins in October, although some producing countries begin their coffee years earlier, depending on the time of the harvest. Thus Brazil's coffee year starts in July, and Indonesia's in April.

⁴ Numbers taken from USDA, Foreign Agricultural Service, Circular Series December 2012.

⁵ Mark Pendergrast, 'Coffee second only to oil? Is coffee really the second largest commodity?', online at <www.thefreelibrary.com/coffee+second+only+oil>, accessed 16 Oct. 2013.

importance for what we call a globalized economy. Produced in forty-six countries on three continents—South America, Asia, and Africa—and consumed mainly in Europe, North America, and Brazil, coffee appears to be *the* global commodity per se.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the basic structure of the coffee commodity chain was already fully developed. It was spelled out by William Harrison Ukers in his three-volume *All About Coffee* (1922), which detailed twenty-four steps from planting the coffee tree seed in a nursery to making the beverage at home. His first twelve steps took place in the producing country. They included cultivating and pruning the plants, picking the red cherry, separating the beans by washing or drying, grading and packing, and finally transportation to the sea. The last eight steps related to preparation for consumption, and mostly took place in the countries of consumption themselves, in a second phase of (now industrial) production: blending and roasting, buying and selling at retail, and grinding and preparing the actual hot drink. The main changes since Ukers first published *All About Coffee* relate to the larger role of roasters: grinding, packaging, and advertising were added as coffee became a branded commodity with competing trademarks.

Between these two phases of production, we find what, in the narrow sense, is known as ‘the trade’: buying and selling for export, transshipment overseas, buying and selling at wholesale, and shipment to the place of manufacture.⁶ What is striking in Ukers’s list is his relative disregard of the activities linked to the trade, in particular, the overseas trade. While the agricultural phase is spelled out in detail, ‘buying and selling’ seem to be self-explanatory and not worth a closer look. This is also reflected in the book itself. Less than ten per cent of its 818 pages are devoted to the export–import part of the commodity chain. The neglect of overseas trade continues to the present day. For example, a standard German economics database (which claims to be the world’s largest) lists 955 titles, mostly books, under ‘coffee’. Of these, no more than 76 are listed under the heading ‘coffee trade’, and 27 of them relate to international trade.⁷ Many of

⁶ William H. Ukers, *All About Coffee* (2nd edn. New York, 1935), p. xii.

⁷ Online-Katalog econis at the Deutsche Zentralbibliothek für Wirtschaftswissenschaften am Leibniz-Informationszentrum Wirtschaft, Kiel <www.econbiz.de/record/datenbank-econis-online>, accessed 29 July 2014. The

the latter are, however, legal works concerning international coffee agreements and terms of trade.

Why should merchants be the focus of our research? The history of globalization (or transnationalism) is unchallenged as a research trend in historiography, even in Germany. But so far research has tended to focus on conceptual issues or macro histories. Jürgen Kocka, well-known social historian of the Bielefeld school, has recently expressed a hope that the shift towards global history will bring 'big structures' back into historiography.⁸ Where it becomes more concrete, the obvious path to take is the history of commodities, as in Sidney Mintz's study of sugar, or Sven Beckert's forthcoming study of cotton.⁹ In what are sometimes referred to as works on commodity chains, commodity biographies, or social histories of commodities, a large range of (mostly) colonial global goods have been studied in this way, showing how globalization was created by international trade and documenting the growing connectedness of nations and societies through commodities.¹⁰

A second route into the economic aspects of globalization is the study of companies engaged in international market relations.¹¹ A institute claims to have created the world's largest database of scholarly literature in economics.

⁸ Jürgen Kocka in conversation with Dennis Sweeney, Kathleen Canning, Eve Rosenhaft, Alf Lüdtke, and Andrew Zimmermann in 'Forum: Class in German History', *German History*, 30/ 3 (Sept. 2012), 429–51, at 442.

⁹ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985), published in German as *Die süße Macht: Kulturgeschichte des Zuckers* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987); Sven Beckert, *The Empire of Cotton* (New York, forthcoming 2014).

¹⁰ For an overview see Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank (eds.), *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500–2000* (Durham, NC, 2006); for conceptual issues see the classic work by Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986); and Wim van Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere (eds.), *Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities (The Social Life of Things Revisited)* (Münster, 2005).

¹¹ See Hartmut Berghoff's study of Hohner, a producer of musical instruments, and Angelika Eppe's book on Stollwerck, a manufacturer of chocolate and food vending machines. Hartmut Berghoff, *Zwischen Kleinstadt und Weltmarkt: Hohner und die Harmonika. Unternehmensgeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Paderborn, 1997); and Angelika Eppe, *Das Unternehmen Stollwerck: Eine Mikrogeschichte der Globalisierung* (Frankfurt am Main, 2010).

recent pioneering study by Christof Dejung combines these two approaches, drawing on the rich archives of one merchant company, Volkart Brothers, based in Switzerland, to study its long-term, successful engagement in the global trade with cotton and, after 1945, coffee.¹² Dejung's study centres on the merchant and his company as a global actor and thus as an agent of globalization. Here the market no longer appears as an abstract, anonymous structure, but as an interactive one, formed, used, and changed by individuals and groups of actors. Our as yet underdeveloped knowledge of all their activities allows at least a few glimpses into a sphere which, up to now, has been ignored or condemned by historians.

The study of coffee as a global commodity is an integral part of the history of globalization. While coffee has been known since the seventeenth century, it really took off in the last third of the nineteenth century, when large-scale planting, especially in Latin America, secured a supply to meet the growing demand from the industrializing and urbanizing regions of Europe and North America. Technological developments improved the processing of coffee for shipping, and its storage and preparation for consumption. Railways and steamships made transport quicker and easier; and telegraph cables allowed swift communication between continents. At the same time, the complicated technology of financing was being fully developed. The British pound sterling had become the common currency of international trade, and coffee exchanges allowed trading in futures. While nationalism was on the rise, so was the ideology of free trade, and although the most important coffee-growing regions in Latin America were no longer colonies but formally independent nation-states, they depended on European and North American capital, expertise, and personnel. This golden age of globalization, at least from the perspective of Europe, the USA, and the local elites of the coffee-producing countries, came to a sudden end with the outbreak of the First World War, giving way to what has been called the age of de-globalization. Although some scholars have rightly challenged this concept as Eurocentric,¹³ it does apply to Europe, and

¹² Christof Dejung, *Die Fäden des globalen Marktes: Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Welthandels am Beispiel der Handelsfirma Gebrüder Volkart 1851–1999* (Cologne, 2013).

¹³ See the discussion of this issue *ibid.* 253 ff.

specifically Germany. Having started and lost two world wars, Germany suffered an immense loss of economic capacity (in terms of access to foreign currency, imports and exports, and national as well as private income) until West Germany's 'economic miracle' marked the beginning of a steady recovery and success well into the 1970s. From then on, we can speak of a process of re-globalization which gained so much momentum in the 1990s that the awareness of living in a globalized world is now taken for granted.

This narrative needs some qualification, however, when concentrating on one segment of world trade, such as coffee. Even during the early years of the First World War, coffee was imported into Germany via neutral countries. Import and consumption of coffee began to rise considerably again from the early 1920s (from 0.87 kg per capita in 1924 to 2.17 kg in 1928) and continued to do so during the Third Reich (rising, after the Great Depression, from 2.0 kg in 1933 to 2.91 kg in 1938), despite all the Nazi rhetoric of autarchy. Imports of coffee stopped almost completely during the Second World War, but after the war, the first coffee was already being imported in 1948 with the permission of the Western Allies. Per capita consumption grew steadily, accelerating from the 1950s (from 1.47 kg in 1953 to 2.89 kg in 1958 to 4.09 kg in 1963 in West Germany).¹⁴

While the general picture of de-globalization and re-globalization is thus confirmed, the numbers also show that even in the first half of the twentieth century developments were inconsistent and irregular. Coffee never vanished from the scene entirely. Even in the last years of the Second World War, the Nazis made sure that there was some coffee for the army and extra rations for the victims of air raids, known as 'Zittermokka'.¹⁵ And in socialist East Germany, the ruling party went out of its way to ensure a basic supply of coffee, which was crucial (though not exclusively) for the legitimacy of the state. For East Germans, too, coffee was firmly established as a commodity whose availability signified 'normality' as opposed to crisis and

¹⁴ Figures from *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (Berlin, 1929), vol. 48, p. 299; vol. 59 p. 447; and the annual report of the Verein der Kaffee-großröster und -importeure (Hamburg, 1964), p. 4.

¹⁵ The term is untranslatable into English. It means something like 'coffee to stop you trembling from fear' or 'coffee to make up for that fear'.

poverty. The GDR's stores were filled with green coffee when the state imploded in 1989.¹⁶

II. Space and Place: The Case of Hamburg

The notion of merchants as invisible actors 'in-between' is quite misleading. Throughout the twentieth century, actors in global trade have been grounded in local contexts, and the physical and social space they occupied has been crucial for their ability to move commodities, money, and people all over the globe. This was also the case in Hamburg, and certainly applied to the sub-group of the Hamburg merchant class, the coffee-trading firms. Around 200 of them co-existed in the city and its port at any given time until the late 1950s.

Every big port city sees itself as the centre of world trade, and Hamburg is no exception, as a map from the mid 1920s shows (see Illustration 1). Although the map illustrates the intensity of overseas trade as a whole, it also shows the main routes of the coffee trade, especially from Latin America, and re-export to Scandinavia.¹⁷ In the late nineteenth century Hamburg had joined the customs and tariff union of the newly founded German Empire on condition that its port was granted the status of a free trade zone. It was here that importers, brokers, and agents established their offices, close to incoming ships, storehouses, the newly founded Coffee Exchange, and very close to each other. The Sandthorquai¹⁸ was home to about 100 such merchants, and became an international trademark for the Hamburg coffee business (see Illustration 2). The storehouse complex was also within walking distance of the new town hall, which, in turn, was directly connected to the chamber of commerce and the stock exchange (see Illustration 3).

¹⁶ Oral information from Wolfgang von der Decken, head of the Hamburg logistics firm which transported much of this coffee to storehouses in Hamburg. For coffee in the GDR see Monika Sigmund, *Genuss als Politikum: Kaffeekonsum in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Munich, forthcoming 2014).

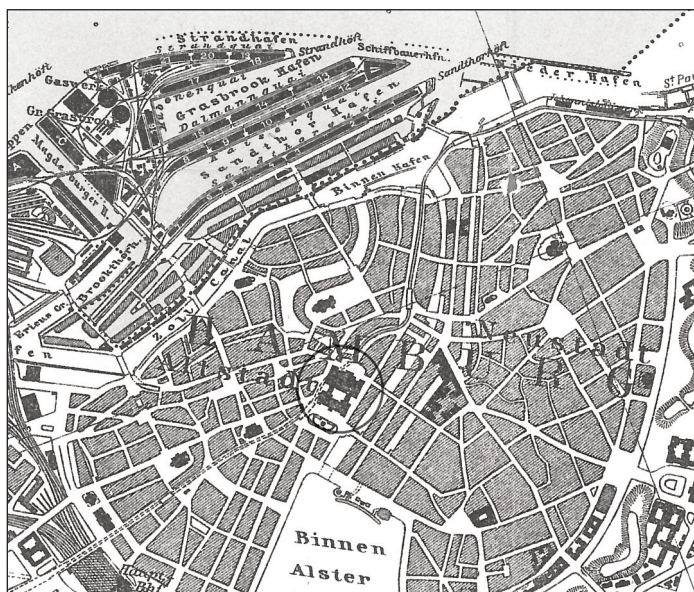
¹⁷ At the time, coffee represented the largest single import commodity in trading value (238,154,910 RM) compared to 6 billion RM trading value of overall imports in 1925. Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg (ed.), *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg 1925* (Hamburg, 1926), 68.

¹⁸ The spelling later changed to 'Sandtorkai'.





Illustration 2: View of the Sandthorquai in 1915, with the Sandthor harbour in the centre and the neo-Gothic building complex of storehouses behind. The coffee merchants had their offices and storage space at the right end of the block. Source: *Der Hafen von Hamburg*.



In Max Weber's terms, coffee merchants were a *Stand*, an estate. Contrasting this concept with that of class, Weber defined belonging to an estate as 'an effective claim to social esteem . . . typically founded on [a] style of life . . . empirical training . . . the corresponding forms of behavior . . . [and] occupational prestige'.¹⁹ According to

Weber, an estate could be based on class position, but it was both more and less than class. Possession of money and an entrepreneurial position were not enough to guarantee acceptance as part of an estate; on the other hand, Weber defined estates as incompatible with a free market, because they tend to monopolize appropriations and thereby curb the individual's earning power.²⁰ Despite Weber's distinction between estates and the (capitalist) market, the identification of the coffee merchants as an estate seems appropriate until the 1950s. In the late 1880s, they had formed the Verein der am Caffeehandel beteiligten Firmen (Association of Companies Engaged in the Coffee Trade), which regulated their terms of trade, especially since the introduction of futures trading at the newly founded Hamburg coffee exchange.

The coffee association held a monopoly of the international trade, since only members had access to the coffee exchange and to crucial information about harvests, stocks, and prices; non-Hamburg companies and roasters were excluded. The association also represented the trade vis-à-vis the state after the latter began to interfere heavily in the trade, starting in the second half of the First World War. In addition, it formed the basis for an exclusive social club and a community of individuals with obligations to each other and to the common cause, with its own code of honour based on a shared set of values and lifestyle. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* best describes their sense of distinction, and helps to identify the coffee merchants as part of a larger community: the honourable Hanseatic merchant estate. *Habitus* refers to the internalized habits of thinking, feeling, and acting acquired through and in the group of social belonging. Bourdieu, much concerned with the process of its individual acquisition, linked *habitus* to the concept of 'capital'. All four types of capital he identifies – economic, cultural, social, and symbolic – worked together for this group, which provided these various forms of capital for its members, who could use them to build and improve their status in the community.²¹ After all, this was not a community of equals.

Günther Roth and Claus Wittich (New York, 1968), 305; originally published in German as *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1921–5).

²⁰ Weber, *Economy and Society*, 926 ff.

²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'Principles of an Economic Anthropology', in Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg (eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology* (2nd edn. Princeton, 2000), 75–89.

Importers on the Sandthorquai were the most powerful, with brokers and agents forming influential links between them; at the bottom of the rankings were the *Länderfirmen* (country-based firms), which specialized less in one commodity than in one country or region for their trade, and whose offices were located in the city. For most of the period under consideration, around 200 Hamburg-based companies made up the diverse group of green coffee merchants. I have been able to identify a total of more than 600 such companies, which were commercially active between 1914 and the 1970s. Many of them existed throughout the whole period under consideration.

Despite the dramatic changes the trade underwent during the twentieth century, one aspect was never openly challenged from inside: the notion of honour and trust as the normative basis for the business and the community.²² To be 'honourable' meant to be guided by the principles of solidity, honesty, fairness, and trustworthiness, a combination which was regarded as typically Hanseatic by Hamburg merchants.²³ While it goes without saying that honour and trust were crucial factors in overseas trading, this also applied to the local context, where cooperation and competition constantly overlapped and a fragile balance between various interests had to be considered. At stake was not just good business, but personal dignity and 'social esteem', earned by an individual's credit in the double sense. Moreover, business practices were embedded in highly distinct personal and social styles, which to the present day emphasize discretion and modest understatement. It was by no means assumed, however, that everybody would always follow these rules in their daily practice, and a variety of instruments existed to ensure that they played by the rules. The most important basis of the community's functioning, however, was the family firm, the common unit of

²² For the basic concept see Paul Seabright, *The Company of Strangers: A Natural History of Economic Life* (2nd edn. Princeton, 2010).

²³ The notion of 'Hanseatic' denoting a specific form of bourgeois beliefs and existence, closely linked to the free port cities of the medieval Hanse, with Hamburg and Bremen on the North Sea and Lübeck on the Baltic Sea, underwent considerable changes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See Alexandra Ortmann, ' "... mit den Tugenden eines echten Hanseaten": Zur Konstruktion einer Identität um 1900' (MA thesis, University of Göttingen, 2005). A larger research project on the modern history of 'Hanseatentum' is currently being conducted by Lu Seegers at the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg.

coffee merchants to the present day.²⁴ What made the family firm such a successful model for the coffee trade?

First, trust is much easier to establish in a family firm as a family is bound by emotions and shared economic interests.²⁵ Family members could act as agents in producing countries or at the places of international finance; they evaluated crops and negotiated contracts. At local level, since membership in the coffee association was by company, the firm's honour, trust, and credit depended on the behaviour of each individual family member. Secondly, sons (the coffee trade was a strictly patrilineal system) would often be exchanged between families for professional training, creating the basis for early and long-term acquaintance at the horizontal level of generation. During their travels abroad these young men would be introduced to the families of business partners, socialize with the local elites, and bond with their peers to form early international connections. Generational socializing furthered family matches inside the Hamburg merchant group and between elite families until at least the first half of the twentieth century. Thirdly, firm as family and family as firm represented a model for the entire business. Not just the core family, but the whole system it was embedded in worked together in an orchestrated attempt to enable informal *habitus* acquisition much more effectively, it can be assumed, than the formal apprenticeship each prospective successor went through.

Obviously, this ideal image of the family as a framework for social and economic stability and mobilization had its flip sides. Fathers could deny their sons the succession, or sons could refuse to accept it. Daughters could make mismatches. Friends could use their intimate knowledge of each other to compete more effectively. But all in all, the family system (embedded in broader systems of kinship, friendship, and mutual support) was more effective than not, well into the 1950s.

²⁴ This applies even to Hamburg's largest (and the world's second largest) coffee importer today, the Neumann Coffee Group, with an annual turnover of two and a half billion USD. For the persistence of family firms see Hartmut Berghoff, 'The End of Family Business? The *Mittelstand* and German Capitalism in Transition, 1949–2000', *Business History Review*, 79 (2006), 263–95.

²⁵ For the links between family business and trust see Andrea Colli and Mary Rose, 'Family Business', in Geoffrey Jones and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Business History* (Oxford, 2007), 194–218, esp. 208 ff.

This happy account of the merchant group as family obviously needs to be read as an idealizing narrative, ignoring conflicts of interest, individual moral shortcomings, and, more generally, the impact of history on this collective ideal self. Given the long time span of the larger project, from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1980s, the notion of a specific *habitus* itself needs to be questioned. Since it is not possible to explore the issue in detail in this article, a series of group photographs, showing the coffee brokers at intervals of fifteen, twenty-five, and thirty-five years, assembled for an anniversary of their association on each occasion, may provide a first impression (see Illustrations 4–7).

In 1913 the brokers still look pretty much like former schoolmates of ‘the class of 1888’; in 1928 they have moved to the main exchange for a more representative photo, stressing their formal dignity; in 1963 we see a reduced number in a 1950s environment, no longer posing in the earlier solemn manner and presenting themselves more as businessmen than official dignitaries; and, finally, in 1988, their number is again halved, and most of them are no longer active in business anyway. What we do not see in these pictures, however, is the generational turnover in those 100 years. The founders of the association were men of the late nineteenth century and members of the old Hamburg patrician families; those who entered the business in the 1920s were shaped by the constraints of history and obsessed with controlling its effects; this generation prepared for the rise of individual companies above the level of the estate; and their sons, born in the late 1930s and trained in the 1950s, were crucial for the post-war transformation of family businesses into viable firms strong enough to survive and prosper under the extremely competitive conditions of the post-war national and international markets. It is through these three generations of merchant entrepreneurs that the major changes in value systems, *habitus* formation, and entrepreneurial styles can be traced through the twentieth century.



Illustration 4: Brokers' Association anniversary photograph 1913. By courtesy of Verein der am Caffeehandel beteiligten Firmen.



Illustration 5: Brokers' Association anniversary photograph 1928. By courtesy of Verein der am Caffeehandel beteiligten Firmen.

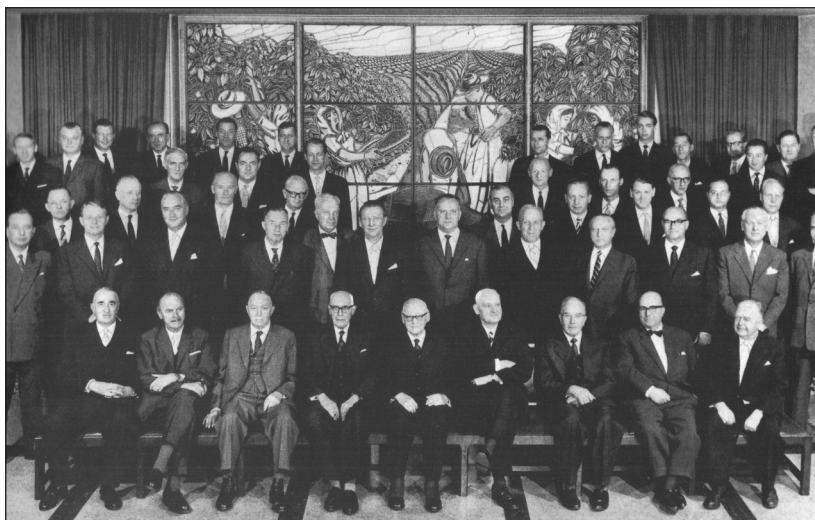


Illustration 6: Brokers' Association anniversary photograph 1963. By courtesy of Verein der am Caffeehandel beteiligten Firmen.



Illustration 7: Brokers' Association anniversary photograph 1988. By courtesy of Verein der am Caffeehandel beteiligten Firmen.

III. Trade and State in Twentieth-Century Germany

In the third part of this article, politics, the nation-state, and the rapid historical changes that shaped the twentieth century will be considered in more detail. When the Hamburg Association of Companies Engaged in the Coffee Trade commemorated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1911, the celebration was a sign of the trade's overwhelming economic success, its members' unbounded self-confidence, and their excellent international contacts with all coffee-producing countries. Three years later, this world had changed radically. During the First World War, coffee was no longer regarded as an essential commodity, and the trade finally came to a halt in 1917. For the first time, the state intervened directly in the coffee trade, at both international and national level. In order not to lose control entirely, merchants had to literally learn to deal with the state. Appropriate new strategies had to be found. While the state eventually became a chief actor in the export-import and wholesale business, merchants offered their services as experts to enable state agencies to fulfil their new role – and to ensure their own ongoing influence in the business.

These lessons would turn out to be useful well into the 1950s, when the long period of state intervention finally came to an end. But they changed the outlook, the daily routines, and the trade's more strategic practices: under the conditions of the First World War and the following economic crises during the Weimar Republic, the association became the chief lobbyist for coffee vis-à-vis the state; free trade was replaced by a guaranteed quota for coffee, which the association's board broke down into fixed shares for each member. This maintained the existing economic balance in the trade and strengthened the sense of community. Yet competition also arose under conditions of scarcity and more than one member tried to increase his share by individually lobbying state officials. The First World War had also cut off international relations both with the 'origin' and important financial partners in the City of London. State intervention continued with the Versailles Treaty restricting the number of cargo vessels, forcing asymmetric trade agreements on Germany, and demanding huge sums as reparations, which led to a dramatic shortage of foreign currency. It was not until 1925 that the Hamburg coffee exchange reopened, consumption rose in Germany, and re-exports

reached pre-war levels. But in 1931, with the banking crisis as the result of the Great Depression, foreign trade was again restricted.

Yet imports were increasing. The government, trying to avoid a coffee crisis, applied the restrictive rules rather generously. The Hamburg merchants, meanwhile, had established good personal relations with state officials (as they did with every important business partner), which paid off well; and, finally, they could always rely on the local political elites, who were closely entangled with the merchant class through marriage, friendship, business, and a shared sense of pride in their wealthy and liberal city. While merchants tended to be on the liberal or conservative-liberal side, they did not feel threatened by the Social Democrats taking over the government after the November revolution—nor did they have any reason to. In the early 1930s, the coffee trade was confident that it could deal with the Nazi Party in the same way: offer to cooperate; persuade it of the importance of coffee for national wealth and consumer satisfaction; and stay out of party politics as such. But these expectations were only partly fulfilled. While the Nazis supported the importing of coffee, they attacked the independence of the coffee association. Only by its self-nazification, including the dissolution of all participatory elements, the nomination of Nazi Party members as leaders and, not least, the exclusion of Jewish members, could the association's formal existence be secured. In the hope of continuing its informal self-government, based on its tradition of community, trust, and honour, the association was willing to pay a price that eventually meant betraying those very principles. Although some Jewish firms retained formal membership until 1939, by 1938 none were left. The same year showed the highest profits ever for the Hamburg coffee trade since the Hitler regime's takeover of power.²⁶

After September 1939 when, unlike in the First World War, the coffee trade came to an immediate halt and only twelve companies were chosen to market the coffee now confiscated by the *Wehrmacht*, some merchants shifted to other colonial products, offered their services to the city government and Nazi Party, or were drafted. One

²⁶ Since most coffee merchant companies were family firms, they were not obliged to publish their annual income, and no tax records are available. The claim that 1938 was the trade's 'best' year can be made on the basis of de-Nazification files, since those under scrutiny were obliged to provide information about their annual income since 1933.

group (thirty of whom could be identified) got involved in the economic exploitation of the occupied territories in the East, managing former Jewish companies as 'trustees', or working for the *Zentrale Handelsgesellschaft Ost* (Central Trade Company East), organizing the confiscation of agrarian and other food products for the German army and marketing its surplus for the Reich.²⁷ By doing so, they found themselves in the midst of the genocide against the Jewish population in the first wave of massacres. These were conducted quite openly in the Soviet Union's occupied western regions, including the Ukraine, where most of the Hamburg coffee merchants, now labelled 'Pioneers in the East', had gone in the autumn of 1941. At the end of 1944 they hastily left for Hamburg, where the port and centre of the coffee trade at the Sandthorquai had been partly destroyed by air raids.

Not fully aware of the totality of their defeat, the coffee merchants awaited the occupying power with their usual confidence. But coffee was not on the priority list of the British, who were also reluctant to embrace the Hamburg merchant elite despite their outspoken anglophilia. The Allies controlled German international trade through their Joint Export-Import Agency, and reserved these rights until 1952. In 1948, however, a German state agency was established that was later attached to the Ministry of Economics and cooperated closely with the Hamburg-based coffee association. It was here in Bonn that merchants had to apply for foreign currency to buy coffee from prescribed provenances (depending on the bilateral balance of trade), based partly, as before, on their share of imports in the last year before the Second World War. In this sense the coffee merchants were back on terrain familiar to them since 1916, including some of the personnel they had to deal with.²⁸ On the other hand the Allies, especially the USA, challenged these pre-modern, corporatist structures and put pressure on the German administration to open the trade by allowing all interested parties to take part in the bidding for

²⁷ The *Zentrale Handelsgesellschaft Ost* was an agency of the *Ostministerium*, the Ministry for the Eastern Occupied Territories, established after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Unfortunately, almost nothing from this agency's archive has survived.

²⁸ In particular, the former head of the *Reichsstelle für Kaffee* (1937-43), Pfeiffer, took over the newly established department for coffee (and tobacco) in the West German Ministry of Economics and led it until his death in 1953.

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state-controlled imports and apply for scarce foreign currency to buy coffee from overseas. This led to a considerable expansion in the number of companies engaged in the coffee trade and, especially after 1955, when all restrictions were lifted and the coffee trade was 'free at last' under the incipient economic miracle, to the beginning of a ruthless competition. This also marked the end of the Hamburg coffee trade as an estate in the Weberian sense. For those who had survived, it felt like a return to pre-war 'normality' (see Illustration 8).



Illustration 8: Boat party of the Verein der am Caffeehandel beteiligten Firmen, early 1950s. By courtesy of Ursula Ihnen.

There were two major changes, however. One concerned the Iron Curtain and the fact that Hamburg was cut off from its traditional hinterland, as shown in a map dating from 1925 (see Illustration 9). Secondly, the post-war trade faced a changed world market now dominated by the USA, with New York as the new centre of the international coffee trade and the US dollar the dominant trading currency for coffee, since Latin America now belonged to the dollar region.²⁹ Given the breakdown of old business relations, large numbers of national competitors thanks to the opening of the trade, and growing competition from Holland and Britain, where capital was

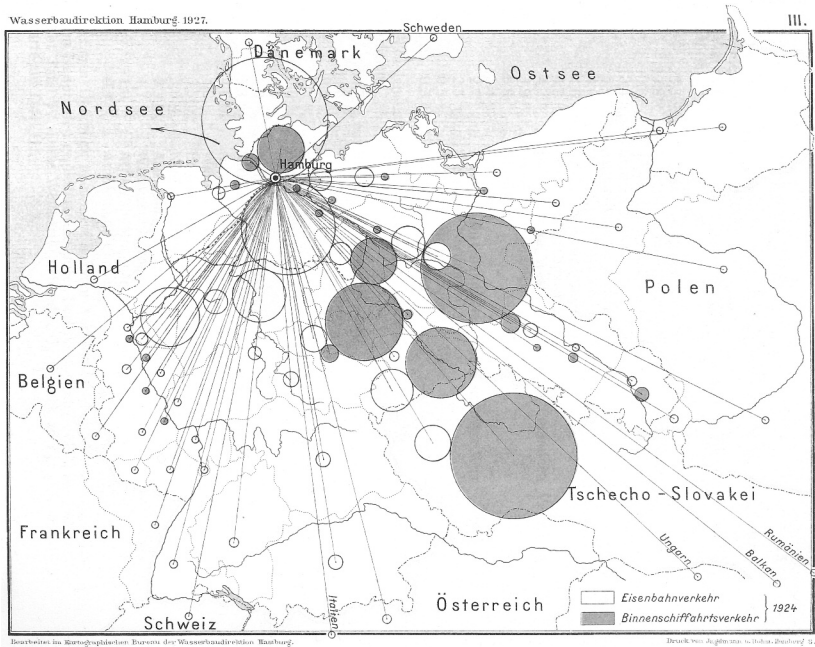


Illustration 9: This map dating from 1925 shows the general direction of Hamburg's European trade routes, both on water and by railway, before the Second World War. Source: *Der Hafen von Hamburg*.

²⁹ Under the auspices of the Western Allies, West Germany was obliged to trade only in USD, until, step by step, the German Mark became fully convertible during the 1950s.

much easier and cheaper to acquire, a few Hamburg firms expanded, becoming multinational companies whose global scope meant they no longer relied on a local basis. The old paradigm of community was no longer attractive for those who could and did participate in the game of the new world market. Their take-off was accompanied and supported by other changes in the coffee trade, such as a concentration of both roasting and retail, resulting in large supermarket chains. The majority of the traditional smaller companies who had formed the core of the association and community were unable to compete under these circumstances, despite increasing consumer demand. Today, there is only one significant company left in Hamburg, the Neumann Coffee Group mentioned above, which controls around 20 per cent of the world trade in green coffee. The Association of Companies Engaged in the Coffee Trade still exists with a small membership of veterans who are very old, even by the standards of a trade in which 60-year-olds could count as junior.

If we look at the twentieth century as a whole, the nation-state and national politics appear relatively weak by comparison with international and national market forces when it comes to explaining the major changes in the coffee trade. These were caused partly by the two world wars, each of which resulted in a significant shift in the power balance towards the USA; partly by the interventionist politics of all national market players in an attempt to control the threat of free trade; and partly by the dynamics of consumer societies, especially in the global north.

IV. *Conclusion*

The three approaches described here—the history of globalization, the local and social place of the merchants, and the impact of politics and the nation-state on global actors—are obviously interwoven narratives which have to be integrated when writing a history of the coffee trade. While it is not possible to present the whole picture here, some examples of how these different approaches can be interconnected will be given by way of conclusion.

First, there is the paradoxical impact of the years of crisis and violence in the first half of the twentieth century. Rather than disturbing, if not destroying the trade's structures, they led to the conservation

of the basic composition and economic structures of the business. Thus access to the market at times of economic and currency crisis was based on a company's share in the trade at a point in the past regarded as 'normal', usually 1913 or 1938 as the last year of peace before the outbreak of the world wars. Despite all the rhetoric of free trade, the state's final retreat from the market meant the end of many individual businesses and the beginning of the end of a sense of 'community' among importers. Thus it was not the dramatic ruptures of the first half of the twentieth century, the world wars, or the national and international economic crises as such which brought about major changes, at least not directly. In the end, changes in the monetary system, shifts in the main world market structures, altered consumption patterns, and the rise of the USA to the status of super power – while themselves partly outcomes of the period from 1914 to 1945 – accounted for the visible transformation of the business.

Secondly, the seemingly stable social structures and phenomena that made the (Hamburg) coffee trade so distinct must be systematically historicized against the background of the group's self representation, insofar as it tries to make the case for an ahistorical, Hanseatic tradition. The concept of generation can account for the peculiar combination of persistence and change, even ruptures in the value and *habitus* systems that shaped (and shape) the group in question. 'Generation' can be made productive in the context of genealogy, that is, as familial generations, raising the question of succession and its potential for changing styles, generational conflict, and innovation. While 'generation' here is a concept for historicizing the notion of a family firm, as a sociological concept in Karl Mannheim's sense,³⁰ it can also be used to explain the impact of historical experience on age groups, and how shared experiences create a specific generational style, not least of doing business.

Thirdly, the simultaneity and the otherness of coffee worlds need to be dealt with. The easiest way is to follow the actors into their worlds: the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce; the 'origin' at the places of cultivation; the City of London; and the New York Coffee Exchange with all its computers. The universe of these actors was and is filled with places belonging to the connected worlds in which

³⁰ Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', in Paul Kecskemeti (ed.), *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge by Karl Mannheim* (New York, 1952). The German original was published in 1923.

they operate. But at the level of experience, these worlds are often disconnected from the small farmer in Costa Rica, or the students in the Kingsway branch of Starbucks in London. And yet there is a strong desire to have an image of these other coffee worlds. Starbucks' Kingsway branch has a map of the commodity chain on display; and the Hamburg coffee exchange, rebuilt in the mid 1950s close to its former position, has an image of the 'origin'. An almost ecclesiastical stained-glass window turns the dealing floor into a sacred space while evoking all the delights of coffee: the endless horizon of coffee fields; the redness of the cherry; happy women with naked feet and colourful clothes in stark contrast to the black- and grey-suited male ambience of the coffee exchange. The longing for this imagined other world is an integral part of the many worlds of coffee and a trade in which the product itself is in danger of losing its visible presence in the routines of business. In Neumann Coffee Group's brand new storage building, for instance, the coffee is never seen, not even in bags. It arrives in containers and is unloaded directly and distributed by computer into various pipes preparing the mixture for designated customers. Inside the building, the coffee beans can be heard rushing through, and there is a faint smell of fibres that somehow make it out into the air. This might also be an appropriate image for historians' attempts to understand the economic, social, and cultural history of the trade, and its agents hidden behind seemingly anonymous market forces.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ANDREAS BIHRER, *Begegnungen zwischen dem ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich und England (850–1100): Kontakte – Konstellationen – Funktionalisierungen – Wirkungen*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, 39 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2012), 668 pp. ISBN 978 3 7995 4290 6. €82.00

A book on earlier medieval encounters between the East Frankish/German Reich and England fills a gap. Welcome for that in itself, it does much more than link and synthesize. It offers new ways of mapping the research landscape that are almost consistently thought-provoking. Andreas Bihrer's account of Anglo-German contacts (the labels will do as a convenient shorthand) is structured on three levels—regions, realms, and christianitas (see below)—and, after a methodological Introduction (pp. 11–48), presents three Sections with three distinct approaches. He maps, through multiple transparencies, as it were, layered individual and group contacts, exchanges between rulers, and relationships within an overarching religious community. Bihrer's publishers, accepting the book's scale, ought to have spotted that it did need actual maps, and, given its conceptual content, an index of themes as well as people and places.

Bihrer's own bi-lingual and bi-local work-experience in Germany and England equips him to cope with two vast historiographies: his bibliography, to 2011, contains 2,456 separate items including recent explorations of mutual influences.¹ He chides both anglophone and germanophone historians for one-sided writing. He commends comparison and social theory: concepts of acculturation and cultural transfer; 'thick description'; the 'logic of reception' of exchanged objects; remembering and forgetting. The preponderance of germanophone references in Bihrer's footnotes to the pages on theory implicitly snubs untheorized anglophone writing, though one or two theorized items have slipped under his radar.²

¹ For discussions of relevant examples of mutual influences see Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections* (Aldershot, 2003); David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams (eds.), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century* (Turnhout, 2011).

² Guy Halsall, 'Archaeology and Historiography', in Michael Bentley (ed.),

Bihrer proposes a custom-built theory: 'middle-distance' transfers are those between lands which, like England and Germany, are neither very close, as with neighbouring regions or societies, nor distant, as in colonial or imperial relationships, but something in between, relatively similar and with shared discourses of meaning. While contacts between 'near' and/or 'far' tend to entail hostilities or the imposition of subaltern status, 'middle-distance' contacts produce situations where 'images of the Other are not strongly fixed' but 'more dynamic and more manoeuvrable' (p. 43). That 'Regions' is the longest section (pp. 49–226) suggests that the theory works best at this level. Regions, as distinct from realms or christianitas, contain relatively well-documented persons and groups 'actively acting' and encountering each other, although, in this period, only patchily, or ephemerally.

Traders are 'active actors'. Bihrer thinks too much stress has been laid on royal authority as the motor of trade (pp. 53–84). Increased volumes of mint-outputs in tenth- and eleventh-century England and Germany indicate more dispersed transactions across north-west Europe and recycling of German silver (pp. 55–60).³ His evidence is both normative, like Æthelred II's London Ordinance where the [German] 'emperor's men' pay smaller tolls than traders from various regions or specific towns, and narrative, like Alpert of Metz's vignette of the boozy and fractious *mercatores* of Tiel who grumbled to Emperor Henry II about their inability to pay their dues because profits from trade with England were too small (pp. 74–84)! Æthelred advertised his protection of a privileged group. Alpert ground a class-axe about uppity traders.

Pilgrimage offers little grist to Bihrer's mill (he returns to significant absences of evidence, pp. 436–55). Exile offers more, especially later in the period (pp. 96–128). Dunstan's individual experience emerges, as do the extent and enduring quality of personal bonds formed with Lotharingians by this 'aktive Exilant' (pp. 102–14, at 110). Queen Emma's place of refuge made Bruges a favourite destination of exiles for the next fifty years (p. 116). In Emma's *Encomium*

Companion to Historiography (London, 1997); Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen (eds.), *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen, 2003); Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (eds.), *The Language of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010).

³ See now Peter Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013).

she is depicted making her own choice of Bruges as a second home for herself and a large company. Bihrer accepts that the work was intended for a 'multilingual public', adding the suggestion that this public was her entourage, wherever located: a group bound less by language than by loyalty to Emma (pp. 116–20).⁴

On migrants to England, Bihrer notes that some 20 to 30 per cent of tenth-century mint-masters in England had Continental-German names, though the percentages later dwindled to nearly none. Alfred had employed Frisians in the 890s, yet in the tenth century German recruits were absent from English royal retinues, German monastic or clerical migrants to England were few, and English migration to Germany diminished. Bihrer concludes that Carolingian traditions of multi-gentile courts were discontinued, without quite explaining the shrinkage in Anglo-German contacts later in his period. Alfred's court is then briefly revisited (pp. 167–75) but Asser's authorial purpose, and the status of the West Saxon queen, are saved for a much later chapter (pp. 353–63). Returning to the eleventh century, Bihrer sees Edward the Confessor not as recruiting 'new' Germans, but rewarding Lotharingian clerks who had served loyally during his Continental exile (p. 183).⁵ In Bihrer's book, 'German' often means 'Lotharingian' or 'Flemish'. He gives a useful stir to the long-simmering question of whether 'national' or 'factional' rivalries were played out at the Confessor's 'cosmopolitan' court (pp. 184–95), though neither here nor in the discussion of landholders (pp. 200–3) does he seem to have used the online *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*.⁶

Section B ends with a thoughtful discussion of 'the semantics of personal relationships'. Bihrer examines how language was used to 'de-couple social from geographical space'. Scrappy evidence precludes precise quantification of middle-distance traffic. Bihrer guesses that more short-term travellers and fewer long-term émigrés could imply less contact overall. Quality of contact is also problematic. Emma and Giso spoke, exceptionally, in their own voices. Traders

⁴ Bihrer draws on Elizabeth Tyler, 'Talking about History', *Early Medieval Europe*, 13 (2005), 359–83.

⁵ Bihrer cites Mary F. Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1999), 159–73.

⁶ *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* <www.pase.ac.uk>, accessed 7 July 2014, cited at p. 520 among electronic databases.

were not wholly voiceless, though. How they might have expressed themselves is well conveyed in Mary Garrison's 'Send more socks' (uncited by Bihrer): on such prosaic media as birch-bark letters, the distance-located and the personal *were* coupled.⁷

Section C, 'Regna', starts with German research on 'Nationenforschung' and 'Ethnogenesis'. Bihrer notes similar trends in anglo-phone work, but also an anglo-emphasis on distinguishing 'Us' from 'Others'. He surprisingly omits key works on *regna*, notably that of Susan Reynolds who has long kept kingdoms and communities in the same frame.⁸ The earliest Anglo-German meeting between rulers was that of Cnut (as king of Denmark) and Conrad II in 1027 in Rome, for Conrad's imperial coronation. Weakly institutionalized 'diplomatic contacts' (pp. 236–57) depended on happenstance. Bishop Coenwald's gift-laden visit to Germany in 929 probably had no tenth-century successor. Not until the 1050s did another envoy appear: Bishop Ealdred, twice chosen as the Confessor's envoy, to Rome, then Cologne, succeeded in paving the way for Edward the Exile's return to England from Hungary (p. 251).

Gifts, prayer-brotherhood relationships, and marriage all made links between rulers. Gift-exchange of relics or holy books less often stabilized ties than froze memories of particular communicative moments (pp. 266–80). Bonds of brotherhood, made by entering royal names in books of liturgical commemoration, were episodically promoted by Otto, Athelstan, and Cnut (pp. 280–90). Bihrer finds more grist in marriage-bonds between German and English royalty (pp. 290–314). He challenges conclusions drawn by historians of gender about the intentions of the marriage-planners. From the careers in Germany of Edith and Gunhild, both daughters of English kings, he infers that their natal origins neither helped nor hindered their capacities as agents or their reputations; that there is no evidence for these women's network-building; that an apparently strong form of relationship never brought a stabilization of relations between the *regna* of England and Germany; and that this underscores the instability of such connections. 'Research has clearly overrated the importance of marriages for the quality and duration of the relations them-

⁷ Mary Garrison, "'Send more socks": On Mentality and the Preservation Context of Early Medieval Letters', in Marco Mostert (ed.), *Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 1999), 69–99.

⁸ Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities* (2nd edn. Oxford, 1997).

selves' (p. 331). Yet absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, and recourse to analogy with better-documented places and times is not always a bad idea. Paucity of German charters with data on queens need not prove foreign queens' lack of agency. Documentary material on some Anglo-Saxon queens happens to be available.⁹ Outcomes of marriage were equally contingent. That Edith and Gunhild were rather short-lived helps explain their apparent political inaction. Bihrer repeats here his scepticism about defensive alliance as an aim and effect of cross-Channel royal marriages (pp. 331–41).

Did inter-regnal connections promote transfers of techniques of rulership or forms of ruler-representation? Bihrer finds no sign of German models influencing Anglo-Saxon 'imperial' ideas, nor of influences in the inverse direction. He accepts German influence on the Confessor's seals and coins, but not on alleged west-works and crown-wearings. He accepts the German origin of material incorporated in the Third English *Ordo*, probably in the 1060s, but remains doubtful about Ealdred as importer. He concludes that the Ottonians and Salians were as uninterested in Anglo-Saxon ruler-symbolism as Anglo-Saxon rulers were in German equivalents. Rulers unmotivated by 'foreign policy' concerns used relations with other kings to strengthen their own positions vis-à-vis the elites of their own realms: nation-formation of a pre-modern kind (pp. 352–3).

In his final section, D, Bihrer seems to find theory less helpful than earlier in the book. After flirting with 'Ausgleichsbewegung' and 'Glokalisierung', he settles for a traditional definition: 'In England and Germany believers counted themselves [as living] in christianitas, understood as a hierarchical and structured community' (p. 389).¹⁰ Bihrer does not say why he uses the Latin term, with a lower-case 'c' and in plain type, rather than a vernacular translation. Mindful of King Alfred's Old English coining of the word *cristendom* to render Orosius's *christianitas*, and accepting my computer's automatic capital 'C', I will call christianitas 'Christendom'. How far did religion in England in this period follow Carolingian models and how influ-

⁹ Pauline Stafford, *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power* (Aldershot, 2006).

¹⁰ Bihrer cites John van Engen, 'Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom', in Thomas Kselman (ed.), *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1991), 19–67.

enced was it by German ones? And why did tenth- and eleventh-century reformers in Germany, whose Christian religion had been imported from England, show little interest in either Anglo-Saxon missionaries or contemporary English practices? Germanic vernaculars employed for some religious purposes in Germany and England were not necessarily mutually intelligible. Tenth-century minster-reformers wanted Carolingian works, nearly all from France (pp. 414–16, 420–3), but some German liturgical texts now began to reach England via Lotharingia, and in the eleventh century, the Pontificale Romano-Germanicum did too (p. 430). English saints named in German calendars betokened interest in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* rather than 'living' cults or current contacts with England (pp. 440, 444). Ottonian iconography had no influence on English art before the Conquest (p. 461). That church architecture flourished in England and Germany 'did not imply the expression of a common visual language of christianitas' (p. 467). But surely there *was* a 'common visual language' of Christendom?

Constructions of history, geography, and ethnography in England and Germany were neither mutually dependent nor contemporary with each other. Bede's work was 'the lens through which England was viewed' by eleventh-century German churchmen (p. 474). Geographical additions in the Old English translation of Orosius brought knowledge of a world beyond Christendom only to England. Ethnography as constructed in Germany by such historians as Rudolf, Widukind, and the woman who wrote the Quedlinburg Annals, stayed in Germany. Like the fictive shared origin of Old Saxons and Anglo-Saxons (p. 490, n. 2271), or diverse German re-makes of Lives of English missionaries to Germany, or Thietmar's kaleidoscopic accounts of Anglo-Viking England, Bihrer's christianitas itself dissolves into 'meetings and transfers, things comparable and things compartmented, in very variegated forms' (p. 507).

On the debit-side of the balance-sheet, the theory of middle-distance contacts seems not quite to fit the Anglo-German bill. Bihrer never gets close to the positive specifics of communications across the sea and their follow-throughs inland, as between Kent and the Pas-de-Calais and Flanders, for instance, or London and the Rhineland. The book's three-part structure, rather than sustaining a coherent argument, can result in repetition; and when regions and realms emerge as more positively interesting than christianitas, there

is a feel of imbalance. Finally, 'research' is too often reified and homogenized, when the truth is, happily, that plural researchers will argue till the cows come home.

Bihrer concludes on a self-revelatory note (pp. 510–16). He wanted to test the impression given by 'research' that the period covered saw unusually close contacts between England and Germany. What he found were 'too many assumptions, too much guesswork'. Contacts were fewer and less durable, relationships far less 'thick', than 'research' claimed. Does his conclusion that encounters have been overrated make them less 'relevant' for historians? Clearly not! His book's credit-side overwhelms the debits. It is engrossing, and demanding. It maps ways readers will want to follow. It throws down challenges which a lot of researchers will want to take up.

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JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), xviii + 334 pp. with 3 maps. ISBN 978 0 230 29083 9. £65.00

Forty-five years after his first book on the subject,¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith has again written a masterly synthesis. This new book reveals the immense progress made by himself, his students, and others inspired by him. The ample bibliography lists the many important studies on the military-religious orders at the times of the crusades which have been published over the past few decades.² The subject received increasing attention long before events such as 9/11 aroused wider public interest in the long history of multi-faceted relations between Christians and Muslims. It was primarily Riley-Smith who inspired and, from 1992 on, helped to organize quadrennial conferences at St John's Gate in Clerkenwell, London, which facilitated and accelerated scholarly discussion and research. The five conference volumes published so far are an excellent introduction to the many aspects of the topic.³ Riley-Smith's 1967 book on the early Hospitallers was originally intended to be the first of several volumes by different authors on the general history of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, but no other volumes have yet appeared. This should not be a surprise to anyone who is aware of the numerous sources extant in archives and libraries scattered throughout Europe. In 1967 most sources were already known for the period before the Hospitallers moved their headquarters to Rhodes early in the fourteenth century. And yet it has been both possible and necessary to write a new survey integrating the results of scholarly work aimed at a clearer and broader understanding of these sources.

The new book is divided into five parts and fifteen chapters. The first and the last part follow the chronology and explain in detail the

¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050–1310, A History of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem*, 1 (London, 1967).

² For a survey see now Kristjan Toomaspoeg, 'Die Geschichtsschreibung der mittelalterlichen geistlichen Ritterorden: *Status quaestionis*', in Karl Borchardt and Libor Jan (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa: Mittelalter, Edice Země a kultura ve střední Evropě*, 20 (Brno, 2011), 25–48.

³ Malcolm Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders, 1: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot, 1994); Helen Nicholson (ed.), *The Military Orders, 2:*

political history of the organization centred originally on the Latin hospital next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The six chapters in these two parts are titled: 'Origins, c.1070–1160'; 'Militarization, 1126–1182'; 'Reaching Maturity, 1177–1206'; 'The Order and Politics of the Latin East, 1201–1244'; 'The Loss of the Mainland, 1244–1291'; and 'Interlude on Cyprus, 1291–1309'. After the Frankish conquest in 1099 support for the Latins in Jerusalem had to be organized from the West. At first the Hospitallers' income came mainly from alms collected in the West, and they specialized in caring for poor and sick pilgrims, whereas the Templars rendered assistance against Muslim and other marauders on the roads to Jerusalem.

On behalf of Baldwin II (1118–31) and Fulk (1131–43), kings of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers agreed to spend some of their revenues for the protection of pilgrims against raiders from Fatimid-held Ascalon (until 1153). In 1136 the Hospitallers received, as a royal gift, the castle of Bethgiblin that helped to block these raiders from the roads leading to Jerusalem. In the following decades this situation set in motion a gradual process of militarization, which apparently met with some resistance among the Hospitallers although, as Riley-Smith and others have shown, fighting for the faithful could be presented as a work of charity in the same way as caring for the poor and sick. The Hospitallers accepted more and more castles, among them large fortresses such as Belvoir, as well as Crac des Chevaliers in the county of Tripoli and Margat in the principality of Antioch. Since the times of King Amalric (1163–74) the Hospitallers had de facto been a military-religious order in more or less the same way as the Templars, although they never gave up their Hospital and their legislation reveals the growing importance of knightly members only in the thirteenth century. Efforts to colonize the countryside were thwarted by Saladin's conquests in 1187. After the loss of Jerusalem the Hospitallers had to move their headquarters to Acre and apparently invested in sugar production on land in the vicinity of this important harbour. Yet it remains an open question how much the sugar helped

Welfare and Warfare (Aldershot, 1998); Victor Mallia-Millanes (ed.), *The Military Orders, 3: History and Heritage*, (Aldershot, 2008); Judi Upton-Ward (ed.), *The Military Orders, 4: On Land and by Sea* (Aldershot, 2008); Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *The Military Orders, 5: Politics and Power* (Farnham, 2012). A sixth volume is in preparation: Jochen Schenk (ed.), *Culture and Conflict*.

to balance the Hospitallers' dependence on revenues from alms and estates donated or bought in the West.

The breakdown of royal authority in the kingdom of Jerusalem even before 1187, and the decisive defeat of the lay barons of Outremer at La Forbie in 1244,⁴ left the great military-religious orders as the only institutions in the East capable of making a major contribution to the defence against the Muslims. Often enough, however, the Hospitallers and the Templars found themselves in opposing political camps, the Templars generally being ready to cooperate with the French monarchy and the Anjou in Southern Italy, and the Hospitallers usually more with Genoa than with Venice. Riley-Smith rightly points out that the Hospitallers and the Templars negotiated many compromise agreements (pp. 53–4) and speaks of Hospitaller legitimacy during the thirteenth century (pp. 206, 220) because the Order recognized first the Hohenstaufen and then the Lusignan claims to the throne of Jerusalem. Yet future research on Hospitaller personnel and possessions in the West will have to elucidate the social and economic background for such political inclinations. At any rate, it may not have been by chance that after the fall of Acre in 1291, when both the Hospitallers and the Templars retired to Cyprus, the Hospitallers continued to cooperate with the Genoese to conquer Rhodes, whereas the Templars apparently opted for a coalition with the Ilkhans against the Mamluks.

The three other parts of the book – 'The Mission', 'The Order', and 'Assets' – deal in nine chapters with all basic aspects of Hospitaller organization. This includes the Order's two major tasks: first, nursing the sick and burying the dead; and, secondly, defending Christians. Further chapters describe the various classes of members, knights, priests, sergeants, sisters and confratres (with consorores), the conventual life, buildings and administration of justice, the Master, the Convent, the tongues, the Chapters General, the conventual bailiffs such as the grand commander, treasurer, drapier, hospitaller, marshal, turcopolier, and their gradually evolving departments. In 1299

⁴ Ilya Berkovich, 'Battle of Forbie (1244): A Historical and Topographical Study' (Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew University, 2007), one of the few important new studies not mentioned in the bibliography. See id., 'Templars, Franks, Syrians and the Double Pact of 1244', in *The Military Orders*, 5 (as above), 83–94; id., 'The Battle of Forbie and the Second Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Journal of Military History*, 75 (2011), 9–44.

the first admiral is recorded, the Master's nephew Fr. Fulk of Villaret, later himself Master from 1305 to 1317/19. It should be noted that at this early time there was no specific correlation between these officers and their departments on the one side and the tongues on the other.⁵ The seven tongues of Provence, France, Auvergne, Germany, England, Spain, and Italy were certainly in existence by the end of the thirteenth century, but there was resentment against them, probably because their introduction curbed the influence exerted by the numerous brethren from the kingdom of France (p. 129).

The third and final part of the structural sections is devoted to the Order's exempt status within the Church, including the papal privileges, and to the Hospitaller possessions in the Levant and in Europe. The possessions in the Levant were the primary topic of Riley-Smith's earlier book in 1967. The possessions in Europe, their contribution to the history of the Order and its incomes is an enormous subject and would deserve a separate book (p. 186).⁶ Nevertheless, the short chapter on the early Hospitallers in Europe (pp. 185–201) is an excellent starting-point for any such endeavour, especially as it offers historical explanations for the evolution of the roughly twenty regional priories in the West (map on p. xvii) and for the appointment of grand commanders with varying authority both for the West in general and for various groups of priories in Spain, France, Italy, and Germany. The grand commanders were not continued into the fourteenth century, a fact that still requires further explanation.

There may be a few minor points on which not everybody agrees. It is clear enough, for instance, that until 1202 the Hospitallers strongly refortified the castle of Margat, which they had been given in 1186 and that their Master, Fr. Alfonso of Portugal, held a chapter general

⁵ This correlation was a later development as a result of pre-national and political rivalries between the tongues. See Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 2011); id., 'The Oligarchy at Work: The Chapters General of the Hospitallers in the XVth Century (1421–1522)', in Michel Balard (ed.), *Autour de la première croisade* (Paris, 1996), 267–76, reprinted in *On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe: Structures and Perceptions*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 992 (Farnham, 2011) no. VI.

⁶ Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1895–1906) may be incomplete for some regions, but would offer an opportunity to start such a study.

there, probably in 1206. It is not so clear, however, that remote Margat was ever officially, or de facto, the seat of the Hospitaller Convent (as indicated on pp. 50–1 and on the map at p. xv). The dates according to which Hospitaller legislation is quoted (see the list on pp. xii–xiii) are taken from Delaville's *Cartulaire*, but for a few of these statutes there are alternative dates.⁷ Furthermore, a few questions and problems are not dealt with exhaustively and sometimes more detail would be welcome. For example, Riley-Smith rightly emphasizes that all Hospitallers were religious,⁸ and had an obligation to say prayers, attend mass, receive communion, and to fast (pp. 114–16). This has been overlooked by others who have concentrated on the Hospitallers' military achievements. Yet in a standard textbook one would like to find more detail about military equipment, tactics, and especially Hospitaller fortifications and castles. The state of research would certainly permit this. So a military history of the Hospitallers, or of the military-religious orders in Outremer, still has to be written. One would also like to know more about the social background of the members of the Orders, especially on the question of the knightly origins of brother knights and sergeants-at-arms as opposed to sergeants-at-service. In this case, however, lack of documentation may not allow us to find out much more than is said on pp. 104–5.

One last point should be highlighted. The new book is by no means a mere re-edition of the previous publication. The four chapters in the 1967 book treated the political history of the Hospitallers in the East, their organization, ecclesiastical privileges, and possessions in the East. The gazetteer of these possessions (pp. 477–507) has not been superseded. The same is true for many other sections of the 1967 publication. On the other hand, the new book is superior in explaining the general background of the Hospital's political history and many of its constitutional and structural features. In future, scholars studying the early Hospitallers and/or other military-religious orders will need to consult both books, side-by-side. Inevitably,

⁷ Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Early Written Records', in John France and William G. Zajac (eds.), *The Crusades and Their Sources* (Aldershot, 1998), 135–54, at 144–5 with reference to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4620.

⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2010).

The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant

Jonathan Riley-Smith will be the giant on whose shoulders the dwarfs stand. Both the academic world and the general public should thank him for this lifelong commitment and congratulate him on his now up-dated achievement.

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FLORIAN SCHUI, *Rebellious Prussians: Urban Political Culture under Frederick the Great and his Successors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xiii + 221 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 959396 5 £60.00

The study of Prussian history in the English-speaking world has a long tradition, reaching back far into the nineteenth century. The Frederician period in particular has repeatedly attracted the interest of historians. This study by Florian Schui must be placed into this wider context. The author's aim is to present a fresh perspective on relations between the state and civil society in Prussia during the second half of the eighteenth century. He wants to show that members of the Prussian middle classes engaged closely with the policies of the royal administration, against which they held up their own perceptions of Prussian conditions. From this were derived clear demands addressed to the state, which then fed into practical politics. Going beyond this, the author also places this way of thinking into a European context.

The details do not need further elucidation here as most of the contemporary authors and their arguments are well known: Büsching, Humboldt, and Süßmilch, to name only a few examples from the Prussian territories. To sum up briefly, their writings were mainly concerned with issues relating to the public and private practice of religion. Woellner's edicts of 1788 were the immediate cause that sparked off the debates discussed here. The real reason for the conflict, however, lay deeper. Ultimately, it went back to the conflicting beliefs of Lutherans and Calvinists, which was what lay behind the highly praised Hohenzollern policy of religious toleration. Issues relating to population policy and economic development, and the contribution of the state and its organs to public relief are further topics discussed. These are all themes that acquired a new look in the middle of the eighteenth century, under the influence of western European thinking. But they were not new, because Brandenburg-Prussia was still struggling with the upheavals caused by the Thirty Years War. While Berlin and the areas around the residences grew rapidly, the provinces derived little or no benefit from this. There the consequences of this catastrophe were, in many cases, not overcome until around 1800.

Trans. Angela Davies, GHIL.

The problem with this study is not how it weighs up the interpretations of contemporary writings, but how the author situates them socially and politically. He sees these positions as the expression of an emergent Prussian civil society, whose existence was necessarily tied to a firm state framework which forged it into a community. It is no coincidence, therefore, that Schui's description of Prussian statehood is based on Otto Hintze and other historians of the nineteenth century. For the latter, the royal administration had held the fragmented Hohenzollern territories together tightly since the early eighteenth century, shaping them into a solid body politic for its own purposes. This interpretation, however, has long been contested, or at least relativized, based on strong arguments. Doubt has often been cast on the unifying effect of princely absolutism and its ability to penetrate administratively to the most distant provinces. The claims of princely administrative policy and its reality were often poles apart.

This is illustrated not least by the story of Prussia's burghers. They tenaciously defended themselves against the princely officials who encroached upon their established privileges. The *Steuerrat* (tax official), so highly regarded by the author, visited the towns in his official district only once or twice a year (mostly with difficulty), arriving on a farm wagon. A glance at older works of local history might have helped the author to a better understanding of the historical reality. Thus Klaus Schwieger's unpublished dissertation on the situation of the burghers would have been useful.

The Silesian wars resulted in a loosening of ties between the Hohenzollern territories and the Kaiser and Reich, but the individual territories which formed the Hohenzollern monarchy did not lose their older territorial identity in the minds of the people. The unified Prussian state is a fiction of the nineteenth century. Regionalism and the integration of officials into the society of the territories set limits on the crown's power everywhere in old Europe. All too often, royal power disintegrated in the vastness of the provinces. Therefore a voice that was heard in Berlin should not be regarded as speaking for Königsberg, Cleves, or Breslau. So far, little connected the different parts of the country and their inhabitants with each other in everyday life. The Hohenzollern state had neither a uniform customs and tax policy, nor an economic and legal policy that crossed the borders of the territorial states. Only the military held the whole monarchy together.

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Despite all the efforts of the monarchy, moreover, the Hohenzollern territories did not lose their fundamentally feudal character until the reforms of the early nineteenth century, as the whole legal order showed. It is therefore no coincidence that the fundamentally socially conservative *Allgemeines Preussisches Landrecht* is hardly mentioned in this study. Regionalism and an agrarian attitude meant that the political and economic changes that were being discussed by urban elites all over Europe could only be partially implemented in Brandenburg-Prussia until well into the nineteenth century. The author could have considered this more closely in order better to grasp the meaning of the literature he draws upon in this book.

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JEFF BOWERSOX, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xv + 239 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 964109 3. £60.00

This book forms part of what has become a widespread interest in Imperial Germany's colonial culture. Its author adopts a post-colonial approach in the widest sense because his aim is to identify the repercussions of German colonial expansion in the metropolis. In the narrow sense, however, the questions the book addresses and the method it follows cannot be classified as post-colonial as they concern only internal German situations, concepts, and discourses, while the colonial population plays no part. Jeff Bowersox asks about German society's permeation with a colonial mentality, colonial knowledge, and a colonial horizon. He is interested in the education of adolescents, in which he includes a wide range of activities. All of them helped to disseminate a knowledge of the colonies and the fascination of the colonial world. In many respects, Bowersox's book complements John Phillip Short's *Magic Lantern Empire*, published one year earlier.¹ Like Short, Bowersox is interested in aspects of everyday culture; like Short, he looks at areas that have so far not been at the centre of attention; and like Short, he selects and concentrates on surprising aspects and observations. As with Short, however, the focus of Bowersox's investigation is not always clearly evident. The reasons for this are to be found partly in the sources, partly in the approach, and partly in the analysis.

Bowersox's investigation concentrates on five areas. First, he looks at toys and games that had a colonial reference, involved colonial figures, or used colonial situations. Second, he looks at school and instruction. Several aspects play a part here, from the expansion of school geography, which kept the colonies present in people's minds by mapping them, to the education reform movement around 1900. Third, he looks at efforts by the colonial movement and other experts outside the classroom to educate the young and popularize the movement, for example, around Berlin's colonial museum. Fourth, Bowersox examines commercial youth literature, and fifth,

Trans. Angela Davies (GHIL).

¹ John Phillip Short, *Magic Lantern Empire: Colonialism and Society in Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 2012).

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the *Pfadfinder*, whose origins, like those of the Boy Scouts in Britain, point to a colonial and military context. The case of the *Pfadfinder*, in particular, shows how open and indeterminable the results could be. In Germany, the *Pfadfinder* were founded by colonial veterans and enthusiasts, but their aim was less to achieve colonial expansion than to save young people from the damage inflicted by civilization. The colonies were merely an instrument in this, and were soon replaced by other perspectives that were clearly European.

In general, it is difficult to know what young people who were confronted with colonial set pieces at school and in public made of them, and how they appropriated what they learned. However annoying or curious colonial games may seem today, we must ask whether they really promoted expansionism, or even awakened enthusiasm for the colonies. Were they ever successful? The colonial movement, which was never organizationally a mass movement, was desperate to enlist the support of young people, especially after 1918, when colonialists became colonial veterans, and their support-base aged. To the extent that it was politicized, the younger generation's interests did not stretch to inhospitable African tropics or distant Pacific islands.

Frequently, however, something else was at stake. Bowersox clearly anchors his topics in contemporary leisure and mass culture. A colonial game was, in the first instance, a game; a colonial novel, a novel. What was important was how they were received and used. This can be seen very well, for instance, in colonial novels, penny dreadfuls, and other such media products which were part of a mass reading culture. By comparison with the large numbers of adventure stories, Westerns, and crime novels, they had little significance and were probably read mainly as adventure stories. Colonial set pieces, names, and references in children's games were used mainly to give games an exotic tinge, and they provide us with a record of the concepts and situations that children were familiar with. This probably did less to encourage colonial expansionism than a longing for freedom and adventure, although it is difficult to know, except by looking at memoirs, how and why children played specific games. This reflects a feeling that colonialism and the colonial perspective were taken for granted or, as Bowersox puts it, a feeling of superiority that was underpinned in precise biological, historical, factual, and cultural terms. In this view, Europe, on the basis of its history, geography,

and population, had a mission to rule the supposedly more primitive world outside Europe. The spread of colonial elements in everyday culture, games, and literature, however, did not strictly mirror the Empire's colonial expansion: China toys existed before the adventure of Kiaochow. To this extent interest in the colonies reflected bourgeois awareness of the world, an interest in the world and world history captured in the large illustrated encyclopedias and multi-volume world histories that graced every bourgeois household in Imperial Germany. As far as exoticism was concerned, it was not so much actual colonial rule and clarity that were attractive, as the open spaces, the frontier where cultures collided, vagueness was permitted, and standards were at least temporarily suspended, where what was closed at home opened up. Colonial games, instruction, novels, and so on contributed to creating colonial sites of memory in this way; conquests, wars, and individuals were anchored in the collective memory.

Given the ubiquitous nature of the colonial, it remains to be explained why colonial policy was not popular, and people going to live in the colonies to gain colonial experience were often seen not as courageous, pioneering spirits, but as the victims of personal crises, insecure life circumstances, and a lack of career opportunities in Germany. Even Kaiser Wilhelm II mocked qualified German civil servants who were drawn to the colonies. In this context, Bowersox emphasizes links between discussions of the condition of the state and economy in Germany on the one hand, and cultural and life reform and the youth movement on the other. The latter he sees less as a movement of young people than as an instrument for integrating adolescents in the context of a changing world bringing new challenges. Goals could collide, for example, an interest in propaganda with that in education, when the aim was to suppress 'trash and filth', including adventure stories and penny dreadfuls. And Bowersox sees the question of colonialism as integrated, via the medium of education, into the debate about Germany's place in time and the world, that is, its self-confidence as a nation.

On balance, the many media discussed here, and especially the mass media, created an exotic world for adolescents who wanted to escape from their reality for a while. Yet a colonial mentality prevailed among young people, who henceforth perceived the world as in need of colonization, and colonization as an adventure and a chal-

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lenge. This was not a specifically German nationalist attitude, but part of a European self-perception. The book provides a great deal of material on this, and provides stimulating suggestions for interpreting the colonial culture of Imperial Germany.

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JENNIFER DRAKE ASKEY, *Good Girls, Good Germans: Girls' Education and Emotional Nationalism in Wilhelminian Germany*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (New York: Camden House, 2013), x + 201 pp. ISBN 978 1 57113 562 9. £55.00

The national education of young people in Imperial Germany has been widely studied. The author of the book under review here adds a new aspect to the theme: the emotional education of the daughters of the upper middle class (she herself speaks of the 'middle class' throughout) by reading relevant, nationally oriented literature, both inside and outside school. Referring to studies by Silvia Bovenschen,¹ Ute Frevert,² and Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres,³ Askey reports that the impact of misogynistic nineteenth-century German-language literature on women has been sufficiently investigated, while middle-class girls remain largely invisible. What it meant for these future women to be exposed to this misogynistic literature is the subject of the four chapters comprising this book.

The book starts with an outline of the development of secondary schooling for girls after the foundation of Imperial Germany, providing the institutional framework within which the daughters of Prussia's wealthy classes were imbued with a basic patriarchal understanding of the world. Femininity was associated with domesticity, emotion, and submission to male leadership, notions that shaped the gender system of the western world in the nineteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century, this image of femininity became increasingly national, that is, 'German'. As Askey is mainly interested in the teaching of German, she traces this development in contemporary didactic literature, curricula, and textbooks for girls' schools.

The second chapter, entitled 'Father's Library', examines the official body of reading for girls in Imperial Germany. Classical works of

Trans. Angela Davies, GHIL.

¹ Silvia Bovenschen, *Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit: Exemplarische Untersuchungen zu kulturgeschichtlichen und literarischen Präsentationsformen des Weiblichen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979).

² Ute Frevert, *Mann und Weib und Weib und Mann: Geschlechterdifferenzen in der Moderne* (Munich, 1995).

³ Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century German Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation* (Chicago, 1998).

literature formed the core of the German curriculum, both in the *Gymnasien* which were reserved for boys and in the quantitatively and qualitatively much less ambitious high schools for girls, specifically, Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, and Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* and *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. According to Askey, the female figures and gender relations depicted in these works correspond in the widest sense to nineteenth-century patriarchal ideals of femininity, and could be used for national purposes. Possible criteria for excluding certain literature and blocking access to other works are discussed. The image of women in Schiller's poem 'Das Lied von der Glocke' is cited in the subsection 'The Lock on Father's Shelves' as evidence for the patriarchal selection of readings. Schiller's characters (not only female) and the image of women he put forward were more one-dimensional and nationally oriented than those created by the other great Weimar classicist. Goethe's complex *oeuvre* could not be fully harnessed for nationalist aims. Even *Hermann und Dorothea*, published in 1798 as a bourgeois epic poem in the age of the revolutionary wars, can hardly be seen as a guide to aggressive nationalism.

The material from classical Antiquity used in *Iphigenie auf Tauris* is even less suitable for nationalist appropriation. Nonetheless Askey takes Gertrud Bäumer's speech at the fifth general assembly of the German Association of Women Teachers (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Lehrerinnenverein*) in Danzig in 1899 on 'Die deutschen Klassiker in der höheren Mädchenschule' as an example of education in 'emotional nationalism'. In fact, the leader of the German women's movement interprets Goethe's *Iphigenie* as a text for protecting pupils from inner conflict and scepticism representing the 'indestructible moral world order' (Bäumer, p. 791).⁴ For Bäumer, Goethe's words 'Der Mensch ist frei geschaffen, ist frei und würd' er in Ketten geboren!' are an expression of German 'cultural patriotism'. The male perspective on femininity in German national literature, that is, in the works of Goethe and Schiller, thus served an education for girls which uniformly promoted a closely circumscribed image of femininity which

⁴ 'Verhandlungen der V. Generalversammlung des Allgemeinen deutschen Lehrerinnenvereins zu Danzig 1899', *Die Lehrerin in Schule und Haus*, 15 (1898-9), 787-98, online at <http://goobiweb.bbf.dipf.de/viewer/image/ZDB1010997505_0015/692> to <http://goobiweb.bbf.dipf.de/viewer/image/ZDB1010997505_0015/704>, accessed 11 July 2014.

defined grace and charm, temperament, and the work ethic as German qualities.

In order to prove this point once again, Askey refers to a play by Christa Winsloe, filmed in 1931 as *Mädchen in Uniform*. In this boarding school story, Winsloe presents the women teachers, and especially the headmistress, as representatives of an ideal of femininity that is shattered by the student Manuela. In a performance of Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Manuela as Don Carlos, the male lover, uses the role to express her crush on a teacher. As expected, Askey interprets the lack of strong female role models in this film (and in Winsloe's 1930 drama, whose story the author reworked again in the form of a novel in 1933) as an expression of Germany's gender hierarchy, in which women were aesthetically and socially marginalized.

The second part of the book consists of two chapters on literature for girls in the strict sense. Chapter three is on the *Backfischroman* (novels for teenage girls) and historical novels, while chapter four investigates the symbolic significance of Queen Louise and her representation in literature for women and girls. After a rather cursory account of the development of the book market and well-known works in the genre of the *Backfischroman* (including Clementine Helm's *Backfischchens Zeitvertreib*, and Emmy von Rhoden's *Der Trotz-kopf*), Askey analyses a number of historical novels by Brigitte Augusti. In terms of subject, genre, and literary construction, these novels for young women readers were closely based on Gustav Freytag's historical novels. As an adaptation of national historiography for a readership of young women after the foundation of the Imperial Germany, these texts aimed to develop a female national awareness.

In the final part of the book, Askey looks at the significance of the Prussian crown princess and later queen, Louise, as a role model for female emotional nationalism. The idealization of Louise, which was not just a product of the Wilhelmine period but started during her own lifetime, produced a myth of 'Louise', often described in the research. This was available as a resource in countless biographical narratives for the education of young girls from middle-class families.

Askey shows that an institutional framework and a wide range of literary offerings existed which aimed to encourage the national identification of girls while also promoting a model of femininity that

(everywhere in Europe) limited the free, creative space of women to privately defined areas. It aimed to educate middle-class women to become the bearers of this patriarchal ideal with nationalistic connotations.

A number of criticisms should be mentioned. The title of the book lacks precision: nationalism is, by definition, a political conviction based on emotions. But Askey has something else in mind. She argues, correctly, that the national education of girls in Wilhelmine Germany, by comparison with that of boys, followed an empathetic and aesthetic rather than analytical approach, and aimed to train girls to show affection, to care for the family, and to be subservient. In some areas, Askey's selection of sources is not adequately justified. The criteria by which educational literature and reading books were chosen for discussion are not made explicit. The educational autonomy of the states in Imperial Germany meant that many different reading books, for example, were used, and a systematic analysis of these would have been instructive. Also, the sources in the second chapter go far beyond the timeframe of the Wilhelmine Empire. Neither the reading prescribed for Fanny Lewald by her father in the early 1820s nor the 1931 film of Christa Winsloe's *Mädchen in Uniform* date from the Wilhelmine period. It is questionable whether Fanny Lewald's father, a Jewish merchant from Königsberg, was pursuing 'national' interests in the canon he prescribed for his daughter, and there can be no question of 'nationalist' ones. More than a decade after the collapse of the monarchy, Winsloe wrote a literary account of girls' education in Wilhelmine Germany with the aim of showing feelings between women in a positive light and criticizing women who oriented themselves by male norms.

Methodologically it is problematic that while the author repeatedly addresses the issue of how emotional education takes place through reading, she cannot go beyond the level of fictional offerings. While these provide clear national or nationalistic models, their significance for the development of a specifically female form of nationalism is less clear-cut than Askey's selection and interpretation suggest. The author's response to the fact that girls can also identify with male protagonists is that this reinforces their marginal position because they do not grow up to be men. The possibility of personality development which crosses binary gender boundaries, it seems, is beyond her horizons of expectation. Instead, Askey sees only how

strongly secondary schools, the literary canon they prescribed in German lessons, the didactic considerations of educators, school readings themselves, and, finally, the role models held up in more highbrow but entertaining literature for young, middle-class girls all aimed to prepare them for a subservient role within the patriarchal family as part of the German *Volk*. This comes out especially clearly in her interpretation of Gertrud Bäumer's lecture. While Bäumer interpreted the classics as 'patriotic', for this reviewer it is not clear that the leader of the women's movement thereby evoked, or wanted to evoke (the author does not differentiate here) 'emotional nationalism'. Rather, Bäumer was more interested in emphasizing Goethe's restoration of the right of subjectivity (p. 787), where there is neither man nor woman (p. 788), and criticizing the limited female ideal, whose content and educational potential was promoted by male educators (pp. 792–7).

And, finally, the research literature is sometimes used in a problematic way. The long direct quotations from the secondary literature of various disciplines on Imperial Germany create the impression that the author needs support from the 'authorities', making the selective notice taken of existing studies on her actual theme all the more puzzling. Neither Angela Schwalb's *Mädchenbildung und Deutschunterricht*,⁵ nor Gabriele von Glasenapp's article on the historical novel (Gustav Freytag and Brigitte Augusti, among others), nor Birte Förster's contribution on historical biography (including Queen Louise), published in the handbook *Mädchenliteratur in der Kaiserzeit*,⁶ are mentioned. These studies provide detailed analyses of the nationalistic impact of literature for young girls and of German instruction in girls' secondary schools.

The author has set out to investigate emotional education in Imperial Germany during the heyday of European nationalism, which coincided with the peak period of the ideology of separate spheres. With the sources and methods available, this undertaking is too ambitious for a work of literary criticism. What remains is the merit of having contributed to the gender history of German-language youth literature in English-language research.

⁵ Angela Schwalb, *Mädchenbildung und Deutschunterricht: Die Lehrpläne und Aufsatzthemen der höheren Mädchenschulen Preußens im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000).

⁶ Gisela Wilkending (ed.), *Mädchenliteratur in der Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart, 2003).

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CHRISTIAN BAILEY, *Between Yesterday and Tomorrow: German Visions of Europe, 1926–1950* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), xiv + 259 pp. ISBN 978 1 78238 139 6. \$95.00. £60.00

In recent years there has certainly been no lack of research into the historical roots of the European idea.¹ Intellectual historians in particular have traced its origins from a long-term perspective, identifying a heyday of European thought and pro-European organizations in the first half of the twentieth century, which has attracted a great deal of attention.² Geographically most studies have been centred on the two major players of continental Europe, France and Germany.³

Christian Bailey's dissertation about German visions of Europe between 1926 and 1950 contributes to this ongoing wave of research. The aim of his study is to dissolve the classical founding myth of European integration by tracing the 'lost Europes', that is, those ideas of a united continent that never succeeded, thus avoiding a teleological perspective and illustrating the diversity of European thought as well as its contingency. In doing so, he approaches the historical process of European unification via an 'emerging European society' (p. 5) in the shape of civil society actors, mostly intellectuals, whom Bailey considers central to the construction of political identities. He analyses three different groups and their activities in each case for a period before and after 1945. By concentrating on German-speaking European thinkers, the author examines the country which arguably played the most crucial role in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century, without losing sight of how debates on the continent helped to shape German national identity.

¹ See e.g. the publications and conferences of the recently founded international 'Research Network on the History of the Idea of Europe', online at <<http://www.historyideaofeurope.org>>, accessed 16 May 2014.

² See Matthias Schulz, 'Europa-Netzwerke und Europagedanke in der Zwischenkriegszeit', *Europäische Geschichte Online* (2010), online at <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schulzm-2010-de>>, accessed 8 Feb. 2014; and the classic study by Carl H. Pegg, *Evolution of the European Idea, 1914–1932* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1983).

³ Oliver Burgard, *Das gemeinsame Europa – von der politischen Utopie zum außenpolitischen Programm: Meinungsaustausch und Zusammenarbeit pro-europäischer Verbände in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1924–1933* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000).

In his Introduction Bailey criticizes the traditional narrative of European integration history as characterized by a narrow focus, understanding integration as simply a series of events, negotiations, and contracts, and thus beginning only after 1945. While Bailey's definition of integration as 'a process of encounter, interaction, competition and cooperation between Europeans that occurred as part of everyday experiences' (p. 10) is certainly correct, this narrative has, in fact, already been broken up, both in theory and empirically, over the last decade.⁴ Against this background an introduction to the current state of research and an illustration of the applied method (both of which are missing from the Introduction) would have been especially useful, as one initially wonders what Bailey plans to add to Vanessa Conze's major study of European ideas in Germany within a similar timeframe.⁵

In the first two chapters, the author analyses images of Europe articulated in the cultural magazine *Merkur: Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken*. While this periodical was only founded in 1947, Bailey identifies two predecessors in the inter-war years, which marked a heyday for cultural journals in general, namely, *Neue Rundschau* and *Europäische Revue*.⁶ These magazines had the backing of influential civil society groups that argued strongly for the unification of Europe, but were highly critical of parliamentary democracy. Instead, by arguing that European culture was based in central

⁴ See e.g. Dominique Barjot (ed.), *Penser et construire l'Europe (1919–1992)* (Paris, 2008); Martin Conway and Kiran Klaus Patel (eds.), *Europeanization in the Twentieth Century: Historical Approaches* (Basingstoke, 2010); Vanessa Conze, *Das Europa der Deutschen: Ideen von Europa in Deutschland zwischen Reichstradition und Westorientierung (1920–1970)* (Munich, 2005); Mark Hewitson and Matthew D'Auria (eds.), *Europe in Crisis: Intellectuals and the European Idea, 1917–1957* (New York, 2012); and Guido Thieme, *Europäische Integration: Motive – Prozesse – Strukturen* (Cologne, 2010).

⁵ Conze, *Das Europa der Deutschen*.

⁶ Both journals have previously been the subject of intensive research. See Nils Müller, 'Karl Anton Rohan (1898–1975): Europa als antimoderne Utopie der Konservativen Revolution', *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte*, 12 (2011), 181–206; Matthias Schulz, 'Der Europäische Kulturbund', *Europäische Geschichte Online* (2010), online at <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schulzm-2010c-de>>, accessed 2 Dec. 2012.

Europe they promoted an elitist concept of *Abendland*, thus advocating a ‘Third Force Mitteleuropa’ (p. 36) that was politically, economically, and culturally located between the Western and Eastern models. The European discourse in *Merkur* after the Second World War was rooted in the transnational networks fostered by its predecessors, as the leading protagonists tried further to curtail the supposedly disruptive tendencies within the democratic national states by means of European integration. In the face of the Cold War, anti-liberal models of a united Europe thus reappeared after 1945.

In the following chapters the author’s focus shifts to political groups of intellectuals on the left and right. In chapters three and four he examines the Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund’s (ISK) European policy before and during the Second World War, and subsequently that of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) after 1945. While the ISK was an elitist organization with at most a few hundred members and supporters, Bailey argues that it had a profound influence on Social Democratic exiles during the time of resistance. He shows how the ISK and, correspondingly, Europe’s socialist thinking, gradually shifted from the goal of world revolution to the goal of an integrated Europe with a particular emphasis on central Europe. While this process had already started before 1939, it intensified during the Second World War when leading socialists in exile were forced to watch Nazism’s violent and imperialistic ‘unification’ of Europe, giving them a more radical and internationalist outlook themselves. Despite the fact that the ISK’s hopes were initially disappointed after 1945, socialist ideas of a federated Europe did not disappear, but triggered an independent European policy by local and regional groups, forming the *Bürgermeisterflügel* (mayoral wing) within the SPD. Comparing their ideas and concepts with Kurt Schumacher’s official party policy, Bailey argues that the SPD’s main goal was ‘to reform the political culture of Western Europe into a model Third Way community that pointed the way towards a future beyond American-style capitalism and Soviet collectivism’ (p. 137). Indeed, he shows that Schumacher himself, who is commonly regarded as a left-wing nationalist with a rather narrow view of foreign policy, was a central and active figure in those debates and thus part of the general internationalization and subsequent Europeanization of German Social Democracy after 1945. Going even further, the new SPD’s Third Force policy did not end with Schumacher’s

failure in the face of Cold War realities that limited the European outlook to the western part of the continent, but 're-emerged in the *Ostpolitik* initiatives launched in the 1960s by former exiles and advocates of a Third Force Europe such as Willy Brandt' (p. 117).

Shifting his focus more to the political right, Bailey concentrates on another group of intellectual exiles in chapter five, namely, the organization *Das Demokratische Deutschland*, whose members, mostly originating from southern German regions, fled to Switzerland at the beginning of the Second World War. Starting active political work only late in the war, they became heavily engaged in transnational civil society networks like the Swiss *Europa-Union*. Building on a 'conception of Europe as *Abendland* that was neither Eastern nor Western but rooted in a shared central European history and a political culture that was distinct from interwar parliamentary democracy' (p. 156), they emphasized that a united Europe was needed for the reconstruction of Germany. Their ultimate goal was a power shift in the direction of the European regions, with a special emphasis on southern Germany. While these concepts lost impact in the Cold War era, they did not disappear entirely as some of the leaders of *Das Demokratische Deutschland* had impressive post-war careers in both of the major German parties. Politicians such as Heinrich Ritzel, who was active in the early European integration process, and Wilhelm Hoegner, who became Bavaria's minister president in 1945, continued to pursue a 'Europe of the Regions *avant la lettre*' (p. 188) until the late 1950s. As Bailey argues, this federalist Third Force option backed by civil society groups that consisted of Christian Democrats as well as Social Democrats played a crucial role in securing the cross-party consensus behind European integration in the early Federal Republic.

On the whole, Bailey shows that the continuities of a Third Force vision of Europe were based on a specific conception of *Mitteleuropa* in Germany that enabled common patterns of interpretation on the political left and right. In many cases, these ideas were profoundly anti-democratic before 1945 and were directed equally against Western mass politics and Eastern Communism after the Second World War. While in terms of *realpolitik* this Third Force Europe was marginalized because of the Cold War climate and the integration of Western Europe, it was nevertheless an important facet of post-war German political culture and contributed to the quick acceptance of European patterns of thought. Going even further Bailey points out

that in the long term it functioned as a trigger for new approaches in the field of German eastern policy in the 1950s and 1960s.

While this is certainly an interesting finding, it is problematic that, as one of the book's main theses, it focuses on a time that is not included in the period of research and thus does not form part of the analysis itself. Also, it must be noted that Bailey includes a selective sample of (West) German visions of Europe in his study while excluding others. This remark may seem pointless, as the author never claims completeness; however, especially in the light of current research, it is regrettable that Bailey largely neglects the National Socialist concepts of Europe, or discusses them only as a foil for other conceptions.⁷ Indeed, it could be asked whether Hitler's version of a 'New Europe' and corresponding nationalist ideas of a united continent were not the most powerful German vision of Europe before 1945. Additionally, some small factual inaccuracies affect an otherwise precise contextualization. For example, the author claims that French politician Aristide Briand's plan for a European union in 1929–30 was inspired by the Austrian nobleman Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Movement. In fact, when it came to details Briand was sceptical about Coudenhove-Kalergi's integration approach. Briand never operated as an active member of the Pan-European Union, although he had been selected as its honorary president. Besides, Briand's plan was not 'primarily concerned with economics' (p. 29) as Bailey asserts, but envisaged the simultaneous political and economic unification of the continent, which was one of the main reasons for the dissent it aroused in most European governments.⁸

⁷ Examples of the intensive research on National Socialist concepts are Bernard Bruneteau, *'L'Europe nouvelle' de Hitler: Une illusion des intellectuels de la France de Vichy* (Monaco, 2003); Birgit Kletz, *Europa aus Rasse und Raum: Die nationalsozialistische Idee der Neuen Ordnung* (Münster, 2000); and Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (New York, 2008), esp. 553–76.

⁸ See Friedrich Kießling, 'Der Briand-Plan von 1929/30: Europa als Ordnungsvorstellung in den internationalen Beziehungen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert', *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte* (2008), online at <<http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2008/Article=294>>, accessed 2 Dec. 2012. For a critical evaluation of the relationship between Briand and Coudenhove-Kalergi, see Verena Schöberl, 'Es gibt ein großes und herrliches Land, das sich selbst nicht kennt . . . es heißt Europa': Die Diskussion um die Paneuropaidee in Deutschland, Frankreich und Großbritannien 1922–1933 (Berlin, 2008), 225–7.

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Despite those minor points of critique, Bailey has contributed an important book. Its main strengths lie in confirming the persistence of inter-war, often anti-liberal, ideas of Europe in the early German Federal Republic and in the striking similarities of European thought between left-wing and right-wing groups. Thus it becomes clear how, in a polarized political environment such as that of post-war Germany, Europe and support for European integration could become a commonplace in public debate. Moreover, he is able to show that German visions of Europe in those years did indeed oscillate 'between yesterday and tomorrow'. They were located within an area of friction between reminiscences of the past and hopes for the future, with Europe forming an abstract objective rather than a fixed geographical or political reality. The fact that the book is well written and has a very detailed index will make it even more useful to anyone interested in the intellectual history of the European idea and of German political culture in the first half of the twentieth century.

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DOROTHEA MCEWAN, *Fritz Saxl – Eine Biografie: Aby Warburgs Bibliothekar und erster Direktor des Londoner Warburg Institutes* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 344 pp. ISBN 978 3 205 78863 8. €39.00

To find out anything about Fritz Saxl, it is necessary to consult the personal papers left by his much better known colleagues, mainly the extensive collection left by Aby M. Warburg (1866–1929), art historian from Hamburg. But the papers of Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), who emigrated by stages, arriving at the newly founded Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton in 1935, and those of Edgar Wind (1900–71), who became the first professor of art history at Oxford University in 1955, are also important sources. These papers contain numerous reflections, mostly in the correspondence, that allow conclusions to be drawn about Saxl's life and work via the detour of an outside perspective, which offers a different view. The main protagonist here almost inevitably fades into the background, and the question arises whether this was also the case during his lifetime. Dorothea McEwan, long-time head of the Warburg Institute Archive, London, has set herself the task of writing a separate biography of one of the most important individuals in the discipline of art history during the first half of the twentieth century. She has produced a detailed and readable account, whose subtitle mentions two job titles – librarian and director – which characterize the depths of Saxl's personality. McEwan structures the biography strictly chronologically, building on significant moments in Saxl's career. This allows her to integrate substantive aspects in the form of separate topics.

Fritz Saxl was born in 1890 in Vienna, where he undertook most of his art history studies, completing his Ph.D. with a thesis on Rembrandt in 1912. In addition to this thematic focus, another field of interest emerged at this early time: the pictorial history of astronomy and astrology. It is an important structural element of this investigation that, in addition to the biographical timeline, it identifies the origin of themes and intellectual concepts that interested Saxl, and describes how he expressed them and how they developed in his thinking. Early modern star constellations was one of the areas of scientific observation that interested Saxl throughout his life. It also had an almost fateful significance, as the topic brought Saxl into contact

Trans. Angela Davies, GHIL.

with Aby Warburg. Saxl received paid commissions to undertake research, either on Warburg's recommendation or directly from him, which occasionally resulted in tensions between them. But it allowed Saxl to earn a living, as his Jewish faith precluded him from employment, for example, at any public art gallery in Austria. Two research scholarships, financed by the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, which he received in 1913 and 1914 thus not only gave him an academically highly attractive task, but also secured his livelihood. Saxl's job was to catalogue medieval manuscripts relating to astrology.

This was the origin of his close connection with Warburg, and led to Warburg offering Saxl a job in his Hamburg library. But circumstances intervened, and just one year later, Saxl was called up. In addition to other publications on Saxl, McEwan has written two profound studies which describe in detail the communication between the two scholars.¹ The biography under review here describes the First World War period and Saxl's war service, which took him to the Austrian-Italian front, and explains the development he underwent as a result. After the end of the war Saxl, initially living in Vienna, worked in adult education and curated a number of exhibitions with wide-ranging themes, including 'Das Joch des Krieges' (The Yoke of War), which clearly showed the brutality of events. One of the aims of McEwan's biography is to trace how particular ideas echoed throughout Saxl's work. He favoured transmitting ideas in the form of exhibitions, which, through reproductions, made production with more open content less expensive. Saxl's aim is revealed in the title of an article which he wrote for *The Listener* in 1943: 'Visual Education.'

The events of the First World War, especially the political upheavals, precipitated a mental breakdown in Warburg's case, and he was hospitalized until 1924. Until then, it was not at all clear whether he would ever be well enough to be released. Warburg's illness had a profound impact on the course of Saxl's life. Warburg's family decided that the Warburg Library should continue to exist as a research tool, and Saxl was asked to take over the directorship. He began work in Hamburg in January 1920. McEwan vividly describes the enthusiasm with which he organized the work of the library, ultimately developing it into an outstanding research institute with an

¹ Dorothea McEwan, *Ausreiten der Ecken: Die Aby Warburg-Fritz Saxl Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1919* (Hamburg, 1998); and ead., 'Wanderstrassen der Kultur': *Die Aby Warburg-Fritz Saxl Korrespondenz 1920 bis 1929* (Hamburg, 2004).

extensive academic programme and two publication series, the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* and the *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*. The thematic link was the afterlife of Antiquity, especially visible in the European Renaissance during the early modern period.

Saxl also maintained close contact with Warburg, not just out of a duty to report to the Library's owner, but apparently with the aim of gradually encouraging Warburg to return to work. This is clearly illustrated by the example of the lecture on the 'snake ritual', which Warburg delivered while still in the clinic as a demonstration of his recovery. McEwan quite correctly entitles this chapter 'Wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit in Kreuzlingen' (Academic Cooperation in Kreuzlingen), for what Saxl did cannot be described as mere preliminary work. This is an important point for future research on Warburg. Themes and concepts, even striking expressions, can be traced back to Saxl, and were developed further in cooperative work. This makes it difficult to identify precisely what each man contributed, and the biography, in addition to giving us a clearer view of Saxl, also sharpens our view of Warburg.

In August 1924 Warburg was at last fit to return to his library and resume his academic work. This moment, as it approached, was not easy for Saxl. In 1923 he had written, quite openly: 'The idea that Warburg will come back after all is still difficult for me. To be sure, he sees me as something like a son, but he is a hard Saturn-father. And to be forever in the role of *Adlatus*? Never to give my powers free rein? Certainly, as an academic, I have benefited greatly from the strict discipline imposed on me by this man, but would I not have more freedom in other circumstances?'² But even after Warburg's return, the two managed to cooperate largely without problems, as the top priority for both was the theme – the afterlife of Antiquity – and the development of the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* (KBW), which moved into its own building in 1926. It is a great merit of this biography that it presents Saxl's original research topics in detail, for example, the analysis of Rembrandt's painting, 'The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis'. His contribution to the KBW's substantive profile emerges clearly, and the narrowing of the focus on to Warburg, which can be observed elsewhere, is avoided.

² Quoted from Pablo Schneider, 'Fritz Saxl: Gebärde, Form und Ausdruck', in id. (ed.), *Gebärde, Form, Ausdruck: Fritz Saxl – zwei Untersuchungen* (Zurich, 2012), 112.

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Warburg's death in October 1929 marked an important turning point for the whole institution and its members. The group, which included Gertrud Bing in a leading role, saw it as their task to continue the work of the library's founder. Saxl's responsibility for the KBW grew, but Bing and Edgar Wind also contributed actively and together they made up the institution's management. The difficult economic situation and the increasingly radicalized political circumstances also affected the KBW, making its work more difficult and holding back its development. At this point, too, McEwan pursues a thematic focus in order to counteract a reduction of Saxl's role to that of science organizer. From the beginning of the 1930s, it became ever clearer to the KBW's management that it would be increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to continue working in Germany. Saxl, Bing, and especially Wind tirelessly drew up and explored plans for emigration. In December 1933 they succeeded in relocating the library, almost all of its books and mobile technical equipment, and a large proportion of its staff to London, where the KBW became the Warburg Institute.

The first extremely difficult years in London are vividly recreated in this biography. McEwan never loses sight of the important staff members, depicting a group who were firmly linked by a common thematic and institutional goal. Despite the successful emigration, it was by no means clear in the years that followed whether London really would be the last stop for the Warburg Institute. Saxl was forced to draw up a dual strategy, and to implement it. On the one hand, it was important for the Institute to establish itself in London and in British intellectual life; on the other, contacts, especially through Edgar Wind in the USA, had to be maintained in order to explore other options in terms of location and finances.

Saxl returned to the type of work he had done in Vienna after the First World War, and designed an exhibition based on photographs, entitled 'The Visual Approach to the Classics: An Exhibition of Greek and Roman Art', which showed highly successfully from 1939, and from 1941 he mounted the exhibition 'British Art and the Mediterranean'. The Library resumed publishing in 1937, starting with the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, and from 1940 the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. Although Wind and Rudolf Wittkower were the editors of the first volumes, Saxl was involved. The lecture series was also revived, and the associated difficulties are clearly

spelled out in the biography. Drawing up its programme was a balancing act between supporting German emigrants and developing a profile on the British academic scene. These time-consuming tasks had to be managed in addition to everyday business, because the Warburg Institute continued to function as a research institution with extensive library holdings. Saxl devoted himself fully to working for *his* Institute, until his body could no longer cope. He died in 1948 at the age of 58.

Fritz Saxl was one of the most important protagonists of art history in the twentieth century. Given his lifetime achievements, the fact that from the point of view of the discipline, he has not emerged from Warburg's shadow can only be described as tragic. This well-founded and thorough biography makes clear that Saxl was far more than *just* the librarian. If the first part of the book largely presents the Austrian art historian through Warburg's eyes, this is not only the result of the sources available. The two men worked together, and the older man stood in the limelight, a view that reception history has perpetuated and strengthened. But McEwan's investigation demonstrates the large part that Saxl played in the conception and content of Warburg's research and in shaping the library's academic profile. He continued in this role in London, displaying the ability to combine a sense of organization with intellectual work. Saxl approached the themes and objects of art history through Warburg in the broadest methodological sense. As it was for Warburg, academic debate was the business of Saxl's life, as he put it shortly before his death.

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FRANCIS GRAHAM-DIXON, *The Allied Occupation of Germany: The Refugee Crisis, Denazification and the Path to Reconstruction* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), xvi + 348 pp. ISBN 978 1 78076 465 8. £59.50

Francis Graham-Dixon's important book has unfortunately been published under a misleading title, which will discourage readers interested in its real theme, while confusing others looking in vain for the subjects implied by its cover. Thus this study is neither about the four-power Allied occupation of Germany, nor does it discuss at great length the subjects of denazification and reconstruction. Instead, it is an in-depth exploration of British policy towards the refugee and expellee crisis in their zone of occupation in Germany, based on a detailed analysis of the situation in post-war Schleswig-Holstein. As such, this heavily extended version of the author's doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Sussex in 2008, complements an already sizable body of research on the fate of the German refugees and expellees, such as, most notably, recent work by Ian Connor, Matthew Frank, Pertti Ahonen, and R. M. Douglas.

What differentiates Graham-Dixon's approach from the existing literature is his close study of British official discourses, policies, and actions towards German refugees and expellees both at top governmental level in London and on the ground in occupied Schleswig-Holstein. This combination of macro and micro perspective is fruitful and brings to light the full impact of decisions taken by the British policy-making elite on the lives of the refugees and expellees, which are traced from the moment of the official sanctioning of population transfer during the war until the end of the occupation in 1955. His main thesis, distributed throughout almost all sections of the book, is that the British arrived in Germany styling themselves a 'civilising, democratising and liberating power' (p. 14), but that their repressive, disinterested, and uncoordinated policies towards refugees undermined their entire mission. For Graham-Dixon, Britain, 'by proclaiming its own moral code among the so-called civilized nations had . . . a duty of care in its role as an occupying power' (p. 40) towards the German civilian population. In reality, however, it never lived up to its obligation to provide for the well-being of those who were subjected to its rule. German refugees who managed to survive under extreme material hardship in post-war Germany therefore did so

'despite British policy and not because of it' (p. 7). His analysis of the British handling of the refugee crisis consequently leads him to a scathing condemnation of the British occupation as a whole. While the British were intent on 'exporting liberal democracy' and understood their occupation as a 'standard-bearer for Western civilised values' (p. 219), their policies during the refugee crisis demonstrate, in the author's view, the moral double-standards inherent in British occupation policy.

To develop his argument Graham-Dixon, digging deep in a total of eighteen British and German archives, has unearthed an impressive wealth of material ranging from the files of Whitehall ministries and the Control Commission for Germany (British Element) to the private papers of leading officials, documents from British and German ecclesiastical repositories, and from German national, regional, and local government archives. Some of these sources have hitherto been largely neglected and will prove to be of value for future research projects. Among these, the monthly reports submitted by British *Kreis* Resident Officers posted to Schleswig-Holstein and the German police reports on public opinion stand out, providing graphic illustrations of local conditions as described by first-hand observers.

The empirical part of the study starts by looking at British wartime perceptions of Germany and connects the underlying attitudes to British policies regarding population transfer, aerial bombardment of German cities, and the prosecution of war criminals during the occupation. Graham-Dixon argues that the negative perception of Germans and the popular equation of Nazis with Germans led to punitive policies towards ethnic Germans, for which these three areas serve as examples. In particular, he presents the extreme bombing of Hamburg in 1943 as a form of retribution and links this to the flight and expulsion of ethnic Germans. Both policies, in his view, 'factored in the awareness that there would be heavy losses of non-combatant lives' (p. 67) and thus demonstrate that the British were largely politically indifferent to the fate of German civilians.

The author struggles, however, to present evidence for the presumed nexus between British perceptions of the 'specificity and embedded nature of German aggression' (p. 37) and the brutal policies of bombardment and expulsion, which seem instead to be based on flawed military and diplomatic considerations. In addition, British perceptions of Germany were neither coherent, nor was a

crude negative interpretation of 'the Germans' collectively accepted or even dominant within official circles, as Jörg Später has shown in his important study on Vansittartism (which is not mentioned in the book). The link which Graham-Dixon does, however, successfully establish is that between the consequences of indiscriminate aerial bombardment and the material fate of the refugees in the post-war period. Thus the massive destruction of Hamburg led to its population seeking refuge in neighbouring Schleswig-Holstein, thereby adding to the refugee population in the region and significantly exacerbating the problems of housing, food, and employment.

The core of the book consists of a case study of conditions in Schleswig-Holstein, which absorbed more than one million German expellees from the East. The selection of this region is well founded, given that in comparison to all other *Länder* it had the greatest share of expellees and refugees as a percentage of its own population (around 45 per cent in 1947). The British decision to force so many expellees into this region, based on the notion that a rural area would be able to accommodate a large number of refugees who would then contribute to agrarian production, had fateful consequences, which led directly to a disastrous refugee crisis. As is well known from previous research, the living conditions of expellees during the period 1946 to 1949 were appalling. There was a massive shortage of housing and food, poverty and unemployment were the rule, and public health reached a gruesome low point.

Graham-Dixon's research brings to light that the British did almost nothing to alleviate the bitter situation of the refugees. In general, they argued that the responsibility for refugee policy had been fully devolved to the German authorities and thus tried to distance themselves from the problems surrounding the crisis. Some officials, such as the Regional Commissioner of Schleswig-Holstein, Air Vice-Marshal Hugh Champion De Crespigny, showed real empathy for the fate of the refugees, but could do little to help them because they lacked power and economic resources. Public figures in the UK who criticized British policies, such as ecclesiastical dignitaries around Bishop Bell and publicists such as Victor Gollancz, made a great deal of noise, but had little impact on the situation in Germany. The higher echelons at Whitehall, however, apparently showed almost no interest in the plight of German refugees and entirely marginalized the crisis.

Conversely, a number of British policies exacerbated the problems faced by refugees, such as the requisitioning of German properties for British personnel and the dismantling policies which led to the destruction of buildings that could have been used to accommodate the refugees. Their fear of potential extremism and revanchism led the British to ban the formation of political expellee organizations until 1950, thus, in Graham-Dixon's view, hampering the successful integration of expellees into the British Zone. Most significantly, perhaps, the British altogether failed to redistribute the refugee population more evenly throughout Germany and alleviate conditions in Schleswig-Holstein.

A constant theme which runs through Graham-Dixon's analysis is the claim that many of the problems persisted because the British presumably devolved responsibilities regarding refugee policy to the Germans under their 'indirect rule' policy, but at the same time retained a number of prerogatives, such as that of moving populations between different *Kreise*, all of which significantly hindered the work of the German authorities. Thus the refugee crisis could only be resolved after the formation of the Federal Republic in 1949. British rule in Germany, characterized by its constant reluctance to transfer real power to Germans, is consequently interpreted as a 'form of militant liberalism, a controlling impulse that underscored key policies in its mission to export democracy to Germany' (p. 4).

The final part of the book analyses British policies regarding war criminals, Heligoland, and dismantling in the period 1949 to 1955. This section seems oddly out of place because it bears little relation to the main subject of the book. Its sole purpose, it seems, is to deconstruct entirely the 'familiar British myth that its time in Germany represented a force for good' (p. 234). This exercise in judging the 'moral legitimacy of British rule' (p. 220) is not confined to one chapter. The whole book is suffused by the author's deep sense of outrage at British treatment of refugees and expellees. This indignation is well-founded and a morally necessary response to the terrible fate of the German refugee population in the immediate post-war period. It seems to me, however, an insufficient reaction to a historical problem. Instead, one would have wished to find more contextualization and analysis. If, for instance, British attitudes towards Germany were so negative and punitive that they impinged on their capacity to design constructive solutions for the immense problems facing the

British zone of occupation, where did these attitudes come from and why were they so resilient? An exploration of the devastating impact of the Second World War on the UK and the consequent forming of British perceptions about what had gone wrong with Germany would have provided some context. It might also explain some of the differences between the attitudes of the British and those of the American occupiers, who the author regards as much more humane, and help towards an understanding of the 'high-handedness', 'arrogance', and 'patronising', 'authoritarian', and 'insensitive' attitudes of the British (pp. 83–7, 96).

A closer reading of the many internal debates and dissenting voices within the British Military Government, often characterized by a sense of helplessness and desperation in the face of the enormity of the problems, would have allowed for a more balanced assessment of British policies. The disastrous financial state of the British exchequer is discussed, but the author seems to underestimate its impact. Finally, while Graham-Dixon accuses the British of putting crude political considerations above moral ones, he castigates them for their prolonged prosecution of German war criminals, suggesting that 'there was a clear need to promote better British–German relations to help integrate the FRG within the new comity of nations, and to bolster the Western Alliance against Communist influence' (p. 76). The redundant dichotomy between bad occupiers and good Germans throughout the book is disappointing, and the leading research question of whether it was 'possible to reconcile British liberal democratic values as an occupying power' (p. 4) is normative and ahistorical.

In the final analysis, therefore, this book presents a strange conundrum. On the one hand, this is probably the most extensively researched book on the British Zone to appear in the last decade and its author demonstrates an impressive command of the primary source material. In this sense, Graham-Dixon's work, despite touching on many issues already well described by previous research, is an important contribution to the field and a very rich source for those interested in the history of the British occupation. It highlights fundamental patterns of British rule in Germany and is very strong in showing the gulf between official discourses and real practices on the ground. On the other hand, however, the moralistic tone and ensuing condemnation of almost every aspect of the British occupation in

many respects signify a step back to the intellectually unhelpful debate about whether the British occupation was a good or bad thing. The really important issues for scholars of the occupation are to understand how British rule in Germany functioned, to uncover its socio-political legacies for the history of Western Germany in the first post-war decades, and to locate its place within the broader history of military occupations which occurred in Europe during the 1940s.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Writing the Lives of the Poor. Conference organized by the German Historical Institute London and the University of Leicester and held at the GHIL, 28–30 November 2013. Conveners: Andreas Gestrich (GHIL) and Steven King (Leicester).

This conference arose out of a joint Anglo-German research project, ‘Pauper Letters and Petitions for Poor Relief in Germany and Great Britain, 1770–1914’, funded by the UK Arts & Humanities Research Council, and directed by Steven King (University of Leicester) and Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London). These narratives comprise letters and petitions written by paupers seeking some form of relief. In describing the circumstances which led them to appeal for help, the authors construct autobiographical vignettes. The project aims to construct an online, edited corpus of such texts, which survive in considerable numbers in British and German archives.

The conference sought to examine how these life writings might contribute to understanding the lives of the poor. Several connected themes emerged. First, by investigating a wide range of the vignettes contained in such archival sources, it becomes possible to discern contextual factors which are only implicitly present in the narratives. These include the specific nature of poverty and the family economy, and the norms of aristocratic benevolence or state administrative practice in a particular locality. Secondly, these texts reveal the knowledge which the poor possessed both of their legal rights and the informal norms governing the dispensing of charity. Thirdly, they demonstrate the ways in which the poor, addressing those with power, wealth, and authority over them, tailored their language to fit the requirements of state, municipality, or local nobility as dispensers

The full conference programme can be found under Events and Conferences on the GHIL’s website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

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of assistance. Finally, it is apparent that the poor could in some circumstances use such knowledge and command of language to force through their claims.

One group of papers developed these themes through analysis of pauper letters addressed to charitable authorities in various historical contexts. In the Tyrol and Vorarlberg regions in the nineteenth century, the local Roman Catholic hierarchy imposed a particularly restrictive version of its marriage policies in an effort to discourage poor people from marrying. The records of those seeking dispensations, often a widower wishing to marry his sister-in-law, contain autobiographical fragments. These were strategic communications, part of the wider dossier attaching to each case. Margareth Lanzinger (Hanover) showed how applicants had to negotiate the sometimes conflicting levels of a complex church hierarchy, and be aware of when wider changes in policy or personnel might allow a previously denied claim to be revived. Sebastian Felten's (London) analysis of petitions to the counts of Erbach-Fürstenau demonstrated that they gave a glimpse of the usual financial strategies of the poor; their requests for money were in response to 'liquidity crises', provoked by unexpected events for which they had not been able to plan. The counts' responses combined philanthropy with prudence: three-quarters of requests for cash were granted, but none of those for credit. In a complementary paper, Herbert Eiden (London) contrasted how pauper narratives in the fenland and woodland communities of East Frisia and Erbach-Fürstenau addressed the local authority and the count in different ways attuned to the specific exercise of power. In her examination of letters from those applying to be admitted to, or to remain in, the Fuggerei settlement in Augsburg, Anke Sczesny (Augsburg) contrasted one petitioner who directly addressed the organization's ethos, appealing to its fatherly feelings and civic aims, with another who took a defiant stand, defending herself, making accusations and threats, and demanding compensation.

Two other case studies considered examples where the poor were able to exercise greater leverage. In early eighteenth-century Constantinople, petitions were sent to the Sultan asking for *vazife* (hitherto a wage for work done) as charity, due to the poverty of the owner. Here, argued Semih Çelik (Florence), it was the poor who initiated the transformation of a non-charity system into a charity, negotiating and testing the generous image of the sultan as charitable giver. The

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fact that some recipients were falsely denounced as dead reveals both competition among the poor to obtain these benefits, and their networks of information about the resources available and the means to secure them. The British New Poor Law of 1834 did not encourage paupers to write in to the authorities, but they did so nonetheless, with complaints concerning denial or cut-back of relief, medical neglect, and ill treatment. Paul Carter's (Kew) presentation emphasized what the letters reveal about what the poor *knew*, including the precise language of the law, and the administrative procedures it established, and how they could turn this knowledge to their advantage. Simone Wegge's (New York) paper drew attention to migrant correspondence as a source for understanding another response to poverty—voluntary migration, and the familial strategies, expectations, and self-representations it entailed.

A second group of papers widened the context, exploring different representations of the homeless in the public sphere in twentieth-century Germany, and the ways these were created to establish, negotiate, or challenge a dominant image. Nadine Recktenwald (Munich) identified three spaces in which the voice of the homeless might be heard in the Weimar Republic: the street, the offices of the administration, and the asylum. In each of these spaces, homeless people—as individuals, as political advocates, or as communities (such as those gathered in the 'homeless houses' used as temporary accommodation)—tried to reverse the stigma attaching to their condition, and assert claims as citizens to their welfare rights. Christoph Lorke (Münster) analysed the efforts of the GDR regime in the 1960s and 1970s to publicize in the media model biographies of large families, living under precarious circumstances, as conforming to the norms of the socialist ideal, and reciprocally benefitting from its policies (thereby justifying the state aid they received, in contrast to the supposed conditions in the capitalist West). Gertraud Koch (Hamburg) and Bernd Jürgen Warneken (Tübingen) presented findings from current research on self-representations of the homeless in street papers since the early 1990s. In contrast to the Weimar period, there are no attempts to present homelessness as a positive alternative way of life. Instead, the autobiographical narratives aim at re-integration, with authors demonstrating their personal application to solving their problems. There are isolated criticisms of individuals, but not of the wider social system. These vignettes, by named authors,

are close to the editorial line of the street papers, stressing the capacities and agency of the homeless, and their creative survival work.

In his keynote address, 'Writing Upwards: How the Weak Wrote to the Powerful', Martyn Lyons (Sydney) used three examples to highlight the many different tones that could be used in 'writing up' to those in authority, as historical circumstances and the balance of power changed. The letters of individual workers to the management of the Terni armaments factory in Italy revealed their peasant origins, through the nature of such demands as for a plot of land. Only after the First World War did the workers grow more confident, threatening legal action on occasion to support their case. In sharp contrast, the anonymous letters sent to the King of Italy during the war displayed rage and aggression in the accusations they made. In tracing the history of Australian Aboriginal petitions, Lyons analysed how the nineteenth-century petitions were produced by the joint action of two generations: the speaking generation of elders, who formulated the demands and whose signatures came first, and the younger generation to whom the task of writing was delegated. An appeal to the British crown over the heads of local authorities was believed to be more effective, and the petitioners sought to master official discourse, claiming to 'live like whiteman almost'. A revealing image of a 1963 petition, written on bark, showed a marked change of approach; bilingual, its very materiality embodied its call for intercultural dialogue.

Another cluster of papers examined the efforts of individuals to represent themselves directly to the public, across diverse genres. In the nineteenth century, a crucial element in gaining access to publication was the role of an intermediary or gatekeeper who might facilitate publication, while in return seeking some control over the content or reception of the text. Kevin Binfield's (Kentucky) paper explored the different efforts of two female servant-poets of the early nineteenth century to negotiate these pressures. In contrast, Susan Garrard (St Andrews) argued that Mary Smith in her autobiography sought to create a new, self-legitimizing space for herself. Refusing the option of marriage, she stressed her identity as an independent, self-supporting woman worker. The tension between self-effacement and self-assertion, knowing one's place and stating one's case, within the limits imposed by economic dependence, are both visible in the extensive manuscripts of the nineteenth-century Finnish crofter Kustaa Brask. His ambition is evident in the range of his writings, cov-

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ering religious, philosophical, social, and agricultural topics. Under the terms of his contract as a crofter, Brask could lose his position for arrogance or disobedience. He sent many of his texts to the Finnish Literature Society, as members of his landlord's family (some of whom belonged to the Society) were aware. Like several other contributors, Kaisa Kauranen (Helsinki) referred to the value of James Scott's concept of public and hidden transcripts in understanding such texts. Brask's writings both embraced the Finnish national project of his time, arguing for agricultural improvement, while also expressing egalitarian sentiments and criticisms of despotism, though couching these in moralistic terms.

In the twentieth century, the role of the intermediary was more often occupied by a voluntary or state institution. The British coal miner Bert Coombes's autobiography *These Poor Hands* was published by the Left Book Club in 1939 as part of its effort to mobilize opinion against economic hardship at home as well as fascism abroad. Antoine Capet (Rouen) showed how the text examines the roots of poverty in the coal mining community, stretching back two decades to the debts left by the strike of 1921, and perpetuated by the existence of chronic underemployment (seen as a deliberate tactic of the coal owners). The Turkish author Mahmut Makal had attended one of the village institutes established by the Kemalist regime, and became in turn a teacher there. His *Our Village* (1950) was characterized by Karin Schweißgut (Berlin) as a generically eclectic mixture of short stories, anecdotes, and documentation, whose writing and publication was fostered by the institute network. It describes from the inside the extreme poverty and exclusion from civilization of rural life, a reality denied by official ideology and absent at that time from academic study and the media. In the Cold War atmosphere in which the book was published, however, the institute movement was closed down and Makal himself imprisoned. Schweißgut suggested that the figure of the teacher in the text embodied the gulf between state and people; his role is that of the outraged, unsuccessful enlightener. Coombes, Capet argued, was similarly distanced, by his literary ambitions, from the miners whose conditions he depicted so powerfully.

The format of the conference, with about thirty participants taking part throughout, allowed fruitful comparisons and contrasts between papers, and cross-referencing between discussions. A highlight was when Megan Dennis (Norfolk) unrolled a facsimile of a five-metre-

long sampler stitched by Lorina Bulwer, a woman 'lunatic' inmate of Great Yarmouth Workhouse in the late nineteenth century.¹ Archival research has established a chronology of the author's life, and traced many of the people mentioned in the sampler. This striking narrative of protest, entirely in capital letters, expresses her anger at her lost rights and lack of freedom, as well as her experience of mental ill health. It provoked a lively discussion around the table of different ways in which it might be interpreted, with possible analogies to prisoners' and psychiatric inmates' writings and outsider art suggested.

The conference successfully exemplified ways in which life writings—from short vignettes to fully fledged autobiographies and memoirs—can be analysed, with due attention to context, language, and genre, to reveal how those on the margins of society found opportunities to express their views and advance their claims.

¹ For a BBC interview on the sampler, see <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01pfdk7>>, accessed 5 Aug. 2014.

T. G. ASHPLANT (Centre for Life Writing Research, King's College, London)

Intelligence in World History, c.1500–1918. Conference organized by the German Historical Institute London in collaboration with the International Programmes, Pembroke College Cambridge and held at the GHIL, 6–8 February 2014. Conveners: Christopher Andrew (Cambridge), Andreas Gestrich (GHIL), Tobias Graf (Heidelberg), Daniel Larsen (Cambridge), and Sönke Neitzel (LSE).

The history of intelligence has long been a poor relation to the study of international relations. On the whole, historians have tended to pay relatively little attention to the kinds of information at the disposal of those who made decisions about war and peace, and even less to the methods by which such decision-makers acquired the information which underlay the decisions they took. Yet few would question that it did matter what decision-makers knew about the world which they reacted to, shaped, and attempted to control. The meeting was organized in order to stimulate exchange between historians working on intelligence organizations and issues across the traditional boundaries of periodical and regional specialization, and thus gain a better understanding of what might provocatively be called the ‘long’ early modern period of intelligence services.

The event opened with a keynote lecture by Christopher Andrew (Cambridge), the official historian of the British Security Service (MI5), in which he provided a sweeping overview of the development of secret intelligence in Europe from the Renaissance to the end of the First World War. He highlighted the general lack of awareness of the history of intelligence across the ages. In particular, rapid advances in techniques and technologies since the early twentieth century obscure the fact that for centuries the West had lagged far behind its competitors in Asia and the Middle East, especially in the field of cryptology. Here, European states began to take the lead only gradually from the sixteenth century onwards. These advances, however, remained geographically and chronologically uneven.

Sir Richard Dearlove (Cambridge), former head of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), complemented the historian’s overview with insights from his own experience as an intelligence professional. Crucially, the need of intelligence services for secrecy pro-

The full conference programme can be found under Events and Conferences on the GHIL’s website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

vides a major obstacle to developing a historical understanding of their activities and role, even for professionals themselves. The same need for secrecy also largely prevents writing the history of intelligence as a human history, even as, not least because of the continued importance of human intelligence, the human factor looms large in the activities and performance of intelligence services.

Sir Christopher Bayly (Cambridge) opened the first thematic session by placing intelligence into a wider framework. Focusing on British India, he highlighted the importance of knowledge-management for both the colonial government and those who provided resistance to it. The colonial state could not function without tapping into pools of what Bayly called 'mundane knowledge'. This form of knowledge-collection from local knowledge communities and, from the nineteenth century onwards, newspapers provided a central element of British colonial intelligence.

Cengiz Kırılı (Istanbul) explained how the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century, particularly during the rule of Abdülhamid II (1876–1909), attempted to tap into precisely such knowledge communities by conducting systematic surveillance of the population in the capital. While such activities had been an integral part of Ottoman governance in previous centuries, they had remained sporadic. Under Abdülhamid, what had originally been a means for identifying and silencing dissent, now served the wider purpose of gathering information as well as monitoring public opinion, which, as Kırılı argued, ultimately opened policy-making to the influence of subjects' political wishes.

Moving back in time to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Mia Rodríguez-Salgado (London), Ioanna Iordanou (Warwick), and Tobias Graf (Heidelberg) showed that well-organized and often bureaucratic intelligence services had come into being long before the emergence of the modern nation-state. The comparison between the Venetian and Austrian Habsburg intelligence organizations in the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and their Spanish Habsburg counterparts on the other is particularly instructive. In the former, resident ambassadors in Istanbul took the lead by virtue of their office, while the Spanish Habsburgs, lacking formal diplomatic relations with the Sublime Porte, relied on networks of spies and informants run from the fringes of their empire. However, as Rodríguez-Salgado pointed out, such a degree of organizational sophistication

was rarely permanent. Rather, agencies and networks developed in response to specific threats and fell into disuse once these threats had dissipated. Only Venice's intelligence apparatus which, as Iordanou showed, was institutionalized in a single centralized office early in the sixteenth century, was an exception to this rule.

This is not to say that intelligence was deemed unimportant—on the contrary. Taking the eighteenth-century electors of Saxony August II and August III, who were also kings of Poland in personal unions, as a starting point, Anne-Simone Rous (Dresden) emphasized just how important intelligence was to early modern rulers as an element of secret diplomacy. Drawing on her case studies, she suggested a refined model of secret diplomacy which divides pertinent activities into three categories according to their aims and means: defensive, offensive, and aggressive.

The contributions by Karl de Leeuw (Amsterdam) and Neil Kent (Cambridge) presented historical precedents for the 'special relationship' between the UK and the USA. During the Nine Years War (1688–97), William III of England (r. 1689–1702) and Stadtholder in the Dutch Republic (r. 1672–1702) already relied heavily on postal interception and code-breaking in England, the Netherlands, and Hanover to thwart French military and diplomatic efforts. However, as de Leeuw showed, even as Britain and the Netherlands intensified their military cooperation over the course of the eighteenth century, their former intelligence alliance turned into rivalry out of fear that they were pursuing conflicting interests. Kent, in contrast, demonstrated that as a direct result of the dynastic connection, Britain and Hanover maintained an intelligence alliance throughout the eighteenth century. In spite of intelligence being tainted by its reputation as 'dirty work' at the time, in his various government positions, Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle (1693–1768), excelled in putting it to good use, especially to keep the Jacobites, supporters of the Stuart dynasty, which had been deposed in 1688, and their French allies at bay.

Russia provided the geographical focus for the penultimate session, which opened with Svetlana Lokhova's (Cambridge) presentation of rare and previously unused material from the archives of the Okhrana, the tsarist intelligence service. Dominic Lieven (Cambridge) undertook an instructive diachronic comparison of Russian intelligence during the Napoleonic Wars and on the eve of the First

World War. Counter-intuitively, despite the service's professionalization by 1914, Russian intelligence had been more effective in the earlier period. While by virtue of their social status Russian 'agents' mingled freely with the French elite in the early nineteenth century, professional intelligence officers in the latter period were deprived of this possibility by their specialization. This is reflective of a wider social reconfiguration which resulted in the separation of the largely overlapping premodern elites into more distinct segments of political, military, and social elites.

Calder Walton (London) highlighted the importance of the colonial experience for the development of intelligence services in Europe. This was especially, though not exclusively, true of the UK, where the majority of the personnel in the domestic security and foreign intelligence services had a colonial background. These officers brought with them innovative ideas and practices, such as fingerprinting, which had been developed and successfully implemented in the colonies.

That the role of intelligence very much depends on a country's political culture became clear from Daniel Larsen's (Cambridge) presentation on the role of secrecy in the USA before, during, and after the First World War. From publishing all official correspondence on foreign relations in the 1860s, the State Department gradually began to appreciate the importance of keeping information secure to the extent of developing an obsession with secrecy by the beginning of the Cold War. This development did not continue uninterrupted, however. In the early 1930s laxity of security for diplomatic correspondence had almost reverted to its pre-First World War state.

All contributors highlighted the importance of intelligence for the study of political history, while pointing out that this dimension has so far been understudied. The reason for this is perhaps not so much the dearth of source material, but most historians' focus on the outcomes, rather than the mechanisms, of decision-making. Different historiographical traditions in the UK and Germany, as a member of the audience pointed out, explain why British historians seem relatively fascinated by the history of intelligence, while the same field has thus far received little attention in Germany. In a context in which history is concerned less with the search for underlying grand narratives, but regarded first and foremost as a sequence of events, it

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may simply be more credible to believe that intelligence made a difference.

Taken together, the presentations seem to validate this point. Initially, the organizers had hoped that the conference would shed new light on currently ill-understood long-term processes such as the professionalization of intelligence services and their development into distinct bureaucratic agencies. If anything, the papers showed that there is no clear underlying historical trajectory, but that intelligence services emerged, expanded, contracted, and disbanded according to the needs of the day. Perhaps, then, one important contribution which intelligence history can make to the discipline of history at large is to shed further doubt on the validity of modernization theory as a framework for the study of the past.

TOBIAS GRAF (Heidelberg University)

Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation. Conference held at the German Historical Institute London, 6–8 March 2014. Convener: Cornelia Linde (GHIL).

The study of religious orders in the Middle Ages has attracted increasing attention in modern scholarship, but never before have the Dominicans been so exclusively in the spotlight. Organized in eight sessions, this conference brought together experts from all over the world to explore aspects of obedience and disobedience in the Dominican Order. The aim of this interdisciplinary event was to shed light on the Order's legislation and its implementation using a variety of methodological approaches from diverse disciplines to do justice to the wealth of source material available.

Central to the entire conference, Christine Caldwell Ames (Columbia, SC) examined the key term 'obedience' and the role of the individual in the Dominican Order. Caldwell Ames described the Dominicans as legal specialists endowed with expertise and political insight. Consequently, disobedient behaviour inside the Order often resulted from transgression of self-made rules. While in theory obedience was understood as a true virtue, in reality Dominicans had to deal with disobedience and resistance. Sita Steckel (Münster) added an acute analysis of the secular-mendicant controversy in France and emphasized its impact on Dominican normative order. She highlighted different stages of the conflict, especially its escalation caused by Pope Innocent IV's bull *Etsi animarum*, and stressed the Order's dependence on papal privileges. Matthew Champion (London) turned attention to the fight against heresy as another element of 'obedience'. Champion's paper focused on the Dominican inquisition, in particular, the Dominican inquisitor Nicolas Jacquier within the context of fifteenth-century Dominican reform. Jacquier's inquisitorial inventions and works about demonic witchcraft, full of aggressive, sermon-like rhetoric, mirror Dominican legislation.

Gilberto Coralejo Moiteiro (Lisbon) devoted his paper to observant Dominican nuns in Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Moiteiro chose a normative approach, focusing on both narra-

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tive and prescriptive texts. The rule of St Augustine presented the basis for a stricter regulation of monastic life. A translation of his sermons to hermits further illustrated Augustine's exemplary function. Turning to thirteenth-century Dacia, Johnny Jakobsen (Copenhagen) shed light on Dominican life in high medieval Scandinavia. He portrayed papal dispenses of the penitentiary as vivid sources for recurrent irregularities such as indecent sexual relationships caused by suspicious female company.

The keynote lecture given by Gert Melville (Dresden) underlined the emerging ambivalence of the Dominican constitution and organization. Melville compared the inherent dual structure of Dominican life to the solid and liquid states of matter. On the one hand it was guided by a set of written rules, the normative core text of the *constitutiones* constituting an unalterable solid grid of law. On the other hand, the rules could be changed, whether by a *capitulum generalissimum* or the approval of three consecutive general chapters.

Opening the second day of the conference, Klaus-Bernward Springer (Erfurt) discussed how the Dominicans found themselves caught between secular law and their Order's rules, and thus obedience and disobedience. Because of their preaching activities, they had intensive contact with the secular world. As a result, they could easily come into conflict with other systems of law besides their own, which, in turn, provoked disobedient behaviour. Cornelia Linde (London) added to this by presenting a special disciplinary reaction to disobedience in the Dominican Order. Her paper drew attention to forced resettlement as a means of correction. The geographical removal was intended both to create distance between a troublemaker and his sphere of influence, and to prevent future incidents. In terms of detention methods, a major change was introduced in the year 1257, with the constitutional installation of prisons in all Dominican convents. Wolfram Hoyer OP (Augsburg) drew up a list of offences for which a Dominican could be imprisoned: they included *inquietudo*, noise or disturbance provoked by trouble-makers, theft, speaking to demons, and the major crime of apostasy.

Speaking on Dominican legislation and *uniformitas* in the art of later medieval central Italy, Joanna Cannon (London) opened the fourth session. Visual *uniformitas* provided similarity and conformity, which can still be seen in Dominican churches. Cannon focused on choir screens and polyptychs, especially on the high altarpiece of S.

Caterina, as sources for imposing visual uniformity in Dominican milieux. Transferring the ideas of *uniformitas* vs. *diversitas* to Castile during the late Middle Ages, Mercedes Pérez Vidal (Mexico City) looked at how Dominican nunneries dealt with legislation concerning architecture and liturgy, and how they were influenced by patronage relationships. It became clear that Castilian Dominican nunneries were torn between autonomy and dependence on a patron, whose form of influence could vary from region to region as well as at local level. Concluding the session, Sebastian Mickisch (Dresden) spoke on topography and architecture as carriers of identity. Mickisch highlighted the convent as the visible sign of an order's presence, representing the *vita religiosa* and preventing corruption from the outside. In addition to the potential visual impression of architecture, buildings also enclosed social space. Mickisch introduced the categories of built space and social space, their practical division into interior and exterior, and emphasized the fact that monastic architecture was not only influenced by the ideas of poverty and simplicity, but also had to adapt to local customs.

The fifth session was dedicated to Dominican attempts to missionize Jews and Muslims in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Opening the session, Elias H. Füllenbach OP (Düsseldorf) analysed the Dominican mission to the Jews. He emphasized that the preaching of the mendicants transported anti-Jewish stereotypes and resulted in a unified and unifying anti-Judaism. In addition, he underlined the connection between harsh, polemical sermons on the one hand, and persecution of Jews on the other. Harvey Hames (Beer Sheva) went into further detail on the Dominican mission, differentiating between *intra* and *extra ecclesiam*. Hames identified and analysed the three key elements as preaching, disputation, and inquisition. His paper then took a closer look at one of the key texts of Dominican mission, the Barcelona Disputation of 1263 between the convert Saul of Montpellier, better known as Friar Paul, and his Jewish antagonist Nahmanides. The session was concluded by Thomas Burman (Knoxville, Tenn.), who focused on the intellectual and religious interaction between the Dominican mission and Islam. Devoting his paper to the key figure Ramón Martí, he presented new evidence of Martí's remarkable knowledge of Arabic and the Islamic world.

The contributions to the sixth session looked at Dominican chant books and the Order's attempt to impose a new, uniform liturgy.

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After the Dominican Order spread across Europe, local practices were adopted. As an answer to this liturgical diversity, Humbert of Romans presented a manual of practical advice for the Order, the *instructiones de officibus ordinis*. Eleanor Giraud (London) and Hrvoje Beban (Zagreb) presented detailed comparative analyses of chant manuscripts with square notation, and antiphonaries of Dominican convents in late medieval Dalmatia respectively. Giraud and Beban demonstrated the existence of regional differences and argued that scribes had a certain flexibility regarding quantitative and qualitative changes in notation, despite the fact that these manuscripts were supposed to be copied without any changes. Christian Thomas Leitmeir (Bangor) offered a new view of Dominican polyphony and questioned its status as a forbidden art. He based his position on a thorough analysis of explicit or presumed Dominican legislation on polyphony, paying special attention to the umbrella term *discantus*, in the acts of the general chapters. This normative approach was supplemented by the perspective of Humbert de Romans and his texts on music, and concluded with the Dominican prohibition of certain types of song, both polyphonic and monophonic.

Jonathan Rubin (Jerusalem) presented a paper on the study of foreign languages in the Dominican Order. Friars in the Holy Land and neighbouring provinces had to learn Arabic and also preached in other Oriental languages. In sum, the Dominican Order possessed a linguistic tradition which can be subsumed under the three main skills of writing polemical texts, literary compilation, and translating in the context of diplomatic activities. After this linguistic approach to the preaching of the Dominicans, Anne Holloway (Melbourne) shed light on the question of how the performance of Dominican preaching was managed in practice. How do you teach preaching? Taking preaching as a means of conveying model behaviour, Holloway argued that sermons served as tools to inspire imitation of the *vita apostolica* or *imitatio Christi*. The important role of exemplars can be seen in their popular use as preaching material embedded as narrative stories in sermons. But what was to be done when all preaching failed? Emily Corran (London) addressed this question in her paper on the early casuistry of lying in Dominican confessors' manuals. To convict a liar, confessors' manuals tried to improve both frequency and quality of confession, and to encourage inquiry into the circumstances of sin. They also provided guidance in moral dilem-

mas. Consequently, they presented a pragmatic approach by the Dominican Order and offered confessors a high degree of autonomy.

In the final session, Gábor Bradács (Debrecen) and Attila Györkös (Debrecen) shifted the focus to medieval Hungary. While Bradács focused on the Dominican mission among the Cumans in the thirteenth century by presenting a new approach to old sources, Györkös dedicated his paper to St Marguerite of Hungary. Bradács highlighted the knowledge and use of the Cuman language in the Dominican mission. Nevertheless, the Dominicans achieved only partial success, perhaps because their approach was too intellectual. Györkös added to this the presentation of the *Vitae* of St Marguerite as the earliest written evidence of the Dominican settlement in Hungary. These legends made it clear that this female saint had transgressed the frontiers between adequate and excessive devotion for a Dominican nun, and gave an insight into the regulative structures of a Dominican nunnery in high medieval Hungary.

In sum, the conference's interdisciplinary approach perfectly highlighted multiple and various aspects of the Dominican Order's diversity. The contributions showed that ambivalence constitutes an important characteristic of the Friars Preachers. Covering four centuries and various parts of the world, the conference's multiperspectivity resulted in an enormous synergetic effect as the assembled scholars discussed how to identify the point at which diversity became unacceptable and constituted transgression, and, thus, disobedience. Recurrent themes such as the influential figure of Humbert de Romans, the role of the Order's chapter meetings, and certain normative strategies and legislative texts were complemented by closer looks at Dominican missionary activities, topography, and efforts to attain both a unified liturgy and visual coherence. The papers also highlighted that daily life in a Dominican convent could be very different from the ideal portrayed in the constitutions and acts of the general chapters, and that disobedience was often the result of pragmatic approaches in order to deal with the challenge of saving the souls of fellow humans. The conference ended with special and sincere thanks to the organizer, Cornelia Linde, and a warm invitation to continue the fruitful discussions at a conference dedicated to Dominican identity to be held in Cologne in November 2014.

CLAUDIA HEFTER (Ludwig Maximilian University Munich)

War and Childhood in the Age of the World Wars: Local and Global Perspectives. Conference organized jointly by the German Historical Institutes in Washington, London, and Paris and held at the German Historical Institute Washington, 5–7 June 2014. Conveners: Mischa Honeck (GHI Washington), James Marten (Marquette University), Andreas Gestrich (GHI London), and Arndt Weinrich (GHI Paris).

This conference explored the intersecting histories of modern war and childhood in the early twentieth century. Its goal was to come to grips with a fundamental paradox: how was it possible for modern societies to reimagine childhood as a space of sheltered existence and yet mobilize children for war? Rather than merely investigating adult *representations* of youth and childhood in war, it uncovered the processes by which young people acquired *agency* as historical subjects. The participants paid attention to the voices and actions of children in the different locales of modern war—from the home to the homefront; the bomb shelter to the battlefield; the press to the pulpit; the school to the street. In addition, they examined how adult institutions (governments, civic organizations, social movements) utilized images of children for wartime propaganda. These images could be deployed for various purposes: to mobilize patriotism and popular support for the war effort; to discredit and dehumanize the enemy; but also to subvert the logic of escalating military and political violence.

The first panel looked at different discursive and material modes of infantilizing war in first half of the twentieth century. Using examples from Japanese propaganda, Sabine Frühstück (California, Santa Barbara) showed how the Japanese were emotionally sensitized and mobilized by iconography that co-configured soldiers and children. Portraying soldiers as caring fathers and linking war with infancy made war appear natural and inevitable. Valentina Boretti (London) illustrated the importance of toys for militarizing Chinese children under the republican and communist regimes. War toys were disseminated to foster a martial spirit among youths perceived as frail and unmasculine. Julie K. deGraffenried (Baylor) compared American and Soviet alphabet books published in the Second World War.

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While the war and military life were more prominent in the Soviet case, the American example tended to highlight traditional gender roles and a normative whiteness.

The second panel explored different forms of youth mobilization. Antje Harms (Freiburg) argued that ideological constructions of 'youth' in the German youth movement during the First World War stressed attitude over age. The concept, according to Harms, was broad and fluid enough to encompass both militarists who volunteered for a 'new Germany' and pacifists who refused to fight. Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala) analysed the Swedish government's implementation of defence training in national schools. He underscored the importance of traditional gender roles, financial feasibility, medical education, and ethics in Swedish debates over children's roles in civil defence. Mischa Honeck (GHI Washington) challenged the idealized image of the Boy Scouts of America during the Second World War, which papered over generational and racial conflicts. While adults envisioned the organization as a tool of social control and wartime conformity, young Scouts conceived it as an opportunity for self-mobilization and self-actualization.

The third panel focused on issues of agency and victimization. Kate James (Oxford) examined boy soldiers in the Royal Navy and British Army in the early twentieth century from an intergenerational perspective. Working-class boys enlisted in search of adventure and social advancement. British military leaders, on the other hand, sought to increase young people's physical fitness while restricting their involvement in combat. L. Halliday Piel (Manchester) talked about the Manchu-Mongol Pioneer Youth Loyal and Brave Army, which was composed of Japanese boy soldier-settlers in the 1930s and 1940s. Lured into Manchuria with the promise of education and land, the boys from rural Japan who joined the Army wanted to rise socially but ultimately faced poverty and death. Suzanne Swartz's (Stony Brook, NY) paper about Jewish child smugglers in the Warsaw Ghetto demonstrated how generational roles could be inverted in times of crises. While adults faced increasing restrictions, children formed their own networks and became breadwinners for their families.

The fourth panel centred on juvenile delinquency on the home front. Kara Ritzenheiner (Oregon State) talked about *Kriegsschundliteratur* in First World War Germany, a popular genre in youth liter-

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ature that featured sensationalized wartime heroics. Discredited as inferior literature that would lead young people astray, the genre was suppressed by governmental authorities as part of Germany's wartime censorship regime. Emma Lautmann (Nottingham) analysed widespread claims of juvenile delinquency in Britain during the Second World War. She linked these claims to children's public visibility after many schools had been closed but also highlighted the fact that the young contested adult definitions of good citizenship. Martin Kalb (Northern Arizona) dissected constructions of the 'delinquent boy' and the 'sexually deviant girl' in Munich during the 1940s. These stereotypes emerged in war-ravaged spaces and as a result of a mismatch of the sexes, with women outnumbering men in post-war Munich. Young German women who socialized with US soldiers were accused of tarnishing the nation's future, even more so if those soldiers were black.

The fifth panel shed light on the role of children as witnesses of war. Manon Pignot (Jules-Verne, Picardie) analysed First World War drawings by French, Russian, and German children. Enemies were illustrated with animal features, and depictions of battles often merged modern and medieval symbols of war. Reflecting traditional gender divisions, boys overwhelmingly depicted battle scenes, while the drawings by girls contained references to the home front. Susan Miller's (Rutgers) presentation revolved around the art German children made in response to the American Quaker feeding programme after the First World War. Arguing that children's art should be regarded as a genuine reflection of their feelings, Miller identified two conflicting emotional reactions: gratitude for the relief, but also ambivalence about needing it. Thomas Christopher Stevens (Oxford) drew on autobiographical writings to investigate the perception and (re)interpretation of childhood in revolutionary Russia. He regarded the writings as a deliberate effort to construct childhoods that were consistent with the ruling ideology, and as a personal expression of individual interactions with a violently changing social environment.

The sixth panel dealt with wartime relocation and child relief. Nazan Maksudyan (Kemerburgaz, Istanbul) focused on Ottoman orphan boys taken to Germany as apprentices in the final years of the First World War. The few sources available show the diverging expectations of the parties involved: German authorities sought to bolster their dwindling domestic workforce, while Turkish authori-

ties wanted to get rid of delinquent boys. Karl Qualls (Dickson College) talked about Spanish refugee children, mostly boys, who migrated to Russia to escape the violence of the Spanish Civil War. Struggling to overcome homesickness and adjust to a foreign culture, these children were idealized by Soviet propaganda and held up as examples of a heroic childhood that young Russians should imitate. Sharon Parks (Minnesota) gauged the scope and impact that US post-war aid programmes had on European refugee children. The figure of the destitute child was used to attract funding and symbolize the boundless generosity of a victor nation, although personal accounts reveal discrepancies between official representations and the programmes' actual impact.

The seventh panel explored how children remembered war, and how wartime children were remembered in post-war societies. Arndt Weinrich (GHI Paris) argued that generational conflict structured the collective memory of the First World War in Weimar and Nazi Germany. Although youth groups across party lines seized on the cult of the fallen warrior, National Socialists exploited this myth best by eventually turning it against the older generation. Drawing on 200 oral interviews, Birgitte Søland (Ohio State) told the story of American orphans who had become subjects of medical experimentation conducted to boost US combat efficiency in the Second World War. She suggested that most of the survivors of these experiments took pride in having contributed to the war effort, even if that contribution had left physical and psychological scars. Robert Jacobs (Hiroshima Peace Institute) talked about the nuclear attack on Hiroshima in August 1945 and its impact on children. Examining the absence and re-emergence of children in Western stories about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Jacobs highlighted changing representations that ranged from military personnel secretly assessing the destructive impact of atomic bombs on school populations to sentimentalized depictions of child victims used to promote global peace.

The conference concluded with a roundtable that pulled together major methodological and historiographical strands. A focus on children, the participants agreed, productively disrupts and calls into question common boundaries of modern war. On an emotional level, it shows the importance of children for the morale of the soldiers and their symbolic value as embodiments of suffering and national survival. On the level of agency, it shows that while childhoods were

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ideological constructions and children semi-autonomous actors at best, their modes of self-determination also proved empowering. For the young, war was both a devastating trial and a locus of socialization where issues of age, gender, sexuality, and citizenship were negotiated, adapted, and redefined. As adults were grappling to regain control over their children in times of war, children constantly reinvented the meaning of childhood for themselves.

MISCHA HONECK (GHI Washington)

SUSANNE QUITMANN (GHI Washington)

STINA BARRENSCHEEN (GHI Washington)

Remembering (Post)Colonial Violence: Silence, Suffering, and Reconciliation. Workshop held at the GHIL, 19–20 June 2014. Conveners: Eva Bischoff (Martin Buber Society of Fellows, Hebrew University Jerusalem) and Elizabeth Buettner (Universiteit van Amsterdam).

At the German Historical Institute in London, Eva Bischoff and Elizabeth Buettner brought together several international scholars interested in the 'relationship between silence and enunciation in constituting the collective memories of (post)colonial violence'. The workshop approached the subject from three starting points: the metropole, the postcolonial Global South, and the settler colonies. It emphasized an interdisciplinary approach with a strong focus on historical perspectives. As the organizers outlined in their opening remarks, issues of reconciliation and genocide tend to overshadow the remembrance of (post)colonial violence. The workshop addressed these topics without neglecting to examine how language and the relationship between individual and collective memories shaped the process of remembrance.

Elizabeth Buettner (Amsterdam) opened the first panel on the metropole by addressing the question of nationalism, monarchy, and colonialism. Belgium and the young King Baudouin's visit to the Belgian Congo in 1955 provided a vivid example of how these interacted and thereby reinforced each other. Representatives of each acted out of a threefold crisis: the monarchy battled with its involvement in the Nazi occupation; Belgian national identity was undermined by the opposition of Flemings and Walloons; and Belgium's colonial project was under fire from strong anti-colonial movements.

In a similar fashion, Jürgen Zimmerer (Hamburg) connected the remembrance of German colonial history with the defining moment of German national identity: the Holocaust. Focusing on questions of reconciliation, he demonstrated how, on the one hand, contemporary grass-roots groups challenge German colonial history's silence, for instance, by changing street names or claiming the restitution of human remains. The German government, on the other, is still reluctant to recognize the genocide of the Herero and Nama people. Yet most discussions concentrate on the question of reparations, whereas issues of

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language and shame are also at stake, haunted by the spectres of the Holocaust. Zimmerer concluded that as long as the Holocaust serves as a model for German colonial history, a re-evaluation and recognition of colonial violence will prove difficult to achieve.

The film *Last Tango in Paris*, starring Marlon Brando, provided an example for Todd Shepard (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore) to discuss (post)colonial sexual violence in the process of articulating French national identity during the 1970s. Shepard focused on how the connection between sodomy and the 'Arab man' in the film served as a metaphor for anti-Arab racism. His analysis revealed that both metaphor and racist thinking also permeated the discourses and politics of the French radical Left, for example, the 1970s French feminist movement. This colonial legacy has been left unchallenged to the present day, the speaker concluded.

An important observation for the metropole – and therefore present in all three presentations – was the role of media in the remembrance of (post)colonial violence. In Buettner's example, the photographs and paintings depicted the visiting monarch as the father of a happy Belgian-Congolese society. Zimmerer presented a public debate about German colonial history influenced by various media sources, while Shepard used a film to illustrate the connection between sexuality and violence in France. These examples show that especially for the metropole, the role of media in remembering (post)colonial violence cannot be underestimated.

The keynote address by Dirk Moses (European University Institute, Florence) identified one of the major problems in remembering (post)colonial violence. Looking at the local arena, he concluded that the process of 'coming to terms with the past' involves a simplification of complex and multi-directional forms of violence. For the memory of genocide, for example, a classification into perpetrator and victim becomes necessary to identify with the latter. As a result, certain forms of violence are highlighted and others silenced. In fact, as Moses demonstrated, from a local perspective it is even problematic to assume a clear distinction between 'colonial' and 'postcolonial' violence. The formal process of decolonization was by no means crucial for the forms violence took in the former colonial states. Rather, a postcolonial politics of remembrance, integral to the process of nation-building, hides or silences certain 'colonial' forms of violence while highlighting others.

In her presentation on colonial architecture and remembrance in Namibia, Britta Schilling (Cambridge) illustrated the relationship between (post)colonial violence and materiality. German white settlers remembered their homes without violence, even though their physical construction and everyday life there to a large extent drew on indigenous forced labour. Private material spaces such as the home seem to be a 'safe place' to talk and remember colonialism. However, by taking a close look, Schilling revealed that colonial violence also permeated the private sphere.

The following presentation by Eva Bischoff (Jerusalem) pointed to the importance of considering specific cultures of remembrance by addressing the memory of the 'Black War' within the Tasmanian Quaker community. She showed how Quakers avoided addressing the complex and multi-directional colonial violence of this conflict because of their belief in Quaker peace testimony and their identification with social improvement and justice. In doing so, they drew on specific cultural techniques of silencing in order to avoid conflicts and to create a homogenous community. These strategies were particularly visible in the 1880s, Bischoff argued, as remembrance shifted from individual to collective memory.

Andrea L. Smith (Lafayette College, Pennsylvania) applied an anthropological perspective to French colonial memory by discussing remembrance of the involvement of the *Pieds-Noirs* (European settlers in Algeria) and Algerian soldiers in French military forces during the First and Second World War. Whereas historians have demonstrated their crucial role in both conflicts and descendants carry vivid family histories, contemporary public discourse remains silent on their contribution to the war efforts. Yet a careful examination of cemeteries and other places of public remembrance, as Smith showed in her talk, can make their role visible again.

All three presentations utilized the settler state as a starting point for the remembrance of (post)colonial violence and illustrated the different cultures of remembrance that influenced strategies of remembering, as Bischoff's example vividly showed. The panel also exemplified the importance of material remains—the German colonial house in Schilling's paper and war cemeteries in Smith's example—for the process of remembering, especially in settler states.

In the third and final panel Norman Saadi Nikro (Berlin) presented his analysis of the dynamics of the Lebanese oral history project

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'Badna Naaref' (We Want to Know), in which high school students conducted audio interviews with members of their parents' generation who had lived through the Lebanese civil war (1975–90). Examining the interview situation, Nikro unfolded the complex and sometimes contradictory processes of negotiating remembrance between the different generations involved.

Gabrielle Lynch (Warwick) dealt with the performance of Kenya's Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission between 2009 and 2013. As Lynch demonstrated, the staging of public hearings was not only crucial for the acceptance of the Commission, but ultimately also shaped the process of remembrance itself. Just as the German colonial memory (and that of other colonial genocides) is structured by the Holocaust, performance (and remembrance) in Kenya is based on another powerful model: that of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Taken as a whole, the workshop revealed that research about remembering (post)colonial violence is, very much like the topic itself, a work in progress. Central questions, for instance, about the differences between the memory of (post)colonial violence and other memories of individual and collective violence, constitute a desideratum for future research. These open questions are of particular relevance with regard to claims for financial retribution and developing new models of memory in order to come to terms with complex and multi-directional forms of violence in (post)colonial remembrance.

ALEXANDER BRÄUER (University of Rostock)

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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 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 on H-Soz-u-Kult and the GHIL's website. Applications, which should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, along with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research, should be addressed to the Administrative 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 GHIL Colloquium. In the second allocation for 2014 the following scholarships have been awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Rukmini Barua (Göttingen) Social Space in Worker Neighbourhoods of Ahmedabad

Peter Beule (Cologne) Semantiken des Marktes in der Parteipolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Großbritanniens in den 1970er Jahren

Stephan Bruhn (Kiel) Heroisierungen der lateinischen Biographik und Hagiographik Englands (ca. 850–1150)

Michael Buchner (Regensburg) Kulturelle und institutionelle Faktoren der Entwicklung moderner Finanzmärkte: Ein Vergleich zwischen Londoner und Berliner Börse, 1871–1914

Nele Diekmann (Berlin) Talbot's Tools: Scientific Notebooks and their Role in Early Cuneiform Studies

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Natalie Eller (Heidelberg) Zukunftsängste: Melancholie und Degenerationsvorstellungen im europäischen und russischen *fin de siècle*

Theo Jung (Freiburg) Politik des Schweigens: Sprachspiele an den Grenzen politischer Kommunikation in Europa (1789–1920)

Sünne Juterczenka (Berlin) Die transnationale Rezeption europäischer Forschungsreisen im Pazifik während der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts

Manon Koenen (Heidelberg) Politisches Empowerment von Frauen in Indien

Cornelia Kühn (Berlin) Die Veränderung der Repräsentationsformen und die Transformation der Festkultur des Notting Hill Carnival zwischen 1959 und den 1990er Jahren

Christian Neumeier (Berlin) Die Ursprünge der ultra vires Doktrin im common law

Anil Paralkar (Heidelberg) Spicing up Life: Changes in European Dietetics following the European Spice Trade with Asia

Lorena Rizzo (Basel/Bielefeld) Shades of Empire: Photography and Policing in Colonial Southern Africa

Carla Teresa Roth (Oxford) The Talking Town: Oral Communication and Networks of Information in Sixteenth-Century St Gallen

Johanna de Schmidt (Heidelberg) Übergangserfahrung auf dem Schiff: Interkontinentale Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert und ihre Darstellung in Schiffszeitungen

Lisa-Maria Speck (Frankfurt) Visualisierung weiblicher Königsherrschaft: Die politische Ikonographie Elisabeths I. von England

Sina Karoline Steglich (Mannheim) Archivzeiten: Objektivierung und Institutionalisierung geschichtlicher Zeitlichkeit 1870–1920

Hagen-Simon Stöckmann (Göttingen) Haltung und Charakter: Erziehungsstil und Generationsprägung im Umfeld deutscher und britischer Elite-Schulen zwischen 1920 und 1970

Forthcoming Workshops and Conferences

Society, Rule and its Representation in Medieval Britain. Workshop to be held at the GHIL, 13–14 November 2014. Convener: Cornelia Linde.

This two-day workshop will bring together German early-career scholars working on the British Isles in the Middle Ages. The fifteen papers, divided into four panels entitled ‘Society’, ‘Rule and Kingship’, ‘Visual Representation’, and ‘Identity’ will examine society and its perception and change from political, social, and religious perspectives. One focus is on the concept and representation of rulership, and several contributions will provide comparisons with continental Europe to highlight similarities and differences. With session chairs recruited from British academia and the whole event open to the public, the workshop will also serve as a networking opportunity for German and British scholars.

Dreams of Germany: Music and (Trans)National Imaginaries in the Modern Era. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 5–7 February 2015. Conveners: Andreas Gestrich (GHIL), Neil Gregor (Southampton), and Tom Irvine (Southampton).

A little over a decade ago the ground-breaking collection of essays edited by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, *Music and German National Identity*, sought to map the historical terrain which constituted the notion of Germans as ‘the people of music’, and the intellectual terrain on which that trope might be fruitfully historicized. Their emblematic introduction registered both the constructed nature of the central proposition—an idea called forth by writers, critics, pedagogues and philosophers; cemented in literary genres such as journals, catalogues, and critical editions; institutionalized in university departments, conservatoires, and concert associations; and monumentalized in statues and commemorative culture—and its longevity, power, and capacity to transcend the specific politics of time and place. Animated by a critical spirit drawing on the then guiding inspiration of Benedict Anderson, it placed music at the centre of an ongoing process of imagining national community throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In doing so, it simultaneously

recognized the real effects of this invented tradition on the wider culture of which it was a part, and cautioned against overemphasizing its historical importance in retrospect.

In the intervening decade, inspired not least by the questions Applegate and Potter raised, a significant volume of work has been produced, exploring further the promise and limits of thinking about musical cultures in Germany within that national frame. Significant new approaches have emerged within the discipline, which permit the exploration of these same questions from different perspectives. Our understanding of identity politics has moved beyond the consideration of ideology as inscribed in literary or material culture, and more in the direction of exploring the emotional and visceral qualities of German as well as other subjectivities. It seeks to comprehend better the imaginaries which lie anterior to discourse; and our habits of thinking 'nationally' about the histories we seek to explore have been challenged by the turn towards transnational histories. At the same time, a considerable amount of work has been done on the many regional varieties of national thinking and feeling, emphasizing the existence of multiple, sometimes competing but often co-existing, cultural imaginaries.

This conference seeks to revisit the questions asked by Applegate and Potter, take stock of the scholarly literature as it now stands, and explore the problem space further in the light of approaches which have emerged in the meantime. In taking the modern era, broadly understood, as the timeframe we wish not only to acknowledge the modern qualities of national thinking and feeling, but also to explore the ways in which, in particular, modern economic, social, and political frames—institutional exchanges, cultural diplomacy, tourism, international study visits, experiences of exile—have co-constituted national imaginaries from outside, and thus to insert an overtly transnational aspect into the account. In working with the rubric of 'dreams' we seek to acknowledge both the visceral qualities of a set of imaginaries that cannot be reduced to a corresponding set of politics, but as often as not work independently of them, and the presence of a recognizably German set of histories for which the vocabulary of dreams—of fantasies, projections, recollections, nightmares—provides an equally recognizable metaphorical language.

Friedrich Max Müller and the Role of Philology in Victorian Thought. Conference organized by the Centre for Anglo-German Cultural Relations, Queen Mary University of London, the English Goethe Society, and the German Historical Institute London and to be held at the GHIL, 16–18 April 2015. Conveners: John R. Davis (Kingston University), and Angus Nicholls (Queen Mary University of London).

Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) was one of the best known academics in Victorian Britain. His popular writings enjoyed a wide readership and acclaim, and his public lectures were sell-out events. He was a prominent figure in the popularization of evolutionary thinking before Darwin. His theories regarding the origins and development of language created a public fascination with the past, with legend, and with myth. His public role in the contexts of imperialism and British understanding of the cultures of the Indian subcontinent brought him notoriety. Good-looking, witty, and gifted, Max Müller was, for many outside academe, the embodiment of the German professor and a forerunner of today's media-savvy academic.

Despite being credited with significance in many fields of Victorian intellectual and public life, Max Müller's life and work have not received sufficient scholarly attention. The relatively recent biography by Lourens P. van den Bosch, *Friedrich Max Müller: A Life Devoted to the Humanities* (2002) provides an excellent overview that will enable more detailed evaluations of Max Müller's contributions to many facets of intellectual life. Of necessity, such evaluations must be biographical, historical, and interdisciplinary. The proposed conference will therefore bring together academics from a range of disciplines and seek to recapture, and evaluate comprehensively and rigorously, Friedrich Max Müller's significance personally, intellectually, and publicly.

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Twelfth Workshop on Early Modern German History. Workshop organized by the German History Society in cooperation with the German Historical Institute London and to be held at the GHIL on 8 May 2015. Conveners: David Lederer (National University of Ireland, Maynooth), Bridget Heal (University of St Andrews), and Angela Schattner (GHIL).

The first workshop ran in 2002 and has now established itself as the principal forum for cross-disciplinary discussion of new research on early modern German-speaking central Europe. The workshop provides an opportunity to discuss work-in-progress as well as theoretical and methodological approaches. Previous themes have included artistic and literary representations, medicine and musicology, as well as political, social, economic, and religious history. Contributions are also welcome from those wishing to range outside the period generally considered as 'early modern' and those engaged in comparative research on other parts of early modern Europe. The workshop is sponsored by the German History Society, and the German Historical Institute London and participation, including lunch, is free but participants have to pay for travel and accommodation themselves.

The day will be organized as a series of themed workshops, each introduced by a panel chair and consisting of two to three short papers followed by discussion. The point of the papers is to present new findings or work-in-progress in summary form, rather than extended detailed discussion. Accordingly, participants are encouraged to keep to 15 minutes, highlight major findings or questions, and indicate how their work might develop in future.

If you are interested in presenting a paper, please send a short synopsis and a CV by 11 January 2015 to Angela Schattner, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square London, WC1A 2NJ, email: schattner@ghil.ac.uk. All students and academic researchers interested in early modern German history are very welcome to attend. There is no charge for attendance but booking is essential. Please register with Carole Sterckx: sterckx@ghil.ac.uk or Angela Schattner: schattner@ghil.ac.uk.

In memoriam Hagen Schulze
31 July 1943–4 September 2014

With great sadness the German Historical Institute London announces the death of its former Director, Professor Hagen Schulze, in Berlin on 4 September 2014 at the age of just 71 after a long illness. When he was appointed to the London Institute in 2000, Hagen Schulze was one of Germany's most distinguished modern historians with an international reputation based on a number of substantial works on the history of the Weimar Republic, and then increasingly also on European history. The geographical expansion of his interests went along with an extension of the chronological horizon of his books. His trademark in his last great works was the drawing out of large lines and long-term developments, especially on his main theme, the nation and nation-state in Europe. His *Kleine deutsche Geschichte*, which went through many editions and was translated into several languages, and his *Staat und Nation in der europäischen Geschichte* are rightly considered to be masterpieces of compressed representation of complex historical developments.

Schulze's research began with, and constantly returned to, the history of the Weimar Republic and Germany's failed democratization after the First World War. In 1967, at the age of just 24 and after studying history, political science, and philosophy at the universities of Bonn and Kiel for only eight semesters, he submitted his Ph.D. dissertation, 'Freikorps und Republik 1918–1920', supervised by Michael Freund and inspired by his work. In it, Schulze focused on the problems of categorizing these organizations in the immediate post-war period, suggesting that there was not simply 'a line leading from the Freikorps to the SA and NSDAP'. As irregular armies, they were initially encouraged and supported by Ebert and Noske to save their government and the republic, to whose downfall many of their former members later significantly contributed. In this first work, the fluid, vivid prose that was to become Schulze's trademark is already apparent.

Through the mediation of Karl Friedrich Erdmann, the modern historian from Kiel, Schulze, after writing his dissertation, received a commission to edit the volume *Das Kabinett Scheidemann, 13.2. 1919–20.6.1920*. This formed part of the series *Akten der Reichskanzlei* edited by Erdmann und Wolfgang J. Mommsen. Another editorial project

then gave Schulze the basis for an extensive *Habilitation* thesis. Again through Erdmann, Schulze was commissioned to edit the papers of the long-serving Prussian minister president Otto Braun, which had ended up in the possession of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. This provided the foundation for a biographical study of more than 1,000 pages, *Otto Braun oder Preußens demokratische Sendung: Ein Biographie*, which was accepted by the University of Kiel as a *Habilitation* thesis in 1977 and published in the same year. In it, Schulze traces the successes and failures of Prussia's powerful Social Democratic minister president ('the red Tsar'). This account of the Weimar Republic, starting from the biography, ultimately focuses on Braun's chances of saving German democracy from his Prussian base. The central arguments and methodology of this book, universally recognized as a magisterial research achievement, stimulated wide discussion. Schulze's main thesis, namely, that in May 1928 Braun missed a realistic (and final) chance to stabilize Weimar democracy in the long term when he refused an offer to combine the offices of the Prussian minister president and the imperial chancellor in his own person, was widely debated. Some Weimar specialists, however, considered that Braun's and Prussia's potential to neutralize the differently structured conflict zones at Reich level was less than Schulze suggested. Broader research controversies about Brüning's political intentions and the SPD's policy of toleration also lay behind these different assessments.

This enormous achievement by *Privatdozent* Hagen Schulze led to two visiting professorships in Berlin and Kiel in 1979, and then to the chair of modern history, theory and methodology of historiography at the Friedrich Meinecke Institute at the Free University of Berlin. This propelled him into a group of the most important and distinguished historians of modern Germany who, in the 1980s, produced major syntheses of German and European history. One of the first and most respected of these projects was Siedler Verlag's multi-volume *Deutsche Geschichte*, for which Hagen Schulze wrote *Weimar: Deutschland, 1917–1933*. This has been reissued in a number of new editions and has been translated into many different languages. This 500-page volume was first published in 1982, just three years after his *Habilitation* thesis. In it, Schulze's interest in the Weimar Republic again concentrated strongly on individuals, their scope for action, and the ideological constraints they faced, while problems of economic history and social structural analysis were more peripheral.

Many more works followed at short intervals, almost annually. *Mitten in Europa: Deutsche Geschichte*, which Schulze wrote with Heinz Boockmann, Heinz Schilling, and Michael Stürmer, appeared in 1984, again with Siedler Verlag; the original German edition of *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck 1763–1867* was published in 1985 by dtv Verlag, and it, too, went through many editions and was published in English translation in 1990. With these two works, Hagen Schulze had arrived at the theme that would be at the heart of his academic work for the next twenty years: the development of the nation and nation-state in Germany and in the larger context of Western Europe. This theme had, of course, always been there in the books on Weimar, but now, in the context of contemporary historiographical debates, and, from 1989, also against the background of German reunification, Schulze developed it into an independent field of research. He hugely expanded his temporal framework and wrote books which, like the slim volumes mentioned earlier, covered a thousand years and more of German and European history. They investigate the genesis of the European concept of nation and the principles by which nation and national awareness were constructed. Schulze did this by drawing on, and critically engaging with, constructivist concepts such as Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities'. The dimension of a collective memory of a common past was to be central to Schulze's approach. Because people, Schulze writes, 'always perceive their commonality as a common past, they primarily recognize themselves in their national histories'. This memory of a common past, for Schulze, also suggests that a new memory, namely, that of a European nation, will gradually supersede, though never entirely replace, a collective relation to the nation-state.

From 1994, the year in which Schulze, after a brief spell at the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Munich, returned to the Free University of Berlin to take up a new chair in modern German and European history, the notion of collective memory led to an extraordinarily productive collaboration with a colleague in Berlin, Etienne François. Inspired by the French historian Pierre Nora's seven-volume publication *Les lieux de mémoire*, they conceived a parallel work for Germany, which was published by Beck Verlag in 2001, in three volumes comprising about 130 contributions. This *opus magnum* treats German sites of memory in a European, but also a German context. That memory not only unites, but can also separate, and that

a specific culture of memory had emerged in the old East German *Länder* has been demonstrated by follow-up projects on, for example, sites of memory in the GDR, which were inspired by this pioneering achievement.

With this great work in its final phase, Hagen Schulze began his period as Director of the GHIL in September 2000, and he immediately introduced these themes into the GHIL's work. The lecture series 'Speaking of Europe' which he organized was an outstanding success, attracting speakers such as Ralf Dahrendorf, Richard von Weizsäcker, and Bronislav Geremek. The theme of a possible collection of European sites of memory was the topic of a GHIL conference held as early as 2002 at Cumberland Lodge in Windsor Great Park. It was attended by Pierre Nora and many distinguished experts in the field from all over Europe, including Peter Mandler from Britain and Heinz Duchhardt from the Institute of European History in Mainz, where the project of a collection of European sites of memory has been realized recently. Sites of memory also provided the topic of a farewell conference held for Hagen Schulze in 2006, this time taking a specific British perspective on sites of memory in colonial and post-colonial contexts.

When Hagen Schulze came to London he already had wide international networks. In the mid 1980s he was a Visiting Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford, and in the 1990s he spent two periods as a Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton. Once in England, he was repeatedly drawn to spend time working in Cambridge; he was accepted as a Senior Fellow at Sidney Sussex College, where he developed a special friendship with his colleague Tim Blanning. Another place where he felt very much at home was the Reform Club. He became a member, and liked to entertain the GHIL's guests there. Surrounded by an impressive portrait gallery of Britain's Liberal statesmen and in the company of present-day decision-makers from the ranks of a political tradition that he found congenial, he felt comfortable and could withdraw there to work. He also enjoyed England's varied countryside, which he avidly explored with his wife during the time they lived in London.

The GHIL's organizational structure underwent important changes during Hagen Schulze's time as Director. Previously part of an independent foundation with the German Historical Institutes in Washington and Warsaw, the GHIL, along with the other institutes

abroad, was transferred in 2002 to the newly established Foundation German Humanities Institutes Abroad. This establishment was hotly debated, and the process of developing a new structure was contested and time-consuming. Hagen Schulze always looked out for opportunities for the GHIL's Research Fellows to gain teaching experience, and he set up a collaboration with Oxford University's History Department for this purpose. At the same time, the building occupied by the GHIL was undergoing extensive renovations and, when the DAAD and the Anglo-German Foundation moved out, the GHIL expanded into the extra space available on the third floor. Hagen Schulze left his successor an Institute in excellent condition in every way when he returned to his chair in Berlin in 2006. He personally, however, was beginning to suffer the symptoms of the illness that overshadowed the years of his retirement from 2008.

In the Foreword to his dissertation, published in 1968, Hagen Schulze thanked the archivist Ingrid Bidlingmaier at the German Federal Archives in Koblenz for her kind support. This was an understatement, because in the same year, the 'archivist' became his wife and, as the Foreword to his *Habilitation* thesis puts it, 'colleague'. In the difficult years after the *Habilitation* she not only looked after a growing family, their two sons Hendrik and Thies, but also contributed to his academic work as a conversation partner, researcher, and editor.

Hagen Schulze will be greatly missed by his friends and colleagues at the GHIL.

Andreas Gestrich

LIBRARY NEWS

Recent Acquisitions

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- Assmann, Aleida, *Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur: Eine Intervention* (Munich: Beck, 2013)
- Babin, Malte-Ludolf and Gerd van den Heuvel (eds.), *Brief und Siegel für ein Königreich: Die Prunkurkunden zur hannoverschen Thronfolge in Großbritannien, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen, 273* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014)
- Bach, Olaf, *Die Erfindung der Globalisierung: Entstehung und Wandel eines zeitgeschichtlichen Grundbegriffs* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013)
- Bacia, Jürgen and Cornelia Wenzel, *Bewegung bewahren: Freie Archive und die Geschichte von unten* (Berlin: Archiv der Jugendkulturen Verlag, 2013)
- Bahro, Berno, *Der SS-Sport: Organisation, Funktion, Bedeutung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2013)
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- Bartels, Almuth, *Monetarisierung und Individualisierung: Historische Analyse der betrieblichen Sozialpolitik bei Siemens, 1945–1989, Beiträge zur Unternehmensgeschichte, 32* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2013)
- Barth, Volker, *Inkognito: Geschichte eines Zeremoniells* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013)
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- Benz, Wolfgang, *Theresienstadt: Eine Geschichte von Täuschung und Vernichtung* (Munich: Beck, 2013)
- Berghahn, Volker, *Umbau im Wiederaufbau: Amerika und die deutsche Industrie im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vorträge und Kolloquien/Jena Center Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, 14 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013)
- Berghoff, Hartmut, Uffa Jensen, et al. (eds.), *History by Generations: Generational Dynamics in Modern History*, Göttinger Studien zur Generationsforschung, 11 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013)
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- Blank, Bettina, 'Deutschland, einig Antifa'? 'Antifaschismus' als Agitationsfeld von Linksextremisten, *Extremismus und Demokratie*, 28 (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2014)
- Bled, Jean-Paul, *Franz Ferdinand: Der eigensinnige Thronfolger*, trans. Susanna Grabmayr and Marie-Therese Pitner (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013)
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- Boff, Jonathan, *Winning and Losing on the Western Front: The British Third Army and the Defeat of Germany in 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Borscheid, Peter, David Gugerli, and Tobias Straumann, *Swiss Re und die Welt der Risikomärkte: Eine Geschichte*, ed. Harold James (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Über den Staat: Vorlesungen am Collège de France 1989–1992*, ed. Patrick Champagne, Remi Lenoir, et al., trans. Horst Brühmann and Petra Willim (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014)
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- Ehlers, Joachim, *Otto von Freising: Ein Intellektueller im Mittelalter. Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2013)
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- Farge, Arlette, *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton, Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013)
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- Fink-Lang, Monika, *Joseph Görres: Die Biografie* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2013)
- Fischer, Carsten, *Schildgeld und Heersteuer: Eine vergleichende Studie zur Entwicklung lehnsrechtlicher Strukturen durch die Umwandlung vasallitischer Kriegsdienste in Geldabgaben im normannisch-frühangevinischen England und staufischen Reich*, Ius Commune. Sonderhefte: Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte, 279 (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2013)
- Flemming, Thomas, *Gustav W. Heinemann: Ein deutscher Citoyen. Biographie* (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 2014)
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- Frank, Anne, *Gesamtausgabe: Tagebücher, Geschichten und Ereignisse aus dem Hinterhaus, Erzählungen, Briefe, Fotos und Dokumente*, ed. Anne Frank Fonds, Basel, trans. Mirjam Pressler (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2013)

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