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ARTICLES

IN/VISIBLE TRANSFERS: TRANSLATION AS A CRUCIAL PRACTICE IN TRANSNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AROUND 1900

JOHANNA GEHMACHER

I. Introduction

Feminism as a Symptom

Since the nineteenth century, in one way or another, gender relations have been a contentious issue in societies across the globe. The various ways in which gender differences were established, transformed, and upheld, as well as their symbolic usages, became characteristic for modernizing societies and the national, multinational, and imperial identities they developed. As a result, in many countries women challenged gender hierarchies that were, to a large extent, to their disadvantage. However, they did so in different ways. Women envisaged diverse paths to, and different concepts of, what they saw as a just relationship between the sexes. In the same way that there are different modernities, modernizing societies were neither all based on the same gender regimes, nor did they all produce the same kind of women's movement. However, what many of them did have in common was that at some point their asymmetrical gender order was challenged by various forms of women's activism. In the course of the twentieth century the term 'feminism' has become a shortcut to describe these developments, although by no means all historical protagonists later associated with the term would have identified with it at the time.

Thanks to Tobias Becker, Angela Davies, Emily Richards, Elizabeth Harvey, and Michael Schaich for their critical reading and helpful comments pertaining to historical context as well as to language. I would also like to thank the German Historical Institute London, the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the Gerda Henkel Stiftung for the opportunity to research and write this article during a wonderful year as Gerda Henkel Visiting Professor in London.

Feminism takes place in different languages and idioms. Scholars analysing historical gender regimes and women's activism in different countries, empires, and colonies have criticized notions of what is seen as avant-garde, and what is seen as belated, in Western and non-Western countries respectively. They have called for greater attention to be paid to the 'contemporary-ness'¹ of feminist discourses in many places. More specifically, Marilyn Booth has suggested that we 'think of feminism as . . . coevally produced across locales' and with 'a notion of contemporaneity that recognises difference but does not hierarchise it'.² The very term 'feminism' itself, as well as parallel expressions, moving through time, fields of agency, languages, and disciplines since the beginning of the twentieth century, can be analysed as a 'travelling concept' that has a sinuous career of changing meanings.³ Historians, as well as scholars of translation studies, have addressed various uses, ideas, and ideologies that were linked to the word and the concept, and have argued both for and against a generalizing use of the term feminism in scholarly research.⁴ They have done so in the context of a broader analysis of the gendered binaries, asymmetries, imbalances, and in/visibilities that are established and translated through languages.⁵ That said, translation itself

¹ Kathryn Gleadle and Zoë Thomas, 'Global Feminisms, c.1870–1930: Vocabularies and Concepts. A Comparative Approach', *Women's History Review*, 27 (2017), 1209–24, at 1214.

² Marilyn Booth, 'Peripheral Visions: Translational Polemics and Feminist Arguments in Colonial Egypt', in Anna Ball and Karim Mattar (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to the Postcolonial Middle East* (Edinburgh, 2018), 183–212, at 185.

³ Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Toronto, 2002).

⁴ Karen Offen, 'Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach', *Signs*, 14/1 (1988), 119–57, republished in Gisela Bock and Susan James (eds.), *Beyond Equality and Difference: Citizenship, Feminist Politics and Female Subjectivity* (London, 1992), 69–88, for a critical discussion see Nancy F. Cott, 'Comment on Karen Offen's "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach"', *Signs*, 15/1 (1989), 203–5; Karen Offen, 'Reply to Cott', *ibid.* 206–9; in a broader sense, Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London, 1994); June Hannam, *Feminism* (Harlow, 2006).

⁵ Luise von Flotow, *Translation and Gender: Translating in the 'Era of Feminism'* (London, 1997, repub. 2016); Olga Castro and Emek Ergun (eds.), *Feminist Translation Studies: Local and Transnational Perspectives* (New York, 2017);

is a complex practice that creates and traverses transnational spaces. While it has to tackle different concepts of gender, identity, community, and the individual in different cultures, translation also takes place in hierarchical political and economic spaces. Accompanying global relations of political dominance and economic inequality, languages were given different value and offered, and still offer, unequal chances to make their speakers' ideas heard on a transnational level.

Moreover, historians of feminism are confronted with the fact that feminism is both a term used in historical sources in a variety of ways and an analytical concept in the context of feminist theory. Following Caroline Arni, this article argues that historians should bring a critically reflexive approach to anachronisms (embracing rather than rejecting them), and at the same time radically historicize both historical expressions and analytical concepts.⁶ Substantial research has already been carried out in this field. In the course of a critical assessment of conceptual history, Gisela Bock has analysed the history of the German term 'emancipation' and its parallel concepts. Among the latter, she also looked into feminism, which made its first appearance in that language around 1900.⁷ Reflecting a workshop held in Oxford in 2017, Kathryn Gleadle and Zoë Thomas differentiated various terms by which activism against gender injustice had been identified around the world and discussed the appropriateness of the analytical concept of feminism in these contexts.⁸

Building on these and similar studies, in this article I start from the assumption that the term feminism can neither be conceived as one single concept nor as one neatly defined historical movement.

Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London, 1996).

⁶ Caroline Arni, 'Zeitlichkeit, Anachronismus und Anachronien: Gegenwart und Transformationen der Geschlechtergeschichte aus geschichtstheoretischer Perspektive', *L'Homme*, 18/2 (2007), 53–76, 65–68.

⁷ Gisela Bock, 'Begriffsgeschichten: "Frauenemanzipation" im Kontext der Emanzipationsbewegungen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in ead., *Geschlechtergeschichten der Neuzeit: Ideen, Politik, Praxis* (Göttingen, 2014), 100–52, 126–8; see also Johanna Gehmacher, 'Frauenfrage – Frauenbewegung: Historisierung als politische Strategie', in Burcu Dogramaci and Guenther Sandner (eds.), *Rosa und Anna Schapire: Sozialwissenschaft, Kunstgeschichte und Feminismus um 1900* (Berlin, 2017), 82–101.

⁸ Gleadle and Thomas, 'Global Feminisms', 1210–13.

Rather, I claim that its use or that of parallel expressions in a specific historical situation should be read as a symptom, a signpost to constellations and conflicts that need further inspection. The occurrence of such expressions should become a starting point for the analysis of concepts and contexts, networks and practices of very different forms of activism aimed at changing gender relations to women's advantage. In the context of this analysis, I will, for the sake of clarity, avoid using the term 'feminism' as an analytical concept. I do, however, use the attribute and the noun 'feminist', in a broad sense, to describe spaces, organizations, or personalities devoted to the improvement of the situation of women, to an expansion of their chances and rights.

In the following, I will consider some conceptual frameworks for this analysis. More specifically, I will discuss approaches to women's activism on a global scale as well as concepts of transnational history, translation history, practice theory, and biographical research. In the second step, I will introduce the case of Käthe Schirmacher, and the part she played in circulating feminist ideas between various European countries. I will conclude by discussing the relevance of practices of cultural transfer in creating and maintaining transnational spaces of European and transatlantic women's movements around 1900. More specifically, I will argue that translators had a crucial but often veiled part to play in the globalizing arena of women's movements before the First World War.

II. *Concepts*

Women's Activism in Different Places

The global scale of women's activism⁹ does not mean that there was ever such a thing as one single women's movement. Historians of feminist and non-feminist women's movements, and of international and transnational women's networks and associations have shown the various, often conflicting, approaches of research into those his-

⁹ For a plea for the broad term 'women's activism' to be used in German-language research see Susan Zimmermann, 'Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der vielen Geschichten des Frauen-Aktivismus weltweit', in Johanna Gehmacher and Natascha Vittorelli (eds.), *Wie Frauenbewegung geschrieben wird: Historiographie, Dokumentation, Stellungnahmen, Bibliographien* (Innsbruck, 2009), 63–80.

tories. They have highlighted the power relations and global hierarchies among them, as well as the tensions entailed in these movements' attachment to various political issues.¹⁰ Historians of women's movements have shown how liberal European feminists, willingly or unwillingly, legitimized and reinforced imperialist policies,¹¹ while scholars of colonial and postcolonial studies have elaborated on how Western gender images lead to the homogeneous concept of a 'Third World Difference'. In a seminal article, Chandra Talpade Mohanty criticized the notion of a 'stable, ahistorical something that apparently oppresses most if not all the women in these countries' through which Western feminisms appropriated 'the fundamental complexities and conflicts which characterize the lives of women of different classes, religions, cultures, races and castes' to support their cause.¹² Feminist historians have also analysed the ways in which various political movements included and, at the same time, often marginalized gender issues.¹³ Studies of racism and nationalism have demonstrated that identities of nationality, ethnicity, and race were inextricably linked with ideas of femininity and masculinity.¹⁴

In the course of their critical reflection of earlier approaches, feminist scholars have developed transnational perspectives on women's activism on a global scale. These efforts can build on long-standing

¹⁰ Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis, and Krassimira Daskalova (eds.), *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present* (New York, 2013).

¹¹ Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994); Sumita Mukherjee, *Indian Suffragettes: Female Identities and Transnational Networks* (Oxford, 2018).

¹² Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', *Feminist Review*, 30/1 (1988), 61–88, republished in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Postcolonial Studies Reader* (London, 2001), 259–63, at 260; see also Sara Suleri, 'Woman Skin Deep: Feminism and the Postcolonial Condition', in Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (eds.), *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*, 273–80.

¹³ E.g. Marilyn J. Boxer, 'Rethinking the Socialist Construction and International Career of the Concept "Bourgeois Feminism"', *American Historical Review*, 112/1 (2007), 131–58.

¹⁴ Anne McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven": Gender, Race and Nationalism', in ead., Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (eds.), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis, 1998), 89–112.

commitments in women's and gender history to go beyond national frameworks.¹⁵ However, although the call to provincialize Europe has spurred a variety of new perspectives on global and transnational history, this cannot entail a history 'on equal terms' without a reference point that defines equality.¹⁶ Therefore, this article argues that a critical analysis of gender orders and gender inequality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should build on the concept of modernization as a driving force without stipulating one singular concept of modernity.¹⁷

Further to that, any transnational approach has to meet methodological challenges of command of languages and availability of sources. Archives more often than not impose the historical perspective of those who were in power. The spread of languages and the availability of translations also strongly reflect global relations. That said, a seemingly global perspective still can reproduce transnational hierarchies and blank out marginalized histories in global peripheries. Education systems that support a hierarchy of languages as well as long-standing archival practices have institutionalized hierarchies that inevitably lead to methodological nationalism that cannot be avoided just by the wish to do so. Therefore, I want to clarify that although protagonists in the networks discussed below claimed that they were speaking for the world as a whole, this article will not support their claim. Moreover, as it relies on sources from European contexts and upon knowledge of European languages only, the article can only develop a fragmentary perspective on transnational women's networks.

¹⁵ Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History* (Stanford, Calif., 2000); Glenda Sluga, "'Spectacular Feminism': The International History of Women, World Citizenship and Human Rights", in de Haan, Allen, Purvis, and Daskalova (eds.), *Women's Activism*, 44–58.

¹⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, 2000); for a critical discussion of the concept of a history on equal terms see Carola Dietze, 'Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of Provincializing Europe', *History and Theory*, 47 (Feb. 2008), 69–84; Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'In Defense of Provincializing Europe: A Response to Carola Dietze', *ibid.* 85–96.

¹⁷ Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, 'Multiple Modernities', *Daedalus*, 129/1 (2000), 1–29.

Transnational History

It has been claimed that transnational, entangled, and global histories no longer have to be defended. Rather, Angelika Epple holds that approaches based on methodological nationalism do not count as 'state of the art' any more in historical research. Those who do *not* use any kind of relational perspective (the notion she uses to include the various concepts) nowadays have to explain their narrow focus.¹⁸ Although it might, therefore, appear to be obsolete to repeat all the valuable arguments that have been raised for a non-national perspective in history over the last decades, concepts such as global, transnational, or entangled history still have to be defended against the prevalence of national perspectives. This is complicated by the fact that they do not necessarily provide a stable theoretical and methodological basis for research. For one thing, this is due to conflicting and overlapping concepts of comparative, entangled, global, transnational, and relational histories that can be traced back to the contentious history of the historical discipline since the 1970s and the many turns this entailed.¹⁹ Here I use the term transnational to emphasize this article's partial perspective. What is more, the reference to the concept of the national can also reflect that Western women's movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had a strong relationship to the nation-state.

In a frequently cited definition, Akira Iriye and Pierre-Ives Saunier delineated transnational approaches as dealing with the 'links and flows' of 'people, ideas, products, processes and patterns that operate over, across, through, beyond, above, under, or in-between polities and societies', a concept that has been criticized for its vagueness.²⁰ In a more recent text Saunier defined transnational history as being a way of historicizing 'contacts between communi-

¹⁸ Angelika Epple, 'Relationale Geschichtsschreibung: Gegenstand, Erkenntnisinteresse und Methode globaler und weltregionaler Geschichtsschreibung', online at <www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4291>, accessed 2 Feb. 2017.

¹⁹ For a concise historiographical overview of how the term has been used since the 1970s see Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14/4 (Nov. 2005), 421–39.

²⁰ Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. xviii; for a critical discussion see Kiran Klaus Patel, 'Transnational History', *EGO European History Online*, e-pub 3

ties, politics and societies', and as an analytical strategy to deconstruct the co-construction of the 'foreign' and the 'domestic', as well as the analysis of, often veiled, 'trends, patterns, organizations and individuals' that 'have been living in between and through these . . . entities'.²¹ Given the multiplicity of possible subjects that this entails, such a thing as *one* methodology of transnational history while avoiding the establishment of sub-disciplines seems to be unattainable. Probably, it can most appositely be characterized as a special point of view, a 'transnational perspective'.²²

This openness can also be an asset. It provides an avenue into what Epple has suggested as a further step of relational historiography which, in her view, should not only look into flows between various social entities but also analyse how such entities are created through their relations with each other.²³

This questioning of pre-established entities connects transnational history and women's and gender history. Furthermore, women's and gender history and transnational history likewise take the development of the modern nation-state of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as an important context and question the limitation of analysis to a national arena. Historians of women's movements have looked into relations and networks beyond national boundaries for a long time and have engaged with transnational perspectives in many ways.²⁴ However, historians who were instrumental in developing

Dec. 2010, p. 1 <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/patelk-2010-en>>, accessed 25 July 2019.

²¹ Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History: Introduction* (Basingstoke, 2014), 8.

²² Ann Taylor Allen, 'Lost in Translation? Women's History in Transnational and Comparative Perspective', in Anne Cova (ed.), *Comparative Women's History: New Approaches* (New York, 2006), 87-115, at 89-90.

²³ Epple, 'Relationale Geschichtsschreibung'.

²⁴ E.g. Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, 1997); Mrinalini Sinha, Donna Guy, and Angela Woollacott (eds.), *Feminisms and Internationalism* (Oxford, 1999); Karen Offen, 'Understanding International Feminisms as "Transnational": An Anachronism? May Wright Sewall and the Creation of the International Council of Women, 1889-1904', in Oliver Janz and Daniel Schönplüg (eds.), *Gender History in a Transnational Perspective: Networks, Biographies, Gender Orders* (New York, 2014); Madeleine Herren, 'Sozialpolitik und die Historisierung des Transnationalen', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 32/4 (Oct. 2006), 542-59; Clare

the field of transnational history sometimes failed to acknowledge the contribution of gender historians.²⁵

In their introduction to an influential anthology on gender history from a transnational perspective, Oliver Janz and Daniel Schönplflug include questions of comparison when they define transnational history as an approach that looks at ‘similarities of and differences between national spheres’ while it is ‘aware of the hierarchies and asymmetries’ that characterize these spheres. For a gender analysis, their focus on ‘effects of appropriation, refusal, reinterpretation and translation’ is especially relevant.²⁶ They distinguish three perspectives in feminist research: different gender orders, transnational biographies, and transnational networks. The latter they characterize as ‘transnational spaces [which] are also likely to . . . develop specific features that cannot be traced back to their national origins’.²⁷

These ‘spaces’ evolving between national spaces turned out to be particularly interesting for historians of women’s movements. The spread and diversification of civil societies that took place in many industrialized countries during the second half of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century had an important transnational dynamic. That said, this development did not necessarily question the national concepts of identity and politics. Rather, as Dominik Geppert remarks, historians of globalization have argued that ‘transnational interactions’ have ‘aided the formation and consolidation’ of national boundaries.²⁸ Movements and networks that considered themselves as ‘international’ developed in dense interaction with national movements, connecting them, and sometimes also initiating them, providing them with concepts, models, and strategies. As information on initiatives in another region or country can motivate

Midgley, Alison Twells, and Julie Carlier (eds.), *Women in Transnational History: Connecting the Local and the Global* (London, 2016).

²⁵ For a recent example see Thomas Adam, ‘Transnational History: A Program for Research, Publishing, and Teaching’, *Yearbook of Transnational History*, 1 (2018), 1–10.

²⁶ Janz and Schönplflug (eds.), *Gender History in a Transnational Perspective*, 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Dominik Geppert, ‘National Expectations and Transnational Infrastructure: The Media, Global News Coverage, and International Relations in the Age of High Imperialism’, *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 39/2 (2017), 21–42, at 22.

similar activism at a distance, the relationship between different forms of activism is often complex.

Historians of women's movements have pointed to considerable tensions between the 'international' and the 'transnational'. Taking the example of the multinational Habsburg Monarchy, Susan Zimmermann has argued that as the participation in an international association like the International Council of Women required the formation of a 'national' league of women's associations on a state level, going international actually spurred national conflict and nationalism at home.²⁹ Julie Carlier and Corinna Oesch have both demonstrated that transnational women's organizations of the late nineteenth century which were not structured by the membership of national leagues indeed met with considerable difficulties and could not survive for very long.³⁰

Practices

The extent to which transnational spaces have generated institutionalized frameworks varies widely. However, the instances above illustrate the precarious character of transnational spaces and point to the fact that they have to be constantly nurtured and upheld. I claim here that the various relations of exchange between social and political movements, regional and global, would not have worked without the help of a set of cultural practices such as travelling, hosting, and corresponding (to name only a few), which need to be investigated in more detail. To develop and persist, transnational spaces require that people engage in 'doing transnational' in some way, usually in the shape of various practices.

In recent years, the concept of practice, as developed by practice theory, has increasingly informed methodological approaches in sev-

²⁹ Susan Zimmermann, 'The Challenge of Multinational Empire for the International Women's Movement: The Habsburg Monarchy and the Development of Feminist Inter/National Politics', *Journal of Women's History*, 17/2 (2005), 87-117.

³⁰ Julie Carlier, 'Forgotten Transnational Connections and National Contexts: An "Entangled History" of the Political Transfers that Shaped Belgian Feminism, 1890-1914', *Women's History Review*, 19/4 (2010), 503-22; Corinna Oesch, 'Internationale Frauenbewegungen: Perspektiven einer Begriffsgeschichte und einer Transnationalen Geschichte', *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, 22/2 (2016), 25-37.

eral humanities disciplines. However, this needs to be adapted for research specifically about transnational women's networks and organizations. Early on, feminist theory related to the theory of symbolic interactionism. In a seminal article, Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman argued that gender differences are created in ongoing daily interactions.³¹ Therefore, patterns of practices that accomplish and corroborate specific notions of (gender) difference in a society need to be analysed and deconstructed. More recently, Susanne Völker has set out the uses of practice theory and a praxeological approach for research on women and gender and has highlighted the long-standing ties between practice theory and gender research by pointing to the concepts of 'doing gender' and 'doing difference'.³²

Likewise, research on international relations has embraced the concept of practices to explain the development of rules in the transnational field of military conflict and diplomatic exchange.³³ Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot have argued that the analysis of transnational exchanges of all sorts cannot solely rely on addressing the interplay between ideological perspectives and power structures but also has to take into account routines of communication, rituals, bureaucratic practices, and personal relationships. They define practices as 'socially meaningful patterns of action, which, in being performed more or less competently, simultaneously embody, act out, and possibly reify background knowledge and discourse in and on the material world'.³⁴ They point to the epistemic dimension of practices which unfold in the repetition and variation of patterns rooted in social structures. That said, this does not imply a simple reproduction of a given order but entails agency; actors can create alterations and thereby establish new meanings.³⁵

³¹ Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', *Gender and Society*, 1 (1987), 125–51; see also Candace West and Sarah Fenstermaker, 'Doing Difference', *Gender and Society*, 9 (1995), 8–37.

³² Susanne Völker, 'Praxeologie und Praxistheorie: Resonanzen und Debatten in der Geschlechterforschung', in Beate Kortendiek, Birgit Riegraf, and Katja Sabisch (eds.), *Handbuch Interdisziplinäre Geschlechterforschung* (Wiesbaden 2019), 509–17.

³³ Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot, 'International Practices', *International Theory*, 3/1 (2011), 1–36.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 20.

Adler and Pouilot particularly emphasize that a focus on practices can dissolve dichotomies as the former partake in continuity and change, link individual and structural aspects, and are both material and meaningful.³⁶ However, they completely fail to include a gender perspective, although the new diplomatic history, albeit slowly, has begun to recognize the relevance of gender aspects in its research.³⁷

This article takes inspiration both from the concept of gender differences that are established in everyday practice, and from the new interest in practices that constitute and change rules of communication in international relations. It argues that a focus on practices will help us to understand a vital aspect of transnational and international relations, not only on the level of governments but also when considering non-governmental networks and transnational movements. Here, I want to argue that gender history could benefit from a perspective on practices that is not limited to the production of (gender) difference but includes a variety of patterns of communication in women's networks as well as in mixed spaces. Likewise, I argue that research on international relations and diplomacy could profit from the inclusion of gender on a practical as well as on a symbolic level of analysis.³⁸

Translating

Among the practices that support governmental and non-governmental transnational networks, translation plays an important role. Translation studies have pointed to various aspects in which translation needs to be analysed as gendered.³⁹ These include the agency of those who translate, the variations of meanings of gender in different

³⁶ Ibid. 15–18.

³⁷ Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns, 'The Gender Turn in Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 21/1 (2018), 9–28.

³⁸ For an exemplary perspective see Susanna Erlandsson, 'Off the Record: Margaret von Kleffens and the Gendered History of Dutch World War II Diplomacy', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, (2018), 29–46; for a methodological perspective in global history see Angelika Epple, 'Calling for a Practice Turn in Global History: Practices as Drivers of Globalization', *History and Theory*, 57/3 (2018), 390–407.

³⁹ Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* (London, 2014); Eleonora Federici and Vanessa Leonardi (eds.), *Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013); Cornelia Möser,

cultural contexts, and the analysis of gendered metaphors of translation. Luise von Flotow and Lawrence Venuti have both called into question the invisibility of the translator.⁴⁰ While Flotow particularly points to the hidden work of women translators, Venuti criticizes the ideal of ‘transparent’ translation that leaves the reader with the impression of reading the original and erases linguistic and cultural differences.⁴¹ This ideal obfuscates the work and process of translation and veils slippages of meaning as well as decisions that have to be made during that process.⁴² The same strategy also renders the person who does this work invisible. Taking into account that at least during the twentieth century the vast majority of translators were women, this effectively means that the work of women is blanked out from research on transnational and international relations.⁴³

What renders translation specifically challenging are the many instances where, due to cultural differences, the literal and the metaphorical vary. The literal translation of a metaphor used for a joke or out of politeness can destroy the meaning of what was said. On the other hand, to find a comparable metaphor in the target language always entails a transformation of meaning as the translated metaphor alludes to different cultural practices and meanings. These precarious decisions are as unavoidable as they are, indeed, essential for the quality of a translation. Sherry Simon has pointed to the gendered metaphors through which they are discussed: fidelity of meaning and beauty of language.⁴⁴ The example demonstrates that gender is a powerful metaphor that pervades languages. However, it also has various meanings in different languages.

As a discursive construct, gender is built on the gender order in a specific society while also stabilizing this same order. Since the 1980s

Féminismes en traductions. Théories voyageuses et traductions culturelles (Paris, 2013); Flotow, *Translation and Gender*; Castro and Ergun, *Feminist Translation Studies*; see also Andrea Rizzi, Birgit Lang, and Anthony Pym, *What Is Translation History? A Trust-Based Approach* (forthcoming London, 2019).

⁴⁰ Flotow, *Translation and Gender*; Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 2008).

⁴¹ Flotow, *Translation and Gender*, 30–1; Lawrence Venuti, *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice* (London, 2013), 117.

⁴² Venuti, *Translator’s Invisibility*, 17.

⁴³ Simon, *Gender in Translation*, 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 10–11.

feminist translation studies have pointed to the practical and ethical questions which this entails. While the variations in meaning of loaded concepts such as femininity or masculinity are difficult to translate, this is not only a practical question of translation. It also implicates political decisions that form part of the translator's agency. The way translators interpret gendered images or concepts of femininity, how they deal with the grammatical visibilities and invisibilities of gender has effects on what impact a translated text will have in another society.⁴⁵ When these questions are taken into account, translation can also become a feminist practice.⁴⁶ Feminist translation studies have also pointed to the considerable imbalances of the flows of translation that pertain to political hierarchies between societies, to the inequality of languages, as well as to the gender of translated authors. The spread of specific European concepts of gender in colonial and postcolonial societies is only one of the effects of these complex relations between societies and languages.⁴⁷

Discussing the challenges of an interdisciplinary approach to cultural phenomena, Mieke Bal used the metaphor of travel to describe the circulation of scientific concepts. In doing this, she inserted time and place into a concept and thereby addressed the situatedness of knowledge.⁴⁸ Bal does not shun the insecurity this entails but rather embraces the possibilities that emerge through an analysis of what happens between the more stable moments of a concept for which we, of course, always strive. She, therefore, contends that 'concepts are not fixed. They travel—between disciplines, between individual scholars, between historical periods and between geographically dispersed academic communities.' Therefore, their 'meaning, reach, and operational value' differ between disciplines. In her methodology Bal

⁴⁵ Lawrence Venuti, 'Local Contingencies: Translation and National Identities', in id., *Translation Changes Everything*, 116–40.

⁴⁶ Maud Anne Bracke, Penelope Morris, and Emily Ryder, 'Introduction. Translating Feminism: Transfer, Transgression, Transformation (1950s–1980s)', *Gender and History*, 30/1 (2018), 214–25.

⁴⁷ Simon, *Gender in Translation*; Booth, 'Peripheral Visions'; see also Marilyn Booth (ed.), *Migrating Texts: Circulating Translations around the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2019).

⁴⁸ On the situatedness of knowledge see Donna Haraway, 'The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies*, 14/3 (1988), 575–99.

takes these differences seriously. She holds that ‘processes of differing need to be assessed before, during and after each “trip”’.⁴⁹ Here, I want to broaden the use of Bal’s approach and use the idea of concepts as travelling in a wider sense when I look into the term feminism as also moving between national and political spaces. Thereby I also follow the example of Ann Taylor Allen, who demonstrated the relevance of conceptual history for transnational history when she analysed various concepts of motherhood and their uses and circulation among women’s movements in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom before the First World War.⁵⁰ Her work particularly emphasizes that an approach that actively addresses slippages of meaning instead of avoiding the semantic uncertainties that so often occur in the interstices between languages can open up new perspectives. It can thereby contribute to comparative historical analysis in a very productive way.

Biography

In spite of all the advantages of the concept, the openness of transnational history also involves difficulties. To provide and maintain a transnational perspective requires a subject that sustains a certain degree of consistency while it transgresses borders. It needs an entity or a defined context that can be linked to a delimitable body of sources. One way of meeting this challenge has been to focus on pre-constructed subjects such as transnational organizations. Another way has been to analyse one particular type of policy. Reconstructing (hierarchical) relations of economic or cultural exchange between two or more societies by way of certain commodities or concepts has also proved to be rewarding. Quite a few historians, however, have examined various kinds of transnational biographies to explore diversity beyond national spaces.⁵¹ These studies focus on various (chosen

⁴⁹ Mieke Bal, ‘Working with Concepts’, *European Journal of English Studies*, 13/1 (Apr. 2009), 13–23, at 20.

⁵⁰ Allen, ‘Lost in Translation?’, 99–100.

⁵¹ Hannes Schweiger, ‘Identitäten mit Bindestrich: Biographien von Migrantinnen’, in Bernhard Fetz und Hannes Schweiger (eds.), *Spiegel und Maske: Konstruktionen biographischer Wahrheit* (Vienna, 2006), 175–88; Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, and Angelika Schaser (eds.), *Selbstzeugnis und Person: Transkulturelle Perspektiven* (Cologne, 2012); Thomas Keller, ‘Transkulturelle

as well as imposed) experiences and itineraries that can include singular migrations as well as continuous mobility. However, sometimes research on political movements that includes biographical material encounters a difficulty in gauging the ratio between structural and individual forces. The use of the term 'leader(s)' often reveals a very specific (hierarchical) conception of a political movement. There are, however, also more diverse biographical approaches to transnational women's movements. Some of them provide a large number of biographies from diverse countries;⁵² others reflect the transnational lives of cosmopolitan personalities who in various ways established and maintained transnational relations.⁵³

For several decades now, biographical research of all kinds has experienced severe methodological and theoretical debates that both denounced biography as an illusion and proclaimed its rebirth.⁵⁴ Feminist scholars, for their part, have strongly criticized the ideolog-

Biographik und Kulturgeschichte: Deutsch-Französische Lebensgeschichten', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 38/1 (2013), 121–71; Katharina Prager, 'Exemplary Lives? Thoughts on Exile, Gender and Life-Writing', in Charmian Brinson and Andrea Hammel (eds.), *Exile and Gender*, vol. i: *Literature and the Press* (Leiden, 2016), 5–18; Levke Harders, 'Migration und Biographie: Mobile Leben beschreiben', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 29/3 (2018), 17–36.

⁵² Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Budapest, 2006); Marilyn Booth, *Classes of Ladies of Cloistered Spaces: Writing Feminist History through Biography in fin de siècle Egypt* (Edinburgh, 2015).

⁵³ Karen Hunt, "'Whirl'd through the World": The Role of Travel in the Making of Dora Montefiore', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 22/1 (2011), 41–63; Françoise Thébaud, 'What is a Transnational Life? Some Thoughts About Marguerite Thibert's Career and Life (1886–1982)', in Janz and Schönplüg (eds.), *Gender History in a Transnational Perspective*, 162–83; Myriam Everard and Francisca De Haan (eds.), *Rosa Manus (1881–1942): The International Life and Legacy of a Jewish Dutch Feminist* (Leiden, 2017).

⁵⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, 'Die biographische Illusion', *Bios: Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung und Oral History*, 1/1990, 75–81; Ulrich Raulff, 'Das Leben – buchstäblich: Über neuere Biographik und Geschichtswissenschaft', in Christian Klein (ed.), *Grundlagen der Biographik: Theorie und Praxis des biographischen Schreibens* (Stuttgart, 2002), 55–68.

ical link between masculinity, individuality, and the idea of the political subject that has deprived women not only of political rights but also of a narrative of individual agency.⁵⁵ This article suggests constructing limited cases based on biographical material. While this approach can produce differentiated knowledge about a variety of cultural and political contexts, it avoids the illusion of a 'whole' biography.⁵⁶ However, as any biographical work is entangled with the autobiographical practices and desires of the individual under scrutiny, the critical deconstruction of these practices is a prerequisite for any biographical analysis.⁵⁷

A biographical perspective on transnational spaces allows the political and cultural contexts of which the protagonist was part to be studied in a productive way. Likewise, it illustrates various practices that are or were specific to a transnational life, and provides insights into intangible transfers of concepts and ideologies. In the following, this article will use the case of the transnational life of Käthe Schirmacher to illustrate some benefits of this approach.

⁵⁵ Liz Stanley, *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Autobiography* (Manchester, 1992); Anne-Kathrin Reulecke, "'Die Nase der Lady Hester": Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Biographie und Geschlechterdifferenz' (1993), in Bernhard Fetz and Wilhelm Hemecker (eds.), *Theorie der Biographie: Grundlagentexte und Kommentar* (Berlin, 2011), 317–39; Bettina Dausien, 'Geschlecht und Biografie: Anmerkungen zu einem vielschichtigen theoretischen Zusammenhang', in Ingrid Miethe, Claudia Kajatin, and Jana Pohl (eds.), *Geschlechterkonstruktionen in Ost und West: Biografische Perspektiven* (Münster, 2004), 19–44; Esther Marian, 'Zum Zusammenhang von Biographie, Subjektivität und Geschlecht', in Bernhard Fetz and Hannes Schweiger (eds.), *Die Biographie: Zur Grundlegung ihrer Theorie* (Berlin, 2009), 169–97.

⁵⁶ Johanna Gehmacher, 'A Case for Female Individuality: Käthe Schirmacher—Self-Invention and Biography', in Joy Damousi, Birgit Lang, and Katie Sutton (eds.), *Case Studies and the Dissemination of Knowledge* (New York, 2015), 66–79.

⁵⁷ Johanna Gehmacher, 'Leben schreiben: Stichworte zur biografischen Thematisierung als historiografisches Format', in Lucile Dreidemy, Elisabeth Röhrlich, Richard Hufschmied, Agnes Meisinger, and Florian Wenninger (eds.), *Bananen, Cola, Zeitgeschichte: Oliver Rathkolb und das lange 20. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 2015), ii. 1013–26; Carl Pletsch, 'On the Autobiographical Life of Nietzsche', in George Moraitis (ed.), *Psychoanalytic Studies of Biography* (Madison, 1987), 405–34.

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That said, considerable methodological problems arise when researching a transnational life. Sources on transnational lives are often stored in unexpected contexts; they may be held in multiple countries, or they may have been redefined in a new political context that reduces them to a national political perspective. In the case of Schirmacher, we do, however, have access to the extensive personal papers she left to the University Library of Rostock.⁵⁸ These papers are organized around her later nationalistic political views. The autobiographical desire expressed in Schirmacher's papers partly consists of the wish to produce a continuous narrative that shows her feminist activities as part of a patriotic commitment. Provided this frame is properly analysed and deconstructed, these papers represent an extremely valuable collection of sources relating to international women's movements at the turn of the twentieth century. They also record transnational cultural practices that played an essential role in the creation of internationally connected civil spaces that developed rapidly at that time.

III. Case Study

A Modern Woman

In an earlier project, together with my colleagues Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch, I showed how Schirmacher deliberately constructed herself as a 'modern woman'.⁵⁹ Schirmacher, who came from an originally well-to-do German middle-class family, grew up in Danzig. There, languages met and collided: the upper and middle classes

⁵⁸ Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Käthe Schirmacher Papers (hereafter cited as UBR: NL Sch).

⁵⁹ Johanna Gehmacher, Elisa Heinrich, and Corinna Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher: Agitation und autobiografische Praxis zwischen radikaler Frauenbewegung und völkischer Politik* (Vienna, 2018), online at <<https://schirmacherproject.univie.ac.at/buch-agitation-und-autobiografische-praxis/>>, accessed 25 July 2019. This book is the product of several years of co-operation. Although the chapters are authored individually the findings are a joint enterprise. Therefore this article is also indebted to my co-authors. For reflections on Schirmacher as a mediator between countries and languages see *ibid.* 93–8, 125–32 (Gehmacher); 268–75 (Oesch); for concise biographical information on Käthe Schirmacher see *ibid.* 529–37.

generally spoke German, while the workers and the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside generally spoke Polish. Her father's involvement in international trade before the economic crisis of the 1870s as well as the multilingualism of her home town may both have contributed to her interest in languages. However, the Polish-German conflict in West Prussia was most likely also the background for her later nationalist stance. As a young middle-class girl in the early 1880s, Schirmacher was without a dowry because of the decline of the family business, and therefore had poor marriage prospects. However, as for many unmarried middle-class women, it was also difficult to find a way of earning her living, as barely any professions were open to women. Schirmacher's wish to study, expressed at an early age, was initially met with disapproval by her family. University studies were not held to be appropriate for women and, at that time, no German university would admit women.⁶⁰

It was Hugo Münsterberg, later a pioneering psychologist at Harvard University, who set Schirmacher on the path to becoming a translator when he was only a student in his first semester. Schirmacher began to exchange letters with her sister's brother-in-law when she was 16 years old. She already had ambitions to become a student herself, but her correspondent advised strongly against that idea, giving her lurid impressions of how badly the male students treated their female fellow-students in Switzerland. Instead, he came up with a suggestion closely linked to his own needs: he was very interested in new developments in the humanities taking place in the English-speaking world. But as young, middle-class, German men at grammar school learned Greek and Latin instead of modern languages, he did not know English. Young, middle-class, German women, meant to be wives of educated men, however, often learned some French and English as part of their education. Münsterberg suggested to his young relative that she should study the English and French books he would send her. She should improve her language skills as much as possible and likewise keep pace with him in his own discipline. They would form a perfect working couple in the aca-

⁶⁰ Edith Glaser, "'Sind Frauen studierfähig?' Vorurteile gegen das Frauenstudium', in Claudia Opitz and Elke Kleinau (eds.), *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, vol ii: *Vom Vormärz bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 299–309.

dem field. By translating academic books, she could incrementally become an academic herself, first only giving explanations about her own translations, at a later stage also writing introductions to texts she had translated, and, finally, becoming respected as an academic in her own right.⁶¹

Learning modern languages, was, indeed, a more accepted path to refining a middle-class girl's education. Schirmacher's choice of discipline, therefore, can probably be seen as a way of reconciling her thirst for knowledge with social expectations.⁶² Equally, the idea of an academic working couple as envisaged by the young Münsterberg eventually became a widespread model of the mostly invisible inclusion of the intellectual work of women in academic work.

However, Schirmacher's ambitions soon went beyond becoming the educated, supportive wife of a prominent male figure. From 1886 onwards she studied German and French in Paris to become probably the first German woman to earn a French university diploma. After that, she served as a teacher at Blackburne House School in Liverpool and studied at University College Liverpool during the same year. A few years later, she was among the very few German women to study at the University of Zurich at a time when Switzerland was virtually the only country on the Continent to accept female students. In 1895, again a pioneer, she received a Ph.D. in Romance Languages from the University of Zurich.⁶³

Schirmacher's trajectory was exceptional in many respects, and her achievements soon won her a high public profile. However, she had to accept that her ambitious goal of becoming a professor (at a time when no European woman was admitted to this position) was unattainable. Instead, she embarked on a career as a lecturer, writer, and activist. Her language skills were essential for that career. For many years, translating was also a way of earning money for her. What is more, her multilingualism also paved her way into journalism and led her into the transnational space of women's activism.

Between 1895 and 1910 Schirmacher lived in Paris. She worked as a journalist and lecturer for several women's organizations as well as

⁶¹ UBR: NL Sch 522/007, Hugo Münsterberg to Käthe Schirmacher, 6 Aug. 1882.

⁶² Gehmacher, Heinrich, and Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher*, 42–55 (Gehmacher).

⁶³ *Ibid.* 151–8 (Gehmacher).

Fig. 1: International Women's Congress, Berlin 1904, delegates. Käthe Schirmacher on the right, wearing a hat.



Source: UBR: NL Sch 754/013

for the International Abolitionist Federation.⁶⁴ Eventually she became a founding member of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (see Fig. 1). Between 1893 and 1913 she was also a regular delegate at many international women's congresses. As early as 1893, at the age of 28, she was an acclaimed speaker at the World's Congress of Representative Women in Chicago. Despite her young age, she had to give several talks, as she was the only German delegate to speak English well enough for spontaneous communication.⁶⁵

In many of her lectures, Schirmacher discussed the difficulties she and other academic and professional women experienced. In some of these talks, she also outlined the concept of the 'modern woman'. In describing a large proportion of middle-class women as 'modern', Schirmacher highlighted a social group under considerable, often

⁶⁴ Ibid. 125–32 (Gehmacher).

⁶⁵ Johanna Gehmacher, 'Moderne Frauen, die Neue Welt und der alte Kontinent: Käthe Schirmacher reist im Netzwerk der Frauenbewegung', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 22/1 (2011), 16–40.

severe, economic stress. At the same time, she also designed the 'modern woman' as an idealized model, as somebody who not only had to be, but also *wished* to be self-reliant in every respect: 'She supports herself, and so does not want to marry in order that she may be provided for. She is fond of her work, absorbed by it, makes friends by it, is respected for it, and so need not marry in order to obtain the regard due to a useful member of society.'⁶⁶

What needs to be emphasized here is the fact that Schirmacher could only present herself as the model of a modern woman through her transnational life of travelling and living abroad. Even to attain an academic education she had had to live far away from her home. Building on that experience, travelling became a life-long personal, economic, and political practice for her. Schirmacher was on the move for nearly half of every year, campaigning for her causes while earning her living through lecturing and writing about the countries she travelled in. What had first been a necessity soon became a lifestyle, a political agenda, and a business model. Later in her life, Schirmacher structured her travel carefully and well in advance, carrying out lecture tours during the winter months (when heating costs rose) from November until April, when she often used to visit family and friends.⁶⁷

Schirmacher's life epitomized how individual travel can be a practice closely linked to political movements. At the end of the nineteenth century, many thousands of lecturers like her travelled along the lines of the fast-growing railway networks.⁶⁸ In return for their commit-

⁶⁶ Käthe Schirmacher, 'The Marriage Prospects of the Modern Woman: Rede gehalten auf dem Internationalen Frauen-Kongress in Chicago, am 17. Mai 1893' [Speech given at the World's Congress of Representative Women in Chicago, 17 May 1893], in Käthe Schirmacher, *Aus aller Herren Länder: Gesammelte Feuilletons* (Paris, 1897), 285–90. Original English by Käthe Schirmacher.

⁶⁷ Johanna Gehmacher, 'Reisende in Sachen Frauenbewegung: Käthe Schirmacher zwischen Internationalismus und nationaler Identifikation', *Ariadne*, 60 (2011), 58–65.

⁶⁸ Dietlind Hüchtker, 'Frauen und Männer reisen: Geschlechtsspezifische Perspektiven von Reformpolitik in Berichten über Galizien um 1900', in Arnd Bauerkämper, Hans Erich Bödeker, and Bernhard Struck (eds.), *Die Welt erfahren: Reisen als kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis heute* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 375–90; Johanna Gehmacher, 'Reisekostenabrechnung: Praktiken und Ökonomien des Unterwegsseins in Frauenbewegungen um 1900', *Feministische Studien*, 1 (2017), 76–91; Johanna Gehmacher and Elizabeth

ment to a number of causes, the organizations they were connected with supplied them with addresses, invitations, audiences, lodgings, and sometimes even fees. For Schirmacher, travelling was also a way to escape social surveillance, and it gave her the opportunity to publish her writings in German, Austrian, French, and British media. Her case shows that at a time when models of social identity seldom kept pace with technical and economic developments, transnational spaces, with the variety of expectations and opportunities they offered, could be both a refuge and a place of freedom.⁶⁹

However, her cosmopolitan life did not keep Schirmacher from becoming a fervent nationalist. Rather, her life abroad enhanced her identification with her country of origin. Certainly, her German-nationalist stance brought her into growing conflict with some of her transnational networks. Parallel to her estrangement from the international and national organizations of the liberal women's movement, Schirmacher gradually began to participate in German-nationalist activism, most prominently in the context of the *Deutscher Ostmarkenverein*. During the First World War, she supported the war effort as a member of right-wing nationalist organizations.⁷⁰

In 1919 Schirmacher won a seat in the national constituent assembly of the Weimar Republic for the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (German National People's Party), a far-right, openly antisemitic party also known for its anti-feminism and misogyny. But she lost her seat when her electoral district of Danzig was separated from Germany by the peace treaty. During the 1920s she became a venerated role model of the developing far-right women's associations. In her autobiography, written after the end of her parliamentary career, Schirmacher attempted to integrate her radical feminist and her right-wing nationalist commitments and contributed significantly to her fame in these circles.⁷¹

Harvey, 'Reisen als politische Praxis' (Editorial), *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 22/1 (2011), 5–15.

⁶⁹ Elisa Heinrich and Corinna Oesch, 'Prekäre Strategien? Käthe Schirmachers Agieren in Frauenbewegungen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg', *Ariadne: Forum für Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte*, 67/68 (2015), 100–8.

⁷⁰ Johanna Gehmacher, 'Der andere Ort der Welt: Käthe Schirmachers Auto/Biographie der Nation', in Sophia Kemlein (eds.), *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1848–1918* (Osnabrück, 2000), 99–124.

⁷¹ Gehmacher, Heinrich, and Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher*, 465–87 (Gehmacher).

Käthe Schirmacher died, only 65 years old, in Meran in southern Tyrol in 1930. The place of her death reflects her close connection with German nationalists there, but it is also typical of her highly mobile way of living.

Translating as an In/visible Practice

Among the various practices that make international and transnational relations possible, translating plays an important role. But although translators were indispensable in many situations, they often remained invisible. In a short memoir, Hungarian suffrage-activist Rosika Schwimmer recalled the language difficulties of early meetings of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance: 'I remember how we were sitting the whole day and disturbing each other by asking continually: "What did she say?" when the highly envied few linguists among us showed by signs of appreciation or opposition that they knew what was going on.' Schwimmer reminisced about a warm embrace from Susan B. Anthony, whose words she barely grasped, to epitomize the emotional atmosphere full of admiration and geniality that bridged the lack of understanding.⁷²

However, professional translation became an important strategy of the Alliance. Its journal, *Jus Suffragii*, not only had an English and a French edition, but also provided funds for the translation of excerpts from its issues that were to be published in newspapers in other languages.⁷³ An editorial note highlighted the demand: 'Surely the generous contributors to the Translation Fund will rejoice to see mentioned in our organ how many nations wish to avail themselves of the proffered aid, and probably the zealous translators of the Lindsey-article will be no less eager to know in how great request their work is already.'⁷⁴ Various forms of translation are invoked here: interpreting at international meetings, editions of the same publication in different languages, and translated excerpts which may or may not have been published as a whole. In all these cases, the translators had an important role to play, but they remained anonymous. Already in these two short quotations, it is telling that the text only

⁷² Rosika Schwimmer, 'Our Alliance as Teacher of Languages', *Jus Suffragii*, 1 May 1914.

⁷³ Sybil Oldfield, 'Introduction', in ead. (ed.), *International Woman Suffrage: Jus Suffragii 1913-1920*, 2 vols. (London, 2003), i: 1-28, at 2.

⁷⁴ Editorial note, *Jus Suffragii*, 15 Aug. 1911, 1-2.

mentioned what was (or was not) translated—Susan B. Anthony’s words, the ‘Lindsey-article’—but the ‘zealous translators’ who accomplished the transfer were not remembered by name.

For Schirmacher, translation became a major vocation and employment.⁷⁵ It came in various forms and was often connected with her political commitments. However, this connection rendered it less likely that she would remain invisible. She earned money by translating literature but also turned to texts more explicitly expressing her political views.⁷⁶ In 1893 she translated *Men, Women, and Progress* by Emma Hosken Woodward, a British novelist who had criticized women’s inferior position in Victorian England quite harshly. Schirmacher wrote a preface for this book, thereby making herself known as the translator and also as somebody who wanted to promote a specific cultural transfer with her translation work: ‘check everything and keep the best—in this sense the book should also be of interest in Germany’ was how she summed up her introduction.⁷⁷ The fact that she signed the introduction with her name has to be noted; very often at that time, the translator remained nameless even when s/he commented on the text.⁷⁸

Another aspect of Schirmacher’s translation practices was interpreting. As a founder member and board member of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, she was also an official interpreter during the regular international meetings of the Alliance. An illustrated newspaper report of the opening of the Alliance’s second congress in Copenhagen in 1906 pictured her as sitting at the right hand of the President, Carrie Chapman Catt (see Fig. 2). Schirmacher’s prominent position and the fact that she was the only board member apart from the president to be mentioned by name underlined her importance for the meeting: ‘Mrs. Chapman Catt opened the international congress for women’s suffrage at 9 a.m. yesterday morning. On the right

⁷⁵ Gehmacher, Heinrich, and Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher*, 268–75 (Oesch).

⁷⁶ E.g. Elinor Glyn, *Ambrosines Tagebuch*, trans. from the English by Käthe Schirmacher (Stuttgart, 1904); Marguerite Poradowska, *Eine romantische Heirat*, trans. from the French by Käthe Schirmacher (Stuttgart, 1906).

⁷⁷ Emma Hosken Woodward, *Männer, Frauen und Fortschritt*, trans. from the English by Käthe Schirmacher (Weimar, 1893).

⁷⁸ E.g. Translator’s Note in Léonie Rouzade, *The Feminist Catechism: The Social Organization of To-Morrow*, from the French of Léonie Rouzade (London, 1911), 12–13.

Fig. 2: Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Copenhagen 1906, newspaper report.



Source: UBR: NL Sch 256/001

in the picture is the characterful figure of the energetic lady; she has Dr phil Käthe Schirmacher at her right hand.⁷⁹

At the same time, her role as interpreter for all the negotiations remained unmentioned. This might have been because of Schirmacher's double role as a leading activist and translator. However, no other board members were mentioned. Therefore, this picture epitomized how the significance of the translator was visible and veiled at the same time.

⁷⁹ Fra den kvindelige Stemmerets-Kongres' Aabningsmøde [From the Opening Meeting of the Women's Suffrage Congress], *Politik*, 8 Aug. 1906 (translation: Meike Lauggas).

Translating Feminism

Often the most intriguing questions of translation pertain to instances where words seem to be identical but do not always have the same meaning. It becomes important to look into processes of re-contextualization when expressions, and the notions linked to them, move back and forth between languages at different paces, thereby creating an ambivalent and heterochronous transnational space. One such word was the term feminism, which originated from the French but circulated between different languages from the late nineteenth century.⁸⁰ At the same time, parallel concepts began to show up in other languages and eventually became connected with the very word feminism.⁸¹ Translation studies analyse how a concept that exists in various languages triggers varying associations, addresses disparate agencies, and slips semantically between the languages.⁸² Historians, however, can add yet another level of analysis in exploring the contexts in which that circulation started.

Schirmacher was very much at the centre of this transfer too. She was the author of several widely read and translated histories of women's activism in her time. Indeed, the term feminism made a prominent early appearance in a French book on 'le féminisme' which she published in 1898 (see Fig. 3). It listed the countries it covered in the title (The United States, France, Great Britain, Sweden, and Russia), thereby explicitly applying the concept to movements outside of France. But although the author's exemplary approach avoided an openly universalistic perspective, her choice still established a hierarchy, as she presented these countries as paradigmatic examples of different political systems and cultural identities.⁸³ Drawing on her French text but expanding it geographically, Schirmacher brought out a German book called *Die moderne Frauenbewegung: Ein geschichtlicher Überblick* ('The modern women's movement: A historical survey') in 1905 (see Fig. 4).⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Offen, 'Defining Feminism', 71–3; ead., *European Feminisms*, 20–3.

⁸¹ Booth, 'Peripheral Visions', 184–6, 208.

⁸² Bassnett, *Translation Studies*; Venuti, *Translation Changes Everything*.

⁸³ Käthe Schirmacher, *Le Féminisme: Aux Etats-Unis, en Angleterre, France, Suède, Russie* (Paris, 1898).

⁸⁴ Ead., *Die moderne Frauenbewegung: Ein geschichtlicher Überblick* (Leipzig, 1905).

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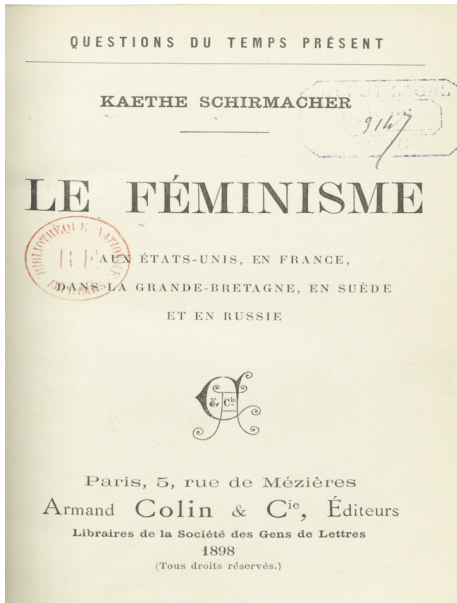


Fig. 3: Käthe Schirmacher, *Le Féminisme aux États-Unis, en France, dans la Grande-Bretagne, en Suède et en Russie* (Paris, 1898), title page.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

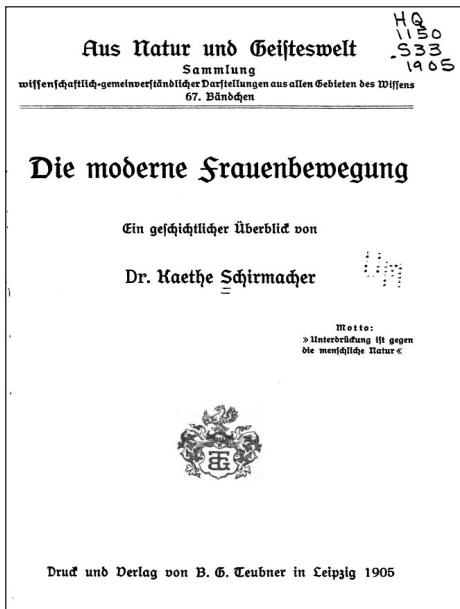


Fig. 4: Käthe Schirmacher, *Die moderne Frauenbewegung: Ein geschichtlicher Überblick* (Leipzig, 1905), title page.

Source: University of Michigan Libraries.

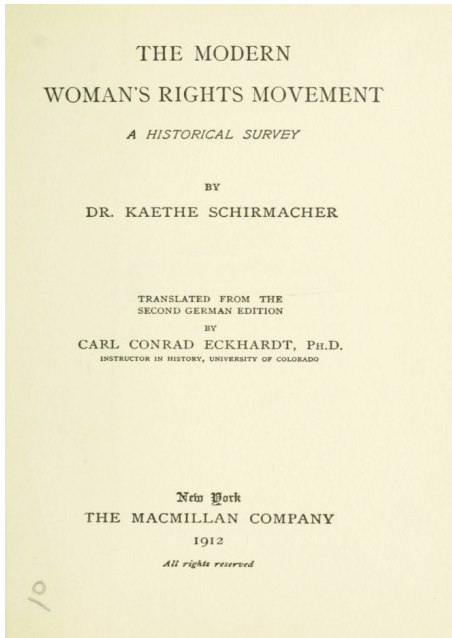


Fig. 5: Käthe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement: A Historical Survey* (New York, 1912), title page.

Source: University of California Libraries.

Interestingly enough, the title of Schirmacher's German book referred to a historical instead of a geographical dimension, although the French and the German books both combined the two dimensions. The text now claimed to cover the whole world. Moreover, its content was structured in an ethnicizing hierarchy of modernization, depicting the 'Germanic' countries as those where women's movements were most advanced and successful, and Asia and Africa as continents where women barely had any rights.⁸⁵ Fairly successful, *Die moderne Frauenbewegung* was republished in 1909 and subsequently translated into English, not by Schirmacher herself but by another translator. While she had been able to draw upon her own French book rather freely as a resource for her new text, the translation by somebody else was expected to be precise; and it turned out that the German word 'Frauenbewegung', then suggesting an explicitly femi-

⁸⁵ Gehmacher, 'Reisende', 63; Gehmacher, Heinrich, and Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher*, 280 (Oesch).

nist context in Germany, had to be made more specific in the English-speaking context. In 1912 the English translation was published under the title: *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement* (see Fig. 5).⁸⁶

Both translations call for some explanation. Although the word feminism had been introduced into the German language in the years around 1900, it was obviously not yet identified with the women's movement at that time.⁸⁷ Schirmacher's numerous newspaper reports on the women's movement in France and Germany make that perfectly clear. When she wrote in French, she used the term 'féminisme' to address the French and the German movements equally, while when she wrote in German, she always used 'Frauenbewegung'.⁸⁸ A comprehensive review of the book *Le Féminisme* in the German feminist journal *Neue Bahnen* illustrates that the term had not yet arrived in Germany. It stated that the title was difficult to translate, as neither 'Frauenfrage' nor 'Frauenbewegung' were identical in their meaning. Attempting to resolve this problem, the anonymous author explained that 'féminisme' referred to a faction of the women's movement that judged all public developments in the light of women's rights but also with a general striving for women's liberation. For want of an alternative, the author then used the German neologism 'Feminismus' in her text.⁸⁹ However, apparently this did not result in a more general use of the term in the French sense. An article by Schirmacher on 'Frauenbewegung und Feminismus' six years later exemplifies the problem; in it she identifies 'Frauenbewegung' with

⁸⁶ Käthe Schirmacher, *The Modern Women's Rights Movement: A Historical Survey*, trans. from the 2nd German edn by Carl Conrad Eckhardt (New York, 1912).

⁸⁷ Bock, 'Begriffsgeschichten', 125–6; Johanna Gehmacher, 'Frauenfrage – Frauenbewegung: Historisierung als politische Strategie', in Dogramaci and Sandner (eds.), *Rosa und Anna Schapire*, 82–101.

⁸⁸ E.g. Käthe Schirmacher, 'Le féminisme allemand', *Revue germanique*, 1/3 (Mai–Juin 1905), 257–84; ead., 'Die Frauenbewegung in Frankreich', *Hillgers Illustriertes Frauen-Jahrbuch* (1904/5), 867–87; see also Karen Offen, 'Kaethe Schirmacher, Investigative Reporter and Activist Journalist: The Paris Writings, 1895–1910', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 39 (2011), 200–11.

⁸⁹ A.S. [Auguste Schmidt?], 'Le Féminisme . . .', book review in *Neue Bahnen: Organ des Allgemeinen Deutschen Frauenvereins*, 33/18 (15 Sept. 1898), 195. I would like to thank Elisa Heinrich for bringing this review to my attention.

the development of a woman to the level of self-realization, as a consciously individual personality ('Entwicklung der Frau zur bewußten Persönlichkeit') while 'Feminismus' in her view was built on unhealthy eroticism and liberation only of carnal desires ('ungesunde Erotik, einseitige Emanzipation des Fleisches').⁹⁰

Another issue is the translation from German to English. It seems that at this time, 'women's movement' was already such a broad concept that it could not capture the political meaning of the German word 'Frauenbewegung'. It is interesting that the translator solved the problem by adding a clarifying attribute ('women's rights movement' rather than simply 'women's movement') instead of using the term 'feminism', which had already made its appearance in English by that time. However, its meaning was still rather ambivalent. In 1911 the translation of a French book was published as a *Feminist Catechism*.⁹¹ Often linked with France, 'feminism' and 'feminist' were sometimes also used in either a very broad sense, applying them to far-distant historical periods or, in a very specific sense linking them to the most radical faction of the British movement.⁹² Both the journal *Freewoman* and the London-based retailer, the International Suffrage Shop, claimed to support a 'feminist movement'.⁹³ Presumably, this latter reference to radicalization in the British context was the reason why Schirmacher's US translator did not find the term feminism suitable for the larger contexts her book addressed. Moreover, it turned out that the term 'feminism' was often used by anti-feminists in a pejorative sense in an English context too.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Käthe Schirmacher, 'Frauenbewegung und Feminismus', *Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung*, 15 May 1904.

⁹¹ Rouzade, *The Feminist Catechism*.

⁹² Marie Alphonse René de Maulde-La-Clavière, *The Women of the Renaissance: A Study of Feminism* (London, 1900).

⁹³ Anon., 'Bondwomen', *Freewoman: A Weekly Feminist Review*, 1/1 (1911), 1-2; Rouzade, *The Feminist Catechism*. The book was published by the International Suffrage Shop which, in an advertisement inside the book, claimed that it served 'the dissemination and publication of literature dealing with every aspect of the Feminist Movement'. Cf. also John Mercer, 'Shopping for Suffrage: The Campaign Shops of the Women's Social and Political Union', *Women's History Review*, 18 (2009), 293-309.

⁹⁴ E.g. Ernest Belfort Bax, *The Fraud of Feminism* (London, 1913).

However, 'feminism' soon did gain a broader meaning. In 1913 socialist feminist Ethel Snowden published her book *The Feminist Movement*, in which she held that the object of feminism was 'to make female human beings as free as male human beings, and both as free as it is possible for the individual to be in a complex society like that of the present'.⁹⁵ Like Schirmacher, whom she also quoted, she claimed to be speaking for the entire world. And like Schirmacher again, Snowden compared countries in an orientalizing way. She declared: '[t]he Romance countries are far behind the Teutonic communities in their treatment of women, whilst the Slavic and Oriental races are still in the earlier stages of development in this particular.'⁹⁶ Obviously, it was exactly this imperialistic universalism that rendered the transfer of the term into colonial and postcolonial societies problematic. However, this did not mean that these societies did not develop their own concepts of women's liberation.

Interpretation Disrupted

The invisible presence, or visible absence of the translator, was suddenly interrupted three years later at a conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance held in London in 1909 (see Fig. 6). At the morning session on the fifth day, after the previous day's minutes had been approved, the proceedings stated:

Before beginning discussions, Dr Schirmacher said that she wished the following entry made in the minutes: 'That though I have been appointed as interpreter for this Convention, I feel that I must not continue my office if called upon, unless it is explicitly stated and entered into the minutes that I have always asked [for] the suffrage for women on exactly the same terms as men have or may have it.'⁹⁷

Her statement was indeed recorded, and so she continued to translate.

⁹⁵ Ethel Snowden, *The Feminist Movement* (London, 1913), 18.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 43.

⁹⁷ London School of Economics: Women's Library 2 IAW/1/c Box 4: The International Woman Suffrage Alliance: Report of Fifth Conference and First Quinquennial (London 1909), 48.

Fig. 6: Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, London 1909, delegates. Käthe Schirmacher in the back row, third from the right.



Source: National Library of Norway.

Taking the example of that interruption, it might be inferred that the translator becomes visible in a moment of conflict. But which conflict? At first sight, it appears to be not about translation at all. Actually, Schirmacher was present not only as an interpreter but also as a board member who had wanted to be re-elected to a specific position, which she had failed to achieve the evening before. Obviously, she supposed that this was the case because of conflicts regarding the international organization's position concerning universal suffrage. In some countries that did not yet have male 'universal suffrage' (which is, of course, a contradiction in itself), activists argued that fighting for this ambitious goal would only delay female suffrage. Equality with the situation of men should be demanded first, while universal suffrage was to be the next step.⁹⁸ Representatives of the

⁹⁸ Ute Gerhard, 'Im Schnittpunkt von Recht und Gewalt: Zeitgenössische Diskurse über die Taktik der Suffragetten', in Sandra Maß and Xenia Tip-

radical wing of the German women's movement, however, rejected this as an elitist approach. Schirmacher, from a more nationalistic standpoint, feared that universal suffrage would weaken imperial Germany. With her reference to the formula the suffragettes used — 'as men have or may have it' — she obviously wanted to demonstrate that she still took the same position as the most radical activists in the United Kingdom.⁹⁹

It was only years later that Schirmacher came across a slander that seemed to illuminate the conflict from quite a different angle. As she explained in a letter to the president, Chapman Catt, she had found out that rumours had been spread anonymously accusing her for one thing of leading an 'immoral life', but second, and clearly more seriously for her, of having coloured her translations according to her German nationalist political interests by 'leaving out of it the strongest argument made by the speaker', if she disagreed with it:

From 1909 you have been knowing that, as interpreter, I was charged with 'not translating correctly'; with . . . 'leaving out of it the strongest argument made by the speaker', if not in accord with my own views. This would come up to invalidating all the transactions, votes and resolutions of the Alliance from 1904 up to 1909.¹⁰⁰

Schirmacher urged Chapman Catt to conduct an investigation into the second accusation as it not only touched upon her reputation but was also damaging to the whole organization¹⁰¹ — a demand the president first refused, as, she said, her ignorance of French rendered her 'unfit to judge' the allegations. She wrote to Schirmacher:

pelskirch (eds.), *Faltenwürfe Der Geschichte: Entdecken, Entziffern, Erzählen* (Frankfurt am Main, 2014), 416–30, at 426, 430.

⁹⁹ For more detail on Schirmacher's stance on suffrage in a transnational context see Gehmacher, Heinrich, and Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher*, 366–71 (Oesch).

¹⁰⁰ UBR: NL Sch 618/006, Käthe Schirmacher, 'Why I was defeated in London', manuscript, written in the context of her correspondence with Carrie Chapman Catt, 1913. Original English by Schirmacher.

¹⁰¹ UBR: NL Sch 005/003, Käthe Schirmacher to Carrie Chapman Catt, draft letter, 1913.

In my judgement, the only way to stop gossip is to *stop* . . . We are at work in a great cause, but these picayunish *personal* differences are making the big movement a very small one in Germany . . . Progress has come because we have forgiven and forgotten all we could and passed over what we couldn't.¹⁰²

We might say that at this point different levels of transfer, and translation, collided. At a historical moment of rising nationalistic emotions in many European countries, it appeared to be of great importance to translate more than just words. Feelings and historical allusions also had to be interpreted—or left out. And, indeed, in her correspondence with Chapman Catt, Schirmacher did go to some lengths to explain the conflict-laden history of German–Polish relationships, which was at the centre of her own nationalistic concerns. But then she demanded that this conflict must not be carried into the international organization, as it would risk endangering further cooperation on their common cause—female suffrage.¹⁰³ This had already been the intention of a resolution she had proposed at the Copenhagen conference in 1906:

That as the International Alliance for Woman Suffrage stands for union and not for division, all allusions in public speeches to recent political conflicts between nations, must for the sake of international peace and courtesy, be carefully avoided, unless such subjects are on the programme for discussion.¹⁰⁴

One might therefore say that even though she defended her translation(s) at the London conference as impeccable, it eventually turned out that Schirmacher was convinced that only deliberate silence on certain issues would allow continuing communication on what was at the heart of the activists' common interest—suffrage. That could, of course, also mean that *not* to translate might become a prerequisite for the continuation of exchange. Chapman Catt, on the

¹⁰² UBR: NL Sch 001/001, Carrie Chapman Catt to Käthe Schirmacher, 28 Mar. 1914.

¹⁰³ UBR: NL Sch 618/006, Käthe Schirmacher, 'Why I was defeated in London', manuscript, 1913.

¹⁰⁴ London School of Economics: Women's Library 2 IAW/1/c Box 4, 34.

other hand, held that only if Schirmacher stopped her ongoing investigation into who had falsely accused her, could peaceful communications within the organization be maintained. In fact, therefore, the conflict between the president and her long-time translator was about *what* had to be kept quiet. In the course of the conflict, Schirmacher retired from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and, indeed, from most of her transnational feminist networks. She remained in close contact, however, with representatives of the suffragettes until well into the First World War.¹⁰⁵

'Tolle Weiber': Transfers between Countries and Times

For several decades, Schirmacher kept a working diary, taking short notes on her correspondences, her writings, lectures, travels, and talks. As always, she wrote her diary in French. However, on 12 March 1912, at a time when she was living in her partner Klara Schleker's house in Marlow in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, there was a sudden striking change of languages in this most personal of documents.¹⁰⁶ Right in the middle of the page, amongst the jottings on daily tasks, the newspapers she wrote for, and possible topics for her writings, we read the line: 'Écrit Tag. Mrs Pankhurst. "Tolle Weiber".'¹⁰⁷ 'Écrit Tag' referred to communication with a newspaper Schirmacher worked for regularly. The two German words, 'Tolle Weiber', however, call for further explanation.

First, the question of translation arises: what are the two German words supposed to mean? Is this a quotation, or are they the diarist's own words? In either case, it is an interesting choice. 'Toll' can mean 'formidable', 'awesome', but also 'crazy'. The German noun 'Weib' equally carries ambivalent connotations: to call a woman a 'Weib' is insulting, denying her attractiveness as well as rationality. But used with the attribute 'toll', it can be an expression of admiration. We should also consider the political context. The immediate context, 'Mrs Pankhurst', points to the English suffragettes. What happened in the first days of March 1912 in the United Kingdom to provoke this exclamation by the diarist? What were Schirmacher's sources of information on events there?

¹⁰⁵ Gehmacher, Heinrich, and Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher*, 381 (Oesch).

¹⁰⁶ On Schirmacher's lifelong intimate relationships with women see Gehmacher, Heinrich, and Oesch, *Käthe Schirmacher*, 194–260 (Heinrich).

¹⁰⁷ UBR: NL Sch 922/018, Diary Käthe Schirmacher 1912.

With the expression 'tolle Weiber', used in March 1912, Schirmacher was probably referring to the arrest of several suffragettes after the beginning of the window-smashing campaign by the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) activists in London.¹⁰⁸ The fact that she used quotation marks around 'tolle Weiber' implies that this was probably not an expression of emotion but a quotation, either from a newspaper article she had read on the events, or from a piece she planned to write. For both, we have indications but no proof. Apparently the newspaper *Der Tag* she referred to published no article under her name, although the story of the suffragettes was covered.¹⁰⁹

Some weeks later she wrote an article for Anita Augspurg's *Frauenstimmrecht*, thereby co-operating with the radical German feminists with whom she had argued in London in 1909. She harshly criticized the German media for their ignorance:

I have not encountered any objective description of what happened, nor any accurate description of [the suffragettes'] motives, in any German paper. When it comes to the suffragettes, we only get the news that appeals to sensationalists. The suffragettes are never discussed in the reports of the political press, they have not achieved the right to be mentioned in the news section of the papers, and reporters and editors remain unfamiliar with their cause. I believe I can safely say that none of our leading editors reads *Votes for Women*; and clearly, neither do any of the reporters, for if they did, their reports would be very different.¹¹⁰

It remained unclear whether Schirmacher was accusing her male colleagues of not reading English papers or of ignoring female activists. However, as in her diary, she made female identities an issue, asking in the title 'Are these still ladies?' The suffragettes, she argued, were

¹⁰⁸ Jana Günther, 'Die politischen Bilder und radikalen Ausdrucksformen der Suffragetten', *Kunsttexte.de: E-journal on Visual and Art History* (Berlin, 2009).

¹⁰⁹ Anon., 'Schwere Suffragettenkrawalle in London', *Der Tag*, 2 Mar. 1909.

¹¹⁰ Käthe Schirmacher, 'Sind Das Noch Damen?', *Frauenstimmrecht!*, Sonderabdruck (Apr./May 1912), 3-10 (translation: Emily Richards).

the antithesis of ‘ladies’, who were characterized by narrow class interests. But instead, she wrote: “They are “human beings”, human beings hungry and thirsty for justice. Christ blessed them, and Heinrich von Kleist says that God loves those who die for their freedom.”¹¹¹

The article is only one example of a series of texts supportive of the suffragettes that Schirmacher wrote for a feminist German audience, the majority of which viewed the British militants very critically. And at the end of 1912 she published a book on the suffragette movement that presented yet another mode of translation, mixing journalistic reportage with lengthy translations of excerpts from the material she used, particularly from the journal *Votes for Women* to which she was a subscriber.¹¹² With this book, Schirmacher again took a radical position within the German women’s movement but also intended to enlighten ignorant German reporters and newspaper directors, including in her article the address of the WSPU in London where they could get more material on the cause.

Schirmacher tried to translate militant activism as it took place in Britain into a German context and thereby push the boundaries of the hegemonic discourse again, but failed. Her book on the suffragettes, however, translated into Polish shortly after it had come out, was republished in Germany in the 1980s and remained the only book on the British suffragettes written in German for many decades. It was possible to translate the text into Polish (of all languages), and later it ‘translated’ into concepts of second-wave feminism of the late twentieth century, precisely because it focused on the cause of suffrage and mostly left out Schirmacher’s other convictions.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² E.g. on the events of Mar. 1912 Schirmacher quoted from several issues of *Votes for Women*. See Käthe Schirmacher, *Die Suffragettes* (Weimar, 1912), 81.

¹¹³ Käthe Schirmacher, *Sufrażetki*, trans. Melania Przeł. Bersonowa (Lwów [Lviv], 1913). Another book by Schirmacher (*Das Rätsel Weib*) was translated into Swedish: Käthe Schirmacher, *Gatan Kvinnan: En Uppgörelse. Bemynd. Öfvers. Från Tyskan Af E. T.* (Stockholm, 1912). There were also plans for a translation of the latter into English but this did not come about. UBR: NL Sch 567/029, Constance Maud to Käthe Schirmacher, 10 Jan. 1912.

IV. *Concluding Remarks**Precarious Practices in Transnational Spaces*

This article has called for the patterns of ‘doing transnational’ to be looked at more closely. It began by arguing that transnational spaces only exist if they are constantly nurtured and sustained. I have argued that not only ideologies and institutionalized networks constitute these spaces, but that practices also play an important role in their creation and continuation. Therefore, an analysis of practices based on practice theory can enhance the understanding of the daily dynamics of transnational spaces. In this analysis, practices are conceived as patterned forms of action based on specific competences and rooted in a social context. Although repetition plays an important role in their realization, they are based on individual agency through choice and variation.

Gauging the challenges of historical research on transnational spaces, I argued that a biographical case study focused on a set of relevant practices could help to tackle the heterogeneity and discontinuity that characterize transnational spaces. Focusing on transnational women’s activism in Western countries before the First World War in this study, I examined the case of German-born Käthe Schirmacher, a multilingual writer and activist who played an important but also conflictual role in the creation of a transnational women’s movement to provide some insights into the relevance and the limits of practices of transfer for the development of transnational spaces of civil society. Among her various practices of transfer, such as traveling and transnational journalism, which both enabled her transnational life and formed an important part of her contribution to the development of a transnational women’s movement, I looked more specifically at her practices of translation.

Analysing some examples of Schirmacher’s work as a translator in the context of transnational women’s movements, I argued that translation was a crucial practice for the development of a transnational women’s movement around 1900, and encouraged it to thrive. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance was aware of this, and invested work and money in the transfer of information. That said, those performing the work still often remained anonymous. However, Schirmacher’s hybrid status as a leading activist, journalist, and

translator rendered her doings much more visible, especially when conflicts occurred. Her case, therefore, is particularly valuable for the analysis of practices of translation. It helps to bring attention to the kind of work that proved a viable path into academic professions for women. However, as the profession became feminized during the twentieth century the work of translation failed to receive the necessary recognition both in the history of knowledge and in the history of international relations.

Taking the example of different types of translation Schirmacher carried out, I contend that translation history could benefit from taking a broad perspective. Including various uses of translation such as self-translation, (oral) interpretations during transnational meetings reflected (but often not explicitly mentioned) in written reports of meetings, and also translated excerpts in newspaper reports as well as in books adds considerably to the analysis. It emphasizes the specific contexts of these transfers and opens up new questions. Further, it argues that a historical approach to translation in particular could profit from looking into moments of conflict when otherwise hidden patterns of transfer become visible. What represents a failure in terms of translation—the moment when interpretation is suspended—holds opportunities for the historian. When the routine practice of translating is interrupted, the translator's agency comes to light and otherwise invisible processes of transfer enabling transnational communication become evident. The very moment of silence, a disruption in itself, creates new insights into processes of transnational transfers. It also points to the sinuous itineraries of political ideas as they move between different contexts.

The agency of the translator was one focus of this article. It included not only moments of conflict but also questions involving choice, such as which texts to translate, how to address semantic differences between languages, how to deal with the audiences' attitudes, and when to remain silent. The second focus was on how concepts change when they travel. I took the example of the term and concept of feminism that began to move between languages around the turn of the century. While the term's varying meanings pointed to distinctions between movements in different countries, the circulation of the concept also could spur new perspectives in national contexts. Schirmacher was instrumental in the transfer of the very term and the concept between countries and languages and, therefore, her transla-

tions, and her specific use of the term feminism illustrate this point well.

To open up a perspective on 'doing transnational' in the research on women's movements around 1900 is the central intention of this article. I thereby hope to contribute to several fields of research, more specifically, to the transnational history of civil spaces, to the history of women's movements, and to translation history. Another aim is to call for more exchange between approaches that, from different disciplinary angles, take practices seriously. That said, this case study can only indicate some possible directions. An analysis of practices in women's transnational movements that revisits previous work on organizations and networks, on travel, correspondence, lecturing, and organizing conferences and meetings in the light of practices of transfer could be enormously rewarding. To establish more contextual knowledge on specific practices of translation, on the spread of multilingualism, the education of translators, and on the funding of their work would add considerably to the understanding of hierarchies, economies, and politics of transnational movements.

Another vein of research pertains to the changes translation spurs in 'receiving' as well as in 'sending' milieus, to speak in terms of communication theory. Although very valuable research has already been done, particularly in literary and translation studies, women's and gender history could also gain from this perspective. Analysing paths and effects of translations as well as the images of the communicating cultures they establish could help considerably in differentiating historical knowledge about transnational transfers, entanglements, and hierarchies.

This article has suggested that translation must be understood as part of a broader political, social context. It also claims that the volatile dynamic of transnational political spaces and the provisional character of any translation are intimately entangled with each other and therefore have to be analysed together. I argue that the ambivalences of interpretation and the choices it requires both form an essential basis for the agency of the translator and put the very person who translates into a dangerous liminal place in the context of transnational political transfer. Walter Benjamin, however, has reminded us that translations always have to include both: what is meant and the way of meaning it. Pointing to such ruptures he has

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also made clear that all translation can only be 'a provisional way of coming to terms with the foreignness of languages'.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Walter Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator', in id., *Selected Writings*, vol. i: 1913–1926, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 253–63 (translation: Harry Zohn).

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**FRAMING THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE:
REFLECTIONS ON GERMAN-SPEAKING JEWS IN
BRITISH INDIA, 1938–1947**

JOSEPH CRONIN

On 21 August 1938 a woman living in Bognor Regis, a seaside town on the south coast of England, wrote a letter to the Director of the Passport Control Office in London. Her brother-in-law, she explained, was 'making an application for himself and his wife Lucie for a visa for India', where he intended to practise as a dental surgeon. 'I am ready to guarantee and to keep at his disposal a sum of £300 for his expenses', she continued, 'as well as to provide the tickets necessary for the journey to India.' The following month the dentist in question, Ernst Schubert, sent a sheaf of documents, including CVs for himself and his wife, from his dental practice in Vienna to the Passport Control Office. 'In order to support my application', he wrote in the covering letter, 'I am pointing to my spotless past and I am giving the assurance that I shall fulfil all my duties towards Government and population.'¹

His application was forwarded to the Government of India in New Delhi, who replied by telegram to the India Office in Whitehall on 6 October stating: 'Dr. E. B. Schubert is apparently Austrian refugee. Government of India therefore consider he should not be granted visa unless someone in India is responsible for finding him employment and for his support.' Alternatively, 'If he obtains German passport', he needed only to 'deposit cost of return journey or have

I would like to thank the German Historical Institute London for providing me with the opportunity and resources to conduct research on this topic between 2017 and 2019. During this time, I benefited greatly from the expertise, advice, and support of Indra Sengupta. The helpful and incisive comments from her, Tobias Becker, and Michael Schaich on an earlier draft of this article have enabled me to improve it considerably. Any remaining faults are, of course, my own.

¹ British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR): L/PJ/7/2138: '4493; Refusal of Visas for India to Dr E Schubert and Wife, Austrian Jewish Refugees, by Imposition of Strict Conditions.'

return passage.² Why was this the case? After annexing the country in March 1938, the Nazis had decreed that Austrian passports would become invalid at the end of that year. As such, anyone who left the country on an Austrian passport would not be able to return after that point. And for their part, the British government wanted to ensure that, in the event that refugees became destitute or a burden on the state, they could be returned to their countries of origin.

With no contacts in India, the only feasible option for the Schuberts was therefore to renounce their Austrian citizenship and apply for passports of the country which had, since annexing their country, begun to systematically persecute them as Jews—causing them to want to leave in the first place. After being informed of the stipulations in October 1938, the Schuberts clearly abandoned their application. ‘Since the date of writing to Dr. Ernst Schubert’, G. W. Berry of the British Passport Control Office in Vienna wrote in late November, ‘we have not heard from him. I am afraid that the India Office have imposed conditions which really amount to a refusal. No emigrant, once out of this country, can hope (!) to be able to return.’³

The case of the Schuberts illustrates the complex nature of research into the topic of German-speaking Jews who sought or found refuge in British India during the Second World War. Not only were multiple actors involved, spread out over a wide geographical area, but applicants also had to deal with a shifting political situation in which the criteria for entry to India were beyond their control and frequently modified. The researcher therefore faces a significant challenge in attempting to make sense of how these various dynamics interacted, and their effects on those who applied for or who were granted refuge in British India. The topic also presents logistical challenges: primary source material is spread across archives in the United Kingdom, India, the United States, and Israel, not to mention the potential for collecting oral testimony. As such, a truly comprehensive study would probably have to be written collaboratively.

This is very much an emerging field of inquiry. At the time of writing, there are fewer than ten studies in total,⁴ despite the fact that

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The most comprehensive is Margit Franz’s monograph *Gateway India: Deutschsprachiges Exil in Indien zwischen britischer Kolonialherrschaft, Maharad-*

the number of Jewish refugees in India was not insignificant: in 1943, the Jewish Relief Association in Bombay, one of several Jewish aid organizations involved in helping the refugees, calculated their number to be 1,080. A more recent ‘cautious estimate’ by anthropologist Shalva Weil suggests that the figure would likely also include an additional ‘several hundred’ refugees who arrived in India prior to 1939, unbeknownst to the Jewish aid organizations, meaning that the total would ‘certainly exceed 2000 souls’.⁵

Whatever the means by which they were able to reach India, German-speaking Jews on the subcontinent, the majority of whom arrived before the outbreak of the Second World War, were comparatively fortunate. Despite a policy of internment in British India that affected all male refugees over the age of 16 (much stricter than the internment policy implemented in Britain itself), and despite many witnessing the violent aftermath of the Partition of India at the end of British colonial rule in 1947, these Jews survived the war relatively well fed and, in many cases, having been able to support themselves financially through employment that corresponded to their training and expertise. Some even managed to make contacts and establish professional networks that enriched their later careers.⁶

schas und Gandhi (Graz, 2015), which examines the experiences of Jewish as well as non-Jewish German speakers in India from the early 1930s to the late 1940s. Atina Grossmann’s ongoing research into Jewish exile in non-European destinations, including India, has produced a number of outputs so far, the most recent of which include: ‘Remapping Survival: Jewish Refugees and Lost Memories of Displacement, Trauma, and Rescue in Soviet Central Asia, Iran, and India’, in Mark Edele, Sheila Fitzpatrick, and Atina Grossmann (eds.), *Shelter from the Holocaust: Rethinking Jewish Survival in the Soviet Union* (Detroit, 2017), 185–218, and ‘Transnational Jewish Stories: Displacement, Loss and (Non)Restitution’, in Jay Geller and Leslie Morris (eds.), *Three Way Street: Jews, Germans, and the Transnational* (Ann Arbor, 2016), 362–84.

⁵ Shalva Weil, ‘From Persecution to Freedom: Central European Jewish Refugees and their Jewish Host Communities in India’, in Anil Bhatti and Johannes H. Voigt (eds.), *Jewish Exile in India, 1933–1945* (New Delhi, 1999), 64–84, at 72.

⁶ One example is the concert pianist Elise Braun Barnett, who hosted the world-famous sitar player Ravi Shankar as a guest professor at New York’s City College in 1968, twenty years after she left India for the United States. See Franz, *Gateway India*, 228.

The nature of the entrance criteria set by the British colonial authorities (which will be discussed later) meant that refugees were predominantly, although not exclusively, middle class. Statistics gathered by the Jewish Relief Association in December 1939 show the 'Professions and Trades' of the 591 registered male and female refugees in India at that time: 32.5 per cent were in 'Industry, arts, instructional service', 36.5 per cent in 'Trade & Law', and 31 per cent 'Doctors, nurses, domestic services, etc.'⁷ While these figures broadly reflected the professional composition of German-speaking Jews more generally, the number of medical practitioners, particularly doctors, was disproportionately high.

Recent interest in what historian Atina Grossmann calls the 'Asiatic' experience of the Holocaust is connected, first, to a broader trend in historical scholarship to 'de-Europeanize' or to place a greater global emphasis on subjects that have traditionally been considered as essentially European.⁸ The Holocaust is certainly one of these. More and more frequently, scholars are looking beyond its central geographies, located in the ghettos, concentration and death camps of Eastern Europe. And in doing so, they have discovered new and intriguing avenues of inquiry.⁹ Second, and more specifically, the topic of Jewish refugees in India has unique features. It incorporates other categories that intersect with the refugee experience – race and coloniality, but also a destination that was, at this time, undergoing its own political convulsions as the Indian independence movement gained momentum. For this reason it has the potential to combine Holocaust history with the history of Empire and decolonization.

Yet, as mentioned, writing the history of Jewish exile in India requires some considerable challenges to be overcome. First, how does one write authoritatively on a topic that comprises three distinct aspects, each of which requires its own expertise? (1) Nazi policy towards the Jews and Jews' attempts to escape the Third Reich; (2) British and British colonial refugee policy towards Jews and late colo-

⁷ Wiener Library (WL): 'INDIA: Correspondence', MF Doc 27/14/68, 16.

⁸ See Atina Grossmann, 'Remapping Relief and Rescue: Flight, Displacement, and International Aid for Jewish Refugees during World War II', *New German Critique*, 117 (2012), 61–79, at 61.

⁹ Examples include Tim Cole's *Holocaust Landscapes* (London, 2016), and Paolo Giaccaria and Claudio Minca (eds.), *Hitler's Geographies: The Spatialities of the Third Reich* (Chicago, 2016).

nial administrative policy in British India more generally; and (3) the history of the Indian national independence movement and refugee policy in India after Partition.

A second, more methodological problem is how to deal with a topic comprised essentially of multiple case studies without producing a fragmented history that lacks coherence? There are at least three perspectives that could profitably be brought to bear when writing on this topic: first, that of British colonial administrators working in both Britain and India; second, the Jewish aid organizations involved with helping the refugees; and, third, the perspectives of the refugees themselves, which, in turn, could be further stratified by gender, age, and so on. This article will sketch out some of the approaches historians could use when engaging with these three groups, and in doing so, aims to provide some suggestions for future research on this topic.

I. *British Colonial Administrators*

Colonial administrators are central to this topic because the fate of the refugees lay predominantly in their hands. Without realizing it, British civil servants were faced with a huge moral dilemma when, at the end of the 1930s, a growing number of Jews from Germany and Austria sought refuge in the UK and its overseas territories. Administrators were the first point of contact for prospective refugees applying for visas, and successful applicants remained under their authority and surveillance throughout their time in exile. Understanding what lay behind colonial administrators' attitudes is therefore important because these attitudes often shaped policy towards the refugees.

Historian Louise London's depiction of the relationship between Jewish refugees and the British metropolitan (that is, non-colonial) authorities in her book *Whitehall and the Jews* is exemplary.¹⁰ London's thesis is that practical considerations overruled humanitarian motives in determining whether Jews would be granted exile in Britain. As I will explore in this section, similar considerations were also in play for India.

¹⁰ Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933–1948: British Immigration Policy, Jewish Refugees and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, 2000).

Even at an institutional level, the Indian colonial state did not function as a single unit. Authority over decision-making was split between the Government of India, based in New Delhi, and the India Office, based in Whitehall. While the Government of India enjoyed substantial autonomy over social and economic matters in India, its decisions were still held to account, and sometimes actively determined, by the India Office, which represented the views of the British Home Government in Westminster. As far as refugees were concerned, the picture that emerges is of administrators at the India Office attempting to persuade the Government of India to adopt some aspect of policy that had been adopted by the Home Government for Britain, or which had been suggested in parliament for implementation in the colonies. This became particularly apparent during discussions aimed at relaxing the criteria for refugees' admission to India in late 1938 and early 1939, and again at the beginning of the Second World War, concerning the internment of refugees.¹¹ Yet the Government of India could, and did, resolutely follow its own path in crucial aspects of refugee policy, thereby separating the experiences of refugees in India from those of refugees in Britain, and indeed in other parts of the British Empire.

The India Office has been described as the 'Home Government of Britain's largest and most complex overseas possession' and as 'an imperial government in miniature'.¹² It was the first port of call for refugees applying for visas to India. The records of the India Office, now held at the British Library, are thus of particular significance for understanding the ways in which these applications were dealt with. The other key source base for investigating imperial administrators' attitudes towards refugees seeking refuge in British India are the records of the Government of India, which are held at the National Archives of India in New Delhi. These are most revealing for the insights they provide into the ways refugees were dealt with once in India, including policies such as internment and the suspicions held against certain refugees, recorded in sometimes extensive case files.

¹¹ 'Refugees (Government Proposals)', 21 Nov. 1938, in BL, IOR: L/PJ/7/2462: '765; Settlement of Jewish Refugees in British Guiana'.

¹² The first quotation comes from A. P. Kaminsky, quoted in Anthony Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators, 1858-1966* (Basingstoke, 2000), 31; the second one comes from Kirk-Greene, *ibid.*

Taken together, these documents present a detailed picture of two colonial institutions, their structural composition and operational remit, but also the 'mental universe' – the kinds of assumptions, values, and attitudes – in which their employees made decisions regarding refugees. As such, it is important *not* to view refugee policy as solely the product of institutions, considered as homogeneous entities, or to assume that these institutions were efficient, smoothly functioning, and harmonious, with clearly defined agendas and goals, in short, that they always 'worked'. Instead, and as is readily apparent when looking at the records of both the India Office and the Government of India, these institutions were composed of different people with different views – even if they were overwhelmingly of the same gender and from the same socio-economic and cultural milieu. The focus, therefore, should not be on colonial *institutions* but rather on the individuals who worked for them, the colonial administrators. This does not, however, imply a purely individual-level approach, since these administrators had no power without their institutional affiliation: as officers of the India Office or of the Government of India. They were, therefore, individuals performing within an institutional context.

While British civil servants held considerable power over the fates of German-speaking Jews, their attitudes towards them were not influenced, or at least not *directly* influenced, by Nazi policy and propaganda. Some were evidently sympathetic to the Jews' plight, and others considerably less so. The discrepancies in these personal attitudes, which should have been separate from policy but often did affect decisions regarding individual refugees, are therefore an important line of investigation.

In this regard, the lens or lenses through which colonial administrators viewed the refugees require scrutiny. Prospective or actual refugees could be viewed interchangeably as 'Jews', 'refugees', 'German nationals', 'enemy aliens', 'internees', separately or in combination. Most often, though, refugees were viewed through a national lens. This was because refugee policy operated, as it still does, within a national legal framework. For example, as we saw in the case of the Schuberts, the distinction between German and Austrian refugees became particularly acute *after* the Nazi annexation (*Anschluss*) of Austria in March 1938. 'German Government intends to cancel all Austrian passports and to issue German passports in their place',

stated a telegram sent the following month by the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India. 'Jews desirous of leaving Austria may be granted permission but will automatically become denationalised and not be permitted to return.'¹³ This created a large technical obstacle in the government's refugee policy: a criterion for applicants was that their passports had to be 'valid for return', so that in the event that they became a burden on the state or involved in criminal activities, they could be repatriated.¹⁴ Austrian Jews were thus treated differently from German Jews in the visa application process and, ironically, the Nazi annexation of their country made it more difficult for them to apply for refuge in British territory.

The 'national' categorization of Jewish refugees manifested itself most acutely for those who successfully managed to escape to India but were then, upon the outbreak of war, suspected either of being Nazis or of having Nazi sympathies. A case in point is the doctor Hans Hahndel, who arrived in India from Germany in 1936 and set up a practice in Calcutta. Like all male German and Austrian nationals over the age of 16, Hahndel was interned in September 1939, a policy that was much stricter than in Britain, where internment was not introduced until May 1940, implemented hesitantly, and even then applied only to a minority of refugees.¹⁵ Initially, Jewish refugees in India were held, together with their compatriots, in makeshift internment camps—a policy that generated strong criticism from the Jewish aid agencies involved with the refugees. Consequently, the British authorities set up an Aliens Advisory Committee, also known as the Darling Commission after its leader Sir Malcolm Darling, to investigate the political backgrounds and affiliations of internees on a case-by-case basis. The commission resulted in the release of most, but not all, Jewish refugees. Hahndel was one of the unlucky ones. The records of the Aliens Advisory Committee, now held at the National Archives of India, show that Hahndel generated an extremely large case file, based on his having been a member of the German Club in Calcutta. German Clubs were networking associations for German nationals that existed around the world. However,

¹³ BL, IOR: L/PJ/8/750: 'Coll. 123/4F; Anglo-German and Anglo-Austrian Passport and Visa Arrangements.'

¹⁴ BL, IOR: L/PJ/7/2138.

¹⁵ London, *Whitehall and the Jews*, 170.

some of the members of the Calcutta club were suspected of having Nazi sympathies. Worse still, Hahndel had treated a patient for appendicitis who later turned out to be a Nazi. For these two reasons his release from detention was delayed until July 1942.¹⁶

The seemingly illogical internment policy for German-speaking Jews in India, and the very real and deleterious effects it could have on them, requires explanation. Why did the British colonial authorities not simply, and from the outset, differentiate between Jews and non-Jews, since the former were only in India as a result of being persecuted by the Nazis, and thus surely would not in any way support them? First of all, in the eyes of civil servants working for the Government of India at the outbreak of hostilities with Nazi Germany, the fear of Nazi infiltration was very real. A number of articles which appeared in the *Bombay Sentinel*, an English-language daily, in July 1938 claimed to expose the activities of a Nazi spy ring operating out of Bombay, led by a Dr Oswald Urchs (who allegedly styled himself as 'Landesgruppen-Führer' for South Asia). In addition to conducting espionage, they were alleged to be spreading pro-Nazi propaganda, including placing pressure on German-owned firms in India to dismiss their Jewish staff and appealing to Indians that they were also members of the Aryan race. These reports clearly reached the attention of British politicians, resulting in a question raised in parliament in November 1938, asking the Under-Secretary of State for India 'whether he is aware of the activities of foreign political parties in India; and what steps he is taking to counteract this propaganda'. The reply, drafted by Aubrey Dibdin of the India Office, indicated that they had recently heard 'of the printing in India of a paper entitled "Der Deutsche in Indien"', which was 'almost certainly the official organ of the Nazi Ausland Organisation'. However, the reply concluded: 'Hitherto we have had no reason to suppose that Nazi activities in India are achieving any great measure of success.'¹⁷

The wider picture was that India was a vulnerable outpost of the British Empire. Territorially it was massive, and it was governed by

¹⁶ National Archives of India (NAI), Home Political: EW/1939/NA/F-21-54-XLIX (PR_000003011002): 'Exemption from Internment of Dr. Hans Fritz Hahndel'; E/1940/NA/F-17-298 (PR_000003010072): 'Application for Grant of a Visa for India to Mrs. Gertrud Hahndel.'

¹⁷ BL, IOR: L/PJ/7/2286: '5539; Nazi Propaganda in India.'

a relatively tiny number of colonial administrators. There were almost certainly some pro-Nazi Germans residing in India, and it seems likely that at least a small number were active agents. At any rate, the fear of the Nazi infiltrator was very much set in the mind of the British colonial administrator and it determined, to a large extent, the draconian internment policy instituted for all German and Austrian nationals in September 1939. The final factor in this matrix, and one that is often overlooked with hindsight, is that German-speaking Jews were indistinguishable from non-Jewish Germans in appearance, behaviour, and cultural habits. Their political opinions, legal status, and reasons for residing in India may have been different, but to the eyes of the British administrator they were in every way as 'German' as their supposedly 'Aryan' counterparts.

That said, there are a number of instances where British colonial personnel clearly viewed and, in turn treated, Jewish refugees *as Jews*. In a heavily annotated document from February 1939 outlining the Government of India's new visa policy for 'foreign refugee applicants', one India Office administrator inserted an asterisk after the line 'As regards the admission of Jewish refugees', writing in the margin: 'I don't follow why they are treated separately – and apparently better – (“moral considerations” not excluded!) than others. Surely the policy should be the same to all, except that Woburn House [the headquarters of the Council for German Jewry] will not guarantee the Aryans?' A full seven years later, in a correspondence between the India Office, the Government of India, the Jewish Relief Association, and the World Jewish Congress concerning proposals forcibly to repatriate Jewish refugees still interned in India, R. N. Gilchrist of the India Office wrote in what appears to be an internal memo:

The plain truth is that the majority of Jews [still interned] are persons with 'records' – suspected German spies, forgers and petty international crooks . . . They are of a class of person who normally would be deported by any country, whatever their race. Mr. Easterman [the World Jewish Congress representative] must be misinformed about the character of these people, otherwise he could hardly have used the phrase . . . that they are persons who have a right to determine the place where they may find peace and security. It would, however, be neither kind nor politic to tell him the real truth. Hence I have

suggested that if he wishes to pursue the matter he may arrange for a discussion with me when I can convey the necessary hints about the character of these people.¹⁸

Such comments provide only the merest glimpse – the tip, one imagines, of a veritable iceberg – of British colonial administrators' attitudes towards Jews. Yet in order to better understand the patterns of thought that lay behind such comments, it would be necessary to situate them within a broader cultural context (a task that cannot be achieved in the space of this article). What sorts of ideas and beliefs about Jews would these administrators have grown up with and, later, encountered in their social and professional lives? These can be deduced, at least in part, from the existing literature on the relationship between Jews and modern Britain.¹⁹

Easier to discern are the ways in which geo-political concerns influenced administrators' attitudes towards Jewish refugees. Colonial personnel would almost certainly have been trained in this area, particularly regarding the significance of, and indigenous opposition towards, Jews and Jewish settlement in the British protectorate of Palestine. This was only a minor issue in the case of British India, although, as Margit Franz has pointed out, both of the major political parties in late colonial India – the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League – adopted an anti-Zionist stance.²⁰ However, in some of the territorial outposts of British India, such as the Protectorate of Aden on the Arabian Peninsula, the issue was far more pertinent.

Although Aden was detached from British India and became a separate colony in 1937, documents surrounding the settlement of Jewish refugees there were still being handled by the India Office in 1939. This particularly concerned the island of Socotra, a province of the Aden Protectorate, which had been mooted by Conservative politician and former Colonial Secretary Leo Amery as a possible destination for Jewish refugees. A letter sent by John Evelyn Shuckburgh

¹⁸ BL, IOR: L/PJ/7/12081: '6179; Entry into Palestine: Jewish Refugees Interned in India and Afghan Jewish Refugees in India.'

¹⁹ Examples include David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven, 1994), and Susanne Terwey, *Moderner Antisemitismus in Großbritannien, 1899–1919: Über die Funktion von Vorurteilen sowie Einwanderung und nationale Identität* (Würzburg, 2006).

²⁰ Franz, *Gateway India*, 56–7.

of the Colonial Office in Downing Street to Sir Bernard Reilly, the Governor of Aden, in March 1939 outlined some of the objections to this plan. The first, that the climate 'would not suit people accustomed to European conditions' seems improbable given that, earlier in the letter, Shuckburgh had raised India and Northern Rhodesia as feasible destinations for 'small groups' of refugees. The second had to do with objections from the local population: the island, Shuckburgh pointed out, 'was ruled by an Arab Sultan, who had enjoyed our protection for some fifty years', and 'any talk of introducing Jewish refugees in large numbers into his territory would at once raise the cry that yet another Arab country was being handed over to the Jews'. Yet, Shuckburgh concluded, 'the situation has become so desperate' that a 'limited settlement' of Jews in Socotra—of around 1,000 families or 5,000 individuals—should be considered.²¹

Reilly's initial response stated that 'The introduction of Jews into the Island would be very unwelcome to the inhabitants' and 'would be certain to rouse violent protests' since it would be seen 'as an attempt to reproduce in Southern Arabia the policy that has already caused such bitter controversy in Palestine'. The official response, sent by W. H. Ingrams, British Resident Advisor for the Aden Protectorate, on 15 April, put a definitive kibosh on the proposal. 'Soqotra on top of Palestine would about finish us with the rest of the Arabs', Ingrams wrote. He related to Shuckburgh that he had attended lunch with 'H.H.' (presumably the Sultan) the previous day and had 'raised the question of the Jews'. 'I think he had a genuine sympathy with their plight', Ingrams wrote. 'He said if only they were Christians and not Jews there would be no real trouble.'²²

The matter might have ended there, but what followed was a quite remarkable exchange, in which the British authorities' (largely strategic) concerns about Jewish settlement took on a different dimension. On 22 April the India Office's Political Secretary sent an encrypted telegram to the Residency at Mukalla (the administrative centre of Aden's Eastern Protectorate), fervently denying a rumour that the British authorities were planning to settle 70,000 Jews in the Protectorate. Three days later Reilly wrote to Shuckburgh stating that they were 'taking steps to deny it categorically' and also 'trying to

²¹ BL, IOR: R/20/C/1341: 'File 139/39; Settlement of Jewish Refugees from Germany.'

²² *Ibid.*

discover how it can have originated', with the implication that it was a 'calculated . . . form of anti-British propaganda'.²³

But the matter was clearly now beyond their control. On 6 May the Residency received a letter, handwritten in Arabic, from Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur, one of the regional rulers in the Protectorate. 'I have been informed', the attached translation read, 'that rumours have been circulating about the possibility of settling 70,000 Jews between Seiyun and Tarim' (two cities in Aden). 'It hardly seems necessary to deny such a ridiculous story', the letter continued, 'but I shall be glad if you will let it be known that H.M.G. has no intention whatsoever of bringing Jewish immigrants.' At this point, British administrators went silent on the issue, neglecting to mention that the rumour was essentially a numerical exaggeration of a quite serious proposal that had originated in Downing Street the previous month. On 18 May Sultan Ja'far published a notice officially denying the 'false rumours'. The covering note to the draft copy, written by a British official, now described them as 'Jewish propaganda'.²⁴

After war broke out in September 1939 the British colonial authorities in London and New Delhi tended increasingly to categorize German-speaking Jewish refugees in ways other than their nationality or religious background. They became, like all other German nationals in India, 'enemy aliens'. Males over the age of 16 additionally became 'internees'. In 1940, following an India Office policy in which the details of all German nationals still interned would be passed on to the Nazi government, the Jews among them unofficially became 'internees unwilling to have their names communicated to the German government'.²⁵ As one, Muhammad Asad, a convert to Islam born Leopold Weiss, explained sardonically in a note to the authorities, 'I herewith declare that I do not wish any further particulars about me to be sent to the German Government. I was Austrian till 1938, and I do not recognise the Nazi Government nor, by the way, any German Government whatever. I will have nothing to do with Germany now or in future.'²⁶

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ BL, IOR: L/PJ/8/30A: 'Coll. 101/10A; Treatment of Aliens, Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees in India.'

²⁶ Handwritten note signed 'M. Asad-Weiss' dated 24 Apr. 1940, in BL, IOR:

Colonial officials also developed a sliding scale, ranging from XXXX ('strong and still convinced Nazis') to X ('anti-Nazi'), although it appears only to have been used sporadically, appearing as an additional 'security note' on some of the nominal rolls for internees and parolees.²⁷ It was, in effect, another way of distinguishing between Jewish and non-Jewish inmates, since, while there were a handful of 'anti-Nazi' non-Jewish Germans in India, as India Office official Gilchrist pointed out in a memo from 1944, 'The non-Nazis of course are practically all Jews'.²⁸

Yet the colonial authorities not only used political terminology to categorize internees; they routinely used Nazi racial terminology – 'Aryan' and 'non-Aryan' – specifically to differentiate between Jewish and non-Jewish Germans. While undoubtedly an affront to present-day sensibilities, in the early 1940s, when these terms had not yet been fully contaminated by the horrors of the Holocaust, adopting the categorization used by the polity of which these individuals were subjects seemed to make sense, especially when communicating with that polity. Furthermore, Britain had not gone to war with Germany on the basis of its government's ideas about race, and colonial administrators were also used to working with such ethnic categorizations in their dealings with the populations they governed. As such, instances of the term 'German Aryan', which appear frequently on the nominal rolls,²⁹ or, to take an individual example, that Hans Hahndel's continued detention was based on his association with 'Germans (Aryans)', should not be seen as evidence that the British authorities *agreed* with Nazi ideology, but rather that they were willing to use Nazi terminology in their dealings with Jews.³⁰

L/PJ/8/32: 'Coll. 101/10AA/I; Nominal Rolls and Monthly Returns of Internees and Parolees in India.'

²⁷ BL, IOR: L/PJ/8/31: 'Coll. 101/10AA; Nominal Rolls of Internees and Parolees in India.'

²⁸ BL, IOR: L/PJ/8/30B: 'Coll. 101/10A/I; Treatment of Aliens, Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees of India.'

²⁹ BL, IOR: L/PJ/8/31.

³⁰ NAI, Home Political: E/1940/NA/F-17-298.

II. *Jewish Aid Organizations*

Jewish aid organizations played an important role in determining both refugee policy and how refugees were treated once in India. Like the colonial authorities, they were also institutional bodies, but there the similarity ends. They were much smaller, had been created more recently, and had no larger political body sitting behind them to bestow legitimacy on them. They were looser, more informal arrangements, often built around the initiative of a single individual or group of individuals. And their remit was, of course, much more limited: to help European Jews fleeing Nazi persecution to find refuge, and to protect and support them in their place of refuge.

This section has two objectives. First, it aims to show how the two main Jewish relief organizations involved with refugees in India positioned themselves within the political and administrative framework created by the colonial authorities, and the strategies they used within this framework to exert pressure on the authorities. Second, it explores the goals these aid organizations pursued that went beyond purely humanitarian aid.

The two main aid organizations involved in helping Jewish refugees in India were the Council for German Jewry, based in London, and the Jewish Relief Association, based in Bombay (and later with branches in Calcutta and Madras). The Council for German Jewry was created in 1936 by senior Anglo-Jewish leaders to help German Jews find refuge in various destinations around the world.³¹ The Jewish Relief Association was set up two years earlier in Bombay by eleven mostly European Jews as a 'purely charitable association to assist European Jews who found their way to hospitable India but had no means of livelihood'.³² Initially its role was limited, but from 1938, as the refugee crisis deepened, it became increasingly connected with the Council for German Jewry.

It is even more important to investigate the backgrounds, attitudes, and motives of the individuals who comprised the Jewish aid organizations than it is for colonial authorities. This is because indi-

³¹ London, *Whitehall and the Jews*, 40.

³² Quoted in Joan G. Roland, *The Jewish Communities of India: Identity in a Colonial Era* (2nd edn. New Brunswick, NJ, 1998), 177.

viduals had much greater power and autonomy within the (much smaller) aid organizations than they did within governmental institutions. Understanding who these men were, in a social sense, in terms of their nationality and class status, helps to explain not only *why* they acted as they did, but also how *effectively* they were able to act; in other words, the extent to which they could successfully place pressure on state or colonial authorities.

The personnel of both aid organizations under discussion are illustrative in this regard. Despite being based in India, the Jewish Relief Association was, as mentioned, set up primarily by European Jews. Out of India's three Jewish communities—the Cochin Jews, the Bene Israel, and the so-called 'Baghdadi' Jews—two were not represented at all. The small Cochin Jewish community, as their name suggests, was based almost exclusively on the Malabar coast in south-western India, and therefore unlikely to come into contact with the Jewish Relief Association, which operated out of India's major port cities. However, the Bene Israel, India's largest Jewish community, was also not represented; the most probable reason for this was their low socio-economic status and consequent lack of cultural capital.³³ By contrast, the 'Baghdadi' Jews, who arrived in India from Iraq, Iran, and Syria in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were often wealthy, based in urban centres, and connected to the British colonial elites.³⁴ It is unsurprising therefore that the Jewish Relief Association's two figurehead leaders, Sir David and Sir Alwyn Ezra, came from a prominent Calcutta-based, Baghdadi-Jewish family. They were chosen, according to historian Joan Roland, to bestow 'prestige' on the fledgling organization.³⁵

For its part, the Council for German Jewry (renamed the Central Council for Jewish Refugees during wartime) was an entirely English affair. Its board members were drawn from the upper echelons of Anglo-Jewry, and its key player, Norman Bentwich, was a prominent barrister who had himself held senior positions in British colonial administration, including as Attorney-General of Palestine. Crucially, therefore, he had close relationships with high-ranking govern-

³³ Weil, 'From Persecution to Freedom', 69–70.

³⁴ Roland, *Jewish Communities*, 178.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

ment personnel, including in the India Office.³⁶ At a time before non-governmental organizations and an established international legal framework for dealing with refugees, such connections, and the 'back-room diplomacy' they entailed, were crucial. Files from the India Office Records reveal Bentwich's instrumental role in pressuring the colonial authorities to relax the criteria for Jewish refugees wishing to obtain visas for India. How he was able to do this requires a brief explanation of the historical context.

Following the Visa Abolition Agreement in 1927, German and Austrian nationals did not require a visa to enter Britain or its overseas territories. However, the Nazi annexation of Austria in March 1938, which resulted in a steep rise in the number of Austrian Jews entering the UK, caused the British government to cancel the agreement almost immediately. This necessitated new admission criteria to regulate the influx of German and Austrian nationals to Britain and its colonies. The Government of India in New Delhi was responsible for determining the criteria for obtaining a visa for India, which they announced in May 1938. Initially, these were extremely restrictive, more so than for Britain itself: applicants had to provide a financial guarantee, an offer of employment, character references, and some form of evidence to suggest that they were 'not politically undesirable' (usually this came in the form of a statement to the effect that they were 'not interested in politics').³⁷ Inevitably, this meant that many applications were rejected on the basis of small technicalities and the majority of those who *were* able to secure visas were well-educated and financially secure individuals with pre-existing contacts in India. Indeed, as historian Joachim Oesterheld has shown, between January 1938 and February 1939 (when the criteria were modified), the Government of India sanctioned just 269 visas for Jewish refugees.³⁸

Several months elapsed before it became clear to the Council for German Jewry just how many potential refugees the entrance criteria were excluding. Following the state-orchestrated pogrom (*Reichskristallnacht*) on 9 November 1938, and a subsequent surge in appli-

³⁶ London, *Whitehall and the Jews*, 286.

³⁷ BL, IOR: L/PJ/8/750.

³⁸ Joachim Oesterheld, 'British Policy towards German-speaking Emigrants in India, 1939-1945', in Bhatti and Voigt, *Jewish Exile in India*, 25-44, at 26.

cations for refuge from both German and Austrian Jews, the Council for German Jewry started to exert pressure on the colonial authorities. It is unclear how this process began, but it appears that, soon after the pogrom, the Council's leader, Norman Bentwich, made an appeal to the India League (the UK branch of the Indian National Congress) asking them to look into ways of alleviating the restrictions for entry to India.³⁹ Congress leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had already expressed their desire for India to take in more persecuted Jews, not least because of the technical skills they could offer to the developing country.⁴⁰ When the India Office heard about this appeal, and the positive response Bentwich had received, they became concerned that the refugee issue would be used by Congress as a means of discrediting the British. As a result, they swiftly invited Norman Bentwich to discuss the situation.⁴¹ Aubrey Dibdin explained the situation in a letter to the Government of India in December 1938 as follows:

Distinguished members of the Jewish community in London approached the India Office with particular reference to a Committee in London run by the India League. We advised them that this Committee was not of the kind we should advise them to deal with and as a necessary corollary offered to see the representatives of the Council. It seems inadvisable in present conditions to give any ground for allegations that our visa conditions are acting as a bar against chances in India for individual refugees which Congress and the [Indian Princely] States are otherwise prepared to favour.⁴²

³⁹ Johannes H. Voigt, 'Die Emigration von Juden aus Mitteleuropa nach Indien während der Verfolgung durch das NS-Regime', in Christa Feifel (ed.), *Wechselwirkungen, Jahrbuch 1991: Aus Lehre und Forschung der Universität Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1991), 83–95, at 90.

⁴⁰ Margit Franz, "'Passage to India": Österreichisches Exil in Britisch-Indien 1938–1945', in *Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes* (ed.), *Jahrbuch 2007* (Vienna, 2007), 196–223, at 200; ead., *Gateway India*, 56.

⁴¹ Voigt, 'Die Emigration von Juden', 92.

⁴² BL, IOR: L/PS/13/957: 'Coll. 13/85; Settlement of German-Jewish Refugees in Cochin and Other States.'

Bentwich's solution was that the Council for German Jewry should act as an affidavit agency. Prospective refugees would send their visa applications direct to the Council and, if deemed suitable, the Council would agree to support them financially. Meanwhile, the Jewish Relief Association in India would search for employment opportunities for the incoming refugees. While the India Office quickly agreed to the proposals, the Government of India was at first unwilling to drop its stipulation that refugees obtain an offer of employment before they arrived in India. After several weeks of negotiations, in which the India Office clearly placed pressure on the Government of India, the latter dropped this requirement, and on 13 January the India Office informed Bentwich of the new criteria: the Council for German Jewry would henceforth provide affidavits and a financial guarantee for all refugees. The only concession to the Government of India's reservations was that this guarantee would last for a maximum of five years. If, at this point, a refugee had not found employment, he or she would be sent back – to Britain, at least, and not their country of origin – at the Council's expense.⁴³

Without question, the new and less restrictive procedure for refugees' entry into India would not have come about had it not been for the intervention of the Council for German Jewry and, in particular, its influential leader, Norman Bentwich. While the responsibility for refugees switched to the Jewish Relief Association upon arrival in India, this organization still relied on its more powerful London counterpart to place pressure on the British authorities when needed. For instance, in July 1940 the Jewish Relief Association's Calcutta branch sent a telegram direct to Norman Bentwich, informing him that Jewish refugees in Calcutta were about to be re-interned. 'Suggest immediate representations be made either to the Secretary for India or by parliamentary questions for Indian government to be directed to follow English policy', it stated.⁴⁴ The telegram had its intended effect as, two weeks later, the League of Nation's High Commissioner for Refugees, Herbert Emerson, wrote to the Government of India, with reference to the telegram, advising them to adopt, or at least be cognizant of, the policy towards internees in Great Britain.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ BL, IOR: L/PJ/8/66: 'Coll. 101/12B; Enemy Aliens in India: Reciprocal Release and Repatriation.'

'The measures of internment adopted by the British Government', Emerson explained, 'were precautionary in the interests of public security, and they were not intended to reflect on the reliability or loyalty to this country of the great majority.' Even the India Office now distanced itself from the Government of India's hardening approach towards refugees (which was in part informed by the fear of a Japanese invasion), explaining in a telegram to the League of Nations some days later that they had 'urged on the G/I the importance . . . of bringing their policy into line with policy here' and agreed that the Government of India would now have to 'justify why its policy differs from that of the British Government'.⁴⁵

While government authorities were their most important stakeholders, the Jewish aid organizations also operated within a multi-nodal, international network of Jewish relief. As the above example illustrates, close co-operation within this network was an essential component of driving change at policy level. However, this was not the aid agencies' sole remit. The maintenance of Jewish religious life in exile destinations, for example, which was a matter of no concern to state authorities, was a priority for at least some of the individuals who worked for the agencies. The spatial concentration of a specific number of Jews, often, as in the case of India, confined primarily to major cities, whose details were all on record and who were, moreover, reliant to a large degree on the aid agencies, provided the opportunity – something of a 'captive audience' – for functionaries of these agencies to impose, or at least try to impose, their vision of a Jewish life on the refugees. Establishing their motivations for doing this would require one to look at individual biographies. However, one supposes that their work for these agencies, being voluntary in nature, was informed by a sense of mission that went beyond a merely philanthropic desire to help fellow Jews in distress.

A case in point is that of Hanns Reissner, a Berlin-born historian who emigrated to India in October 1939 as a refugee but also, it appears, to work for the Jewish Relief Association, since he immediately became its secretary. (This also highlights the importance of pre-existing connections in the formation of and interactions between the different aid agencies.) On 29 December he wrote to Neville Laski, a prominent leader of Anglo-Jewry and Chairman of the Board

⁴⁵ Ibid.

of Deputies of British Jews, informing him of the activities of the Jewish Relief Association in India. But Reissner also wanted Laski's advice and assistance. He was concerned about the low level of religious observance, not only amongst the refugees but also within the two local Jewish communities, the Bene Israel and the Baghdadi Jews. 'I know that both the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association did much for the upkeep of Judaism as a religious and social community of self-esteem . . . in remote quarters of the British Empire', he wrote to Laski. 'I wonder whether your friends would be inclined to contemplate the sending out of a young rabbi to Bombay as except lower ministers like hasanim, shohtim etc., there is nothing at all to be found in Bombay at present.' Such a rabbi, Reissner noted, would 'unfortunately' have to be paid for by the London authorities 'as the Bombay trustees might be of the opinion that they could not afford to pay his salary'. Nonetheless, the Jewish community of Bombay, comprising a total of around 9,210 persons, including 480 refugees, 'deserves a spiritual shepherd'. 'I am sorry to say', Reissner concluded, that the refugees 'are very bad Jews to a certain percentage, full of self-deception and lacking decency to a large extent.' However, what Reissner meant by this is unclear, and the comment seems particularly unusual given that the majority of the refugees were drawn from Reissner's own milieu of acculturated German-speaking Jews. If these Jews were lacking religiously, as they might have appeared to a Jew from Eastern Europe, for example, then surely this would not have come as a surprise to him. Reissner noted revealingly that he was making the request 'not in my official capacity as a secretary of the Jewish Relief Association but in my private capacity of a Jew and contemporary'.⁴⁶ What he meant by the word 'Jew' was clearly imbued with a particular content, one that he felt was lacking in the Jews living in India.

The two major press outlets for Indian Jewry, the *Jewish Tribune* and the *Jewish Advocate*, both had close relationships with the Jewish Relief Association and served as mouthpieces for its activities. In particular, the two newspapers were instrumental in publicizing fundraising drives for the refugees, reminding their readers that responsibility for the refugees' welfare fell primarily on their shoulders.⁴⁷ As much as these appeals were philanthropically motivated, the news-

⁴⁶ WL: 'INDIA: Correspondence', 25.

⁴⁷ Roland, *Jewish Communities*, 221-2.

papers also had political agendas, and these could be used to add an additional layer of meaning to requests for donations.⁴⁸ For instance, in July 1939 the *Advocate* reported on a meeting held at Calcutta's Judean Club, 'with the object of inaugurating a drive to collect funds for the Jewish Refugees in Calcutta'. The audience were first given a 'harrowing account of the treatment the refugees received' prior to leaving their homes (the principal reason to donate). This was followed by an address by an E. J. Samuel, who explained that 'In the early days of Zionism . . . there were many of our race who did not care to give the movement a thought, feeling that as they were well-off in the countries of their birth and domicile, there was no occasion for their troubling themselves over this movement', an attitude which Samuel described as 'selfish'. 'The Jews in Germany and Central Europe, particularly', he continued, 'were indifferent to this movement, in fact, antagonistic to it, while today, they, more than anybody else, are the ones who are in direct need of the protection and assistance of Zionism.' As such, Samuel concluded, the refugees were 'potential ambassadors for a great cause'.⁴⁹ A secondary reason for donating therefore becomes clear—by helping the refugees, Indian Jews were also helping the Zionist cause. The subtext of this, however, was that the refugees, in their vulnerable state, could be refashioned from outside. Their arrival in India was therefore considered, by some, as a political opportunity, and it is difficult not to get the impression from Samuel's statement that they were being instrumentalized.

The above examples serve to illustrate that, for the Jewish aid organizations, the boundaries between institutional and personal action were always liminal, and that institutional authority had a strong basis in the personal authority of the individuals who comprised them. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this means that a biographical focus is even more important for understanding the motives of the agencies than of the colonial authorities, which had a more developed, complex, and rigid organizational structure that limited the extent to which their agents could act inde-

⁴⁸ For instance, the *Jewish Tribune* was set up in Jan. 1933 as the result of a dispute over the relationship between the *Jewish Advocate* and the Bombay Zionist Association. See Joe I. Sargon, 'Notice to All Concerned', *Jewish Advocate*, 31 Jan. 1933, 2.

⁴⁹ 'The Calcutta Refugees', *Jewish Advocate*, 28 July 1939, 15.

pendently. Ultimately, though, this disparity meant that the (informally organized and individually driven) aid organizations could exert at least some pressure on the (much larger and more powerful) state authorities, since they were not bound by convention and bureaucratic procedure. The aid agencies could thus make decisions and take action quickly, in response to changes in the political climate or the situation of the refugees for whom they took responsibility.

III. *The Refugee Experience*

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the pitfalls of writing on this topic is a lack of analytical cohesion. This is most pronounced when taking the perspective of the refugees themselves, since they were often connected to each other only by the fact that they defined themselves (or had been defined by the Nazis) as Jewish, and had been persecuted and forced into exile for that reason. Consequently, it can be difficult for scholars studying this group of refugees to find a unifying framework to bring them together without resorting to the state authorities and/or Jewish aid organizations that dealt with them. Here I will sketch a few possible approaches that could be applied.

The refugees were, as mentioned, connected by the experience of being persecuted by the Nazis and subsequently having to escape their home countries, leading to the experience of being refugees. Yet a third and more unusual factor connecting them was that they had ended up in a particular geographic location: India. While some of the early wave of refugees (until late 1938), had pre-existing contacts in India, for the majority, their encounter with India would have been unthinkable even a few years before. It would therefore be fruitful to consider what position India (or perhaps 'the Orient') occupied in the minds of German-speaking Jews by examining the kinds of cultural products about India—including literature, art, and music—that were available in Germany and Austria in the 1920s and 1930s. These would provide an impression of the 'imaginary' about India these refugees took with them, and from there, one might be able to deduce, by examining their later writings and artistic works, how these understandings were altered as a result of their lived experiences in India.

While this is undoubtedly rich terrain, it does lead to the problem, common in refugee studies, of over representing intellectuals and creative types. Individuals drawn from creative milieux were proportionately well-represented in the Indian refugee cohort, but they were still numerically insignificant compared to the doctors, engineers, and other technical professionals who comprised the majority. These groups were much less likely to produce creative material of artistic value—whether writings, visual art, or music—for the historian to analyse. So, while such work can provide a fascinating insight into the ways a particular subset of refugees perceived and then represented India, one must also bear in mind that they were a minority, and that the British and Indian authorities preferred technical professionals to come to India over artists and creative types. The fact that this latter group was so well represented, despite there being relatively few opportunities in the creative fields in India, appears to have been due, in many cases, to their having independent means.

That said, the experiences and perceptions of India of the non-artistic majority of the refugees are by no means impenetrable. Many would have written letters to family members and friends in Europe and other exile destinations. These, however, may not have survived, and tracking them down requires one to find their families. If such contact has been made, then there is also the possibility to conduct oral history: speaking to the children of the refugees in order to gain an impression, less perhaps of how India was experienced by the refugees, but of how it was remembered, post-exile, in that particular family.

Jewish refugees occupied a unique position within colonial India. Although they were visibly white and European, Indians are unlikely to have confused them with British colonial personnel because of linguistic and cultural differences. This does, however, raise the question of how Indians *did* perceive them, and more broadly, how the refugees 'fit' into the constellation of colonialism and racism that existed in India at the time. Aside from the pronouncements of leading Indian nationalist politicians, the only Indian voices that can be brought to bear in this regard are the letters sent to Jewish and metropolitan newspapers (the latter often reprinted in the former) which expressed, almost without exception, sympathy for the refugees' plight, and called on India (that is, the British authorities) to do more

to help them.⁵⁰ Yet this brings us back to the problem that only well-educated Indians were able to write to such newspapers. The opinions of the vast majority of Indians are more difficult to ascertain, since, at this time, 83.9 per cent of Indians (75.1 per cent of males and 92.7 per cent of females) were illiterate and, as such, could produce no written documents of their own.⁵¹

As Shalva Weil remarks, 'most Indians were simply ignorant of the arrival of hundreds of Jews to India before and during the Second World War'.⁵² This, combined with a relative absence of documentation illustrating Indians' attitudes towards Jewish refugees, raises the risk of substituting the opinions of a few vocal and high-profile Indians for that of the entire population. One example is the Indian nationalist politician Subhas Chandra Bose, a Germanophile who had at least some sympathy for the Nazis' revanchist nationalism. In 1939 he claimed that his Congress party colleague Jawaharlal Nehru was 'seeking to make India an asylum for the Jews'.⁵³ Yet even Bose ultimately became disenchanted with the Nazi movement because of its crass racism.⁵⁴ In a different way, the opposition of some Indian doctors towards the right of German-educated doctors to practise in India (the so-called 'Doctors Problem' of the mid 1930s) can more realistically be attributed to concern for their professional livelihood than to any fear of a 'Jewish threat'.⁵⁵

Conversely, evidence of Jewish refugees' attitudes towards Indians are also difficult to come by. If refugees held racist attitudes, for

⁵⁰ Examples of these include H. G. Mudgal, 'Bring Over German Jews to Industrialize India', letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, reprinted in the *Jewish Tribune*, Jan. 1939, 17; M. B. Sant, 'An Indian Urges Help for Persecuted Jews', letter to the *Jewish Tribune*, Mar. 1939, 26; K. F. Nariman, 'A Plea for Refugees', letter to the *Bombay Sentinel*, reprinted in the *Jewish Advocate*, 24 Feb. 1939, 4.

⁵¹ See Government of India, 'State of Literacy', *Census 2011*, 97–136, at 103. <http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/data_files/india/Final_PPT_2011_chapter6.pdf> accessed 22 July 2019.

⁵² Weil, 'From Persecution to Freedom', 75.

⁵³ Quoted in Yulia Egorova, *Jews and India: Perceptions and Image* (Abingdon, 2006), 45.

⁵⁴ Johannes H. Voigt, 'Hitler und Indien', *Vierteljahrshfte für Zeitgeschichte*, 19/1 (1971), 33–63, at 47.

⁵⁵ See Roland, *Jewish Communities*, 179.

instance, they were usually too astute to express them publicly, perhaps because they had just fled an environment of rampant racism and had witnessed its consequences. However, private correspondence, a form of communication much more readily available to refugees than to Indians, reveals a more complex picture.⁵⁶ For different reasons, it is also difficult to determine how refugees perceived British rule in India. First of all, they were a heterogeneous group, and presumably held a range of political opinions. But more importantly, applicants for Indian visas had to be able to provide evidence that they were 'not politically undesirable'. As such, refugees tended not to criticize British colonialism publicly until after they had left India. In her memoirs, Viennese physician Eva Ungár, who lived in India between 1938 and 1949, wrote of India 'throw[ing] off the English yoke without the use of arms'.⁵⁷ She attributed the bloody aftermath of Partition to 'the English' employing 'the old and dreadful, but tried and tested method of "*Divide et impera*"'.⁵⁸ It is unclear, however, whether Ungár already opposed British rule in India prior to her emigration, or whether it developed as a result of her experiences there.

Sentiments expressed whilst in exile tended in the opposite direction (that is, in favour of British rule), although ulterior motives frequently lay behind declarations of support for the British Empire. Rudolf Cohn (later Cole), a young dentist in Bombay, offered to join

⁵⁶ For instance, Atina Grossmann is currently writing about the difficulty she faced in reading letters written by her father—a refugee who travelled to India via a circuitous route—at the end of the war. In one he recounted that he had 'enjoyed very much' the sight of 'almost 400 white people' assembled in Bombay's Fort Synagogue, having by this point not resided in Europe for almost eight years. Yet Hans Grossmann went on to indicate that his warm feelings emanated in part from a nostalgia for his lost home: the congregation reminded him of his last encounter—a Yom Kippur service—at Berlin's Fasanenstrasse synagogue. (It is therefore curious that he chose to describe the congregants as 'white people' and not as Jews.) Email correspondence with Atina Grossmann, July 2019. My thanks to her for allowing me to share this insight.

⁵⁷ Eva Ungár, 'Ten Years in India', in Renate S. Meissner (ed.), *Erinnerungen: Lebensgeschichten von Opfern des Nationalsozialismus*, 5 vols. (Vienna, 2015), iv, 314–34, at 332.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 333.

the British armed forces in November 1940, writing ‘I am a Jewish Refugee from Germany and I make this offer entirely voluntarily from a desire to give practical proof of my gratitude to the British Empire and my wish to assist it in the present struggle’. Yet this has to be read in the context of his being placed under suspicion by the Aliens Advisory Committee for his contacts with two alleged Nazis.⁵⁹ Kurt Larisch was another refugee whose continued detention in a parole centre had been recommended for the simple reason that the story of his escape from Nazi Germany via Holland and Palestine ‘[did] not ring true’ to the British authorities. He wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Calcutta in October 1940 that: ‘I have always been . . . with the entire British Empire’, although he immediately qualified this with, ‘in its aim to completely destroy and annihilate perhaps the greatest evil force the world has ever known’.⁶⁰

However different the refugees may have been from each other, one thing they all shared in common was that they had moved from an environment marked by stark class distinctions into one in which their social class status was less significant, but other categories of difference—as Jews, as German speakers, as Europeans, white people, or as refugees—became more visible. This ‘everyday otherness’, an otherness that was both visible *and* invisible and composed of multiple factors, profoundly affected how refugees related to their environment and, of course, also how people within that environment related to them.⁶¹ Anita Desai’s 1988 novel *Baumgartner’s Bombay*, about a German-Jewish refugee in wartime India, perfectly captures this sense of dislocation, alienation, and cultural estrangement, as the protagonist Hugo Baumgartner attempts to deal with his loss of wealth and status whilst coming to terms with his new, ascribed status as an ‘enemy alien’ (by the British) and as a *firanghi*, a term

⁵⁹ NAI, Home Political: EW/1940/NA/F-72-1-24/Part-1 (PR_000003011452): ‘Recommendation of the Aliens Advisory Committee: Decision that Rudolf Cohn, alias Cole, German Jew, should be Allowed to Continue at Liberty.’

⁶⁰ NAI, Home Political: EW/1940/NA/F-72-3-51 (PR_000003011133): ‘Recommendation of the A.A.C. Bengal: Case No. 51 Larisch Mr. K. and Wife.’

⁶¹ The term was coined by David Radford. See id.: ‘“Everyday Otherness”: Intercultural Refugee Encounters and Everyday Multiculturalism in a South Australian Rural Town’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42/13 (2016), 2128–45.

used in both Hindi and Urdu to mean a white-skinned foreigner, by his Indian neighbours.⁶²

Yet the experience of an identity unmoored and in flux may have provided an opportunity for some refugees to 'escape' the backgrounds from which they came and to forge new lives for themselves. This appears to have been the case particularly for women, to whom Franz devotes a chapter of her book *Gateway India*.⁶³ The picture is a mixed one: on the one hand, the percentage of professional women in the refugee cohort was higher than it was for Jewish women in Germany and Austria. (This discrepancy was most likely caused by their relative youth, combined with the criteria needed to obtain an Indian visa.) Yet it is unclear how many of these women were able to find jobs corresponding to their training and expertise, and studies have shown that refugee women are more likely to take employment below their level of education, skills, and experience than their male counterparts.⁶⁴

Gender also appears to have played a role in the ways the authorities responded to certain forms of activity refugees engaged in, even if these were explicitly in support of the British war effort. Elisabeth Dank, an Austrian anthroposophist and writer, was placed under surveillance by the Political Department in Simla (where she was residing) as a result of a letter she wrote to them on 4 August 1939 in which she offered to 'help . . . in case of war . . . by lecturing and broadcasting on England [or] by doing social work'. Her case file also contains a rare documented case of antisemitism from a British colonial official: 'She is an extremely verbose person', the official wrote in a memo after meeting her, 'and her appearance is most unprepossessing. She is undoubtedly a Jewess by race, if not by religion, and seems to belong more to the Baghdadi than to the European type of Jew.'⁶⁵ Similar offers of help from male refugees, such as the exam-

⁶² Anita Desai, *Baumgartner's Bombay* (London, 1988).

⁶³ Franz, *Gateway India*, 209–37.

⁶⁴ See e.g. Melinda Suto, 'Compromised Careers: The Occupational Transition of Immigration and Resettlement', *Work: A Journal of Prevention, Assessment and Rehabilitation*, 32/4 (2009), 417–29. This finding has also been borne out in my own research on Jewish 'quota refugees' in Germany in the 1990s and 2000s.

⁶⁵ BL, IOR: R/2/765/220: 'File 104/39; Mrs. Elisabeth Dank an Austrian Subject.'

ples of Rudolf Cohn and Kurt Larisch mentioned above, resulted in no such investigations.

A final approach, and one that might at first appear counter-intuitive, is to investigate the fates of applicants who were *not* successful in securing a visa for India. The existing literature has focused, understandably, on those who *were* able to reach India, either by securing a visa or by other means. However, as was demonstrated in section II, the initial visa requirements (in force from May 1938 to January 1939) excluded all but a small minority of wealthy and/or well-connected applicants. What happened to the remainder? The names and biographical details of a large number of these unsuccessful applicants are known to us through the records of the India Office. By cross-referencing these names against databases for victims and survivors of the Holocaust, it might be possible to determine how many of them were ultimately able to escape the Nazi onslaught.⁶⁶

IV. Conclusion

To return to the question posed in the introduction: how does one create a cohesive analysis from a topic comprised of multiple case studies, spread across at least two continents? One must take into account not only the various perspectives of the actors involved, but also their differing levels of power and agency; in other words, their ability to determine the administrative framework in which the refugees were enmeshed from the moment they applied for exile, to the moment they left India. Yet, as I hope I have demonstrated, despite its logistical, methodological, and conceptual challenges, research on this topic has the potential to provide important new insights into the relationship between modern Jewish, German, and Indian history, and to elucidate further the extra-European dimensions of the Holocaust.

This article has proposed a number of possible approaches that could be employed to this end, categorized according to the three

⁶⁶ Such databases include the International Tracing Service, Yad Vashem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and country-specific records held in the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv, Koblenz) and the University of Vienna.

main groups involved. Ultimately, however, it is difficult, and probably not advisable, to study any of these groups in isolation, since, as the foregoing discussion has shown, they interacted with each other in significant ways. All should therefore be taken into consideration when researching this topic, even if the focus is on one group in particular. Ideally, the historian should employ a different ‘lens’ to bring them together: the backdrop of the Indian independence movement, for example, which incorporates anti-colonial politics, activism and violence, waning colonial authority, and, finally, Partition, which many refugees witnessed. Or one could take gender and consider how the (overwhelmingly male) British colonial and Jewish relief institutions interacted with both male and female refugees, for instance, in the process of applying for visas, in finding employment, and in relation to what was considered ‘proper’ comportment in a colonial society. Examining these three groups has also revealed a surprising array of emotions—suspicion, sympathy, indifference, frustration, indignation, alienation, fear, anxiety, trauma, and grief, to name a few—felt and expressed by all sides. How did these shape and determine refugees’ experiences? Answers to some of these questions will, I hope, start to appear as research on this topic progresses over the coming years.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

IN SEARCH OF THE 'GERMAN WAY OF FIGHTING': GERMAN MILITARY CULTURE FROM 1871 TO 1945

ANETTE NEDER

PAUL FOX, *The Image of the Soldier in German Culture, 1871–1933* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 240 pp. ISBN 978 1 4742 2614 1. £85.00

BEN H. SHEPHERD, *Hitler's Soldiers: The German Army in the Third Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 664 pp. ISBN 978 0 3001 7903 3. £25.00

BENJAMIN ZIEMANN, *Violence and the German Soldier in the Great War: Killing, Dying, Surviving* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 320 pp. ISBN 978 1 4742 3958 5. £85.00

Although the debate about an anti-modernist *Sonderweg* in German history between 1871 and 1945 has been largely settled among historians,¹ the notion of German exceptionalism remains virulent in the research on German military history.² After the Second World War, British historians identified Prussian militarism and the widespread 'subject mentality' (*Untertanenmentalität*) in Wilhelmine Germany as key factors for the catastrophic course of German history in the first half of the twentieth century.³ Since the 1960s several generations of German scholars have critically reassessed Prussian-dominated German military culture with the aim of identifying those elements that

¹ See Jürgen Kocka, 'Looking Back on the Sonderweg', *Central European History*, 51/1 (2018), 137–42.

² Dirk Bönker, 'A German Way of War? Narratives of German Militarism and Maritime Warfare in World War I', in Sven Oliver Müller and Cornelius Torp (eds.), *Imperial Germany Revisited: Continuing Debates and New Perspectives* (New York, 2011), 227–38, at 227.

³ See e.g. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of German History since 1815* (London, 1945). During the war Robert Gilbert Vansittart, who was a diplomat in the Foreign Office and a prominent

paved the way for the criminal and genocidal warfare of Germany's armed forces in the Second World War. In this context, a wide range of aspects has been discussed: the special relationship between military, state, and society, which prevailed not only in Imperial Germany but also in the Weimar Republic; the unbroken power of the old military elites in the Reichswehr after the First World War; and peculiarities both of German mentality and of military strategy. Many researchers argue that the experience of the Great War and the 'trauma' of defeat played a crucial role in the radicalization of German military culture. The proponents of the *Sonderweg* theory claim above all that the Imperial army cultivated traditions which predisposed Germany to 'absolute destruction',⁴ and that the practices of war in Imperial Germany differed significantly from those in other Western countries. Some researchers, such as Jürgen Zimmerer, see direct continuities between genocidal practices of violence in German colonialism and the Holocaust.⁵ However, this master narrative has been repeatedly contested in the past by military historians who emphasized the differences between traditional Prussian-dominated military culture and the military spirit under Nazi rule. Others have focused on ruptures and elements of refusal in German military history as indicators of possible alternative paths of historical development.

This review article will discuss three recent publications on German military history covering the period from 1871 to 1945, which all seek to further define the 'German way' of fighting, as Paul Fox describes it (p. 7), and to explain peculiarities of German warfare and practices of violence. Since these publications deal with consecutive historical periods, they open up a long-term perspective, which allows us to draw connections between similar or related phenomena and thus identify continuities and discontinuities in German mil-

proponent of a sharp anti-German line, promoted this view of German history in a series of radio broadcasts. His portrait of German history, which was published in 1941 under the title *Black Record: Germans Past and Present*, became a huge bestseller. See Jörg Später, *Vansittart: Britische Debatten über Deutsche und Nazis 1902-1945* (Göttingen, 2003).

⁴ See Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 2004).

⁵ See Jürgen Zimmerer, *From Windhoek to Auschwitz? On the Relationship Between Colonialism and the Holocaust* (New York, 2015).

itary culture. What also makes these studies interesting for comparison is their authors' quite different theoretical and methodological approach to the analysis of the topic. In his inquiry *The Image of the Soldier in German Culture*, Paul Fox analyses the visual representations of Germans at war from 1871 to 1933. Benjamin Ziemann's study *Violence and the German Soldier in the Great War* closely examines how soldiers experienced violence during the First World War and how it affected post-war society. While the first two studies conceptually focus on one particular aspect of German military culture, Ben Shepherd's book *Hitler's Soldiers* aims to present a general and comprehensive analysis of the German army under Nazi rule.

Fox's study is a substantial contribution to a visual history of the twentieth century and, especially, of modern conflict.⁶ Proponents of visual history believe that images produce meaning and thus fundamentally affect reality.⁷ It is indeed worthwhile to study visual representations of Germans at war. Illustrations, pictures, and photographs not only reveal a great deal about German military culture, but in the era of mass communication also had enormous influence on the way the recipients of these images perceived and thought about the military and war. One special characteristic of visual representations is their aesthetic dimension. Because of their rapid intelligibility – pictures convey meaning through association – they offer a more direct access to comprehension. Fox analyses a body of over forty representative images of Germans at war, mainly samples from illustrated histories and photobooks. As his main interest, apart from defining the German way of fighting, is describing the relationship between cultural production and military thought, he concentrates on popular visual accounts of war, which were broadly patriotic and depicted idealized forms of soldierly behaviour. In order to further define how Germans fought, he examines how the three components

⁶ See e.g. Gerhard Paul, *BilderMACHT: Studien zur 'Visual History' des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2013); Gerhard Paul, *Das visuelle Zeitalter: Punkt und Pixel* (Göttingen, 2016); Joanna Burke, *War and Art: A Visual History of Modern Conflict* (London, 2017).

⁷ Horst Bredekamp's *Bildakttheorie* ('image act theory') claims, following the tenets of speech act theory, that images do not only function as representations of reality, but that they have the power to affect the recipient's thoughts, emotions, and behaviour. See Horst Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts: Frankfurter Adorno-Vorlesungen 2007* (Berlin, 2010).

of fighting power—the moral, the physical, and the conceptual—were related to each other in visual representations of war from 1871 to 1933. For Fox, the most striking element of continuity in the field of popular visual representations of war is the notion of a ‘German way of fighting’ that was ‘characterized by aggressive operations conducted by a coherent force whose collective will to battle in itself advances a compelling claim to moral superiority, even in defeat’ (p. 190).

In the first part of his book, the author describes the visual research methods of his inquiry and extensively reflects on the cultural sources of German military thinking. It would have been more fruitful, though, to integrate these reflections into the empirical part of the study in order to establish a closer link between theory and practice. The chapter ‘Politics of Border-Landscapes’ shows how visual representations of contested, newly conquered, or lost border territories were used to influence the mental map of their viewers. In the months following the armistice, the integrity of Germany’s eastern borders became a prominent theme in visual culture.⁸ Faced with the threat of losing territories to Poland, visual representations of German-Polish borderlands aimed to mobilize patriotic sentiments. These propaganda images symbolically underlined Germany’s moral claim to the eastern territories by typically portraying soldiers who conquered or defended the nation’s borderlands as working hand in hand with farmers who cultivated the terrain. The representations of border zones and conflicts drew upon visual traditions that go back as far as the Franco-Prussian war, when the German Empire conquered Alsace-Lorraine. The illustrated histories of the Franco-Prussian war also present soldiers and farmers as equally important for the integration of newly conquered territories into the nation.

Fox bases his analysis of the visual representation of the Great War on two prominent photobooks edited by Franz Schauwecker and Ernst Jünger respectively, which were published around ten years after the armistice.⁹ This narrow perspective on nationalist lit-

⁸ For example, posters encouraging former soldiers to volunteer for border security operations circulated.

⁹ See Franz Schauwecker, *So war der Krieg: 200 Kampfaufnahmen aus der Front* (Berlin, 1927); Ernst Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges: Fronterlebnisse deutscher Soldaten* (Berlin, 1930).

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erature can be criticized as it entirely leaves out republican and left-wing interpretations of the war experience, an omission compounded by Fox's failure to discuss the political implications of these publications. The aesthetic stylization of the war experience needs to be viewed in the context of the massive political and social transformations of the post-war era. The interpretation and memory of the war experience were major points of contention between the opposing political camps in the Weimar Republic, as Ziemann demonstrates in his study. The photobooks were designed to engage reader-viewers emotionally and to make them identify with the German soldier. Therefore they had a documentary character, focusing on episodic events experienced at the minor unit level or by individuals. Testimony from veterans is included to lend them authenticity.

Fox points out that the visual accounts of the Great War centre around the values associated with soldiers' experiences at the Front, such as bravery, selflessness, comradeship, and team work, which 'were antithetical to the notion of defeat' (p. 108). This narrative appealed to many veterans who regarded themselves as moral victors regardless of the outcome of the war, as it emphasized the 'great deeds and great suffering' of German front-line soldiers and transformed mass death into a meaningful event.¹⁰ The desire to restore the honour of German soldiers after 1918, however, also fostered tendencies to assign the blame for military defeat to external circumstances, preparing the breeding ground for the exculpatory stab-in-the-back myth. Furthermore, the visual representations of the Great War maintained the illusion of human agency. They frequently incorporated 'tropes of individual heroism in near-overwhelming circumstances', underlining the superior moral qualities of German soldiers and their indomitable will to battle, even though in industrialized warfare masses of men and material were far more important than individual bravery (p. 115).

The experience of industrialized warfare deeply affected German military thinking and planning for future wars. Fox discusses the impact of modern military technology on German concepts of war in detail. Although modern weaponry became increasingly important

¹⁰ Jünger, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, 11. George Mosse first described how the terrible reality of war was transformed into the myth of the war experience. See George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990).

in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1), it played a somewhat more subordinate role in the field of visual representations. During that period, illustrated visual histories foregrounded the outstanding moral qualities of German soldiers rather than their technological excellence. In the course of the First World War, however, the relationship between morale and technology underwent a significant change, especially in the face of defeat. For the first time, technological superiority was acknowledged as a decisive factor in determining victory. Visual accounts of Germans at war now emphasized the importance of modern weaponry to national survival. The tank, which became the icon of military modernity, is presented as the most decisive weapon of the machine age. Still, the ineluctable will to battle is privileged over technological and material aspects of fighting power and praised as the most important feature of German moral superiority. The message conveyed by illustrated histories of the First World War is that situations of technological inferiority give German soldiers the chance to prove their superior moral qualities. The notion that physical and material inferiority could be overcome by such superior qualities would reappear in the Second World War, as Shepherd outlines in his study. Hitler believed that sheer fanaticism and an iron will to victory could stop the enemy. Thus he refused to countenance withdrawal in critical situations, instead issuing orders to stand firm at any cost. The fanatical spirit of National Socialist warfare became especially virulent in the final stages of the Second World War, when soldiers were expected to fight with sheer willpower against well-equipped and highly mechanized Allied forces.

In his study, Shepherd also broaches the relationship between modern military technology, strategic thinking, and warfare. He shows how the German army developed new theories for the deployment of armoured forces in the inter-war period in order to be prepared for future warfare. Having learned the bitter lessons of the First World War, military planners aimed to combine German organizational skills and moral qualities with the destructive potential of mechanized warfare. The Reichswehr and, later on, the *Wehrmacht*, consistently tested, practised, and refined both German armoured warfare doctrine and the employment of technologies in tactical combination in manoeuvres and war games. In 1935, when the Nazi regime began to rearm Germany, the first three tank divisions ‘designed as self-supporting mini-armies’ were formed, which was a

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'major development in armoured warfare' (p. 18). At the heart of German armoured doctrine was the concept of *Auftragstaktik* (mission-type tactics), which granted independent front-line commanders the flexibility to respond to changing battlefield situations, thus ensuring mobility, manoeuvrability, and the possibility of immediate response. The German doctrine of armoured warfare was not essentially new, but evolved from traditional strategic thinking, which was largely shaped by Prussian concepts of warfare. Here we find a clear connection between the findings of Shepherd and Fox, who characterized the German way of fighting as driven by an aggressive, offensive spirit. Fast and flexible warfare required a quick exchange of information. The German army benefited enormously from the use of highly developed radio communication, unparalleled in other armies. Because of these efforts, the German army gained high proficiency in combined-arms mobile warfare, which contributed largely to its success, as Shepherd points out. In fact, this is a central argument of his book.

Shepherd's rather traditional study of military history with its emphasis on military thinking, command structures, and campaigns is a skilful synthesis of previous research on the German military in the Second World War. The novelty of his approach lies in his exclusive focus on the army. First, Shepherd stresses 'how vast, diverse and subject to profound change the army was over the course of the war' (p. 521). As his study strives to present a comprehensive picture of the army under Nazi rule, it covers the entire span of the war and tackles a wide range of topics. It considers, among other things, the different theatres of war, the social structure and ideological indoctrination of the army, the mentality of the officer corps, the army's involvement in war crimes and the Holocaust, and the different occupation policies established by the army in the various occupied countries.

The spectacular early successes of the war in particular gave the German army an aura of invincibility. That is why it 'still enjoys a reputation as the most proficient, effective fighting force to take the field of modern land combat' (p. xi). Shepherd's study explains why the army was so successful, but also deconstructs the myth of Germany's superior fighting power by shedding light on the flaws inherent in the army. It not only reveals the grave mistakes the army made at all levels of warfare, even during the early, victorious campaigns,

but also demonstrates how much the army's successes depended on the weaknesses and errors of Germany's opponents. It argues that the German army was not only defeated because of the vast numerical superiority of the Allies. The Allies' capability to learn from their military failures and to improve at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels was also significant for their triumph over Nazi Germany. After the war, former German army commanders tried to put the blame for the debilitation of the army's performance on Hitler's mismanagement of the war efforts.

Yet the army was not a victim of Hitler and the *Wehrmacht* High Command. As Shepherd demonstrates in his book, high-ranking army commanders made numerous strategic and operational blunders that contributed to Germany's eventual defeat. He points out how profoundly the army leadership disregarded logistics and intelligence, and discusses economic and organizational weaknesses. The biggest failure of the army leadership, however, lay in its inability to develop a grand strategy regardless of the restrictions imposed by Hitler's plans. Shepherd underlines that the army's operational goals exceeded its practical means on the Eastern Front from as early as the summer of 1941, which 'fatally damaged the German army at the operational level' (p. xii). Moreover, Shepherd identifies an 'infernal feedback mechanism' that led to the army's ultimate destruction. During the final two years of the war, the 'army's moral and military failure reinforced one another' (p. 536). The desperate military situation reinforced the brutality of the German troops. The excessive brutality, however, hardened the enemy's will to destroy Nazi Germany and thus contributed further to the army's military defeat.

Shepherd does not refer to any of the classical theories of *Wehrmacht* research in order explain why the army maintained the struggle for so long, though it was obvious that the war was effectively lost for Germany.¹¹ He explains the fact that the army fought almost to the point of self-destruction by the warped sense of honour harboured by many German senior officers, arguing that the unresolved trauma of the Reich's military collapse in 1918 strengthened the latter's will to keep fighting to the bitter end this time. This is a valid

¹¹ Other scholars have argued that cohesion among primary groups, Nazi indoctrination, the Nazi terror apparatus, the Hitler myth, comradeship, and the German sense of duty were the main reasons why the German army did not disintegrate until May 1945.

argument. The experience of Germany's humiliating defeat in the First World War certainly influenced senior officers' behaviour in the final phase of the Second World War. Shepherd's argument that a number of senior military leaders continued the fight to expunge the dishonour they felt in the wake of the July 1944 attempt on Hitler's life, which was itself carried out by a group of high-ranking *Wehrmacht* officers, however, is not at all convincing. He argues further that soldiers of all ranks simply continued to fight out of sheer pragmatism, as it was their best option for survival in the desperate situation of spring 1945. But he also stresses that fear of the vengeful Red Army invading the Reich was one of the most important motives for sustaining the fight in the last months of the war.

Shepherd adheres to the well-known thesis of a 'partial identity of goals' shared by the military elites and the Nazi regime, first put forward by Manfred Messerschmidt: 'the leadership of the German army willingly entered into a Faustian bargain with Adolf Hitler that provided the opportunity and means to meet its highest aspirations' (p. 521).¹² He recognizes several important areas of overlap between the officer corps' worldview and Nazi thinking: racial contempt for Slavs, deep-rooted antisemitic resentments, pronounced anti-Bolshevism, and 'the technocratic ruthlessness that had characterized the officer corps since the First World War' (p. 55). This is a major reason, he argues, why so many soldiers participated in war crimes and the Holocaust on the Eastern Front, or at least tolerated them. Already during the Polish campaign, it became clear that the face of warfare in the East was to differ significantly from that on the Western Front.

As we learn from Fox's study, a broad spectrum of the German public after the First World War believed that Germans had a moral claim to contested German-Polish borderlands. Thus it is not surprising that the invasion of Poland in 1939 was broadly accepted by German soldiers, who regarded it as fulfilment of revisionist claims to former German territories lost under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The Polish campaign must, however, also be understood within the broader historical context of a German 'drive to the East' (*Drang nach Osten*). In the nineteenth century German nationalists demanded an expansion into Slavic lands as they were convinced that Germans had a civilizing mission there. They legitimized their

¹² Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmacht im NS-Staat: Zeit der Indoktrination* (Hamburg, 1969), 1.

demands by reference to the eastern colonization of Germanic peoples in the high and late Middle Ages. In his study, Ziemann also demonstrates that the 'German soldiers' willingness to fight on the Eastern Front' during the First World War 'was directed not simply against Russia's military, but also its entire culture and society' (p. 59). The Nazi *Lebensraum* concept, which aimed for the extermination and resettlement of Slavic populations and the 'Germanization' of former Slavic territories, could build upon the vision of a German 'drive to East'. In fact, it was only a small step from considering the Slavs culturally inferior to the concept of racial inferiority as propagated by Nazi ideology.

It is a well-known fact that the army committed war crimes on an institutional level, as did individual officers and soldiers of all ranks. Shepherd does not produce a single explanation of why individual units or soldiers participated in these crimes. He also stresses the blatant differences with regard to involvement in war crimes. Occupation units were, for example, much more complicit in war crime than front-line units. In this context, several factors played a role: one's age, the unit one belonged to, the level of ideological indoctrination, and numerous situational factors such as time and place. Both Ziemann and Shepherd show that stereotypes of cultural or racial inferiority were important factors enhancing violence. Yet they also highlight the complex interactions between ideological indoctrination, racial contempt, and circumstances. By comparing the anti-partisan struggle on different fronts, Shepherd illustrates how ideological indoctrination, situational factors, and feelings such as fear, anger, or desire for revenge contributed to the escalation of violence against partisans and civilians suspected of supporting the partisan movement. He shows that Nazi racial ideology played a significant role in this regard. While the army exhibited restraint in partisan warfare on the Western Front, it practised brutal violence in anti-partisan operations in Greece, the Balkans, and on the Eastern Front. Shepherd argues that the German military had a 'pronounced hatred for irregular warfare', which had its roots in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 and first manifested itself in the brutal reaction to alleged *franc-tireur* attacks in Belgium and France in 1914 (p. 290).¹³ The

¹³ The question of whether an organized *franc-tireur* movement existed remains a highly controversial issue to the present day. John Horne and Alan Kramer claim that the presumed sniper attacks were just a product of self-

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German atrocities of 1914 play a central role in the debate about the brutalization of warfare, since they are often considered as the starting point for the escalation of German violence against civilians in the first half of the twentieth century.

The question that arises is this: does the ruthless brutality with which the military responded to irregular warfare constitute a line of continuity in German military culture? Ziemann and Shepherd seek to explain the dynamics of wartime violence and identify the reasons for the escalation of brutality in both the First World War and the Second World War. They show that in both wars similar factors led to the outbreak of irregular violence and that similar arguments were employed to justify severely disproportionate reprisals and other harsh measures against the civilian population, for instance, the necessity of war or security reasons. However, similarities should not be confused with continuities. The war the German army unleashed against Soviet Russia in 1941 'was *sui generis*. Nazi warfare, characterized by the readiness to commit massive war crimes and genocide, differed fundamentally from the war in 1914.'¹⁴

Ziemann's study is an impressive example of how to write modern military history. His argumentation is clear and concise, and at the same time he provides a vivid description of the manifold experiences of violence during the First World War in numerous biographical case studies. Ziemann explores different types of violence practised by the German army and studies the soldiers' motives for perpetrating violence, but also for refusing to take part in it. Since violence is a core wartime experience, the subject is highly relevant. Though the main focus of the study is the Western Front, it also sheds light on significant differences between the Eastern Front and the

induced paranoia. In 2017 the art historian Ulrich Keller published a book in which he opposed this widely accepted thesis and presented evidence indicating that an organized guerrilla movement existed. For example, he referred to German military hospital records from 1914 saying that German soldiers had wounds that could not have been inflicted by regular army weapons. See John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, 2001); Ulrich Keller, *Schuldfragen: Belgischer Untergrundkrieg und deutsche Vergeltung im August 1914* (Paderborn, 2017).

¹⁴ Alan Kramer, 'German War Crimes 1914 and 1941: The Question of Continuity', in Müller and Torp (eds.), *Imperial Germany Revisited*, 239–50, at 248.

Western Front. The First World War is understood as a 'laboratory of violence', since all armies experimented with new forms of the latter.

Ziemann devotes one chapter of his study to Ernst Jünger's reception of violence. Since Jünger's depiction of trench warfare has already been well researched, Ziemann attempts to provide a fresh perspective on the subject, but it would have been more interesting if he had chosen a less well-known author. Ziemann is especially interested in Jünger's authentic experience of violence in front-line combat. Thus he analyses his original war diaries, rather than the literary, stylized version of his war accounts, which were first published in 1920 under the title *In Stahlgewittern* (*Storm of Steel*). Jünger's war diaries show that the killing of the enemy followed a complex set of rules and that artillery dominated the battlefields of the First World War. Trench warfare often condemned the soldiers to passivity. The 'man against man' fight Jünger had dearly longed for was the exception rather than the rule. Jünger's attitude towards violence, as displayed in his war diaries, was typical of a conservative front-line officer at that time. Throughout the war, he was guided by the ethos of the Prussian officer corps, striving to be a worthy representative of the German officers' caste. Thus even after four years of exposure to brutalizing violence on the front-line, his behaviour was primarily determined by traditional soldierly values, such as honour and comradeship.

Historians still disagree about the extent to which prisoners were killed on the battlefield after surrender in the Great War. While some scholars assume that this was a frequent phenomenon,¹⁵ Alan Kramer claims that prisoner killing 'was the exception to the general rule'.¹⁶ The analysis of Jünger's war diaries confirms Kramer's theory as it reveals that surrendering soldiers were generally treated well, even though prisoner killings occurred from time to time in the heat of battle. Ziemann therefore concludes that the majority of the soldiers on the Western Front regarded the enemy as fellow human beings,

¹⁵ See e.g. Niall Ferguson, 'Prisoner Taking and Prisoner Killing in the Age of Total War: Towards a Political Economy of Military Defeat', *War in History*, 11 (2004), 148–92; Tim Cook, 'The Politics of Surrender: Canadian Soldiers and the Killing of Prisoners in the Great War', *Journal of Military History*, 70 (2006), 637–65.

¹⁶ Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford, 2007), 63.

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which marks a decisive difference from the *Wehrmacht's* war of annihilation against Soviet Russia. Ziemann claims further that Jünger's alter ego in the war diaries is 'neither a protofascist fighting machine nor a prophet of the amalgamation of man and military machine' (p. 90). This is a strong indicator that Jünger did not undergo a process of political radicalization until after the war. It appears that the experience of defeat and revolution had a great influence on both his political thinking and his attitude towards violence. The considerable revisions made to his published war accounts in the course of the 1920s also support this hypothesis. The later versions of *In Stahlge-wittern* display a stronger nationalist colouring and a more aggressive idealization of combat.

A large section of Ziemann's study deals with the refusal of violence in the German army during the First World War. Ziemann suggests that deserters 'were in many respects completely ordinary soldiers', who lacked a common social or generational background (p. 119). In many cases, desertions were caused by shortages of supply, poor quality of food, or an easy opportunity arising. Only a minority deserted for political reasons. Nevertheless, desertion rates were especially high among national minorities in Imperial Germany (such as soldiers from Alsace-Lorraine and Poles). All deserters were, in a certain sense, outsiders. Desertion was not a group phenomenon; most deserters planned their escape from the front-line service alone. Only in the final phase of the war did deserters 'turn from outsiders into a mainstream current' (Fox, p. 120). Military historians unanimously agree that during the summer of 1918 morale among German field soldiers on the Western Front drastically deteriorated. This progressive erosion of morale caused soldiers to desert or absent themselves from their units, surrender to the enemy, or search for other ways of evading front-line service. After the failure of the last German offensive on the Western Front in July, 'the army began deflating like a pricked balloon, new arrivals being vastly outnumbered by those leaving'.¹⁷ The gravity of the situation can be appreciated by the fact that the Supreme Army Command and the field authorities issued increasingly harsh and desperate directives to stop this ongoing process of disintegration.

¹⁷ David Stevenson, *With our Backs to the Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (Cambridge, 2011), 288.

There remain, however, two controversial questions: when and why did the German army actually collapse? In 1986 the military historian Wilhelm Deist put forward the thesis that a hidden military strike took place among German soldiers in the final months of the First World War.¹⁸ The hidden strike is not to be understood as an organized strike, but as a mass movement of soldiers fleeing the front on their own initiative to save their lives in the face of looming defeat. Deist claims that this covert mass flight was responsible for the Reich's defeat, thus providing a fundamentally new interpretation of Imperial German history. According to his theory the Reich was not overwhelmed by superior enemy forces, nor did it fall because the soldiers were 'stabbed in the back' by internal enemies. Rather, it simply collapsed militarily from within. In his 2008 comparative study on the fighting morale of German and British troops, the historian Alexander Watson claims, however, that 'shirking' was not a mass phenomenon on the Western Front.¹⁹ Instead, he points out that large numbers of German soldiers were taken prisoner after giving themselves up voluntarily in 1918. He argues further that the mass surrender of German soldiers could not be interpreted as a symptom of a dramatic decline in fighting morale. The soldiers were strongly encouraged to lay down their weapons by Allied propaganda, and junior officers led their men to surrender in an orderly fashion. Watson therefore concludes that the collapse of the German field army was not the result of a hidden strike, but 'foremost that of an ordered surrender'.²⁰

Ziemann rejects Watson's thesis of an 'ordered surrender' as an explanation for the army's disintegration in the summer of 1918. His criticism is directed not only at the weak empirical evidence – in Ziemann's opinion Watson only presents a single detailed piece of evidence to support his narrative – but also at the historical and political implications of Watson's theory. By emphasizing that German soldiers were obeying orders until the end of the war, and only went

¹⁸ Wilhelm Deist, 'Der militärische Zusammenbruch des Kaiserreichs. Zur Realität der Dolchstoßlegende', in Ursula Büttner (ed.), *Das Unrechtsregime: internationale Forschung über den Nationalsozialismus*, vol. i: *Ideologie, Herrschaftssystem, Wirkung in Europa* (Hamburg, 1986), 101–29.

¹⁹ See Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, 2008).

²⁰ *Ibid.* 123.

into captivity in large numbers led by junior officers, his theory affirms a prominent part of the 'stab-in-the-back myth', which says that the field army never participated in a revolutionary mass movement.

Ziemann supports and empirically substantiates Deist's thesis of a hidden military strike based on materials from the Bavarian War Archives in Munich. In his study, he reconstructs the various practices of evading front-line service in the summer of 1918 in order to obtain a more precise picture of this mass refusal of violence, which therefore represents an important event in German military history. The largest group of soldiers moving around in the rear area were probably soldiers who were sick or wounded but still able to walk. Besides this group, a rapidly growing number of men absconded from troop trains carrying them from Germany to the front. The Bavarian sources provide evidence that allow us to quantify the extent of the covert strike. Ziemann estimates that an absolute minimum of 185,000 soldiers left their units to move rearwards in the summer and autumn of 1918.²¹ He adds that the number of men reported sick—more than 900,000 men between August and the armistice—far exceeded the numbers of wounded, killed in action, or taken prisoner.

Ziemann agrees with Watson and others 'that a truly comprehensive disintegration of command authority' on the front did not take place until October 1918, when the German government asked for an immediate armistice on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points.²² But he also emphasizes that the military apparatus had been steadily eroding since June, which was why the army collapsed as quickly as it did. The 'barbarization of military justice' under Nazi rule was an obvious reaction to the hidden military strike (Shepherd, p. 384). In order to prevent this disintegration of the army from within repeating itself, the Nazis established a harsh military justice system to maintain morale and discipline. Desertion, for example, was punishable by death. As German military fortunes began to wane, military courts imposed particularly severe punishments that were intended to terrify soldiers into obedience.

²¹ Wilhelm Deist arrived at an estimate of between 750,000 and one million based on Erich Volkmann's report for the Reichstag from 1929.

²² Christoph Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer 1914–1918* (Göttingen, 1998), 166.

The question of whether the war experience had brutalizing effects on German society is the subject of continuing controversy among scholars. It poses, however, several theoretical and methodological challenges: how can one measure the degree of brutalization of a society? Is it possible to establish direct causality between the violence experienced in war and different types of brutal behaviour that occurred in the Weimar Republic? How can one reason exclude others? How can we distinguish whether aggressive behaviour has its origin in wartime or post-war experiences? Ziemann and others differentiate analytically between the brutalization of soldiers who actively participated in the war and 'violence-affirming interpretations, images and myths' which circulated in the post-war era and were also adopted by those who had not actively fought in the war themselves (Ziemann, p. 166).

In his ground-breaking study, *Fallen Soldiers*, George Mosse claimed that the experience of industrialized warfare led to a brutalization of European societies after 1918.²³ For Mosse, brutalization was not only a 'process that penetrated most aspects of German political life', but also 'an attitude of mind derived from the war and the acceptance of war itself'.²⁴ The brutalizing effect of the war experience manifested itself, according to Mosse, above all in an appetite for violence, an emphasis on aggressive masculinity, and the militarization of society. There is, however, a powerful counter-argument to Mosse's brutalization theory. Not all European countries showed violent tendencies after 1918; instead, the losers of the Great War tended to be especially subject to this development. Thus Robert Gerwarth argues in his book *The Vanquished* that it was not the experience of violence during the Great War that led to a brutalization of German society, but rather the experience of defeat and revolution.²⁵ He describes the period between 1918 and 1923 as the 'long end of the First World War', since many European countries faced enduring conflicts. Contrary to all hopes and expectations, the peacetime order established at Versailles did not end violence across Europe. Those countries which were on the losing side in the Great War—the

²³ See Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 159, 161.

²⁵ See Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End, 1917–1923* (London, 2016).

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Habsburg, Romanov, Hohenzollern, and Ottoman empires and their successor states—were shaken by three types of conflict: inter-state conflicts, civil wars, and political or social revolutions. In Germany, violence did not vanish after 1918, but became an essential part of the political culture in the inter-war period. For example, the founding of the Weimar Republic was accompanied by a wave of violence that in some places even reached civil war-like conditions.²⁶ Gerwarth is right, of course, in pointing out that the immediate post-war years have received too little attention so far in the context of explaining the destructive path of German history in the first half of the twentieth century. It is true that many Germans became habituated to paramilitary violence and radicalized themselves in the political and social turmoil of the post-war era, as Ziemann showed for the case of Ernst Jünger.

Both Ziemann and Gerwarth strive for a more differentiated analysis of the impact of violence on post-war societies by adopting a transnational perspective on this issue. They seek to determine the decisive factors for the escalation of violence in the twentieth century in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of violence per se and general mechanisms of brutalization. Ziemann also argues that it was not the war experience itself that had brutalizing effects on post-war European societies. The crucial factor was how societies dealt with the war experience after the violence ended. He claims that the effective containment of post-war violence depended largely on whether societies found a common frame of reference for interpreting and remembering the war experience. In this regard, he recognizes significant differences between the British, French, and German situations. While German post-war society lacked an overall frame of reference that could have had the potential to unify different social classes and political parties, the British and French nations arrived at a consensual interpretation of the war experience transcending heterogeneous social milieux and political camps.

The British nation successfully revived the unifying self-idealization of itself as a 'peaceable kingdom' promoting the values of civility and peaceableness. In France, veterans' associations played an important role in shaping a common national framework for remembering the Great War. Their willingness to co-operate regardless of

²⁶ See Mark Jones, *Founding Weimar: Violence and the German Revolution of 1918–1919* (New York, 2016).

their diverging political orientations – in 1927 they even founded an umbrella organization – conveyed a sense of unity and thereby had remarkable stabilizing effects on the political culture of the Third Republic. The British and French examples show that the existence of a collectively shared interpretation of the war experience made it easier for the veterans to re-adapt to civil society and distance themselves from the violence experienced prior to 1918.

In Germany, by contrast, the debate on the interpretation and memory of the war experience was deeply polarized, since the Weimar Republic ‘lacked a liberal culture that could have functioned as a shared point of reference’ (Ziemann, p. 164). Thus the conflict between the opposing political camps over the interpretation of the war escalated. The creation of the stab-in-the-back myth accusing socialists, Jews, and women of having stolen victory from the undefeated army is an important example of the nationalists’ efforts to gain discursive hegemony over the interpretation of the war experience. In the wake of defeat, the nationalist camp underwent a process of radicalization. A considerable number of veterans joined right-wing veterans’ groups, such as the *Stahlhelm* (Steel Helmet), which pursued an aggressively revisionist policy. The nationalist-conservative spectrum did not reject violence, but glorified it as a legitimate political tool. The enthusiasm for military traditions and practices remained unbroken in large parts of German society.

With regard to the brutalization of soldiers who actively participated in the First World War, Ziemann concludes, primarily based on previous research, that ‘all in all, it appears unlikely that the experience of war resulted in extensive brutalization among German soldiers’ (p. 169). This claim raises strong doubts, mainly because it is not empirically substantiated. In his study, Ziemann himself presents evidence indicating that the war experience had brutalizing effects on front-line soldiers. He discusses the violent excesses of the ‘Black and Tans’ against civilians in the Irish War of Independence. Among those were many veterans of the Great War. Thus, ‘the example of the Black and Tans shows that the aggression built up during the war had the potential to develop and intensify further’ (Ziemann, pp. 160–1). Moreover, one could argue that German veterans had indeed adopted ‘wartime attitudes, which persisted into the post-war period’, such as the preference for violent solutions to conflicts.²⁷

²⁷ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 161.

THE 'GERMAN WAY OF FIGHTING'

In the last section of his book, Ziemann focuses on those political and social forces in the Weimar Republic which rejected militarism and violence. He presents the interesting biographical case study of Hermann Schützinger, a former career officer in the Bavarian army, who served in a people's militia immediately after the war and later joined the Reichswehr, but eventually converted to pacifism and was involved in the No More War Movement. Schützinger's delayed rejection of violence is just one of many examples. Hundreds of thousands of former soldiers distanced themselves from the violence of war, gathering in pacifist veterans' associations such as the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold, or supported their pacifist aims. Ziemann also sheds light on two anti-militarist novels which were widely read in the early Weimar Republic but are little known today.²⁸ Ziemann's decision to focus on the pacifist delegitimization of violence after 1918 can be criticized as being too one-sided. Thus he does not give enough weight to the mystically charged glorification and heroic stylization of the war experience within the nationalist-right spectrum, which largely influenced the attitude of many Germans, especially the younger generations, towards violence in the inter-war period.

The 'German way of fighting' was shaped by ideologies and military doctrines, the experiences of Germans in armed conflicts, and how these military conflicts were collectively commemorated after the violence ended. The studies reviewed in this article reflect all of these aspects that have contributed to German military culture. They examine the origins of, and changes within, military culture and seek to trace similarities, continuities, and ruptures within German military history. It is not possible, however, to verify or falsify the *Sonderweg* thesis in the field of military history by focusing on German history alone. There is undoubtedly a great need for further transnational comparative studies in order to highlight transnational similarities and national idiosyncrasies, and thereby assess peculiarities of German military culture and practices of violence.

²⁸ Wilhelm Appens, *Charleville: Dunkle Punkte aus dem Etappenleben* and Heinrich Wandt, *Etappe Gent*, which were published shortly after the end of the First World War.

REVIEW ARTICLE

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CLASSICS REREAD

THE GUERRILLA HISTORIAN: ERIC J. HOBSBAWM AND THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

ANETTE SCHLIMM

ERIC J. HOBSBAWM, *Das lange 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. i: *Europäische Revolutionen, 1749–1848*; vol. ii: *Die Blütezeit des Kapitals, 1848–1875*; vol. iii: *Das imperiale Zeitalter, 1875–1914*, trans. from the English by Boris Goldenberg, Johann George Scheffner, and Udo Rennert, foreword by Richard J. Evans, 3 vols. (Darmstadt: WBG Theiss, 2017), 1450 pp. with 11 maps, ISBN 978 3 8062 3641 5. €119.00

For a long time the long nineteenth century was not a fashionable period in German-language historiography. Just a few years ago David Blackbourn published an essay with the provocative title ‘Honey, I Shrunk German History’, in which he expressed his dismay that modern German history seems to consist solely of the twentieth century.¹ Since then, however, much has happened. Even apart from global history, which for a while seemed to have an exclusive claim on the nineteenth century, more historians are turning to the latter in order to develop innovative approaches and find inspiration for methodological discussions.² Thus it is timely that the publisher WBG Theiss has re-issued a German translation of an authoritative overview of the history of the ‘long’ nineteenth century, namely, Eric J. Hobsbawm’s monumental three-volume work, first published in English between 1962 and 1987. This is the first time Hobsbawm’s

Trans. Angela Davies (GHIL).

¹ David Blackbourn, ‘Honey, I Shrunk German History’, *German Studies Association Newsletter*, 38 (2013/14), 44–53.

² See Karen Hagemann and Simone Lässig, ‘Discussion Forum: The Vanishing Nineteenth Century’, *Central European History*, 51 (2018), 611–95, and Richard J. Evans, ‘Writing the History of Nineteenth-Century Europe’, *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 40 (2018), 7–18.

three volumes have been published in German as a complete work, bound and in a slipcase.³

Hobsbawm's world historical overview of the nineteenth century — like his extensive *oeuvre* in general — is rightly regarded as a milestone of twentieth-century historiography,⁴ although, or perhaps because, Hobsbawm's work was methodologically and politically contentious and controversial. Yet even historians who by no means see themselves as political or methodological Marxists, praise the character, wit, and wisdom of Hobsbawm's works. In the many newspaper articles that were published on his death in 2012, his syntheses of the nineteenth century, and of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were universally praised, and described as a 'great tetralogy',⁵ a 'history of the modern world',⁶ an 'economic history of the rise

³ The publisher, however, has missed an opportunity to produce a proper new edition. This one does not contain new translations, but simply reprints the old ones, including all the original errors. Richard J. Evans's Foreword in the first volume could also have done with some proof-reading. Moreover, this edition is rather utilitarian. It lacks illustrations (which can be found in other editions), and the production, on the whole, looks cheap. The fact that pages were bound in the wrong order in the first instalment of volume one, and that the publisher simply ignored this, despite all queries, contributes to the impression that this edition has been produced just to generate sales. This work deserves better.

⁴ See Matthias Middell, 'Eric Hobsbawm (*1917)', in Lutz Raphael (ed.), *Klassiker der Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. ii: *Von Fernand Braudel bis Natalie Z. Davis* (Munich, 2006), 96–119; Lucy Riall, 'Forum on Eric Hobsbawm (1917–2012)', *Journal of Modern European History*, 11 (2013/14), 407–32.

⁵ Niall Ferguson, 'A Truly Great Historian', *Guardian*, 1 Oct. 2012, online at <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/01/eric-hobsbawm-historian>>, accessed 22 May 2019. It is not clear whether the volume *The Age of Extremes* should be seen as part of the series. Hobsbawm himself pointed out that he had written this book from a completely different perspective, and without a sound knowledge of the research. See Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York, 1996; first publ. 1994) (henceforth AoEX), p. ix. For the history of the book see Richard J. Evans, *Eric Hobsbawm: A Life in History* (Oxford, 2019), 562–80.

⁶ Jonathan Jones, 'Eric Hobsbawm Changed How we Think about Culture', *Guardian*, 2 Oct. 2012, online at <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2012/oct/02/eric-hobsbawm-on-culture>>, accessed 22 May 2019.

of industrial capitalism',⁷ and a 'history of the capitalist world from 1789 to 1991'.⁸

The sheer size of the work is impressive, comprising, as it does, 1,300 closely printed pages in the German version. In addition, the narrative moves lightly from one topic and space to another, from Japan to Latin America, and from the history of opera to the bandits and social rebels who are stock characters in Hobsbawm's work.⁹ In many of the tributes paid to him, Hobsbawm's international, world historical approach was related to his biography. Born in 1917 in Alexandria to an Austrian mother and a British father, himself the son of a Polish Jewish immigrant, Hobsbawm grew up between the wars in Vienna and Berlin. When the Nazis came to power, he went to London—and stayed there. During his academic career Hobsbawm cultivated contacts with foreign colleagues and spent long periods of time in North and South America in particular. Most of his life, however, was spent in Britain and he became one of the most important twentieth-century British historians, while also being part of the networked and cosmopolitan world of the twentieth century.¹⁰

As a Communist and Marxist historian, Hobsbawm was—in neutral terms—an exception, politically and intellectually; he and his work have always been controversial. He was loyal to the British Communist Party for a very long time, and he was strongly criticized for his 'defense of Stalinism' after the downfall of the Soviet Union.¹¹

⁷ William Grimes, 'Eric J. Hobsbawm, Marxist Historian, Dies at 95', *New York Times*, 1 Oct. 2012, online at <<https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/02/arts/eric-hobsbawm-british-historian-dies-at-95.html>>, accessed 22 May 2019.

⁸ Martin Kettle and Doronthy Wedderburn, 'Eric Hobsbawm Obituary: Historian in the Marxist Tradition with a Global Reach', *Guardian*, 1 Oct. 2012, online at <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/oct/01/eric-hobsbawm>>, accessed 22 May 2019.

⁹ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester 1959); id., *Bandits* (London, 1969).

¹⁰ On this see also his autobiography, Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life* (London, 2002).

¹¹ Kristen Ghodsee, *Red Hangover: Legacies of Twentieth-Century Communism* (Durham, NC, 2017), 137–8. On the political controversies around Eric Hobsbawm see Evans, *Eric Hobsbawm*, 545–52; 580–92.

He was also methodologically committed to Marxism, for example, as a co-founder of the Communist Party Historians' Group and of *Past and Present*, an important leftist journal advocating innovation. He was a force driving research on the history of work and the working classes, and on other non-bourgeois groups in modern society. He shaped not only British but also German historiography, going far beyond Marxism. Even if the three big syntheses on the nineteenth century plus the fourth volume, published later, on the 'short twentieth century' (*Age of Extremes*, 1994) are not Hobsbawm's only influential works, this article takes the recent re-issuing of the trilogy as providing an opportunity to re-read them. It will closely examine the creative element in producing the syntheses, discuss methodological problems, and clarify why the work should be considered less as introductory reading than as a classic that has itself become historicized as an interpretation of the nineteenth century from the viewpoint of the 'age of extremes'.

A Guerrilla Historian of the 'Long Nineteenth Century'

Hobsbawm's impact was less in conceptual work than in identifying themes and specific individual theses. He once characterized himself as a 'guerrilla historian . . . who does not so much march on his target behind the artillery fire of the archives, as shoot at it from the side, out of the bushes, with the Kalashnikov of ideas'. What he thought was important was 'to bring new perspectives into old discussions, and perhaps to open new areas, by taking new approaches'.¹² This method can be discerned in the trilogy under discussion here, which is not a synthesis in the sense of capping off the debate, but rather a synthesizing attempt that is intended to raise questions rather than to answer them once and for all.

The strength of the books lies more in identifying and presenting individual thematic emphases than in drawing up a methodological roadmap. The development of theories was not Hobsbawm's

¹² Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'Geschichtswissenschaft: Impulse für Menschen, nicht nur Fußnoten', in Gerhard Botz, Hubert Christian Ehalt, Eric J. Hobsbawm, Jürgen Kocka, and Ernst Wangermann (eds.), *Geschichte: Möglichkeit für Erkenntnis und Gestaltung der Welt. Zu Leben und Werk von Eric J. Hobsbawm* (Vienna, 2008), 69–78, at 76–7.

strength, and it is in vain that we seek theory-rich concepts in his work.¹³ This also applies to the concept of the 'long nineteenth century', but it does not in any way detract from the great influence it exerted. And just because Hobsbawm did not explicitly define and problematize the term does not mean that he did not work with a specific historicity. Periodization—historians should always remember—is a powerful interpretative tool. It organizes history and underlines the significance of certain events, while other developments are subordinated to them as being less important.¹⁴

The idea of a 'long nineteenth century' extending from the French Revolution to the First World War has become highly influential, appearing in the titles of professorships, examination subjects, and university courses. Hobsbawm was surely not its only inventor, but he was instrumental in popularizing this temporal division,¹⁵ which in the German-language area was mainly disseminated by Hans-Ulrich Wehler's publications.¹⁶ Yet Hobsbawm's three volumes about the nineteenth century were not designed as a trilogy from the start. Hobsbawm himself once pointed out that it was more of a coincidence than a systematic work in three parts. It was only while working on the second volume, *Age of Capital*, that it became clear to

¹³ Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'Peasants and Politics', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1 (1973), 3–22, at 3: 'It may well be a very complex matter for a zoologist to define a horse, but this does not normally mean that there is any real difficulty about recognizing one. I shall therefore assume that most of us most of the time know what the words "peasants" and "politics" refer to.'

¹⁴ Charles S. Maier, 'Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era', *American Historical Review*, 105/3 (2000), 807–31, at 809. Maier also rejects the idea that centuries can represent meaningful periodizations, and criticizes the enthusiasm, widespread among historians, for creating 'short' and 'long' centuries in order to force historiographical contexts into the Procrustean bed of secular structures. In doing so, he refers explicitly to Hobsbawm. *Ibid.* 813. See also the fundamental work by Reinhart Koselleck, 'Geschichte, Geschichten und formale Zeitstrukturen', in *id.*, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1979), 130–43, at 131–2.

¹⁵ On this see Jürgen Kocka's historiographical derivation in *Das lange 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2001), 34.

¹⁶ See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. iii: *Von der 'Deutschen Doppelrevolution' bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges 1849–1914* (Munich, 1995), 1250–95: 'Deutschland am Ende des langen 19. Jahrhunderts'.

him 'that I had let myself in for a great analytical synthesis of the history of the nineteenth century'.¹⁷ Not until the third volume did he explicitly discuss what held the entire nineteenth century together, between the Anglo-French, industrial-political dual revolution at one end, and the outbreak of the First World War at the other. And only in *Age of Extremes* did he succinctly sum up the nineteenth century in order to draw a contrast with the twentieth century:

This [Western] civilization [of the nineteenth century] was capitalist in its economy; liberal in its legal and constitutional structure; bourgeois in the image of its characteristic hegemonic class; glorying in the advance of science, knowledge and education, material and moral progress; and profoundly convinced of the centrality of Europe, birthplace of the revolutions of the sciences, arts, politics and industry, whose economy had penetrated, and whose soldiers had conquered and subjugated most of the world; whose populations had grown until (including the vast and growing outflow of European emigrants and their descendants) they had risen to form a third of the human race; and whose major states constituted the system of world politics (AoEX, 6).¹⁸

Yet was it really the aggregation of capitalism and liberalism, a bourgeois age, and progress in knowledge and culture that turned this period of 125 years into a single era?¹⁹ Hobsbawm's narrative is more sophisticated than this because the unifying bond is to be found at the meta level: the years between the 'age of revolution' and the beginning of the First World War were held together by the histori-

¹⁷ Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'Geschichtswissenschaft: Impulse für Menschen, nicht nur Fußnoten', in Botz, Ehalt, Hobsbawm, Kocka, and Wangermann (eds.), *Geschichte*, 74.

¹⁸ I quote from the English-language editions: *The Age of Revolution: 1789–1848* (New York, 1996; first publ. 1962), henceforth AoR; *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875* (New York, 1996; first publ. 1975), henceforth AoC; *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (New York, 1989; first publ. 1987), henceforth AoE. In addition, I quote from AoEX (see n. 5 above).

¹⁹ Although the period being treated is given in the title as 1789 to 1848, Hobsbawm's 'age of revolution' starts not in 1789, but with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, which he places in the 1780s.

cal transformation itself. The revolutionary changes of the nineteenth century are captured in several cross-cutting chapters which present a panorama of the world (or Europe) at particular points in time, so that differences are clearly visible. The world in the 1780s, which Hobsbawm's trilogy begins by describing, 'was at once smaller and much larger than ours' (AoR, 7). It was predominantly rural and characterized by feudal power structures and absolute rulers. From an economic point of view, sluggish agriculture and active trade were more or less unconnected, and there were other power centres in the world apart from north-western Europe (AoR, 7-26). The world on the centenary of the revolution, by contrast, was quite different. It was divided into two parts: 'a smaller part in which "progress" was indigenous and another much larger part in which it came as a foreign conqueror, assisted by minorities of local collaborators' (AoE, 31). The 'progressive' part of the world was characterized by industry and the idea of political modernity – and the notion that progress was 'possible and desirable' – and that it was already happening (AoE, 31).

Progress was not continuous or purposeful, but displayed a specific temporal structure that matches the narrative structure of the three volumes. The first volume marches to the drum beat of revolutionary change at the beginning of the century. The second volume stands for the establishment and stabilization of the capitalist order, a phase during which the characteristics of the century that had first been hinted at were developed in an ideal-typical form. Bourgeois society stabilized itself and its characteristic features emerged into view: the capitalist mode of production spread to all corners of the earth and sectors of industry; and social inequality became entrenched. The third volume, finally, deals with the growing paradox of the century. The further the nineteenth century progressed, the stronger did its contradictions become. According to Hobsbawm, the imperial age was both a golden age and a time of crisis beneath the surface. The next revolution, the big turning point of the age, was imminent.

Not only experts will recognize in this structure the grand narrative of Marxism, despite Hobsbawm's heterodoxy. This historical dramaturgy is specific to Hobsbawm's 'long nineteenth century' and distinguishes his account (and interpretation!) from so many others who have adopted the same term. This is not apparent at first glance

because unlike other authors, Hobsbawm nowhere explicitly lays out the structure of his books. His trilogy is not prefaced by theoretical instructions for use, as is, for example, Hans-Ulrich Wehler's *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*.²⁰ Hobsbawm neither explained his theoretical assumptions, nor discussed his claims to offer an explanation. His roadmap for the three volumes remained unspoken. This may be because Hobsbawm saw the books as popular accounts, but it also reflects his restrained to critical attitude towards larger theoretical discussions. Thus the supposedly indeterminate nature of the 'long nineteenth century' might be precisely what contributed to its success. The term is memorable and makes sense immediately, referring as it does to undisputed turning points in the history of events. Meanwhile, Hobsbawm's underlying interpretations remain hidden until one is familiar with the whole work. His trilogy on the nineteenth century is therefore almost an anachronism, as the overall shape of the work cannot be appreciated by those who read only chapters and excerpts. The re-issuing of the trilogy in German is therefore a wonderful opportunity to (re)read the whole work and to engage with Hobsbawm's interpretation.

Capitalism and Social Struggles

The great pacesetter of Hobsbawm's nineteenth century, and its most important outcome, was capitalism. Its emergence plays a prominent part in his argument. For Hobsbawm, capitalism was the basis of a process of global transformation in the long nineteenth century. Yet he was not an orthodox Marxist in the sense of dismissing everything beyond the transformation of the mode of production as mere superstructure. His description of the emergence, stabilization, and maturity of bourgeois capitalism was socially comprehensive and not limited purely to the mode of production. In addition, he refrained from identifying unambiguous causalities in favour of lively portrayals. In his account, it remains unclear whether the economy caused, influenced, or accelerated the other changes. Apart from these subtleties,

²⁰ Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1987–2009), vol. i: *Vom Feudalismus des Alten Reiches bis zur Defensiven Modernisierung in der Reformära, 1700–1815* (1987), 6–31.

however, Hobsbawm attached particular importance to the economic side of history. But it was not only for chronological reasons that he began his account with a chapter on the Industrial Revolution in England. Only by analysing this, he wrote, could we ‘understand the impersonal groundswell of history on which the more obvious men [*sic!*] and events of our period were borne; the uneven complexity of its rhythm’ (AoR, 28).

Hobsbawm did not present economic transformations purely at the level of quantification, even though the relevant chapters do not lack figures and statistics. In the chapter on the boom of the 1850s (AoC, 29–47), for example, he repeatedly emphasizes enormous growth rates: British cotton exports doubled; the total capital of the Prussian joint-stock companies jumped from 45 to 114.5 million Taler (without counting the railway companies); the steam power used by German fixed engines grew from 40,000 to 900,000 horsepower. These figures are impressive, and they are intended to show how radically the economy changed within a short period of time. But Hobsbawm’s account of the capitalist economy is not limited to quantitative growth. It also shows the enormous diversity of this development, which means that he switches back and forth between different standards of investigation and between different themes. Sometimes he examines the history of financial problems, the state administration, and the influence of politics and world fairs, but he repeatedly looks at the worlds of experience of the historical actors, at their hopes and fears. The economic development that forms the backbone of his great narrative therefore represented not just a huge structural change, but one that included all areas of social and human activity. Thus the period of the great boom was not only one in which ‘the world became capitalist and a significant minority of “developed” countries became industrial economies’ (AoC, 27), but also the one in which contemporaries developed new ideas: ‘the model of economic growth, political development, intellectual progress and cultural achievement’ (AoC, 47).

It is hardly possible to distinguish between structural factors and critical events in Hobsbawm’s account, because they were so closely intertwined. He linked the levels by giving the views of contemporaries a great deal of space in his account (and argument). According to Hobsbawm, historical change took place neither only in the big cabinets nor exclusively behind the backs of contemporaries. He

declared the historical actors and their expectations, in all their plurality, to be an important factor of history:

Bourgeois expected an era of endless improvement, material, intellectual and moral, through liberal progress; proletarians, or those who saw themselves as speaking for them, expected it through revolution. But both expected it. And both expected it, not through some historic automatism, but through effort and struggle (AoE, 339).

Hobsbawm gave these struggles a corresponding amount of space in his account. On the one hand, for methodological reasons he saw these struggles as a condensation of otherwise possibly invisible developments;²¹ on the other, he could use them to demonstrate that historical change could not be understood teleologically and as something uninterrupted, but only as eruptive, revolutionary, and unsettling. His 'long nineteenth century' began with a dual revolution,²² which resulted in further unrest, revolts, and revolutions until 1848. For Hobsbawm, however, the significance of the 1848 revolution lay not only in the event itself, and certainly not in its successes, for 1848 was the classic failed revolution. What was crucial was a mediated effect: 'In a sense it was the paradigm of the kind of "world revolution" of which rebels were henceforth to dream, and which at rare moments, such as in the aftermath of great wars, they thought they could recognize' (AoC, 10) The revolution of 1848 influenced the years that followed through the hope and fear of its return (AoC, 10).

²¹ 'Moreover, certain important problems cannot be studied at all except in and through such moments of eruption, which do not merely bring into the open so much that is normally latent, but also concentrate and magnify phenomena for the benefit of the student, while—not the least of their advantages—normally multiplying our documentation about them.' Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'From Social History to the History of Society', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), 20–45, at 39.

²² Hans-Ulrich Wehler adopted this idea, but applied it to German history. In order to be able to speak of a dual revolution in this case, the mid nineteenth-century industrial 'take-off', which is still the 'great boom' in Hobsbawm (AoC, 29–47), has to be linked with the revolution 'from above', that is, the foundation of Imperial Germany. See Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, vol. iii: *Von der 'Deutschen Doppelrevolution' bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges, 1849–1914* (Munich, 1995).

Economic change on the one hand; permanent social struggle on the other. But this does not complete the panorama of the transformative period in Hobsbawm's Europe. Chapters on the history of ideas alternate with detailed descriptions of the 'agrarian problem', and scholarship and the arts had a firm place. The emergence of capitalism as a unifying thread and the variety of topics did not contradict each other, but together formed the 'compass' of his work.²³ The thematic and geographical variety displayed by this trilogy is exemplary and striking. It testifies not only to the author's broad interests and amazing erudition, but also to the outstanding complexity of his historical narrative.

Women in History and other Gaps

However interesting this interpretation of the nineteenth century is, it differs greatly from more recent approaches to the historiography of (not only) the nineteenth century. It would be futile to discuss all the points on which historians today see things differently from Hobsbawm. Only a few methodological aspects will be addressed here by way of example, namely, his blind spot for gender history, his conception of world rather than global history, and his concept of capitalism.

I am not the first historian to notice that while Hobsbawm included in his account many subjects that at the time were untypical – for example, bandits – he showed a remarkable lack of interest in women in history. In the reprint of his well-known essay 'From Social History to the History of Society' in 1997, he noted 'with embarrassed astonishment that it contained no reference at all to women's history'.²⁴ His description of the French Revolution in the first volume of his trilogy makes practically no references to the role of women in the revolution, if we discount the derogatory remarks.²⁵ The third volume, however,

²³ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 2009), 17.

²⁴ Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'From Social History to the History of Society', in id., *On History* (London, 1997), 71–93, at 71.

²⁵ Marie-Antoinette remains nameless, but Hobsbawm describes her as a 'chicken-brained and irresponsible woman' (AoR, 61), and he points out that while the women among the Girondists were well known, they were 'politi-

devotes a chapter to the issue of gender. But here Hobsbawm explains that ultimately, the vast majority of women had no part in the history of the nineteenth century. He points out that in the Western world only the middle- and upper-class women had been integrated into the dynamics of the nineteenth century, while '[i]n the condition of the great majority of the world's women . . . there was as yet no change whatever' (AoE, 193). Although he provides references to the masculinization of the economy and politics (AoE, 200), gender relations do not provide a cross-cutting category for Hobsbawm's history of the nineteenth century. Admittedly, gender history only developed as a part of social history in the period during which Hobsbawm was writing, but this shows why the work feels as though it comes from a different age, and sometimes seems rather old-fashioned.

Something similar applies to Hobsbawm's conception of world history. Even if Jürgen Kocka writes, in an appreciation of Hobsbawm's *oeuvre*, that he was 'uniquely' ahead of the trend for global history as he always argued in a global historical way,²⁶ Hobsbawm's approach to writing a world-spanning history of the nineteenth century is outdated in the twenty-first century. In the nineteenth century Hobsbawm's world had a clear-cut centre, in (north-western) Europe. Even if he switches effortlessly between the various continents in his account,²⁷ for Hobsbawm the driving forces in the nineteenth century emanated from Europe and radiated out into the world. This Eurocentrism was not a mistake, or unconscious, but central to an approach that saw the English–French dual revolution as a

cally negligible but romantic' (AoR, 68). In the third volume, in the chapter on the 'new woman', however, there are references to the important role that women played in the French Revolution (AoE, 200).

²⁶ Jürgen Kocka, 'Eric Hobsbawm als Sozial- und Welthistoriker', in Botz, Ehalt, Hobsbawm, Kocka, and Wangermann (eds.), *Geschichte*, 29–38, at 30–1.

²⁷ It is obviously not intended as praise when Michael Burleigh writes: 'A synthetic quartet, from *Age of Revolution* to *Age of Extremes*, dazzles readers with the author's apparent fluency as he zigzags from First to Third World contexts'. Michael Burleigh, 'Eric Hobsbawm: A Believer in the Red Utopia to the Very End: The Grotesque Facts Never got in the Way of Eric Hobsbawm's Devotion to Communism', *The Telegraph*, 1 Oct. 2012, online at <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/9579092/Eric-Hobsbawm-A-believer-in-the-Red-utopia-to-the-very-end.html>>, accessed 17 May 2019.

historical force for the whole world.²⁸ Actors in the non-European regions of the world come off badly in Hobsbawm's books. Moreover, a world orientation towards a European-American centre is not an outcome of the nineteenth century, but its starting point (AoR, 1-2). This clearly distinguishes Hobsbawm's approach to world history from the global history narratives that have had such great success in recent years.²⁹

Hobsbawm's interpretation of the nineteenth century places modern capitalism at the centre of all considerations. Surprisingly, however, his work has found little resonance in the present renaissance of research on capitalism. We find occasional references to some of Hobsbawm's chapters,³⁰ but the debate about an analytical concept of capitalism is conducted with hardly any recourse to his work. This is clearly not because Hobsbawm did not explicitly problematize his concept of capitalism; others do not do this either, but are nevertheless recognized and discussed at great length in the research on capitalism.³¹ This indeterminacy alone is therefore probably not the reason why Hobsbawm's trilogy on the long nineteenth century has been practically ignored by research on capitalism. The problem is more likely to be that Hobsbawm largely equated 'capitalism' with 'industrialism', which makes the concept of capitalism unnecessarily undifferentiated. Precisely this equation is being discussed and rejected in more recent approaches to research on capitalism.³²

These points alone show that Hobsbawm's account of the nineteenth century is not only old, but in some respects outdated, and cannot contribute much to the current research discussions. This is not just to do with fashions and conventions, but also with the fact that in recent years and decades perspectives have been developed

²⁸ On this see also Jan Rüger, 'Britain, Empire, Europe: Re-reading Eric Hobsbawm', *Journal of Modern European History*, 11 (2013), 417-23.

²⁹ Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015); Osterhammel, *Verwandlung*.

³⁰ James Fulcher, *Kapitalismus* (Stuttgart, 2011), 205-6.

³¹ On this criticism see e.g. Peer Vries, 'Cotton, Capitalism, and Coercion: Some Comments on Sven Beckert's Empire of Cotton', *Journal of World History*, 28 (2017), 131-40.

³² Among many others, Friedrich Lenger, 'Challenges and Promises of a History of Capitalism', *Journal of Modern European History*, 15 (2017), 470-9.

that have contributed significantly to the complexity of our view of the nineteenth century. We cannot fall behind these. Hobsbawm's work therefore no longer seems to me to be suitable as introductory reading for the history of the nineteenth century.³³

Literature rather than Introduction

As literature, however, I thoroughly recommend Hobsbawm's history of the 'long nineteenth century'. In a lecture Hobsbawm himself once said: 'Obsolescence is the inevitable fate of historians; the only ones who survive it—a very rare occurrence—are those who were also significant writers: a Gibbon, a Macaulay, a Michelet. But today we have no control over who becomes a member of this tiny group. Only the future can decide that.'³⁴ I would include Hobsbawm in this group, not only because his books are beautifully written (a judgement tempered somewhat by the rather pedestrian German edition) and skilfully draw upon varied topics, regions, and analytical levels, not only because breaking up the large narrative through the inclusion of smaller stories, biographies, and details makes possible an exciting journey through the world of the nineteenth century (with all the limitations described). The position of the writer in these volumes is a particularly interesting aspect for the reader. Hobsbawm as the author wrote himself into all of them, so that not only is his incomparable hand recognizable everywhere, but also his specific perspective, his viewpoint (what Chladenius called a *Sehepunkt*). From the perspective of the early twenty-first century in particular, the volumes under review here can be read and experienced as products of the twentieth century, as the observations and interpretations of someone who stood firmly, with both feet, in the 'age of extremes'.

Hobsbawm began to reflect upon this himself, and in *The Age of Empire* he made it explicit. He begins the volume by describing how

³³ In his review of Hobsbawm's biography Niall Ferguson called the three volumes the 'best starting point I know for anyone who wishes to begin studying modern history'. Niall Ferguson, 'What a Swell Party it was . . . for him: Niall Ferguson Reviews Interesting Times by Eric Hobsbawm', *The Telegraph*, 22 Sept. 2002, online at <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/4728809/What-a-swell-party-it-was-.-.-for-him.html>>, accessed 27 Apr. 2019.

³⁴ Hobsbawm, 'Geschichtswissenschaft', 78.

his parents met in Alexandria before the First World War, illustrating how strongly the imperial age was intertwined with his own biography. According to Hobsbawm, the imperial age was a 'twilight zone between history and memory; between the past as a generalized record which is open to relatively dispassionate inspection and the past as a remembered part of, or background to, one's own life' (AoE, 3). For Hobsbawm's own present, this imperial age was still tangible: 'The world we live in is still very largely a world made by men and women who grew up in the period with which this volume deals, or in its immediate shadow' (AoE, 3). We could say that Hobsbawm conceived the imperial age as contemporary history in the sense of Hans Rothfels' 'age of living witnesses' ('Epoche der Mitlebenden'), or at least as a period in which the 'scholarly and the existential, archive and personal memory' overlapped, rubbed up against each other, supplemented, or contradicted each other (AoE, 3-5).

Even if he explicitly made this twilight zone only one feature of the 'imperial age', approaches to it can also be seen in the other volumes. For Hobsbawm, his own present began in the nineteenth century, when it was formed. And where this history at first sight seemed alien, it could be made comprehensible by finding parallels with times one had lived through, for example, by frequent comparisons with the history of the Spanish Civil War.³⁵ But this familiarity between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which Hobsbawm evokes has the opposite effect on today's readers. Not only the 'long nineteenth century', but also twentieth century that is so closely intertwined with it, seem far away. The distance between our present on the one hand, and both narrated and narrative time constantly grows. That is the special charm of reading these books.

Although Hobsbawm's trilogy is not an introduction to nineteenth-century history, it is a true classic, even if, in its own way, it has become a source in its own right.

³⁵ See e.g. the parallels he draws between Spain in the 1930s and France in 1794: 'The process which, during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-9, strengthened Communists at the expense of Anarchists, strengthened Jacobins of Saint-Just's stamp at the expense of Sansculottes of Hébert's' (AoR, 71).

CLASSICS REREAD

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BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN HINES and NELLEKE IJSSENNAGGER (eds.), *Frisians and their North Sea Neighbours: From the Fifth Century to the Viking Age* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 299 pp. ISBN 978 1 7832 7179 5 (hardback), £75.00. ISBN 978 1 7874 4063 0 (ebook), £19.99

These conference proceedings are based on papers held at an international conference from 5 to 8 July 2014 at the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, Netherlands. The conference, 'Across the North Sea: North Sea Connections from AD 400 into the Viking Age. Second Interdisciplinary Symposium on Runes and Related Topics in Frisia', was organized by John Hines, Nelleke IJssenagger, Tim Pestell, Tineke Looijenga, Gaby Waxenberger, Kerstin Kazazzi, and Han Nijdam. To mark the twentieth anniversary of the 'First International Symposium on Frisian Runes and Neighbouring Traditions' that took place in 1994, also at the Fries Museum, the organizers opened up the conference to a broader approach, providing a newly interdisciplinary perspective.

As a result, the thirteen essays included in the book come from a variety of research fields, but all of them touch upon aspects of early medieval Frisian identities and cultures and the maritime networks involving Frisian people at this period. Particular weight is given to the interactions of the Frisians with their immediate neighbours. The editors, John Hines and Nelleke IJssenagger, introduce the book with a general overview of the topic and of Frisian history between the fifth century and the Viking era, explaining the book's theoretical approach to concepts of ethnic groups and the historical development of the Frisians in the Early Middle Ages, before examining how Frisians viewed and described 'outsiders' along with the interactions that took place across their geographical settlement area.

Egge Knol and Nelleke IJssenagger discuss how Frisians adapted in different ways to the different landscapes they inhabited, as the geography of Frisia varied noticeably between the west and the north east. Adaptation strategies included highly specialized economic

Trans. Emily Richards (GHIL).

activities, but also specialized settlement types, the 'terpens' and 'wharves' or 'dwelling mounds'. Noting the necessity of distinguishing 'Friesland' as a geographic region from 'the Frisians' as an ethnic category, the authors discuss Pliny the Elder's early mention of certain inhabitants of the North Sea coast. The fact that Pliny never names these inhabitants, the authors argue, shows how difficult it is to differentiate between the Frisians and their immediate neighbours, the Chauks, a differentiation not always possible even from archaeological findings. What the material does demonstrate is a break that seems to have occurred in settlement patterns in the fourth century AD, although the eastern part of Frisia shows greater continuity while the break becomes more apparent towards the west. There is evidence of resettlement from the fifth century on, although the authors state merely that these new settlers came 'from various places along the North Sea coast'. A more specific description would have been useful here.

In the course of the early medieval period, smaller regions, from this time on identifiable by name, began to emerge with their own leaders and leading families. At the same time, the transition from the Merovingian to the Carolingian period sees a notable increase in archaeological evidence. Finally, the authors turn to the Viking era, which in the Netherlands even now is still not recognized as a historical period in its own right. Our primary source of information from this time are Latin documents, but there are not many Viking finds available, which in part is due to a lack of a national centre for recording archaeological finds in the Netherlands.

Similarities between Frisian and English cultures are under-researched, as John Hines notes in his contribution on the 'Anglo-Frisian Question'. Yet, as Hines goes on to show on the basis of evidence from language, runology, archaeology, and history, such a cultural affinity becomes obvious if we look at the early medieval period. As early as the seventeenth century, the philologist Franciscus Junius the Younger developed the theory of Anglo-Frisian as an independent branch of the Germanic language family, based on the similarity between Old/Middle English and Old Frisian. The theory was taken up by Vlitius in the seventeenth century and Halbertsma in the nineteenth, and in 1981 Hans Frede Nielsen demonstrated its probability through comparing the similarity between Old English and Old Frisian with the related, but more distant Scandinavian and

Continental Germanic languages. These observations are confirmed by, for instance, similar developments of Old English *fuþark* and Old Frisian *fuþorc*. In the field of runology, these are sometimes considered to be connected, even though there are also contrary opinions and alternative models. Hines presents further examples from the field of archaeology, based on the exploration of *sceattas*, and from the field of history, based on a broader analysis of sources in English-Frisian historiography and literature.

Possible linguistic contact between Frisians, Celts, and Romans is discussed by Peter Schrijver in a consideration of two different models of language distribution and the early history of the Frisian languages in the region between the Rhine and the Ems from Roman times until the Early Middle Ages. Looking at the possibility of linguistic contact in this region and Celtic influences on Frisian, he compares the Celtic vowel system—represented by British Celtic and Northern Gallic—with early medieval Frisian. He argues that the land between the Rhine and the Ems was inhabited in Roman times by a Celtic-speaking people that eventually began to speak a Germanic language. As a result, early medieval Frisian was characterized by the introduction of a Celtic accent. Schrijver's contribution ends with a hypothesis, so that it would have been helpful to know more about the discussion that took place at the conference on this subject.

Menno Dijkstra and Jan de Koning present a general overview of their research in connection with the Frisia Project on the settlement history of West Frisia and the Fryslân province, an area that they term 'Middle Frisia'. They note that there is no early medieval settlement legend from which we could deduce more about the conditions of the time, and no coherent historical record of the make-up of the population along what is now the Dutch coast. However, archaeological evidence shows that the population had diminished between the third and fifth centuries possibly to between 10 per cent and almost 0 per cent of what it had been during the Roman period, and did not rise again until the second half of the fifth century AD, perhaps in part as a result of increased immigration from neighbouring regions. Archaeological finds also reveal cultural exchange with Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and Old Saxons as well as clear evidence of intra-Frisian communication, for example, relating to burials and the emergence of elite networks or miniature kingdoms. The two authors

conclude that in contrast to Frisia and Groningen, for example, the western coastal region was not occupied by Anglo-Saxon groups but was more significantly influenced by the Frankish hinterland and the Rhine–Maas region.

Johan Nicolay uses examples of gold and silver jewellery to sketch five phases in the development of elite societies and networks on the southern North Sea coast. From 390 to 500, Saxon, Anglian (from Anglia, that is, the peninsula in what is now Schleswig-Holstein, Germany), and perhaps Scandinavian people passing through this landscape on their way to Britain influenced the style of this period in the Frisian territories. This initial phase was followed from 475 to 550 by a period in which Roman gold, which had probably come to Northern Europe in the form of tribute, was made into regional jewellery and adornments that expressed a new confidence on the part of local powers. From the late fifth century and throughout the sixth, however, local kingdoms on the Elbe, the Dutch coast, and even as far north as Kent and Norfolk used ornaments from southern Scandinavia to represent their status. Regional elites in particular, who developed their own, localized adornment styles, are typical for the period from around 590 to 630/40, although their local character also reveals a clear affinity with the Scandinavian and Frankish world. The final phase (600–700) was dominated by Byzantine-inspired jewellery that became the new form of status symbol among the North Sea elites.

Referring to current discussions on a possible ‘Anglo-Frisian unity’, Gaby Waxenberger begins by examining difficulties in comparing the rune corpus. While Pre-Old English and Pre-Old Frisian were contemporaneous (both prevalent from around 410 to 610/50), Old English (650–1100) and Old Frisian (1200–1500) are chronologically distant from each other. The author goes on to show the challenges presented by the Frisian rune corpus and describes, using a variety of rune inscriptions and the internal development of *fuporc* (so called to distinguish it from the otherwise pan-Germanic *fupark*), in both languages and their similarities.

Arjen Versloot and Elżbieta Adamczyk examine the spread of linguistic innovation by looking at the main geographical factors that contributed to changes in Old Saxon as a result of North Sea Germanic linguistic influences. In what is now Belgium and the Netherlands, North Sea Germanic (Ingwaonic) spread inland only to a distance of

50 km, but because of a geographical bulge this meant that it penetrated to Eastphalian Old Saxony. Significant factors affecting its distribution were often geographical; rivers, in particular, served as axes for transport and communication just as natural barriers tended to prevent the latter. On the basis of linguistic features found in written sources and place names, the authors have cautiously mapped the areas in which North Sea Germanic may have influenced Old Saxon. An appendix discusses the linguistic characteristics typical of North Sea Germanic.

Iris Aufderhaar shows that archaeology supports the theory of a complex system of central locations and shipping hubs, and of hinterland connections between the Elbe and the Weser, from as early as the first century to as late as around AD 500. Rivers, of course, were a means of communication and transport from late antiquity and the migration period onwards, and the Elbe–Weser triangle formed an important connection between Scandinavia, the Rhine region, and south and east England. Sievern and Gudendorf, in particular, due to their geographical position near the coast, were at the centre of infrastructure networks between the land and the sea.

With a focus on the Flandrian coast, Pieterjan Deckers examines two categories of material culture: the main pottery type and house-building. Based on archaeological findings in these two areas, he develops the theories of John Hines and Malcom Ross in arguing that innovations in pottery and house-building tend to take place at the same time as linguistic developments. Deckers identifies a ‘correspondence with developments in material cultures’ in a period of Ingwaonic convergence (koineization) which began in the fifth/sixth century and ended in the eighth. However, convergence speeds in these three different forms of cultural expression (language, house-building, pottery) are different; language and house-building assimilated only imperfectly until the eighth century, while pottery shows a generally similar convergence ‘already in the course of the 6th century’ (p. 183). From the eighth century, various forms of houses are replaced by more homogenous traditions, while organic-tempered pottery has been completely replaced by sand-tempered pottery by the mid eighth century. Unfortunately, it is difficult for a non-specialist reader to follow the argument of this otherwise very interesting contribution, as many of the specialist terms used are not explained.

BOOK REVIEWS

Tim Pestell has chosen East Anglia (the region bearing this name today in the east of England) as the focus of his overview of connections between Britain and inhabitants of the southern North Sea coast in the early medieval period. He begins by noting that early medieval scribes such as Procopius and Bede record political exchanges and other forms of contact between inhabitants on both sides of the North Sea. Citing coin hoards, brooches, belts, belt buckles, and pottery, he shows that such historical reports of intercultural exchange and trade are reflected in archaeological findings between the seventh and ninth century. He is particularly interested in Frisian trade patterns that brought Continental goods to England, especially as these can also be geographically determined on the basis of where Anglo-Frisian *scettas* coins have been found.

The next contribution discusses the nature of wergeld payments in relation to death and injury, and how such payments were based on a concept of honour. Comparing the Kentish law of King Ethelbert with the Lex Frisionum and later developments of its tradition in Old Frisian legislation of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, Han Nijdam shows how written law aimed to prevent blood feuds through substituting a system of financial compensation. Following an overview of how such legislation was structured and the history of research in this field, the author analyses wergeld compensation rates in terms of their technical legal names, the assigning of different values to different parts of the body, and the mechanisms for determining value set out in the texts. In summary, he argues that Kentish and Frisian legislation developed separately but that both may have a basis in codes and practices found across wide areas of the Germanic world. However, he does not fully reject the possibility of an Anglo-Frisian or Ingwaonic sphere of influence. Finally, he lobbies for more in-depth research on wergeld rates in their universal and individual significance as a part of Germanic culture.

The question of communication networks along the nordic arc – that is, the trading region between the North Sea and Russia – is the focus of the essay by Christiane Zimmermann and Hauke Jöns. As historical records have nothing to say on this point, we can generally only speculate on how trade in this region took place. For the eighth and ninth centuries we can assume that the different Germanic dialects in northern Europe were still similar enough for speakers to understand each other without the need for a lingua franca or inter-

preters. This implies that the region was a milieu characterized by different languages that nevertheless were mutually understood, whether in written or in spoken form, along with two contemporaneous rune corpora (*fuþark* and *fuþorc*) that were used by a variety of speakers in this period. Considering whether Reric/Groß Strömken-dorf formed a hub for trade between the North Sea and the Baltic regions, the authors use archaeological findings to demonstrate the cultural exchange that took place here and its unique role among trading places on the Baltic coast. Against this backdrop, the authors focus more closely on a comb inscribed with runes from around 770 from the town's artisan quarter, analysing its inscription and attempting to translate it. They find that the runes cannot be assigned to any particular corpus of the time, but are closest to what are known as 'Scandinavian inscriptions on the Continent'. This means that we now have archaeological evidence of an artefact made in the North Sea region, inscribed with runes from the early Scandinavian Viking period, and finally making its way to the Baltic region.

As these conference proceedings impressively show, international and interdisciplinary approaches can lead to valuable findings in Frisian research. We possess relatively few written records for early medieval Frisians, and what we do have is written entirely from an external (and usually one-sided) point of view. This makes an interdisciplinary approach essential if we are to research further aspects of Frisian history and culture. All too often, such research tends to be limited by today's geographical and linguistic borders, as Oebele Vries already noted some years ago in the *Handbook of Frisian Studies / Handbuch des Friesischen* (2013). This is also recognized by John Hines in the current book. International and interdisciplinary conferences, such as the conference that formed the basis for this book, help to fill this gap and allow us to look more closely into Frisian lives and the Frisian environment beyond the written sources. Researchers in this area would do well to extend such an approach to the end of the Early Middle Ages, as research on important Frisian developments – such as the settlement of North Frisia and the expansion of Frisian trade – is at present patchy and unsatisfactory. However, this collection of essays on the Frisians and their neighbours in the North Sea region now offers an excellent foundation for research on subsequent periods from a variety of perspectives and disciplines.

BOOK REVIEWS

JENS BOYE VOLQUARTZ is writing his dissertation on late medieval castles in North Frisia and Dithmarschen (title: 'Im Spannungsfeld zwischen herrschaftlichem Zugriff und bäuerlicher Selbstbestimmung: Spätmittelalterliche Burgen in Dithmarschen und Nordfriesland') at the Department of Regional History with a Focus on the History of Schleswig-Holstein, Kiel University. In addition to this, one of his fields of research is Frisian Studies in the Early Middle Ages, and his publications on this topic include *Friesische Händler am Oberrhein im Frühmittelalter* (2017) and *Der fränkisch-friesische Konflikt (690–734) aus Sicht mittelalterlicher Quellen* (2018).

ERIC MARSHALL WHITE, *Editio princeps: A History of the Gutenberg Bible* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, an imprint of Brepols Publishers, 2017), 465 pp. 122 images. ISBN 978 1 909400 84 9. €120.0

It is clear that this work is the product of many years of intensive research. The author, a recognized expert on the history of early printing in Germany, and currently Curator of Rare Books at Princeton University Library, began to compile it in 2011 during his tenure as Curator of Special Collections at the Bridwell Library in Dallas, where he was inspired by the latter's collection of Gutenberg Bible fragments. The book ambitiously sets out to reconstruct the ownership history of all the extant copies and fragments of the first printed Bible, insofar as this is at all possible. Essentially, the book represents a kind of census of all complete and partial copies of the Gutenberg Bible—including those which we only know of thanks to references in earlier literature—and updates our knowledge of them, something that is only achievable through very extensive research in the history of the book and the history of collections.

The book's central idea is to establish when and how any given copy came to the notice of researchers, that is, when it was 'discovered' by historians or other academic disciplines, beginning with the very first description of it or publication about it, whether or not this was generally known to have happened. Marshall White lists twenty-four copies of the Gutenberg Bible known to have existed in the eighteenth century (pp. 179–80), plus a further three of which the present locations are unknown; nobody at the time was aware of the existence of all twenty-seven. Jeremias Jacob Oberlin, in 1801, listed only six known copies (p. 184). However, in describing the individual copies, the author is not merely interested in their discovery; he also provides the entire history of their ownership and their eventual fate, in every conceivable detail. Careful attention is devoted to concepts familiar to students of the history of the book, such as settings, completeness, illumination, and other features specific to the individual copies. The section titles always include the book's current location and the year in which the book became known. This helps with identification, but does not tell us anything about when and in what context each discovery took place. Neither can this part of the book offer a conclusive narrative, as numerous similar and overlap-

Trans. Emily Richards, GHIL.

ping situations arose in the previous and later history of each copy (see p. 84). Thankfully, however, the author provides a regular summary of what was known at the time about all the copies and their travels and locations, and Part III also helps to clarify various histories for the reader. In addition, each copy of the Bible is identified by its listing in the four most important censuses (De Ricci, Schwenke, Hubay, Needham).

Chapter 1, 'Editio princeps', summarizes the current state of knowledge about the beginnings of print and the Gutenberg Bible, providing readers with the essential foundation they need to understand the rest of the book. The author first provides a very readable history of printing in South-East Asia, which shows how printing with movable types gradually replaced the more traditional block printing in the region in the late Middle Ages, and had become completely established in Korea around twenty years before Gutenberg (p. 20). The author then sets out the sources on early printing in Europe up until the beginning of the eighteenth century, which tell us more about Gutenberg and his Bible. Among other examples, Marshall White highlights a letter written by Enea Silvio Piccolomino in 1455, which discusses Bibles on offer in Frankfurt in 1454, and the 'Helmasperger Instrument' as by far the most detailed sources that we possess on Gutenberg's and Fust's collaboration on the 'work of the books'. Our most important source for the rediscovery of the Gutenberg Bible is the *Cronica von der hilliger stat van Coellen*, printed in 1499, which not only names Gutenberg as the inventor of book-printing, but also states that the first book he printed was a Bible 'in grosser Schrift' ('with a large letterform' in White's translation).

Although Gutenberg's printing press was sporadically mentioned by contemporaries, by the end of the sixteenth century he had been more or less forgotten. One historical narrative named Johann Fust as printing's inventor, and fatally, this version of the facts came to the attention of Erasmus. Other narratives naming Haarlem's Laurens Janszoon Coster and Strasburg's Johann Mentelin respectively fell out of favour comparatively quickly. But although Gutenberg played little part in seventeenth-century historical narrative, his Bible played even less, and by 1700 he could have been described as a 'printer without a book'.

The chapter 'The Work of the Books' discusses the physical evidence for the extant printed works. Beginning with minor early print-

ed works which used more primitive DK typefaces (*The Book of the Sibyls*, the earliest known edition of the *Ars minor* of Aelius Donatus, and the *Turkish Calendar*) and early examples of the B42 typeface (the Donatus edition in the Scheide Library), along with indulgences that used these typefaces for their headings from 1454 to 1455, the author underlines the importance of the 42-line Gutenberg Bible as the first major printing project in Europe. At the same time, he notes the problematic nature of traditional nomenclature, as this copy, which has no indication of publisher, place, or date, is not the only 42-line Latin Bible, and the nature and extent of Fust's contribution is uncertain. With great care and in great detail, White collates the newest research on the production process as evidenced by various settings, watermarks, and analysis of ink batches. As a result, we know that production was carried out using four sets of compositors, that the print run was increased by around a third during production, and that the sale and distribution of all the copies after 1455 took some time. The author also sets out Needham's and Agüera y Arcas's findings on typeface manufacture without reusable matrices. These findings relativize Gutenberg's status as the inventor of a printing process that would hold good for centuries, and raise new questions. A reproduction of an image from a thirteenth-century Paris manuscript shows how the layout of the Gutenberg Bible was still largely based on manuscript traditions. The chapter ends with a description of the 'ideal copy' of the printed first edition.

In 'A Book Without a History', the author shows how the Gutenberg Bible, despite its initial commercial success and its immense influence on Bible philology, was gradually replaced in the course of the fifteenth century by more practical and cheaper versions. Up until the early eighteenth century, copies of the Gutenberg Bible were even used as binder's waste. Occasional mentions of it as the first printed book do not include references to actual copies. The history of its rediscovery, however, does reveal some important milestones; Bernhard von Mallinckrodt assessed the sources in 1640, and Johann David Köhler's work of 1741 represents an important first step in salvaging Gutenberg's reputation. Identifying copies on the basis of the sources, however, continued to be a major problem, and none of the numerous eighteenth-century researchers cited by White succeeded in achieving this.

It is here that Part II takes up the story, with a description of each

known copy in the chronological order of discovery. This second part of the book is structured in three chapters, each of which covers a century. 'The First Fruits of the Eighteenth Century' is, appropriately, by far the longest. In 1997 Ilona Hubay showed that fourteen complete copies of the Gutenberg Bible were known in the eighteenth century; Marshall White manages to bring the total up to twenty-five, of which fifteen were first mentioned in printed publications, nine in library catalogues or correspondence, and two are only known through contemporary witnesses. The first description is that of the copy held in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, which was described as the first printed book as early as 1700 in a note made in the copy by librarian Christoph Hendreich. Unfortunately, Hendreich never came to enjoy the reputation of being the man who discovered the first printed Bible; this accolade was undeservedly given to the librarian Guillaume-François De Bure thanks to his rather vague description of the copy held by the Bibliothèque Mazarine in 1762. As a result, the Gutenberg Bible was often referred to in the eighteenth century as the Mazarine Bible.

In 1745 a description of a Gutenberg Bible said to be held by the Aschaffenburg Hofbibliothek crops up in a previously overlooked letter written by one Samuel Engel, a librarian at Berne, in the course of a discussion on the invention of printing. The year 1765 sees the first appearance of a Gutenberg Bible in an auction catalogue belonging to Pierre-Ignace-Eloi Favier. Thanks to the rediscovery of a description contained in the catalogue, this copy has now been identified beyond all possible doubt. But despite the fact that since the second half of the eighteenth century no other copy of the Gutenberg Bible has been lost or destroyed, the whereabouts of this particular copy remains a mystery.

In the 1780s and especially the 1790s discoveries of 'new' Gutenberg Bibles increased. This was partly a result of the rise of a new kind of collector who, for the first time, viewed early prints as historically significant artefacts rather than simply the physical vehicles for texts. But it was also thanks to the Napoleonic Wars, whose effects on the wider population were beginning to make themselves felt, and to the first confiscations of church property. The Gutenberg Bible held by the John Rylands Library in Manchester, for example, was looted from the Augustinian house in Colmar by French soldiers in 1790, while that held by the Austrian National Library was original-

ly owned by the Maria-Steinach convent at Meran, which was dissolved in 1782.

Again and again, the records mention two Benedictines who acted as agents in the sale or disposal of books: Jean-Baptiste Maugerard of Erfurt and Alexander Horn of Regensburg. Their most important customers were British bibliophiles such as George John, 2nd Earl of Spencer, whose library was famous, and as early as the eighteenth century five Gutenberg Bibles made their way to England, while one was sold to a Scot, David Steuart. In France, one of the central actors in this drama was the Archbishop of Toulouse, Étienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne, the owner of three copies in the 1780s. Marshall White has found a rich source of evidence in the correspondence of English book agents; thanks to a letter from Alexander Horn to the Earl of Spencer dating from 1798, for example, he is able to trace the journey of the Rebdorf copy to the Morgan Library in New York.

But despite these many discoveries, most scholars in the eighteenth century were not willing to accept the 42-line Bible as Gutenberg's first printed edition, not even when Georg Wilhelm Zapf discovered inscriptions in the hand of a Mainz priest dating from 1456 in the Bibliothèque Nationale's copy in 1789; and, indeed, Zapf himself, notwithstanding his own discovery, continued to support the theory that Pfister's 36-line Bible was the first letterpress print edition.

The next chapter, 'The Long Harvest of the Nineteenth Century', reveals that a further nineteen complete copies became known in this period. Revolutionary looting, changed borders, and confiscations of church property led to an unprecedented relocation of collections. Around a third of the copies held by religious houses, for example, became available on the newly flourishing antiquaries market. Marshall White devotes particular attention to the copy held by the University of Texas in Austin, whose first recorded owner, James Perry, in 1821 memorably compared the art of printing with the goddess Minerva, who was born already perfect. In terms of its illuminations and binding, this particular copy is the most interesting among those still extant. Its provenance, probably 's-Hertogenbosch, can be derived from a complex synthesis of the established evidence. The copy known as Trier II, now widely dispersed, initially came to light in the form of fragments in 1812 near Trier, although large sections of the quires are now held in Mons and Bloomington, Indiana.

Although the Gutenberg Bible became enormously collectable in the nineteenth century, other incunabula were still selling for even higher prices. It was not until 1890 that Karl Dziatzko proved beyond all possible doubt that the 42-line Bible was earlier than the 36-line version, although the 1892 discovery of the *Book of the Sibyls* from the early 1450s relativized the status of the Gutenberg Bible somewhat.

'The Last Gleanings of the Twentieth Century' mainly turns on the question of why the five complete copies discovered in that century remained unknown for so long. However, the nine newly discovered fragments are of even greater importance; they include a number of leaves glued together as pasteboard. Around sixty vellum leaves of a copy from the monastery at Vadstena were discovered in 1906 in Stockholm, where they were being used as archival wrappers. Of the complete copies, two are in Spain (Burgos and Seville respectively), where they seem to have been present from an early date. The author notes without providing further historical context that these, along with a further copy that was sometimes recorded in Spain, are illuminated in Flemish style. In Germany, three important discoveries were made in the twentieth century: one in 1911 in the library of the Graf von Solms-Laubach; one in 1975 in the parish house at Immenhausen; and one in 1996 in the archive of Sankt Marien, Rendsburg.

Finally, in the epilogue to this section, 'Fertile Ground for the Twenty-First Century', the author concludes that it is highly unlikely that any further complete copies will be found, but adds that continual advances in manuscript research and digitization are likely to result in the discovery of more fragments in the future. So far, the only new discovery of the twenty-first century is of a vellum leaf from a manuscript held by the Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, found there in 2017. The epilogue also includes a summary of the early dissemination of the Gutenberg Bible, mainly based on copy specifics but considerably supported and enriched by our knowledge of the sites where fragments have been discovered. Early owners were mainly church libraries and religious houses, and records also bear witness to wealthy individual donors and book printers who used them as copy-text. Benedictines were by far the most important owners, with at least eight copies held at various Benedictine abbeys, while four can definitely be assigned to Carthusian monasteries. Taken in conjunction with details of their illumination, we can make

out two dominant directions for distribution of the Gutenberg Bibles. A large number seem to have been brought to Erfurt, Leipzig, and Lübeck, where they were first illuminated and then sold. Others made their way northwards down the river Rhine and thence in some cases to Flanders (three copies) and England (two copies).

Part III of the book is a census of the Gutenberg Bibles that summarizes all information on the copies themselves and their ownership history. In structure, the author follows Needham's 1985 census, which has the particular advantage of not depending on localization of copies (as the place where the copy is held need not be connected with the place where it was made) (see pp. 294 ff.). He first lists the vellum copies, then the paper ones, while the copies within each category are listed in order of how far they reproduce the first setting.

Fragments are listed from No. 50 onwards and are named in each case after their first known place of provenance and ordered according to the number of leaves in each case. Unfortunately, the identification of copies in the census is made more difficult by the fact that the author does not provide his own census number in the narrative of Part II. This makes it difficult to find copies in the census coming from Part II. But going in the other direction, when coming from the census, it is easier to find copies in Part II according to the year of discovery. Descriptions of the complete copies are generally rather brief, including the shelfmark, the numbers of the most important censuses, the exact dimensions of the block, any missing leaves, the numbers of the quires in the second setting, along with the first traceable provenance, and, conspicuously visible, the date of discovery. The copy held by the University Library at Mons counts as a complete copy, despite the fact that 557 of its leaves are dispersed, as do the 'Noble Fragments' from Mannheim. In the case of the Mons copy, the author provides an impressive list of all known sets, while the various locations of the 'Noble Fragments' remain undisclosed.

The author provides extensive information on the fragments. Each fragment is identified by the leaf number, its folio number, and the biblical text it contains. For many of the fragments, the author also provides details of its discovery and ownership history along with any relevant literature, which adds a good deal of value to this part of the census. Following the census itself, there is a list of the additional recorded surviving copies/fragments for which evidence exists, but whose current location is unknown, numbered from A to

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W. Three additional notional copies are listed as X, Y, and Z respectively; these were used by printers of later Bibles in Strasbourg and Bamberg as copy-texts. Another list records four 'Accessory Fragments' which, to judge by the way in which they are manufactured, cannot have been part of a complete Bible and must be interpreted as either trial print runs or as supplements to incomplete Bibles. Each of these is discussed in detail. The census concludes with a list of over 50 'Doubtful Copies and Ghosts'. This list includes all the copies which appear in the records but the mention of which is probably or certainly based on misinformation. This excludes the many supposed identifications before 1890 which actually referred to the 36-line Bible. Each entry is considered in detail, while the author has wisely chosen not to include the relevant secondary literature in the main bibliography. The book is completed by a short index of people, places, and things along with a longer provenance index.

The author presents us with an impressive collection of material that demonstrates his excellent knowledge of current and past Gutenberg research. Much of this consists of assessments of printed material that in part is very difficult to find (for example, auction catalogues, early library catalogues, correspondence, travel journals), and sometimes he also refers to handwritten sources. Again and again, he manages to discover something new. Once the history of the extant copies is known in detail, it is possible to assign copies mentioned in the records to those we know of, thereby using the exclusion principle. Sometimes this requires some extremely complicated detective work, for example, if we look at how George III acquired the copy now in the British Library from Alexander Horn (pp. 169-70).

Overall, the book provides a sweeping panorama of the history of a book and all its copies in a way that has probably never been done for any other printed work. Researchers will be especially grateful for the comprehensive data on ownership history, which, one imagines, could easily form the basis for a digitized database or, for example, the digital mapping of known distribution routes. The book will also be extremely valuable as a work of reference when identifying and placing fragments and records in relation to the Gutenberg Bible, and for future research on the history of collecting and the reception of early printed texts since the eighteenth century. Thanks to its wealth of illustrations, which provide images of numerous leaves and manuscripts along with the most important other sources for a history of

typography, the book is not only visually appealing but also very suitable for teaching at university level. The book could also inspire an ongoing search for new evidence of individual copies; for example, research on scholarly publications, unpublished papers, and records could develop discussions that Marshall White has initiated. To take just one example, the Göttingen Gutenberg Bible appears in a 1588 inventory compiled by the chancery clerk Eberhard Eggelinck for the library of Duke Julius in Wolfenbüttel: 'Biblia latina, pars prima et secunda, vff Pergamein gedruckt In dem aller ersten vnd eltesten gedruck, Da die Druckerey erst angefangen In folio vnd in brethern mit gelem semischen leder vbertzogen, vnd mit meßings Puckeln vnd Clausuren beschlagen gebunden' (Latin Bible, first and second part, printed on vellum in the very first and oldest edition, when printing had just started. In folio, bound with boards in yellow soft leather and furnished with brass studs and clasps).¹ While the entry itself may tell us little that we did not already know about the provenance of this particular copy, it does provide spectacular early evidence that the 42-line Bible was regarded as the earliest printed version of the Bible, and as at least one of the oldest works to be created in letterpress print at all. It appears that German princely courts of the sixteenth century may have possessed a level of bibliographic expertise that to date has gone unrecognized.

¹ Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22 no. 83, fo. 26^r, quoted from Bertram Lesser, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Helmstedter Handschriften*, vol. i (2012), p. xix, n. 39.

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ANDRÉ KRISCHER, *Die Macht des Verfahrens: Englische Hochverratsprozesse 1554–1848* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2017), viii + 720 pp. ISBN 978 3 402 14659 0. €79.00

A vital part of the agenda promoted by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger's research group 'Vormoderne Verfahren' ('Pre-Modern Procedures') at the University of Münster has been its focus not so much on norms, but rather on practices; not so much on authoritative statutes, but on the authority of procedures. Procedures tend to develop logics of their own, establishing their authority and binding force by using certain forms. André Krischer's *Habilitation* thesis is very much indebted to this approach, setting out to achieve nothing less than a cultural history of the English lawsuit from the mid sixteenth to the mid nineteenth century.

The history of the English lawsuit is especially interesting because in contrast to continental practices, disputes in English courts were conducted publicly and orally. In fact, the public and oral nature of the trial by jury was seen by contemporaries as the main advantage of English law in comparison with its continental counterparts. As a result, the power of procedures was more evident, and it was also more important to achieve the acceptance of court rulings by all those affected by them. Thus the premiss of the study is that the binding force and legitimacy of a verdict is based more on the authority of form than on the plausibility of the evidence presented at the trial itself; Krischer's aim is therefore not only to analyse the proceedings themselves, but to include perceptions and debates concerning prominent trials. Often, trials were reported and discussed in print; even the statements by the defence and the last words of the convicted before their execution sometimes appeared in printed media.

The study concentrates on lawsuits concerned with high treason. Legally defined for the first time in the fourteenth century, high treason has always represented a special case in jurisdiction, but also a site of experimentation and a model for lawsuits in general. Since lawsuits dealing with this crime are mostly well documented, it makes sense to study the evolution of legal proceedings for high treason in England.

In an introductory chapter, Krischer explains the development of certain parts of the trial, such as the indictment, the defence, the gath-

ering of evidence, and the verdict of the jury, and the role of all these in the overall proceedings. The indictment was the basis for the whole trial, because everything that followed was aimed at demonstrating (or contesting) its truth. Thus the wording of the indictment was an important as well as controversial step in the whole process.

The main body of the book is based on a broad variety of sources concerning thirty cases of high treason, and unfolds roughly along chronological lines. Beginning in the Elizabethan era, juridical proceedings were performances of authority, in the course of which conflicts were enacted, verbalized, and made determinable. The trials were carefully staged orchestrations of impartial justice, even when—for example, in the case of Elizabethan trials against alleged Catholic conspirators—the principle of ‘innocent until proven guilty’ did not apply in practice. Because of the ‘paranoid style’ (p. 97) that tended to characterize legal proceedings in the context of conspiracy theories, such proceedings did not aim primarily to establish guilt or innocence. Instead, they were built entirely on a presumption of guilt. It was important, however, for the courts to avoid the impression that the alleged conspirators were being tried because of their Catholic faith. The carefully worded indictments therefore focused on the accusation of conspiracy against the Queen. Sometimes the accused tried to negate the authority of the court or the judges, sometimes they declared that the jury was prejudiced. But even in contesting claims of authority or impartiality, they played a part in the staging of the trial. It was decisive for the legitimacy of the proceedings that the court could force a certain role on all participants and thereby make them take part in a script with a specific outcome, that is, a verdict. Although this verdict was often a foregone conclusion, the symbolic expression of fairness played an important role in establishing the legitimacy of the proceedings even in the Elizabethan trials against alleged Catholic conspirators.

For the English Revolution and the Interregnum, only one case is analysed in detail, that of John Lilburne. The (admittedly well researched) trial of Charles I and other legal cases during the Commonwealth and Protectorate are omitted. The book continues with the post-Restoration era after 1660. The proceedings against the regicides and during the Popish Plot of 1678 represented a particularly important step in the development of legal proceedings. Although the actors still retained some room for manoeuvre, the script for interac-

tions during trial became more formalized over time. Whereas the earlier trials were performed as rhetorical contests, they now became laboratories or experimental settings aimed at discovering the truth. Krischer characterizes this process as a change from a regime of persuasion to a regime based on formalized procedures of examining witnesses with the aim of reconstructing the course of events. For Krischer, this represents a new link between changed orders of knowledge and the expression of power, which he interprets against the background of the rise of natural philosophy and science. From now on, proceedings relied on witnesses to construct and produce the facts on which the jury based its verdict. The more the proceedings appeared to be governed by standardized rules, the more they were accepted as fair trials. The debate about fairness reached a new stage after the trials against the Whig leaders in 1683 (Rye House Plot), which after the Glorious Revolution led to some reforms, especially the right to an advocate at the trial who was permitted to speak on behalf of the defendant. Viewed by contemporaries as well as legal historians as a step forward for fair procedure, Krischer points out that this reform also strengthened the legitimacy of the judicial process.

Starting with the trial of George Lord Gordon in 1781, Krischer identifies the rise of a third 'regime' that would come to dominate legal proceedings in the subsequent seventy years. He argues that under this new regime, the 'programmatic structure' of proceedings became conditional. That is, it was characterized by steps that progressively built upon each other, where each step within the procedure was dependent on the outcome of the one before it. In addition, it was characterized by the increasing immunity of the individual procedural steps, which could not be questioned and formed the basis for the jury's verdict. Krischer underlines the self-referentiality of the proceedings, which led to a high degree of acceptance.

It is one of the many strengths of this study that it deals openly with the teleological traps of a *longue durée* perspective. Krischer has resisted the temptation to frame his study as a pre-history of modern jurisdiction, which would have had the effect of making modern proceedings appear the inevitable outcome of all the foregoing historical developments. At the same time, it addresses change; not change in the sense of progress or an inevitable evolution to modernity, but simply in the sense that things became different from what they were

before. The author describes this development as a form of differentiation (*Ausdifferenzierung*), a concept loosely borrowed from Niklas Luhmann. What is sometimes missing in Krischer's treatment of his subject, however, is the contextualization of the lawsuits, which were, of course, part of wider political conflicts. Although Krischer seeks to include public debates, his focus is on the perceptions of and judgments on lawsuits, rather than the broader political setting of a conflict. However, even without these contexts the book is a good 720 pages long; it would be excessive to demand the inclusion of further aspects.

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JOHANNA OEHLER, *'Abroad at Göttingen': Britische Studenten an der Universität Göttingen als Akteure des kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Transfers, 1735–1806*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen, 289 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016), 478 pp. ISBN 978 3 8353 1963 9. €39.90

The question of Britain's relationship with Europe—its place in it, or position separate from it—has been discussed by historians since long before the current Brexit debates. Only two years before the 2016 referendum, the tercentenary of the accession of the House of Hanover to the British throne in 1714 provided a special opportunity (as well as funding) to re-assess Britain as a European, indeed Continental power. Johanna Oehler's book is part of a range of publications, exhibitions, and conferences associated with this anniversary.

The University of Göttingen is not only in the title of this book, but also in its DNA, as this is the revised version of Johanna Oehler's Göttingen Ph.D. dissertation. It was written in the context of the graduate research group 'The Personal Union of Great Britain and Hanover, 1714–1837', which produced a number of excellent studies on the political and cultural impact of the 123 years of Personal Union between Britain and Hanover. Moving away from an older approach that considered Anglo-German relations in that period mainly in terms of German anglophilia and Britain's employment of German mercenaries, this fresh approach instead highlights the interdependencies between Britain and the Continent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The focus of Oehler's book is thus firmly on British students in Germany. It analyses the 237 British students who attended the Hanoverian *Landesuniversität* Göttingen between its foundation in the 1730s and the occupation of Hanover by Napoleonic troops in 1806—the largest group of non-German students at the university. Oehler analyses the social composition of this group, their motivations and experiences, and the contacts and networks they built up, and focuses in particular on their role as agents of cultural transfer between the German and the British parts of the Personal Union. However, Oehler achieves much more, as she provides an important addition to the history of British universities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, highlighting not only that the republic of letters was a supranational space of scholarly communication, but also that

Hanover should be integrated into a history of British higher education.

Founded in 1734, and opened ceremonially three years later, Göttingen developed into one of the best attended universities in mainland Europe within a few decades. Entirely in line with established scholarship, Oehler points out that unlike medieval universities and the many universities set up following the Reformation, Göttingen university was run by the state, independent of clerical influence, and open to students of all denominations. A typical product of the Enlightenment, Göttingen taught 'useful' subjects in applied settings, integrating clinical teaching into medicine and making statistics and diplomatic practices part of the law curriculum. From the start, the Hanoverian government, hoping to attract wealthy students, in good mercantilist fashion, marketed Göttingen as a place of polished student culture, where future diplomats and courtiers, judges and doctors could gain the expertise as well as manners they needed to succeed in the *monde*. The ceremonial visit of founding monarch and namesake George II in 1748 was not least designed as a clever marketing ploy to promote the king's new foundation, supported by an English-language prospectus. The Faculty of Philosophy offered a wide range of modern languages as well as tutoring in fencing and dancing. Within a short time, Göttingen was equipped with a top-range library, botanical garden, and chemical laboratories, and in 1751 an Academy of Sciences was added to the portfolio.

Apart from a comprehensive introduction, and a very useful appendix, which includes a list of all British students at Göttingen before 1806, the book is structured into five parts, analysing the entire group of British students in their socio-cultural context before focusing in more detail on aristocratic and non-noble students, discussing Göttingen's role as a centre of European scholarship, and situating Göttingen in its north German academic context.

Combining quantitative analysis and a qualitative approach, Oehler provides a 'collective biography' of British students at Göttingen, which allows her to profile the entire group of British students over a longer period while considering the specificities of individual biographies. Some of these are explored in detail, and Oehler shrewdly avoids retelling only the better-known stories of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, or the three younger sons of George III. Instead, she highlights the German experiences of John Murray (later 3rd

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Duke of Atholl) and the Scottish physician Andrew Duncan, for example. British students at Göttingen are thus shown to be a diverse group, who came from a variety of social backgrounds and pursued quite different interests. One thing, however, they had all in common: not only aristocrats, but all British students at Göttingen were part of well-established networks in Britain, and many had academic or aristocratic contacts in Hanover or other parts of the Continent.

This was particularly true for the significant group of aristocratic students who dominated the British contingent in the 1750s. For these students, Göttingen merely represented one stage of their Grand Tour. Deliberately avoiding the acquisition of a rather embarrassing academic degree, they complemented their networking at German courts with studies in history and Roman law as well as learning German phrases that might help them in diplomatic postings. The proximity of Hanover offered access to the elector-king's summer court at Herrenhausen, and the sons of Jacobites, such as John Murray, and disgraced courtiers, such as James Brydges (later 3rd Duke of Chandos) used their stint at Göttingen to re-establish family links with the Hanoverian monarchy. George III famously never visited his German dominions, but sent his three younger sons to study at Göttingen in the 1770s, as well as supporting the university and its professors in a number of ways, and inviting Göttingen professors to his court. Spending some time at Göttingen thus remained attractive for British courtiers who wished to endear themselves with the king.

After the Seven Years War, however, a new pattern emerged that put Göttingen firmly on the map of British scholarship. From the 1770s the number of British 'middle-class' students rose steadily, and by the later eighteenth century the sons of merchants, bankers, and doctors enrolled in Göttingen's Faculty of Philosophy to prepare for a career in business, politics, or the military. Mirroring the pattern of the Grand Tour on a lesser social level, they focused on acquiring a wide range of useful knowledge, but unlike the earlier generation of aristocratic visitors, these students were supervised by a new and dedicated generation of Göttingen professors (above all the renowned physicist, declared anglophile and wit, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg), who had their own networks in British academia as well as at the royal court. Yet, as Oehler points out, it was ultimately

a relatively small number of individual intermediaries who built up contacts and maintained networks across the Channel. Apart from Lichtenberg, Ludwig von Schrader was crucial here. As a secretary to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and a correspondent of Göttingen's star professor, Albrecht von Haller, von Schrader inspired several members of the court to send their sons to Göttingen.

In addition, Göttingen became a prominent address for students of medicine, most of whom chose the Hanoverian university as a medical finishing school after obtaining degrees in Edinburgh, Glasgow, or London. John Sibthorp and Edward Ash received travel grants, while others, such as Andrew Duncan, came at their father's expense. In contrast to their well-off peers from aristocratic or business backgrounds, these young medics and natural scientists did not mix with courtiers and aristocrats, but focused on Göttingen's excellent libraries and top-notch research facilities, as well as on building up contacts in the world of scholarship the former group shunned. Here Oehler convincingly argues that it is difficult to distinguish these often 'mature' students from travelling scholars, who also visited Germany's leading university in large numbers. Göttingen's success was certainly rooted in the fact that this cosmopolitan university managed to cater for quite different groups of non-German students.

The last chapter contextualizes Göttingen within the wider academic world by comparing the Hanoverian university with a rival institution. The Collegium Carolinum in the nearby Duchy of Brunswick had been established in the 1740s as a novel type of college of further education catering for the rich, and was the second most popular German destination for British students, even topping Göttingen for a number of years. Oehler's chapter on this is one of the best recent accounts of this important educational institution, which has received far too little scholarly attention. Her comparison, moreover, highlights the underlying prerequisites for all British student trips to eighteenth-century Germany. The central criterion was the existence of dynastic links to London (George III's sister was married to Duke Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand of Brunswick); the institutions were run by decidedly anglophile academics who kept up close relations with British colleagues; they promoted an attractive set of applied science subjects allowing British students to prepare for a non-academic career; and they were decidedly 'elegant' institutions designed to attract wealthy students looking for an education in manners as

well as subjects. Needless to say, both Brunswick and Hanover were Protestant. The success of both Göttingen and Brunswick was also due to the failures of Oxford and Cambridge, which experienced their 'Great Depression' (Lawrence Stone) in the eighteenth century, as despite the scholarly merits of individual dons, their curricula failed to take on board new subjects such as the natural sciences.

The role Göttingen played as the most important destination for British students outside the British Isles ended when Napoleon's occupation of Hanover after 1803 and the Continental blockade of 1806—designed to eject Britain from European politics and trade—interrupted the close exchanges between Britain and Hanover. After Napoleon's defeat, British students returned almost immediately, but Oehler points out that the particular constellation of the later eighteenth century could not be revived. The broad education sought by eighteenth-century students was now increasingly being replaced by *Fachstudien* (specialist subjects), and the new Prussian universities of Berlin and Bonn immediately became attractive for foreign students after an entire generation of Göttingen's star professors (from Lichtenberg to Christian Gottlob Heyne) had died by 1812. It was not the end of the Anglo-Hanoverian Personal Union in 1837 that put an end to Göttingen's particular role for British higher education, but Napoleon's enforced Brexit of 1806.

Apart from university archives in Germany and Britain, Oehler has unearthed a large number of correspondences, diaries, and memoirs, and has followed the traces of Göttingen students to local archives in Chester and Cornwall, and the Huntington Library in California. Her book thus brings the personal union to life as a space of communication that was not restricted to the few courtiers and diplomats maintaining political relations between London and Hanover, but affected the careers and lives of lawyers and bankers, officers and medics from London to Scotland and Ireland. How much did all this, then, contribute to cultural transfer? Here Oehler provides a nuanced discussion, admitting that the 'impact' of Göttingen is hard to measure. While some British aristocrats worked hard to shield themselves from immersion in a German student experience, others built up long-lasting contacts with German scholars, in particular, in the natural sciences. This becomes especially clear in the ego documents, which discuss Göttingen lectures as well as practical questions of everyday life in a foreign country.

The comprehensive list of all British students in the appendix is particularly useful as Oehler for the first time manages to identify the actual length of time British students spent at Göttingen. In the eighteenth century, after all, not all visiting students matriculated properly—some wanted to save the fees involved, while travelling aristocrats sometimes did not bother with the formalities of academic life.

Oehler's book makes an important contribution to scholarship on eighteenth-century universities and higher education in Britain and Germany, the Personal Union, and Anglo-German relations. It is well written and makes a potentially dry topic interesting and vivid. The number of errors (George III was George II's grandson, not his son, p. 127, and in chapter VI, the dukes of Brunswick are confusingly called 'Fürsten') is negligible, and Oehler's command of secondary literature on the *monde* of eighteenth-century Britain and Germany is impressive.

This book is part of a veritable wave of publications and events reconsidering the Personal Union published in the context of the 2014 anniversary, which all seemed to put the old view of Britain's 'splendid isolation' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to bed for good. With hindsight, however, this new consensus itself needs to be re-evaluated (and not just because of the 2016 referendum): German universities and museums, as well as the GHIL, were much keener to remember the advent of the House of Hanover to the British throne than British institutions (not to mention the media), which tended to focus more on the anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War—a very different chapter in the history of Anglo-German relations.

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ANNA ROSS, *Beyond the Barricades: Government and State-Building in Post-Revolutionary Prussia, 1848–1858* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), x +229 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 883382 6. £60.00

This book could not have found a better cover image than that of a destroyed memory – a monument that only exists as a photograph. The monument itself, a statue of the Prussian Prime Minister Otto Theodor von Manteuffel, was melted down for the armour of the First World War. Like his monument, Manteuffel's biography has fallen into oblivion, and now only a few specialists in Prussian history know him as an exponent of post-revolutionary reaction politics. His name is associated with repression, censorship, and surveillance of the domestic and foreign opposition, especially of the 'forty-eighters', the revolutionaries of 1848 who had remained in the country.

Anna Ross wants to prove this stereotype wrong and devotes herself unbiasedly to the challenges that a Prussian politician had to overcome in dealing with the revolution of 1848–49 and its consequences. She has consulted the relevant Prussian archival sources for the central, provincial, and local authorities; estates; files of the royal house; and relevant newspapers and magazines. From the secondary literature, she has taken into account international and especially German-language research, and it is surprising how richly Prussian history has been researched, even for the alleged decade of reaction that lay in the slipstream between revolution and the foundation of the German Reich. Nevertheless, the author manages an approach that brings a breath of fresh air to the discussion of the post-revolutionary decade.

Although Manteuffel is the focus of the study, Ross is not writing a biography, but an inside view of the Prussian Ministry of State. It is important to her to emphasize that the ministry did not undergo an involuntary modernization, as was previously thought, but played an active role. She is interested in specific policies and thus makes it clear how undifferentiated the approach to the notion of 'conservative' politics has been so far. The concept of the conservative is differentiated in an almost exciting way. She destroys the image of a monolithic Prussian domestic policy after the revolution, showing both the counterforces (above all, the ultraconservatives represented in the camarilla), and the resistance and stubbornness of King Frederick

William IV. In sharp contrast to Prussia's ultraconservatives (Leopold and Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach) Manteuffel showed a new realism, more pragmatic and deviating from the doctrinaire approaches of the ultraconservatives.

The author is also concerned to refute the idea of a Prussian special path (*Sonderweg*). She does this by comparing the policies of Austria and the German middle states in the same period, recognizing many parallels with the bureaucratic modernization of the Habsburg Monarchy after 1850 in the Bach era. Ross also observes a comparable flexibility of conservative governments in many German states, following recent studies embedded in and across Europe more broadly and with recourse to the latest research.

Ross recognizes parallels with previous state-building projects in the Napoleonic era, illuminating threads of continuity that are too often overlooked in histories of the nineteenth century. However, she goes even further and puts forward the bold thesis that 'the post-revolutionary moment should be recognized as a second Reform Era, essential to the formation of the modern Prussian state' (p. 18). The policy under Manteuffel was the logical continuation of the Prussian reforms of Stein and Hardenberg, breaking down noble prerogatives. Manteuffel sought to remove the feudal intermediaries, and, in cities, dissolved the authority of the guilds, creating a growth-oriented capitalist economy; he also wanted to complete the process of peasant liberation. Then as now it was the bureaucracies that carried out these reforms. The bureaucracy promoted a course of moderate reform between revolution and total restoration.

However, the decisive and strongest argument for the continuation of the Stein-Hardenberg reforms can be found in the political will to seek compromise with the civil constitutional movement, which the reformers had failed to do at the time. Brandenburg and Manteuffel were able to convince the king, or at least to force him to acknowledge, that constitutionalism was an urgent necessity and the only tool by which anarchy, terrorism, and the Jacobinism of the French Revolution could be overcome.

In detail, Ross is interested in the state-building projects and initiatives to strengthen contact between state bureaucrats and the Prussian population. She examines policies in various fields: judicial and penal institutions, agriculture, industry and communications, and knowledge management, made possible by the statistical knowl-

edge being produced by the Prussian Central Statistical Office. She recognizes a consistent will to modernize the state and centralize its resources, not least through investment in infrastructure, for example, new railway tracks and telegraph networks. Commercial affairs changed decisively, facilitating free trade, introducing an array of measures to protect impoverished craftsmen against hardship, promoting the mining industry, and precipitating the introduction of commercial investment banks.

The Municipal Ordinance of 1850 was a logical continuation of Stein's reforming work, now without drawing a distinction between region or city and the countryside. Here the police assumed an important function because they were not only an instrument of repression, but part of the old welfare police in Berlin. This is shown by the introduction of the Police Construction Ordinance (*Baupolizeiordnung*) in 1853, tightening building regulations, preventing fire, and affirming a growing state interest in public health. Demonstrating a strengthening of official activity commonly associated with self-governing communities, the police played a role in reforming urban life, especially in Berlin under Hinckeldey.

The Criminal Code of 1851, however, reveals the inherent ambivalence of Brandenburg's and Manteuffel's initiative. Superficially, one might imagine that it was created as a counter-revolutionary measure. Ross shows, however, that it helped to constitute a second Reform Era, believing that procedural, rather than substantive reform was the best way to establish the rule of law, securing codes for trial procedures, laws for court organization, and laws governing the organization of the private legal profession; in other words, it was a significant contribution to the formation of the modern *Rechtsstaat* in Prussia, continuing the liberal fiscal policies of the revolutionary years.

Ross does not conceal the restrictions imposed by changes in electoral law, the tightening of criminal law, and the manipulation of freedom of the press and of associations. Manorial estates remained exempt from taxation. The government took many measures to control and manipulate the press. This was done by press offices, promoting newspapers with subsidies for government-friendly broadsheets. Here modernization initially went hand in hand with manipulation and monitoring. Nevertheless, public opinion played a larger role than had previously been acknowledged; not least the family

papers played a large part in this, keeping national questions alive throughout the 1850s. The management of the press and the sharing of government-friendly data continued after 1858, especially under Bismarck.

Nevertheless, the study presents a convincing argument that the policy of the Manteuffel era was formative for the development of the Prussian state, a second Reform Era. Those who deal with the New Era that began with the Prince Regent Wilhelm must now reconsider whether there really was so much that was 'new' about it. What *was* new was clearly not so much the implementation of specific policies underpinned by an effective bureaucracy—a form of government that was already seeking legitimacy through participation, and which continued under Bismarck. Wilhelm, however, set a qualitatively new accent when he proclaimed to the State Ministry on 8 November 1858 that Prussia must achieve *moral* conquests in Germany ('In Deutschland muss Preußen moralische Eroberungen machen'). The Manteuffel era, on the other hand, was introverted, focused on stabilizing and developing the state.

This new interpretation of the post-revolutionary era is supported by evidence that Brandenburg and (after the latter's death in 1850) Manteuffel were firmly convinced that popular participation and representative assemblies had become a necessary part of modern politics. It is a merit of this study that it also highlights the resistance to this strategy and so clearly shows that the prime ministers were pursuing an approach of reform, which Bismarck was later able to follow up. However, I would not go so far as to claim (like the historian Daniel Ziblatt, with whom the author sympathizes) 'that the successful emergence of "conservative political parties that originated representing old regime elites" was *the* essential shaper in democratization in the nineteenth century' (p. 14).

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TORSTEN RIOTTE, *Der Monarch im Exil: Eine andere Geschichte von Staatswerdung und Legitimus im 19. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen, 295 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018), 427 pp. ISBN 978 3 8353 3058 0 €39.90

Anyone working today on what is often described as 'the new monarchical history' tends to find themselves looked at askance. At one conference in Germany where I spoke on the subject, a member of the audience wanted to know why any historian would be interested in monarchies and their concomitant governance structures, given the utter irrelevance of these to most modern societies. Unlike my own inadequate response at the time, the book presently under review provides an eloquent answer to this important and interesting question.

This outstanding monograph, which represents Torsten Riotte's *Habilitationsschrift*, takes a new view of exiled monarchies as political and dynastic institutions that can offer an alternative perspective on state-building in the nineteenth century. Riotte, senior lecturer and researcher in contemporary history at the Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, examines, for example, how monarchs and their families were treated by the governments of the countries where they eventually established their homes in exile. He argues that this can offer substantial insights into contemporary legal theory and practice, which were by no means always identical. When it came to property rights, for example, legal rulings tended to take into account the high social status of these dynasties.

The methodological approach is effective and useful on several levels. The author views dynasties as an essential component of modern constitutional and absolutist government systems, whose political and socio-cultural function can only be understood and explained in the context of other institutions. In other words, monarchies did not exist in a vacuum but, as Martin Kirsch has shown, played an active role in shaping events and decision-making within political systems.¹ Riotte's book therefore does not simply examine the rela-

Trans. Emily Richards (GHIL).

¹ Martin Kirsch, *Monarch und Parlament im 19. Jahrhundert: Der monarchische Konstitutionalismus als europäischer Verfassungstyp – Frankreich im Vergleich* (Göttingen, 1999).

tionship between exiled monarchs and their host countries. He also addresses the gap left by deposed monarchs 'back home', which legitimistic parties aimed to compensate with political activity and by encouraging a continuing sentimental attachment to the dynasty itself. Both perspectives locate monarchies in their respective socio-political contexts, considering how the relationship with exiled dynasties and their supporters was negotiated within the latter. Thanks to this approach, Riotte fully succeeds in his stated intention to write an 'entangled history of state-building and legitimism' (p. 45).

A second valuable feature of the book is its international comparative approach, in a research field that even today tends to be defined by national case studies. Riotte compares the exile of the Hanoverians after 1866 with that of the Bourbons, exiled in the wake of the July Revolution in 1830. Both exiled dynasties took refuge in the Austrian Empire and spent decades in their host country, thus allowing for direct comparisons. The international comparative approach is reflected in the author's ambitious research methodology; the source materials for this study came in part from the often closely guarded family archives of the dynasties as well as from archives in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Austria, and Italy.

As case studies, the book focuses on the Comte de Chambord and Duke Ernst August of Hanover, both the heads of their respective dynasties and thus representative of two generations of 'absent monarchs' as Riotte puts it. The biographical comparison between Chambord, the older of the two men, who became head of the exiled House of Bourbon in 1844, and Duke Ernst August, head of the Hanoverian dynasty from 1878, shows its usefulness particularly in the section which discusses citizenship rights. While the deposed French monarchy retained full rights to extraterritoriality after 1830, Riotte shows that just one generation later, a special legal status for exiled families could no longer be taken for granted. In discussing the citizenship rights of the Welfs, Riotte considers the case of the Bourbons (p. 122) and shows through this direct comparison how dramatically the rules of the game for deposed monarchs exiled to Austria changed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The history of dynasties in exile is often seen as just one element of the general collapse of monarchic structures in the nineteenth century. In this familiar narrative, the revolutions and government crises of the nineteenth century made the cracks in a hopelessly outdated

system ever more obvious, until the First World War brought about its final and total downfall. Riotte's work, like other current research projects on the modern history of the monarchy, pays greater attention to the opportunities monarchs and their families found to actively shape their lives in exile. In the long term, the field can only profit from such alternative approaches and interpretations, which do not set out to understand the history of the monarchy from a teleological perspective, but attempt to understand how dynasties were embedded in contemporary contexts. For example, Riotte highlights the importance of financial autonomy for the Bourbon and Welf families in exile. No longer entitled to funding from the civil lists, and with their assets limited or confiscated, exiled monarchs often plunged into new roles as modern businessmen and cunning investors on the financial markets (pp. 125–6), acquiring property and speculating on the stock exchange. This makes a refreshing change from the traditional image of the exiled monarch, often depicted as a tired and sad old man who, far from the public eye, drags out his empty and hopeless days alone and yearning for past glories.

At the same time, Riotte notes that the dynasties of the upper nobility represented a very specific 'club' that thought and lived in traditional socio-cultural categories. Unlike earlier works on monarchies in exile, Riotte's book is not particularly interested in the restoration question or the 'desire to go home' (p. 37). Instead, he focuses on the presence of the dynasties in their host countries and on the strategies they used for communication and to obtain financial security. Both the Bourbon and the Welf dynasties made every effort to finely tune their survival strategies to ensure that other (ruling) noble families would identify with them; just because a dynasty was in exile did not mean that it ceased to be part of the European and global dynastic system. Instead, membership of this particular club determined their strategies: 'the way in which monarchs acted in exile was not governed by their wish for political restoration but by their view of themselves as members of the highest echelons of the nobility' (p. 133).

A further innovation of Riotte's book is the author's introduction of the concept of 'dynastic survival'. This describes 'the tension between the politicization of the person and the attempt of the monarch in exile to control and limit this process in such a way that other members of the nobility (particularly those of their host coun-

try) would not be able to find reasons to fault them' (p. 51). Riotte sees 'dynastic survival' as a third category to complement that of the personal and the political, which on their own cannot adequately describe the highly nuanced experience of nineteenth-century monarchs in exile.

Whoever writes or reads about monarchies knows how blurred the line between private and political actions can be. This applies as much to internal actions within the dynastic structure as to external scenarios where the monarchy performs a representative function. The 'Black Spider Memo' scandal in the UK in 2015 epitomizes this difficulty. If the British heir to the throne, Charles, Prince of Wales, writes letters to ministers of Her Majesty's Government which are not intended for publication, is he writing as a private individual, or does the office of the Prince of Wales always silently accompany his actions, making them *de facto* political? Even if we use the term 'political' in its broadest sense – which, if we are cultural historians, we will tend to do – this does not make it easier to differentiate. In the case of the Black Spider Memos, even a ten-year legal dispute was not able to resolve this question conclusively!

To my mind, the concept of 'dynastic survival' is a useful new tool in the methodological toolbox for historians of the monarchy, as it highlights a certain tension which has not yet been adequately addressed. Whatever monarchs from dynastic families did in exile – whether it was receiving legitimistic visitors with the greatest of ceremony or financing a revolutionary army in the hope of regaining their lost kingdom – they did it as representatives of an exclusive social class that had its own forms of communication and specific privileges. Monarchs and their families in exile took care not to lose the support and good opinion of this exclusive club, and thus it was dynastic survival that determined the strategies available to them for the political restoration of the Crown.

With this concept, therefore, Torsten Riotte's study has given current research on the history of the monarchy new impetus and a new direction along with helpful and well-founded methodical approaches that are certain to inspire further case studies on this topic.

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SEBASTIAN GOTTSCHALK, *Kolonialismus und Islam: Deutsche und britische Herrschaft in Westafrika (1900–1914)*, Globalgeschichte, 27 (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2017), 324 pp. ISBN 978 3 593 50676 0. €43.00

In the first half of the twentieth century more than half of the world's Muslims lived under British imperial rule. This connection between British colonialism and Islam – especially in the case of India and the Middle East – has been the focus of much research. But as Sebastian Gottschalk points out, relatively little attention has been paid to the relationship between European colonialism and Islam in sub-Saharan Africa. In his case study, the author focuses on the Sokoto Caliphate, a powerful independent entity in West Africa for much of the nineteenth century, which was subjugated to British and German rule. By comparing and contrasting the developments in Northern Nigeria and Kamerun, and embedding colonial practices on the ground within Western academic and political discourses on Islam, Gottschalk aims to contribute to this growing field of research.

The study is based on files from the British and German colonial offices (national archives in London and Berlin) and the German administration in Kamerun (microfilm copies from the national archive in Yaoundé). Unfortunately, Gottschalk was unable to access the files of the British administration in Nigeria. In addition, he draws on the private papers of British colonials (held in the former Rhodes House Library, Oxford) and publications by influential imperialists and scholars (for example, Frederick Lugard, Kurt Strümpell, Paul Marty and Carl Heinrich Becker). This source selection allows an insight into the ideas and expectations, as well as the decision-making processes, of Europeans colonial actors. But, as in so many studies on the subject, the material makes it difficult to create a balanced picture that also includes an African perspective, something Gottschalk himself acknowledges and aims to correct by a thorough re-reading of the sources. While the author rightly points out that missionary activity in the area discussed was limited, mission societies had an enormous influence on the debates on Islam. Had at least some missionaries' voices from Nigeria and Kamerun been incorporated, a more vibrant picture of local conditions and issues could have been created.

The book is firmly rooted in a cultural approach to colonial history and in the first content chapter provides an overview of the cur-

rent state of research on Said's Orientalism and the debates on Islam in nineteenth-century Europe. The most relevant aspect is the paradoxical attitude of regarding Islam as 'backward' compared to Western Christianity yet, as a monotheistic religion, more 'civilized' than other non-Christian belief systems. This made a formal racialized inferiority difficult to justify. Hence colonials stressed that African Muslims only 'superficially' embraced and understood Islam, and thus could justifiably be colonized. Knowledge of sub-Saharan Islamic societies was primarily shaped by travellers to the region, whose publications influenced decision-makers in London and Berlin. This focus on British and German discourses is somewhat lopsided: in France, with its long and intensive engagement with African Islam, colonial knowledge and practices developed differently from how they developed in Germany, and were especially distinct from British colonialism, which was predominantly concerned with Islam in India. Although Gottschalk acknowledges and references recent French scholarship on the topic, he unfortunately does not use French primary sources, which would have allowed for a more balanced assessment of this 'European' discourse.

In chapter three Gottschalk explores how this 'Orientalist' knowledge of Islam influenced colonial conquest and subsequent rule in West Africa. Both Britain and Germany made the pragmatic decision to follow a pattern of 'indirect rule' hoping to avoid costly military campaigns. The 'men on the spot' regarded the Muslim rulers they encountered as men they could do business with. However, arrogance and ignorance led to miscommunication and misunderstandings, which turned the assertion of European power into a much bloodier conflict than anticipated or militarily necessary. Yet the public narrative of these campaigns omitted any details of this violence and instead centred around the reciprocal respect shown between Britons/Germans and local Muslims, which differed significantly from the image of colonial wars against other Africans.

After the initial rush to bring as much territory under their control as possible, Britain and Germany ceased to act as colonial competitors and began co-operating in the area as amicably as they did in other parts of Africa. Practices of 'indirect rule', which at the time were theorized and celebrated as a particular British form of colonial rule, were embraced by the German administration in North Kamerun even more thoroughly than by their British counterparts in

Northern Nigeria, and many pre-conquest structures, such as the Islamic court system, were kept intact. These observations and inspirations taken from across the border are fascinating, but they are not unusual. Taking a wider perspective on 'indirect rule' and the use of comparisons, for example, of German rule in Rwanda, would have made clearer how far European attitudes towards Islam, combined with remoteness and lack of resources and manpower, made a less direct power structure necessary.

The challenges to European rule in Africa are explored in chapter four in the form of the Mahdi Movement in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1906–7. Here, several uprisings against colonial rule were swiftly crushed by British forces, but left colonial authorities in North Africa concerned about the repercussions for their territories. German and British administrators in North Kamerun and Northern Nigeria readjusted their views on African Muslims, distinguishing now between useful 'false' Muslims and dangerous 'real' but fanatical ones, with the latter located outside the colony. This outside world is discussed again in chapter five, where Gottschalk explores the impact of the haj on West Africa. Like all colonial rulers, the British in Northern Nigeria and the Germans in North Kamerun disliked and distrusted the uncontrolled movement of colonial subjects, and were often unsure how to handle pilgrims, especially upon their return from Mecca. Reflecting their imperial global perspective, British concerns centred around revolutionary, anti-colonial ideas or, worse, agitators who might aim to infiltrate local society. German worries were more concerned with the spread of diseases and the local disruption of trade and tax.

The book's final chapter is concerned with the impact of experiences and practices of colonial rule on the metropole. In London, events and conditions in Northern Nigeria were too peripheral and too unimportant to change the general perspective on Islam or on Muslims in the British Empire more specifically. The dominance of India and Egypt in academic, political, and public discourse allowed little space for readjustments to include Islam in Africa. In Berlin, however, theorists and practitioners concerned with Germany's colonial ambitions and scholars of Islam were grateful for unique and first-hand accounts from West Africa which were incorporated into academic research and teaching. As already noted, the closing chapter – and the entire book – would have benefited from the inclusion of

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a French perspective on Islam and Africa. France not only ruled over most African Muslims but also had a long and deep colonial engagement with West Africa in particular. Gottschalk does acknowledge the importance of French scholars, but fails to show the influence these had on British and German discourses.

A further point of critique is the book's misleading subtitle: 'German and British rule in West Africa, 1900–1914'. This undersells the book's geographic scope and timeframe. As mentioned above, Gottschalk links events in Northern Nigeria and Kamerun to wider developments in the 'Sudan' and the haj pilgrimage to Mecca and, impressively, is able to transcend a purely regional history. Likewise, at many points the book discusses events after 1914 as well as long-term developments into the 1920s and 1930s. Showing these long-term developments and continuities before and after the First World War is, of course, welcome. However, it is rather puzzling that the important shift in Europe's relationship with Islam in the course of the First World War is not discussed. Not only did Muslims fight on the side of both Germany and Britain, but West Africa became a theatre of war itself. The collapse of German colonial rule and the transfer of power from Germany to Britain in the Cameroons, in particular, were undoubtedly significant for understanding subsequent events.

While certain arguments in the book would merit further engagement and exploration, Gottschalk's work nonetheless represents an important addition to the growing corpus of comparative colonial studies. Readers will be grateful for the book's clear structure, but will also miss an index.

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UFFA JENSEN, *Wie die Couch nach Kalkutta kam: Eine Globalgeschichte der frühen Psychoanalyse* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2019), 538 pp. ISBN 978 3 518 42865 8. €28.00

As this monograph is about emotions, the best place to start is with Harold Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence* (1973). In this work, the Yale literary theorist argued that poets feared their poetry could be derivative of another poet's verse, the impact of which would diminish the quality and especially individuality of their own art. An earlier review of Jensen's *Wie die Couch nach Kalkutta kam* written by Andreas Mayer, one of the leading historians of psychoanalysis, touches on this anxiety of influence.¹ Mayer suggests that Jensen ignores or remains silent about key contributions to the 'transnational' history of psychoanalysis and that, in doing so, the author's claims to originality should be questioned.

Jensen's excellent book invites this kind of criticism. Unusually for a book based on a *Habilitation* thesis, *Wie die Couch nach Kalkutta kam* endeavours to appeal to both academic and non-academic audiences. For scholars beholden to academic conventions such an approach might irritate; for readers keen to gain a panoramic view of psychoanalysis in the early twentieth century this ambition succeeds on many fronts. Divided into four sections – institutions, treatments, emotions, politics – the work address several questions. How did psychoanalysis manifest itself outside Vienna and Zurich, and especially in places far removed from the personal interactions that characterized Freudianism in Central Europe, Britain, and the United States? Can we speak of a psychoanalytical 'travelling culture' beyond the Freudian Atlantic? How was psychoanalysis applied in Berlin, London, and Calcutta, and how did these uses affect practitioners and patients alike? What were the political dimensions of psychoanalysis? And, finally, to what extent can psychoanalysis be described as a technique that elicits or even produces emotions?

All four sections detail the emergence, co-production, and reception of psychoanalysis since 1900. As Jensen helpfully reminds his readers, the fact that, with few exceptions, early psychoanalysis was shunned by the establishment facilitated its internationalization, as

¹ Andreas Mayer, 'Emotionen für die Übertragungsmaschine', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 19 Mar. 2019.

its exponents felt compelled to move beyond the confines of academic psychiatry and psychology. Although (erstwhile) colonialism, particularly in the British and Spanish cases, had some effect on the dissemination of psychoanalysis, its reception did not depend on the straightforward 'influence' of Western on non-Western ideas. On the contrary, the first and most serious group to discuss psychoanalysis in Calcutta, for example, did so not so differently from the way in which many Germans or Britons first came in touch with Freudian concepts, namely, as part of a circle of artists, writers, and academics who congregated to have tea, play chess, and consider the latest and most fashionable ideas. Some of the guests would later join the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, which was founded in 1922 as the first non-Western psychoanalytical association. Again, one of Jensen's strengths is to defamiliarize the reader of some well-worn assumptions, especially regarding the 'European' complexion of the Freudian project.

Wie die Couch nach Calcutta kam traces the way in which, once established, psychoanalysis spread in a given setting. A substantial number of women, for whom academia's doors remained closed and for whom developmental psychology became ever more interesting, joined the movement. Early Freudians relied on private offices; as the membership of societies expanded, institutes (to codify the means by which psychoanalysis would be taught and exercised) and clinics (to treat the less affluent) were founded. Other forms of dissemination and appropriation included trips to famous authorities in the field, the translation of seminal texts, and the publication of journals. Much of this is well known, as is the fact that psychoanalysts continued to practise eclectic forms of therapy, shunning neither suggestion nor hypnosis, in spite of Freud's disapproval of these methods. Even so, the book relates these facts in fascinating detail, demonstrating the hold of hypnotherapy amongst analysts the world over as well as the continued relevance of cathartic techniques for 'dissidents' such as Sándor Ferenczi and Otto Rank. Jensen's discussion of psychoanalytical treatments, moreover, opens up new vistas of how the circulation of new ideas entailed the invention of new traditions. While patients regularly lay on a couch, ideally allowing 'regression' to occur and transference to ensue, in Girindrasekhar Bose's Calcutta practice the deck chair replaced the couch and the darkened room evoked the hypnotic backdrops of another era. Freud's famous divan, covered

with oriental rugs and surrounded by heavy furniture, was hardly the norm, as modernist furniture entered the practices of analysts in Berlin and elsewhere.

The book's main thesis, however, centres on emotions, and how emotions were induced (and intended to be induced) as part of psychoanalytical treatments. Jensen maintains that Freud's innovation did not lie in interpreting dreams or unearthing the unconscious or discovering transference, but rather in producing affects and utilizing these for the benefit of the patient. Jensen refers to *Emotionstechnik* in this connection, whereby the cool, detached analyst encounters hot emotions in the shape of love, hate, longing, fear, and resentment. Re-enacting relationships of the past, the patient learns that these projections need not be repeated in the future, once their sources are acknowledged and their effects subdued. Again, most psychoanalysts and historians of psychoanalysis would recognize this story. Where the author differs, however, is, first, in his emphasis on the artificial production of *new* emotions (therapeutic emotions, as it were), which, in their artificiality, can be manipulated and controlled, but which may also turn into 'real' emotions in the wake of analysis, when patients continue to feel attached to their analysts; and, second, in his insistence that we use a more neutral vocabulary whenever examining the goings-on between analyst and analysand from a historical point of view.

Unlike Mayer, I find this perspective important, as it offers a more inclusive language that allows for comparative lines of enquiry as opposed to the boundary marking that comes with jargon or a preference for a history of science approach. But Mayer does have a point when he wonders about some of the author's claims to originality. As much as *Wie die Couch nach Kalkutta kam* has a broad audience in mind (and therefore avoids, rightly so, too great an emphasis on historiographical debates), Jensen might have responded, however briefly, to the works of several authors whose interpretations prefigured or indeed resemble some of his findings. Two examples should suffice: to write about *Selbsttechnologie*, but not to engage with Eli Zaretsky's thesis on Freud's contribution to a culture of individuality and authenticity; or to speak of early psychoanalysis's gendered thinking, especially regarding the rationality/emotionality binary, without taking into account Freud's abhorrence of unity, symbiosis, and fusion, as documented by Joel Whitebook, do signify an anxiety

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of influence. That said, anyone interested in the emergence and diffusion of psychoanalysis in the first half of the twentieth century must read Jensen's book.

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VOLKER R. BERGHAHN, *Journalists between Hitler and Adenauer: From Inner Emigration to the Moral Reconstruction of West Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), vii + 277 pp. ISBN 978 0 691 17963 6. £35.00

The National Socialist past of many (West) German journalists went unnoticed, or at least unmentioned, in the Federal Republic until as late as the 1980s—a period when most, but by no means all, of the journalists in question had already passed beyond the reach of any worldly authority. One of the most important actors involved in bringing this aspect of Germany's past to light was Otto Köhler. Köhler was not a historian; he was a journalist and author whose magisterial work *Wir Schreibmaschinentäter: Journalisten unter Hitler und danach* (1989) was built on a vast body of research. In the same year, Norbert Frei and Johannes Schmitz published their small study, *Journalismus im Dritten Reich*, which was followed in 1995 by Peter Köpf's *Schreiben nach jeder Richtung: Goebbels-Propagandisten in der westdeutschen Nachkriegspresse*. In impressively researched detail, Köpf's important book provided evidence, listed according to federal state and publication, of the many personal continuities in journalism post-1945.

Apart from a few studies, however, little has been said since then about the services rendered to the Third Reich by one of the most important and influential intellectual elites of the modern era. This need not surprise us given the continuing lack of interest shown by historians in the research potential of media and journalism, and the discipline's failure to grasp that the media are a key source for nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. Even in the few German universities that still take media and communication studies seriously (most have either cut back or, as in Göttingen, completely withdrawn their courses in this area), there are almost no qualitative research specialists working in the field of media and journalism history. This general lack of research in the field is the only thing that can explain why Volker R. Bergahn's study in journalistic history has been able to find a home with such a prestigious publisher as Princeton University Press, even though it overlooks innumerable facts, ignores or

* Trans. Emily Richards (GHIL).

fails to notice important connections, and interprets history in a way that can only be called distorted.

Yet the book is concerned with only three protagonists: Paul Sethe, Hans Zehrer, and Marion Gräfin Dönhoff. To lump these three very different actors together under the heading of 'Generation of 32' (p. 217) is bizarre, a *reductio ad absurdum* of an otherwise potentially useful generation-based perspective on history. The disadvantages of such an approach, however, become only too clear when Berghahn generously grants all three of his protagonists a retrospective free pardon for their lives and activities in Nazi Germany: 'Sethe, Zehrer and Dönhoff (though she was not yet a journalist) continued to keep their distance from the regime thereafter (1933)' (p. 2). He is able to achieve this misinterpretation only through reliance on a concept that is itself questionable, the notorious idea of an 'inner emigration'. According to Berghahn, his three chief actors all 'went into inner emigration'. But this is not all; he goes as far as to claim that the Nazi regime posed a threat to each of them personally ('Having lived, often quite dangerously, under the Hitler dictatorship to the bitter end', p. 3). Happily, in the author's view, they were ultimately spared to take up their fight for a new democracy after 1945: 'They wanted to restore precisely those moral and ethical axioms that Hitler had so totally demolished' (p. 3). Berghahn's justification for this highly debatable interpretation of his protagonists' careers is once again the concept of an inner emigration, which he defines as 'best viewed as a spectrum along which they moved from a limited involvement with the regime to survive economically while continuing to reject Nazism, at the one end, to increasingly passive resistance and ultimately active participation in anti-Nazi movements, at the other end' (p. 5).

It would seem that Berghahn originally intended to base his study on a much wider sample of journalists, publishers, and writers. I deduce this from his rather odd detour (pp. 11–24) into the lives of another mismatched trio (Ernst Jünger, Margret Boveri, und Henri Nannen). But even these shady figures of journalism cannot provide any convincing reason why we should believe in Berghahn's 'Generation of 32'; and none of them was an inner emigrant. Instead, their writings either helped the regime take power (in Jünger's case) or successfully to hold onto it (Boveri/Nannen).

I do not want to discuss Marion Gräfin Dönhoff (referred to in the book frequently—and for a critical study, inappropriately—as

'Marion') in any great detail. Unlike Sethe and Zehrer, who died in 1966 and 1967 respectively, 'the Countess' (*die Gräfin*), as she was known in Germany, continued to be active in the world of journalism until 2002. During the Nazi period, she was able to continue living the life of a Prussian aristocrat, travelling widely and internationally, a life which was only briefly interrupted by a Gestapo interrogation after the Stauffenberg assassination attempt of 20 July 1944. All her life, she mourned the demise of Prussia, and especially in her later years became one of the keenest defenders of 'the Prussian way of life' and 'Prussian values'—something that in itself would provide material for critical studies.

To return to Paul Sethe and Hans Zehrer, however: it is impossible to explain how Berghahn has arrived at his view of them as 'inner emigrants'. He may have overlooked Peter Köpf's work; he does cite, perhaps out of a sense of obligation, Otto Köhler's book, although he clearly has not understood it. The facts that I present in the following are based on these two standard works of reference; they are facts, however, which inexplicably appear in Berghahn's book only as marginal notes, if at all, or where they do appear in more detail, have been glossed over.

Until 1943 Paul Sethe was the political editor for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (FZ). After the latter closed down in 1943, he moved to the *Völkischer Beobachter* (VB). After 1945 he spoke of having been 'conscripted' ('dienstverpflichtet') to work for the organ of the NSDAP. But even while 'se' (Sethe's moniker at the FZ) was working for the 'bürgerlich' (that is, Nazified) FZ, his work consistently reflected the values of National Socialism. For the Easter 1942 edition, for example, 'se' wrote:

Today, Germans find themselves engaged in a struggle that has often been compared with the struggle of Frederick the Great. And rightly. At that time, it was no mere question of winning or losing, but of victory or the utter collapse of our culture—and today, similarly, it is a question of victory or utter destruction . . . But today, we are no longer merely fighting to ensure the continued existence of the state as we know it. Instead, we fight for a victory that will permit us finally to achieve our highest endeavours.

After the move to the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the tone of Sethe's calls-to-arms based on supposed historical fact became even more extreme. But Berghahn, having issued his free pardon to Sethe, prefers to remain blind to the latter's involvement in the Nazi regime: 'Yet Sethe's military journalism may also have been a protection, because it enabled him to avoid direct political comment' (p. 47). An attempt to separate the military from the political, especially in the years of the Third Reich, demonstrates either naivety or a determination to gloss over the facts at any price. Indeed, Berghahn seems to be entirely unaware of Sethe's later polemics in the *Völkischer Beobachter*: 'It is likely that this kind of reporting extolling military successes continued up to the autumn of 1941' (p. 47), while proffering extraordinary explanations for the closure of the *FZ* in August 1943: 'Influencing international opinion was no longer important' (p. 51), as 'total war' had made this unnecessary. But in fact, from this period on the Nazi regime actually ratcheted up its external propaganda, for example, in its anti-Bolshevist campaigns directed at Europe and the West generally. And it continued to have access to, and exert its influence on, the international public sphere until April 1945, not least thanks to its secret deal with Associated Press (AP).

In fact, Sethe's seamless move from the *FZ* to the *VB* in 1943, like the careers of other National Socialist journalists (*Schriftleiter*), reveals the true nature of the latter in the Third Reich; they were propaganda specialists in the service of the state. Journalists belonged to an intellectual *nomenclatura*, providing an intellectual foundation for the regime's work based on their own intellectual capital. The famous 'Zwischen den Zeilen' ('Between the Lines') column in the *FZ* was no exception; it was a cool calculation, intended to throw sand in the eyes of observers abroad and soothe critical voices at home even as the regime was coming to an end. And journalists enjoyed countless privileges. Men, in particular, benefited from one literally vital advantage; they were deemed to be in a 'reserved occupation', in contrast to their contemporaries sent to the front as cannon fodder. When we consider Sethe's position at the time – an official in the NS propaganda machine, relatively remote from the dangers of the war – it is not only historically inaccurate to speak of an 'inner emigration', it is illogical. And to describe Hans Zehrer, whom Hellmut von Gerlach, writing in *Die Weltbühne* in 1932, once called 'the *Duce* of *Die Tat*'s inner circle', as an inner emigrant is not only historically

inaccurate, it is highly problematic, recalling Achim Mohler's post-1945 project of creating a (morally purged) 'Conservative Revolution' intended to be clearly distinct from fascism.

It is true that in the 1920s Zehrer was employed at the liberal *Vossische Zeitung*, but he then took over *Die Tat* as its managing editor. Hans Paul Brunzel, who in 1952 submitted a dissertation about *Die Tat* and its inner circle, called the newspaper 'an attack on the Weimar constitution in print form'. It embraced a hyper-nationalistic, anti-liberal ideology that supported the ideas of a *Volksgemeinschaft* and a form of German isolationism based on a rejection of the West. Writing in the *Weltbühne* on 22 November 1932 Carl von Ossietzky described Zehrer's inner circle at *Die Tat* as 'out-Hitlering Hitler'. Unfortunately for Zehrer, however, he had simply put his money on the wrong political horses when he chose to support Kurt von Schleicher and Gregor Strasser. His attempts to get on the right side of the winning National Socialist faction after the elections of 30 January 1933 failed. The *Tägliche Rundschau*, another newspaper taken on by Zehrer in August 1932, published a paean to Germany's new chancellor in March 1933 ('The destiny of Germany today has a name: Adolf Hitler'), but even this was in vain, as was his polemic against a Jewish 'golden Internationale' in April 1933 and his boasts that the new regime would 'eliminate Jewish influence from key national positions'. When these attempts to curry favour proved unsuccessful, Zehrer retired to Sylt for five years, but remained in contact with like-minded colleagues such as Ferdinand Fried (aka Friedrich Zimmermann), whose career, like that of many others, flourished in the Third Reich. And when Zehrer later took over *Die Welt*, he took Fried with him. For on Sylt, Zehrer became acquainted with Axel Springer, who took Zehrer under his wing after 1945 and entrusted him with influential positions in his West German media empire.

In Berghahn's narrative, however, Zehrer is said to have gone underground in a 'hovel' on Sylt, 'where he survived on a meagre [*sic*] budget until 1945' (p. 9). But Zehrer had not been forbidden to write, nor was he subject to any other restrictions imposed by the Nazi regime. It is simply not possible to describe his situation as one of 'inner emigration'. In 1939 Zehrer was accepted as a member of the *Reichsschriftumskammer*, the Reich Chamber of Culture, a government agency established by Goebbels to control German art and culture in

conformity with NS ideals. He also became an editor at the Stalling publishing house in Berlin, the home of military journal *Die Wehr* and books about the Condor Legion, where he was soon promoted to managing director.

Rather than an 'inner emigrant' Zehrer can be far more accurately described as one of those who 'paved the way for National Socialism' ('ein Wegbereiter des Nazionalsozialismus'), as he was in fact described by Rudolf Küstermeier, a concentration camp survivor who was editor-in-chief of the Springer newspaper *Die Welt*, in a letter written in 1958. The 'whitewashing' of Zehrer after 1945 on the part of the Protestant church in Germany and its bishop Hans Lilje is an area which has not yet been researched in as much detail as one could wish, including from a modern church history perspective.

Sadly, what Volker Berghahn has produced can only be termed a misleading study. He references the existing literature only in part and his reading of it is fragmentary. He seems to be unaware of the most recent research publications, for example, Dirk van Laak and Dirk Rose's conference proceedings *Schreibtischtäter: Begriff – Geschichte – Typologie* (2018). Sethe and Zehrer may both, after 1945, have seen their work as a 'quest' to help with the 'moral reconstruction' of post-Nazi Germany (p. 5). But their quest was certainly not for a liberal, democratic Germany in the sense that we understand it today. Such a Germany exists in spite of, not because of Nazi pen-pushing perpetrators like Sethe and Zehrer.

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PETER C. CALDWELL and KARRIN HANSHEW, *Germany Since 1945: Politics, Culture, and Society* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), xiv + 366 pp. ISBN 978 1 4742 6241 5. £22.99 (paperback). ISBN 978 1 4742 6242 2. £70.00 (hardback)

Overviews of post-1945 German history are now so numerous that it can be extremely difficult, especially for students, to know where to start. The resources available include large-scale syntheses of twentieth-century German history, handbooks, and general overviews that are mostly intended for a student audience. This book belongs to the latter category.

It tells the story of both German states from the perspective of two US authors who have taught and studied twentieth-century German history, and is primarily aimed at students at Anglo-American universities, as can be seen from the exclusively English-language literature recommendations included at the end of each of the book's thirteen chapters. Primary sources are supplied in the form of both images and texts (with primary texts framed within the main text to make it clear that this is what they are); these add the attraction of first-hand accounts to the narrative and could also be used as case studies for student seminars.

After a short summary of National Socialist society and a discussion of various interpretations of the Nazi era by contemporary German historians, the authors have chosen the unconditional surrender of the 'German Reich' as the starting point for their narrative. The main body of the book covers the history of West Germany (FRG) and East Germany (GDR) respectively as well as the shared history of the new Federal Republic of Germany from 1989/90 to 2017. The authors' very knowledgeable depiction is mainly focused on political history, but also considers social and cultural aspects.

The overview is structured chronologically in three periods, starting with 1945–1970 ('Dividing Germany'), before moving on to the period 1969–1992 ('New Beginnings') and finishing with the 'Berlin Republic 1990–2017'. The authors have embedded the developments and events that form the basis for this chronological structure in their historical context, thereby justifying their choice of these particular dates positively; this means that their historiography, at least in the

Trans. Emily Richards (GHIL).

main body of the text, is not marred by an artificial reliance on years and decades simply for the sake of it.

But which history of Germany are the authors interested in? Do they offer their readers the post-1945 narrative of (West) German success that has come to hold the status almost of an axiomatic truth, or have they decided to do things differently? And how do they integrate the history of the GDR? Both these questions lead us to historiographical debates that show no signs of fading away. It would be interesting to know, for example, how this overview fits in with the recent critique by Frank Biess and Astrid Eckert of the 'success story' that has in the past been typical for West German historiography.¹ As Biess and Eckert both teach in the USA, published their critique in English, and seem to be unaware of similar older, German-language criticism of such 'success narratives', it is natural to ask whether the two current authors, whose work seems to be mainly based on English-language secondary sources, bring an equally critical approach to German historiography. But they do not. Caldwell and Hanshew are happy to reproduce the success narrative, at least for West Germany, for example, in such phrases as 'the importance of the economic miracle to the short- and long-term success of the FRG' (p. 73).

Besides this, however, they go so far as to view this narrative as continuing unbroken in the period after 1989/90, especially when it comes to Merkel's chancellorship. Both authors seem to be enthusiastic fans of the current German chancellor, the only one out of all Germany's post-war leaders to be given her own section within the book. Caldwell and Hanshew foreground her scientific expertise during the Fukushima catastrophe (p. 309) and support her actions during the refugee crisis of 2015 (pp. 341-2). That Caldwell and Hanshew believe the success narrative to be constitutive for Germany even today can be seen in the three 'basic principles' which they claim lie at the heart of German politics: first, the rejection of racism and the defence of the rule of law in the face of growing right-wing populist and nationalist movements; second, Germany's refusal to expand its military capacity and reluctance to endorse or engage in international military interventions; and, finally, Germany's central position within the European Union (pp. 347-8). Just as Biess, in his highly

¹ Frank Biess and Astrid Eckert, 'Introduction: Why Do We Need New Narratives for the History of Federal Republic?', *Central European History*, 52 (2019), 1-18.

praised monograph *Republik der Angst*, cannot overcome the power of the success narrative,² Caldwell and Hanshew are ultimately unable to do this either, thereby acknowledging just how axiomatic it has become in German historiography.

This is understandable in the context of an introductory overview of post-1945 German history. However, it is still surprising that they should adopt this position so unconditionally given that in the book's introduction, they explicitly identify the works of Heinrich August Winkler and Ulrich Herbert as success narratives and ask how it might be possible to write German history differently (pp. 13–14).

On the other hand, in contrast to many overviews, the GDR is here no mere 'footnote to history' as Hans-Ulrich Wehler once described it. The authors dedicate almost as much space to East German history as to West Germany, although this should not be taken to mean that they see the history of the two Germanies exclusively as an entangled one. Instead, they maintain a balance between the USSR's influence (which should not be over-estimated) on East German politics and society, and the attempts of each side to differentiate itself from the other during the Cold War while, at the same time, each sought to instrumentalize the other for its own purposes. Sensibly, the authors are also careful to emphasize the differences between dictatorship and democracy; but unfortunately they restrict this explanation to an extremely short sub-section and only as a postscript to a lengthy description of political and social changes in the GDR in the 1970s. If they had chosen instead to foreground their explanation as an introduction to chapter 6 ('New Social Republics, East and West') this would have provided the reader with an important analytical tool for assessing these respective forms of society.

In fact, the authors generally situate their work within the current research landscape implicitly rather than explicitly – at least for West Germany. This is usual for overviews, yet it is conspicuous that they reference other research perspectives more explicitly when it comes to the GDR while omitting them almost entirely for the former FRG. It might have been worth considering introducing each chapter with an overview of current positions in research so that students are not only given a chance to become familiar with the content of contem-

² Biess admits this himself. See Frank Biess, *Republik der Angst: Eine andere Geschichte der Bundesrepublik* (Reinbek, 2019), 21.

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porary historiography but also with different approaches on the part of historians. Space could easily have been freed up for this by sacrificing some of the less relevant images in the book, for example the half-page depiction of Nina Hagen on p. 138.

But despite these critiques, the book's use as an introduction to post-1945 German history outweighs its faults – and not only for students from English-speaking countries.

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JOYCE MARIE MUSHABEN, *Becoming Madam Chancellor: Angela Merkel and the Berlin Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), xv + 342 pp. ISBN 978 1 108 40563 8. £21.99 (paperback)

Throughout her long career as a leading politician, beginning in the early 1990s, the current German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, has rarely reflected on her situation as a woman in politics, publicly at least. Yet she did so briefly in her 2019 Harvard Commencement Speech, where she highlighted that she was the first woman in German history to become head of government;¹ an expression, perhaps, of late-term liberties in office. From a scholarly angle, Joyce M. Mushaben, Professor of Global Studies and the Curators' Distinguished Professor of Comparative Politics and Gender Studies at the University of Missouri-St Louis, investigates, among other things, Merkel's unique status as the first female German Chancellor in her most recent book. This is not a biography but a well-written and well-informed study of Merkel's domestic and international policies during her first three terms in office, combining policy analysis and its context, that is, Merkel's personal values along with national traditions and beliefs.

There are several persistent clichés attached to Merkel's career, the most common being that as a woman raised in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), she is incapable of leadership. Mushaben mentions it, but does not stop at this superficial observation. Instead, she uses it as a starting point for her study, analysing the related stereotypes and prejudices as symptoms of the power strategies and media campaigns Merkel has been involved in. She asks the right question, which is 'how could someone so successful be accused of "not leading"?' (p. 6). Instead of reinforcing these stereotypes of a female politician from the GDR – still viewed differently – as other allegedly scholarly accounts have done in the past,² Mushaben sets out to analyse the political use of these stereotypes and the means they employed. In this way, she contributes to an intersectional gender analysis of contemporary politics and, to a less-

¹ <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ofED6BInFs>>, accessed 16 June 2019.

² Gertrud Höhler, *Die Patin: Wie Angela Merkel Deutschland umbaut* (Zurich, 2012).

er extent, to a history of political thought and values in Germany since unification through the lens of the political career of a central individual, a 'one-woman laboratory' (p. 2) as Mushaben calls it. By taking this approach, the author broadens our understanding of current German debate and Merkel's policies alike.

Having said this, it is a pity that Mushaben walks right into another trap, which has to do with a second cliché regularly attached to Merkel's way of doing politics: the widely held view that, having trained as a scientist in her first career, she must therefore apply a physicist's approach to politics. Mushaben misses the chance to deconstruct this notion in the same way as the gender cliché. Instead, she falls back on it as a valid explanation time and again.

Mushaben has nevertheless written an intelligent book which offers a number of original and thought-provoking interpretations. We do not have to agree with all of them, but they have the potential to stimulate further debate. That is why it is worth citing some examples here, in the order in which Mushaben presents them.

The book consists of three parts, each of which contains several chapters. The first part ('The Personal is the Political') investigates the ways in which Merkel's personal life has affected her policies, and how far politics in turn has influenced her as an individual. Mushaben addresses Merkel's physical and political makeover on her way to the top and her change of attitude towards political reform; how she deals with East and West German identities; and morality and historical responsibility in her relationship with Israel. Mushaben's observations include the fact that before her first term as Chancellor, Merkel got a 'new haircut, highlights, make-up, and pastels' (p. 33), paradoxically, in order to have 'a gender-neutral campaign' (p. 34) then planned for her. Also, she makes the point that 'women's strong presence in the Red-Green government (50 percent in 2004) granted Merkel a legitimacy in the Grand Coalition she might not otherwise have enjoyed' (p. 37). In terms of German identity, Mushaben believes that it was not Merkel's grasp of Western power politics that helped her; rather, 'her ability to effect a gradual reconciliation of conflicting identities owes more to her pragmatic Protestant upbringing' (p. 60). Merkel has, as Mushaben notes, helped West Germans in particular 'to see that differences are normal, non-antagonistic, necessary, and even welcome in a pluralist democracy' (p. 77). At the same time, she makes the interesting observation that

'Merkel never criticized the Westerners' erroneous belief that they alone financed reconstruction' after unification (p. 68). Merkel also achieved progress on gender issues: 'earlier hostility toward the patriarchal state is fading insofar as Merkel's reforms have produced real changes in the rights and responsibilities of men, for example, paternity leave' (p. 71). And for relations with Israel, Mushaben offers a very interesting comparison between Merkel and the former Green Minister for Foreign Affairs, Joschka Fischer (pp. 97-104), before highlighting that 'Merkel has already received more awards for her commitment to Jewish culture and the Israeli state than any of her predecessors' (p. 97). It is part of Merkel's policy for Israel, Mushaben believes, that she combines 'unambiguous acknowledgement of historical responsibility' with 'recognition of German suffering' (p. 105). Merkel also 'walk[s] a fine line between trade relations and historical responsibility' (p. 107).

Part two ('From Understudy to Leading Lady: Angela Merkel on the Global Stage') investigates international policies, that is, in this case, Merkel's handling of Russia and the Euro crisis. Mushaben highlights that Merkel 'recognizes that German responsibility for securing the peace now extends beyond regional boundaries' (p. 127). However, she also finds that Merkel, born 'after the Korean War and forced to turn eastward as a GDR citizen . . . never developed the emotional tie to France evinced by her predecessors, nor did she inherit an intuitive understanding of the European Community' (p. 126). Merkel's foreign policy 'supports Germany's traditional multilateralism and its culture of restraint but she also enjoys a reputation across Europe as an honest broker, to a degree not seen among her predecessors' (p. 150). A reason for this might be that 'Merkel searches for flexible win-win options' (p. 151) and that negation for her 'is not a matter of hard or soft power; it is merely a rational approach to meliorating complex problems' (p. 155). Mushaben is much more critical, even disappointed, when it comes to the Euro crisis, as she explains:

this chancellor has pursued a pragmatic, progressive approach to women's employment in her own country by leveraging EU policies in relation to work-family reconciliation. She even chose an iconic female figure, the Swabian housewife, to convey the need for personal economic responsibility during the

first stage of the European crisis. She demonstrated no visible interest in upholding broader EU gender equality mandates in relation to the austerity programs that followed, however (p. 188).

The difference between domestic and foreign policy becomes obvious: 'Once the Euro crisis had crested, Merkel nonetheless overrode opponents back home, introducing a three-pillar 30 percent quota for women in corporate and public service management' (p. 197). Regarding EU institutions Mushaben's judgement is also definite:

As the [financial] crisis unfolded, it became clear that Europe not only had a deficit/debt problem but also deeper governance problems. Merkel came to prefer a 'stability union' resting on a common approach to financial policy, fiscal policy, and economic policy, along with greater 'democratic authority'. The paradox is that she has advanced the first three by undercutting the fourth (p. 198).

Part three ("Method Merkel" and the Push for Domestic Reform'), finally, turns back to domestic issues such as the national energy turnaround and refugee policies. Mushaben makes the point that it was Merkel's "leadior" stance on climate-change mitigation' that 'brought new intensity to EU efforts regarding CO₂ reductions and RE development' (p. 238). She highlights that Merkel 'made climate change a personal priority' (p. 241), partly because as 'a politician in a democratic society, she quickly learned that mass protests and public opinion matter' (p. 242). In terms of migration, Mushaben sees Merkel as a Chancellor who 'has demonstrated her strongest leadership abilities in the very arena that triggered the most vociferous opposition within her own party' (p. 283). Again, it was her 'quick mastery of EU processes [that] . . . accorded her unprecedented influence over policy-framing at both the national and the supranational level' (p. 251). Mushaben also credits Merkel with a modernization of the substance of migration policy: 'Merkel's stress on inclusiveness, transparency, and self-accountability means that integration failure can no longer be randomly attributed to ethnic groups' (p. 265).

All the empirical chapters start with several sections of contextual information, which are well-chosen and helpful for understanding

Mushaben's argument. However, they tend to overshadow the discussion of Merkel's actions. This is because the background is not always directly connected with Merkel's actions, yet in more than one case takes up a significant part of the individual chapters. A prime example of this is the chapter on foreign relations with Russia (ch. 4), where two-thirds of the chapter explains the background for Mushaben's reading. This is unbalanced, even for an international audience.

Mushaben presents an account focusing on policy outcomes, which are correlated specifically with Merkel as a female leader and her GDR background. This is convincing and makes a valuable contribution, as we lack such an account so far, even in German. What is not at the centre of the discussion, however, is the way Merkel reaches her decisions, that is, how she governs at the micro level of everyday power politics. Mushaben, of course, hints at this when she mentions other players and the strategies of other political forces and rivals, such as the rejection by Conservatives in her own party of the guideline powers (*Richtlinienkompetenz*) encoded in the German Basic Law. Mushaben also occasionally mentions Merkel's techniques of decision-making. But all of these aspects are generally only mentioned, not analysed. As a result, the mechanics of Merkel's power to a large extent remain in the dark. Mushaben tells us why the Chancellor favours a particular decision, and informs us of the outcome, with a very knowledgeable reading of how both ends are linked. What is lacking, however, is what comes in between, that is, how Merkel conducts politics and deploys power strategies.

How important, for example, is her tactic of delaying decisions, her decidedly non-confrontational style of arguing, and her tendency to keep quiet about her political opponents? How important is her way of not explaining her politics in securing her power? What about her approach of delegating the process of finding compromises to commissions and round tables seen, to mention just one of many cases, during the energy turn-around after the Fukushima meltdown; her collective response to international crises (for example, including the French president in the talks about Ukraine); or her attempt to globalize European politics by bringing in the World Monetary Fund to deal with Greece, or delegating the implementation of Germany's immigration policy to the EU deal with Turkey and African states? How exactly does she deal with opponents in her cabinet and else-

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where, and what are her strategies for forcing her opinions through? What about her tendency to isolate herself from the lowland of politics, representing herself as a President-Chancellor, and her use of internal communications and press conferences? Or her willingness to become acquainted with all the details of specific questions and solutions, her ability to control emotions, her capacity to build alliances across traditional party lines, and her ability to resist stress under pressure and in times of national and international crisis?

These are the sorts of questions that remain open, even after Mushaben's intriguing book. There are two brilliant accounts, written by journalists, which deal with some of them, taking the debt crisis and what has become known as the 'refugee crisis' as case studies.³ But a comprehensive, scholarly investigation of Merkel's power dynamics, her negotiating tactics, and her strategies for remaining in power is still to come.

³ Margret Heckel, *So regiert die Kanzlerin: Eine Reportage* (Munich, 2009); Robin Alexander, *Die Getriebenen: Merkel und die Flüchtlingspolitik. Report aus dem Innern der Macht* (Munich, 2017).

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

An Era of Value Change: The Seventies in Europe. Conference held at the German Historical Institute London (GHIL), 14–16 March 2019. Conveners: Christina von Hodenberg (London), Fiammetta Balestracci (London), and Martin Baumeister (Rome). Funded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft; European Program Horizon 2020: Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions; GHIL; German Historical Institute Rome.

Western historians tend to view the Seventies as a time of significant change in Europe. The decade is widely perceived as the starting point for the present and as a period of discontinuity. The decade's significant cultural and social transformations are believed to have been brought about by changing values across European societies in response to major political, social, and economic crises.

The purpose of the conference, 'An Era of Value Change: The Seventies in Europe' was to deepen and revise our understanding of this period by locating the decade within the Long Twentieth Century and adopting a comparative approach. Historians gathered to discuss changing attitudes toward work, family, politics, economy, gender, and sexuality throughout Europe. It was asked who or what drove the process—individuals, political subjects, or structural changes such as new media and mass tourism—and where and why countries in Eastern and Western Europe diverged.

Following a brief introduction and welcome address by the three co-organizers, Christina von Hodenberg (London), Fiammetta Balestracci (London), and Martin Baumeister (Rome), the conference began with three presentations that centred on the dwindling value of the future in the Long Seventies. The panel examined the way in which actors thought about the future and tried to make sense of the past.

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

Emily Robinson (Sussex) examined political temporalities and nostalgic sentiments in 1970s Britain. She argued that it was the 1970s and 1980s when Thatcherism and moral conservatism, among others, finally shifted contemporaries' understanding of 'progressive politics' from a term describing political optimism and innovation to something typically left wing.

Tobias Becker (London) examined the emerging intellectual discourse of nostalgia in the 1970s. By linking the discourse with events from the 1960s, Becker challenged not only contemporaries' views of the 1970s as an increasingly nostalgic decade, but also the notion of nostalgia itself. He argued that many nostalgic manifestations which contemporaries attributed to the 1970s were, in fact, already present in the 1960s, and that the term 'nostalgia' was often used to discredit re-enactments and other popular forms of engagement with the past.

Ekaterina Emeliantseva Koller (Zurich) explored rural development and narratives about Soviet rural decline since the Long Seventies. She discussed how movements into and from rural areas in north-west Russia encouraged changing values and specific rural-urban lifestyles and practices in this period.

The second panel explored modes of expert knowledge and reconceptualization. Pascal Germann (Berne) examined how a transatlantic movement of social scientists began compiling facts, statistics, and data to help governments improve the quality of life in Western Europe and the USA. Germann concluded that social scientists not only reflected changing values during this period but also played a key role in fostering the rise of new value orientations.

Norbert Goetz (Stockholm) provided insights into his research on the history of humanitarianism by comparing British, French, and German aid campaigns in Biafra in the 1970s. Goetz challenged common attempts at periodization along geopolitical turning points such as 1945 and 1989. He argued that the value change of the 1970s, as a driver for shifting aid practices, began with a move toward 'expressive humanitarianism' during the Biafra conflict.

The presentation by Martin Deuerlein (Tübingen) historicized the transnational discourse of global entanglements and change in the USA and Western Europe in the 1970s by situating it in a longer perspective. He examined contemporaries' views of the changing role of the nation-state. From the mid 1960s social scientists diagnosed a 'crisis of the state' and began to scrutinize the principle of national self-

determination long before debates about globalization widened in the 1990s.

The third panel explored the rise of new politics and democratization in the 1970s. In his paper on the Dutch political climate in the 1970s, Johan van Merriënboer (Nijmegen) argued that the Netherlands experienced a materialistic turn to the right and the birth of 'Average Joe' ('Jan Modaal' in Dutch) as the result of massive public expenditure and increasingly burdensome social security contributions in the second half of the decade.

Corrado Tornimbeni (Bologna) discussed the relationship between the Italian solidarity network and the independence movement in Mozambique. He argued that Italian politicians and activist networks played a major part in helping Mozambique's anti-colonial fight for independence.

Patricia Hertel (Basel) emphasized the relationship between mass tourism, social behaviour, and value change, taking the examples of West Germany, Portugal, and Spain. According to Hertel, individual behaviour and changing values towards consumerism, pleasure, and quality of life became political. Mass tourism was therefore a vehicle for 'new forms of politics and simultaneous processes of politicization'.

The rise of new social movements and the idea of 'changing the world by changing oneself' lay at the heart of the fourth panel. Inbal Ofer (Tel Aviv) examined Spain's transition to democracy through the lens of urban activism. Neighbourhood associations drove a movement for 'autogestion'. Ofer argued that the Spanish Citizens' Movement played a crucial role in this process by building relationships with professionals and widening access to professional and administrative knowledge.

In her presentation on youth cultures and new religiosities in the Long Seventies, Isabel Richter (Berkeley) emphasized the 'entangled history' behind the growing popularity of meditation in Western popular culture. She argued that Indian gurus, transcultural imports, and increasing numbers of travellers to India played a role in changing religious landscapes in West Germany. For Richter, the 1970s marked a clear era of value change, as 'booming new spiritual practices' offered West Germans, especially teenagers and young adults, 'new forms of self-exploration beyond Western self and beyond classical therapeutic approaches'.

The fifth panel examined the themes of labour and leisure time in the 1970s. Bernhard Dietz (Mainz) explored how West German business leaders reacted to the anti-capitalist climate following 1968 and asked whether the 1970s saw the development of a new concept of leadership. He concluded that growing anti-capitalist criticism by the media and students, pressures for political reform, and generational conflicts within the business world all forced West German managers to flatten hierarchies and adopt new concepts of leadership that centred on self-actualization and co-operation.

Florian Schui (St Gallen) concentrated on the relationship between work and leisure time. According to Schui, the 1970s marked the starting point of a trend towards a rising inequality of leisure in advanced European countries and the USA. The main drivers of this change were an increasing inequality of income and a combination of economic, institutional, and cultural factors such as stagnating wages, inflation, increasing female labour, and individual decisions to work longer hours for additional income.

Christopher Neumaier (Hamburg/Potsdam) compared the difficulties that East and West German women faced in reconciling work with family life in the 1970s. He found that most women in both states considered their role as mothers their main purpose in life, and argued that part-time work provided a way for them to make family and work compatible, which, in turn, strengthened traditional gender roles and family values.

The sixth panel was dedicated to changing ideas of family. By adopting a grassroots perspective, Lisa Dittrich (Munich) was able to show changes in East German marriage culture which, she argued, had already taken shape in the late 1950s. According to Dittrich, the 1970s witnessed trends towards individualization and 'self-realization in the other, in love and in sexuality' on the individual level, and towards support by the state and the public of partnership as a new model of marriage providing ways of self-realization.

Isabel Heinemann (Münster) compared divorce reform debates in West Germany and the USA in the 1970s. Heinemann argued that attitudes towards divorce reform in both countries did not change in a homogenous and linear fashion but, influenced by their respective national and regional differences, were subject to conflicting processes of negotiation. Heinemann's research revealed the gendered nature of these debates, as feminists' efforts to expand women's rights con-

flicted with the wishes of many men to maintain their interests in divorce proceedings.

Barbara Klich-Kluczevska (Cracow) examined growing tensions between the Polish dictatorship's social and gender order policies and the expert discourses around decreasing birth rates, birth control, and family structure. She argued that while the 'experts' turn' brought about a dramatic change in conceptions of divorce, counselling, single motherhood, and domestic violence, they did not weaken the model of the 'modern Polish family', which ultimately contributed to ineffective social policies in the following decade.

The final panel discussed changing attitudes towards gender and sexuality. Jan-Henrik Friedrichs (Hildesheim) showed how changing moral values such as sexual self-determination shaped the West German discourse on paedophilia in the early 1970s, but he also stressed the role of power relations and the 'empirical turn' in the social sciences in facilitating pro-paedophile arguments in contemporary debates.

Roseanna Webster (Cambridge) examined the formation of reproductive rights activism in Spanish *barrios* in the 1970s. She argued that the rise of a local movement was triggered by interactions between several groups who held different ideas about sex and body issues.

Aline Maldener (Saarbrücken) compared juvenile sexuality, gender roles, and their embodiment in German, French, and British teen magazines in the 1960s and 1970s. Stressing the ambivalent and paradoxical nature of sex education coverage, Maldener argued that these magazines became 'European agents of standardization and normalization'.

Kristoff Kerl (Cologne) provided insights into his research on the counter-cultural politics of ecstasy in West Germany by showing how counter-culturists understood ecstasy as a tool for self-transformation and societal change.

In his keynote address, James Mark (Exeter) drew attention to the still much-neglected relevance of the 1970s in Eastern European history. By examining how political elites thought about the positioning of their respective anti-capitalist countries in the world, Mark sought to re-establish the decade and situate 1970s Eastern Europe in the broader global context. Contrary to the common understanding that 1989 marked the 'entry point into the truly global', Mark argued that

Eastern Europe had become globally engaged long before this. According to Mark, global pressures, such as issues of economic independence and crises of national sovereignty in the 1970s forced Eastern European countries to rethink management concepts, Westernization, ideas of rights and Europe, and the individualization of socialist societies.

The conference ended with a roundtable discussion in which Fiammetta Balestracci (London), Gerd-Rainer Horn (Paris), Martin Baumeister (Rome), and Claudia Kraft (Vienna) discussed their observations. The aim of the conference was to zoom in on the 1970s from a comparative perspective in order to understand whether, and if so, to what extent, the period presented an era of value change across all of Europe. First on the agenda was the problem of periodization. Baumeister stressed the difficulty of treating the 1970s in a vacuum and pointed to three ways of periodizing the decade: as a period on its own, as a continuation of the long 1960s, and as the beginning of the present time. Second, almost all presentations understood the 1970s as a period of value change from both above and below. The 1970s marked the start of a time when experts and contemporaries began to conceptualize shifts as value change and developed scholarly concepts of value. At the same time, the decade also witnessed the emergence of new subjectivities and a 'new form of self-expressiveness', as individual actors became 'experts of themselves' (Kraft). Third, the conference highlighted the role of feminism and gender norms as crucial drivers of change and fields of negotiation in this decade. Fourth, many papers showed that the 1970s were also a period of transnational encounters, and one in which the global had a significant impact on the national, political, economic, social, cultural, local, regional, and individual levels.

Many panellists portrayed the period as one that was marked by contradictory developments and the tension between progressive movements and conservative backlash. According to Horn, the 1970s forces were a result of 'the energies liberated in the 1960s [which] came to full fruition in the 1970s'. However, he doubted whether value change was truly unique to the 1970s. Balestracci suggested interpreting the value changes as resulting from criticisms of Western rationality and as a consequence of the affluent society of the 1960s. According to Balestracci, 'society was seeking new truths following individual experimentation'. She therefore understood the 1970s as

AN ERA OF VALUE CHANGE

an era marked by 'post-rationalist values and the individualization of behaviour'.

A publication of the conference proceedings and findings is planned with Oxford University Press, as a peer-reviewed volume co-edited by Fiammetta Balestracci and Christina von Hodenberg as part of the series Studies of the German Historical Institute London (general editor: Christina von Hodenberg). Preparations are already under way.

ALEXANDRA FERGEN (Oxford), FIAMMETTA BALESTRACCI (London),
CHRISTINA VON HODENBERG (London)

Security and Humanity in the First World War: The Treatment of Civilian 'Enemy Aliens' in the Belligerent States. Conference held at the German Historical Institute London, 11–13 April 2019. Organized by Arnd Bauerkämper (GHIL and Berlin) for the GHIL in conjunction with the London School of Economics and the Gerda Henkel Foundation.

In contemporary memory culture, stories of civilian internees feature less prominently than the narratives of prisoners of war (POWs) or even fallen soldiers, often stylized as heroes who died for their country. Nevertheless, around 800,000 civilians experienced internment during the First World War, a number that highlights the relevance of the topic of the conference. Terms such as 'internment', 'detention', and 'deportation' remind us of the contemporary dimension, especially the treatment of migrants throughout Europe and the USA. In his introduction, Arnd Bauerkämper (Berlin) established the framework of the conference and key concepts. First, he introduced 'security' as a variable construction driven by changing interests and power relations. As 'human rights' was not yet an established term at the time, Bauerkämper highlighted the importance of humanitarian engagement by both non-governmental organizations and individual activists in opposing internment. He also established the context of total war as underlying the state of emergency under which all belligerent countries treated their civilian 'enemy aliens'.

Tammy M. Proctor (Logan, Utah) opened the first panel, which introduced central problems and dimensions. She reflected on the usage, definition, and difficulties of the terms essential to the conference. Proctor focused mainly on the concept of the 'civilian' and its fluidity during the First World War. 'Enemy aliens' formed a special group as they stood between civilians and enemies, both as a possible security threat and as subject to popular attack and hardship. Civilian or non-civilian status was therefore not a binary distinction

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

but a matter of degrees of involvement. The subsequent discussion dealt with questions of loyalty and identity. In his paper André Keil (Liverpool) exposed a lack of specific codifications in international law regarding the protection of 'enemy aliens'. He pointed out that in practice, national states of emergency in wartime overrode the protection of civilian 'enemy aliens' in international law, as agreed upon, for example, in the Hague Conventions, under the pretext of national security. As 'enemy aliens' could not be classified as combatants under international law, legal fictions were used to portray them as potential soldiers of opposing nations. The subsequent discussion focused mainly on concepts of citizenship and nationality. Daniela L. Caglioti (Naples) emphasized the importance of the economy while speaking on the 'War on Enemy Property' during the First World War. Companies and assets of 'enemy aliens', in particular, were the target of economic restrictions, which could lead to compulsory purchases. After the war, few people could reclaim their property. During the discussion, Caglioti pointed out that especially in Germany and Austria there was little chance of compensation as these countries went bankrupt and had to pay reparations following the Treaty of Versailles. Heather Jones (London) argued that the wartime principle of reciprocity offered less protection than one would think, as many prisoners did not fall into a group that had an equivalent in enemy nations. Other determining factors included the nature of war between two nations as well as interventions by non-governmental organizations and ambassadors. Jones concluded that although the First World War brought a new mass internment of foreign civilians, reprisals against enemy aliens occurred much less frequently compared to official reprisals against prisoners of war. Questions of internee identity were the focus of the discussion that followed.

The second panel focused on civilian enemy aliens in belligerent states in Europe. Panikos Panayi (Leicester) spoke about 'Germanophobia' in First World War Britain. Panayi described Germans as 'lone voices' confronted with a hostile mass, and as victims of riots and internment. He also questioned the image of 'British fair play', as it was mainly the German Red Cross who helped compatriots. During the discussion, the participants stressed the role and organization of (mob) violence. Lukas Keller (Berlin) shed light on how enemy foreigners in Germany were the target of economic anti-espionage measures, such as the interruption of international money

flows and nationalist pressures on the job market. According to Keller, this meant that even for the foreign elite, such as Russian guests in German spa towns, for example, the situation quickly became critical. The plenary discussion problematized the difficult situation local guesthouse owners found themselves in. Panayi and Keller agreed to some extent that humanitarianism had largely failed civilian 'enemy aliens'. Matthew Stibbe (Sheffield) presented his thoughts on the treatment of 'enemy aliens' as well as internal enemies in the Habsburg Empire. He pointed out that Austria-Hungary had to fight for its very existence as a state during the war. Internal enemies therefore seemed to be an even bigger threat than 'enemy aliens'. Although Austria-Hungary prided itself on being a *Rechtsstaat*, based on the rule of law, this did not lead to humanitarian treatment in camps. The discussion then centred on the origin of the degree of violence shown towards internees in Austria-Hungary, which dehumanized them as *Ungeziefer* (vermin), and the differentiation between poor and wealthy foreigners. In his paper Eric Lohr (Washington) examined policies against 'enemy aliens' in the Russian Empire. While the internment of civilian foreigners was infrequent, the Russian case is extraordinary to the extent that the property of 'enemy aliens' was confiscated and liquidated or redistributed in an effort to expel foreign, and especially German, influence from the Russian economy. Lohr argued that what ostensibly began as a set of preventive security measures turned into an unprecedented outburst of Russian economic nationalism. In the subsequent discussion, the nationalization of property was interpreted as a possible move towards communism.

Wim Klinkert's (Amsterdam) paper on Dutch neutrality opened the third panel, which was concerned with civilian enemy aliens in neutral European states. As the country was not at war, the question of 'enemy aliens' did not exist. However, deserters, for instance, were interned according to international law. The internees were frequently transported through the country. Klinkert illustrated how Dutch humanitarian actions were related to state security, as they aimed to strengthen the Dutch neutral stance. This was essential because the Netherlands were too small to defend themselves and therefore had to prove the importance of their neutrality to the belligerent states. Thus the collection of intelligence about both sides of the war, exchanges of POWs, negotiations between belligerent states, and

humanitarian actions characterized the Dutch stance. Susan Barton (Leicester) discussed internment in Switzerland, which was a neutral state during the war. She drew attention to the good humanitarian conditions it provided for internees, mostly wounded and sick POWs with a chance of healing. Switzerland benefited economically from treating internees well, as visiting family members brought money into the country. Switzerland exchanged its knowledge with the Dutch government in order to improve each other's treatment of POWs. During the discussion the participants criticized the fact that no matter how good the conditions in internment were, residents still suffered from 'barbed wire disease'. Yet Barton argued that many internees, in fact, did not even want to return to their home countries.

The fourth panel focused on civilian 'enemy aliens' in the non-European world. Jörg Nagler (Jena) shed light on the control and internment of 'enemy aliens' in the USA during the First World War, specifically the German community. He argued that because the war was not liked by American society, anti-alien sentiment and fears of foreign subversion and espionage had to be mobilized on the home front, especially by the yellow press. The notion of making enemy aliens visible became the focus of authorities and a massive intelligence apparatus was established. However, as Nagler pointed out, only a surprisingly small number of 'enemy aliens' were actually interned. The discussion highlighted connections between anti-German sentiment and American prohibition, which conveniently put predominantly German breweries out of business. This, in turn, was linked to economic nationalism as presented by Eric Lohr. Gerhard Fischer (Sydney) added another geographical sphere to the conference by reconstructing internment in Australia during the war. The process was largely arbitrary and capricious, giving local military and police authorities wide-ranging powers to arrest and prosecute persons suspected of disloyalty. One notable aspect of the situation in Australia was that its national security was never actually at a risk. Though prosperous and well integrated, Germans were seen as 'enemy aliens' and interned, enduring rough treatment. After the presentation, a controversial discussion on problems in using a certain terminology (namely 'ethnic cleansing' and 'concentration camps') evolved. Stefan Manz (Birmingham) finished the fourth panel with his contribution on the mechanics and conditions of global internment of German enemy aliens in the British Empire. Although over-

all, conditions in British internment camps were relatively benign, Manz pointed out that there were vast local differences throughout the Empire. Furthermore, he argued that this benign treatment was only partially motivated by humanitarian considerations. Instead, Manz named the fear of global repercussions, the concept of *bellum iustum*, and the principle of reciprocity as determining factors in the British treatment of 'enemy civilians'. The subsequent discussion dealt with the discourse of humane treatment that Britain upheld throughout the First World War and the question of whether it was successful in overcoming the prior mistreatment of the Boers in South Africa.

The final panel dealt with humanitarian engagement and presented an outlook on the Second World War. Speaking about the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in the Ottoman Empire in the early 1920s, Davide Rodogno (Geneva) emphasized the importance and controversial nature of photographs in the context of crimes committed by Greek forces against Muslim forces and vice versa. He resumed the debate on the term 'ethnic cleansing', discussed earlier after Fischer's presentation. Rodogno here referred to the violent behaviour of Greeks in Turkey. In the ensuing discussion participants drew attention to the question of security and the danger of overemphasizing the role of humanitarian actors, as they did not occupy leading roles in the conflicts. As an outlook, Rachel Pistol's (Exeter) paper, 'Lessons learnt?', examined internment in the UK and USA during the Second World War. While Britain introduced a—quite inconsistent—system of categorization for Germans, the USA's policy against Japanese (Americans) was rigorous and highly racially motivated. In contrast to internment in the UK, internment in the USA dehumanized internees by replacing their names with numbers. Since the Second World War there has been little public discussion of internment in Britain, whereas the USA has witnessed a presidential pardon and the payment of reparations to Japanese survivors of American internment.

In his concluding remarks David Stevenson (London) framed the conference, initially referring to its title. He pointed out that once a state got involved in the war, there was little to protect 'enemy aliens', especially from a legal point of view. Stevenson criticized the fact that the contributors had neglected groups such as merchants and the Protestant churches, who could have played a crucial role in

terms of protecting 'enemy aliens'. Overall, stories of 'enemy aliens' are less known today than narratives of soldiers fighting in battle, even though they are equally important. During the final discussion, attention was drawn to topics that had recurred during the conference; class differences were important for the treatment of internees, while citizenship and nationality often appeared as competing factors in order to determine the loyalty of a person to the state. Furthermore, interpretations of 'cultural cleansing', especially in the context of hostility to 'German culture' in the USA, were vividly debated. In the discussions of loyalty, the threat of internal 'enemies' such as Bolsheviks was also highlighted. Participants remained at odds about the application of terms such as 'ethnic cleansing' or 'concentration camps', but agreed that language and its usage is to be problematized. They also shared the view that race was a significant element, as it kept recurring. The conference highlighted the importance of research on internment during the First World War. After all, as Pistol's contribution showed, these were the concepts that laid the foundations for the disastrous concentration camps of the Second World War.

LENA HEERDMANN (Duisburg-Essen) and DANA HOLLMANN (Bremen)

Workshop on Medieval Germany, organized by the German Historical Institute London in co-operation with the German Historical Institute Washington and the German History Society, and held at the GHIL on 17 May 2019. Conveners: Len Scales (Durham University) and Cornelia Linde (GHIL).

After the success of the first Workshop on Medieval Germany in 2017, the second event of this kind took place at the German Historical Institute London on 17 May 2019, organized jointly by the German Historical Institutes in London and Washington and the German History Society.

The first paper, 'The Admonishing Bishop in Twelfth-Century England and Germany', was presented by Ryan Kemp (Aberystwyth). Kemp pointed out that in England, bishops tended to admonish their monarchs, in stark contrast to their German counterparts. A further notable difference lay in the bishops' perceptions of kingdoms and their own dioceses. Whereas in Germany the dioceses played a much more significant role, in England the kingdom itself was of greater importance to the bishops. The two regions thus had different traditions in the understanding of the episcopal office. The panel's second speaker was Jonathan Lyon (Chicago). His paper examined the punishment of bad advocates as portrayed in hagiographical texts, a theme that can be traced throughout the Middle Ages. Lyon pointed out that the comparative lack of research on the old monastic orders in the period after the advent of the mendicants was partly to blame for a distorted portrayal of the phenomenon in modern scholarship. The final paper of the first panel was given by Amelia Kennedy (Yale). She examined the thirteenth-century *Visio Rudolfi*, composed at Salem, as a means of exploring the role of abbots at Cistercian monasteries, based on the example of the order's monastery at Kaisheim. Kennedy criticized the fact that this text had not been taken seriously by earlier scholarship, bringing to light evidence that it was a response to circumstances at the abbey and took the form of a subtle critique.

The second panel was a double session addressing the problems and challenges of editing specific medieval texts. Steffen Patzold (Tübingen) highlighted the challenges which Carolingian capitular-

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

ies posed for modern editors. Basing his deliberations around the process of editing the *capitulare missorum*, Patzold's thorough investigation of the transmission showed convincingly that there was no such thing as an official version of the text. He argued that the *capitulare* was, in fact, by its nature not a legal text per se. Rather, he argued, it mirrored ongoing discussions at court. Benedikt Marxreiter (MGH) and Thomas J. H. McCarthy (New College Florida) presented their work on the digital edition of the continuations of Frutolf of Michelsberg's *Chronicle*. They are working jointly on an edition of the text on the basis of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), and presented the method to the audience, while at the same time highlighting the complexities of the transmission.

After lunch, the workshop continued with a paper by Michelle Hufschmid (Oxford). She brought together two scholarly traditions, namely, the mostly English tradition of Crusade history and the mostly German tradition of Staufer history. So far, she argued, these two traditions have not been talking to each other. Hufschmid unites them by examining the crusades against Friedrich II and Conrad IV. While the anti-king Henry Raspe sought to defeat Conrad IV, William of Holland focused on legitimizing his own rule. The crusades against the Staufer, Hufschmid concluded, were well-organized military campaigns which aimed to legitimize the anti-kings as the new kings. Patrick Meehan's (Harvard) paper explored the role of guides (*Leitsleute*) at the Prussian-Lithuanian frontier at the turn from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. These guides composed *Wegeberichte* that detailed routes into Lithuanian territory. Their texts provide insights into perceptions of the frontier as well as into specific local knowledge. The network of *Leitsleute* proved to be an institutionalized system of communications built on personal relations. The Teutonic knights, however, regarded the *Leitsleute* as a liability, as the chronicles often record their failings, deliberate or not.

In the fourth panel Alexander Peplow (Oxford) looked at poems and songs as a means of expressing political ideas. In particular, he explored Henry of Meissen's (called Frauenlob) *Sprüche* in order to examine reactions to, and understanding of, swift changes in the process of imperial election by the seven electors. Peplow thus looked at the anti-clerical poet as a political writer. The second paper in the panel also dealt with the imperial electors in the broadest sense by focusing on their chancellors. In her paper 'The Chancellors of the

German Electors: Early Modern Professional Specialists or Black Sheep of the Family? A New Look at a Late Medieval Administrative Elite', Ellen Widder (Tübingen) concentrated on Matthias Ramung who was chancellor of the Electoral Palatinate and died in 1478. Widder took a social history approach, noting among other things that the office of chancellor conferred a specific rank in the social hierarchy. She pointed out that Matthias Ramung was probably an illegitimate child of Count Palatine Louis III who, by promotion to the office of chancellor, kept close connections with the court.

The final panel began with a paper by Jill Rehfeldt (Cottbus), speaking about the water supply system of the city of Leipzig. Using archaeological evidence, she showed that contrary to the widespread idea of the 'dirty Middle Ages', there was, in fact, an acute awareness of the need for urban hygiene, and that this need was met in the city of Leipzig. In addition to investigating the measures that were taken for this purpose, Rehfeldt also identified the driving forces behind them and the sources funding initiatives that included not only a fresh water supply but also the sewage system and the disposal of waste water. Next Duncan Hardy (University of Central Florida) explored late medieval imperial reform (*Reichsreform*) by taking the example of Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg and his regional court (*Landgericht*) in Franconia. Hardy's focus was on the practice, rather than the theory, of the reforms. *Reichsreform*, he remarked, was a versatile idea that could take many different forms, had different meanings, and could be put to different uses. In his paper, he looked at how normative ideas were applied in practice by Margrave Albrecht Achilles, including in his dealings with different imperial agencies. The final paper of the workshop, 'Reconstructing a Late Medieval Discourse: The "Oppression" of the Nobility by the Towns in Upper Germany (c.1380-1525)', was given by Ben Pope (Tübingen). He presented the first ideas for a larger research project on the alleged oppression of the rural nobility in Upper Germany in the fifteenth century. Pope examined the origins of this discourse of oppression, paying special attention to the ideas and identities connected with it. All in all, this was an inspiring day of stimulating papers and fruitful discussions, and we are looking forward to the next Workshop on Medieval Germany, to be held in 2021.

STEPHAN BRUHN (GHIL) and CORNELIA LINDE (GHIL)

NOTICEBOARD

Scholarships Awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate and postdoctoral researchers to enable them to carry out research in Britain, and to British postgraduates for research visits to Germany. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months, depending on the requirements of the research project. British applicants will normally be expected to have completed one year of postgraduate research and should be studying German history and/or Anglo-German relations. Scholarships are advertised on www.hsozkult.de and the GHIL's website. Applications 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. Please address applications to Dr Hannes Ziegler, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, or send them by email to stipendium@ghil.ac.uk. During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the GHIL Colloquium. In the second round of allocations for 2019 the following scholarships were awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations:

Camille Buat (Paris/Göttingen), *Of Desh and Videsh: Sketching a History of the 'Hindustani' Labouring Classes between Northern and Eastern India (Twentieth Century)*

Juliane Clegg (Potsdam), *Großbritannien und die europäische Währungspolitik in den 1980er Jahren*

Luise Elsässer (Florence), *Disappearing Markets: Britain's Transition from Equine to Motorized Power, c.1870–1950s*

Stephen Eugene Foose (Marburg), *Travelling Passports: The Imperial and National in Movement between England and Jamaica, 1948–1975*

Victor Jaeschke (Potsdam), *Europapolitische Zukunftsvorstellungen in Großbritannien, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den 1980er Jahren*

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Kristoff Kerl (Cologne), Politiken des Rausches: Psychedelische Drogen, Sexualität und Musik in westlichen Alternativkulturen in den USA, Großbritannien und der BRD, 1960er bis 1980er Jahre

Karolin Künzel (Kiel), Sinn- und Bewältigungskonzepte im Umgang mit Vergänglichkeit in lateinischen Jenseitsreisen des 12. Jahrhunderts

Simeon Marty (Berlin), Crossroads of Empires: Colonial Powers and Anticolonial Movements during the London Moment 1940–1945

Friederike Pfister (Bochum), Die christlich-lateinische Wahrnehmung der Astrologie als 'fremder' Wissenschaft (zwölftes bis fünfzehntes Jahrhundert)

Lisa Regazzoni (Frankfurt/Munich), Das Denkmal als epistemisches Objekt: Die Erforschung schriftloser Vergangenheit im Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts

Sebastian Schlund (Kiel), Staatsbürgerschaft als intersektionales Konstrukt in Siedlungskolonien des langen 19. Jahrhunderts

Nina Szidat (Essen), Doing Europe: Ost- und westdeutsche Städtepartnerschaften mit Großbritannien als Beitrag zivilgesellschaftlicher Europäisierung?

Daniel Trabalski (Bochum), Partizipative Risikopolitik? Die Regulierung der Silikose im westdeutschen und britischen Steinkohlenbergbau

Andrew Wells (Leipzig), Localizing Liberty: Freedom in the Urban British Atlantic, 1660–1760

Forthcoming Workshops and Conferences

Arms Control across the Empires. Workshop to be held at the GHIL, 13 September 2019. Conveners: Felix Brahm (GHIL) and Daniel Stahl (University of Jena).

Who should have access to weapons and who should be prevented from possessing them? This was a key issue for disarmament and arms control policies of the interwar period – not only with regard to the defeated belligerents. The focus of historians on demilitarization and disarmament within Europe has long distracted attention from the fact that disarmament also strongly affected arms control and

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access to weapons outside Europe. By shifting the focus to the non-European world, this one-day workshop connects the history of international arms control with the history of imperialism and colonialism.

Bringing together international experts with different areas of expertise, the workshop studies and compares for the first time how arms control across formal and informal empires changed from the late nineteenth century to the interwar period. Key themes include the arms trade and the moral attitudes associated with it; arms control and colonial rule; gun laws, citizenship and gender relations; arms possession and racism; and arms trafficking. Covering West Africa, East Africa, South Asia, Russia, and Latin America, contributions deal with a wide range of actors on different levels, amongst others governments and colonial officers, subaltern agents and colonial elites, diplomats and the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and peace activists.

Medieval History Seminar. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 10-12 October 2019. Organized by the German Historical Institute London and the German Historical Institute Washington, DC. Conveners: Paul Freedman (Yale), Bernhard Jussen (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main), Simon MacLean (St Andrews), Ruth Mazo Karras (Trinity College Dublin), Len Scales (Durham University), and Dorothea Weltecke (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main).

The German Historical Institutes in London and Washington, DC, are pleased to announce the eleventh Medieval History Seminar, to be held in London from 10 to 12 October 2019. The seminar is designed to bring together Ph.D. candidates and recent Ph.D. recipients (2018) in medieval history from American, Canadian, British, Irish, and German universities for three days of scholarly discussion and collaboration. They will have the opportunity to present their work to their peers as well as to distinguished scholars from both sides of the Atlantic.

The seminar is bilingual, and papers and discussions will be conducted both in German and English. Participants must have good reading and aural comprehension of both languages.

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100 Histories of 100 Worlds in One Object. Conference to be held at University of the West Indies at Mona, Kingston (Jamaica), 9–13 December 2019. Concept and Convener: Mirjam Brusius, GHIL; Organizer: Forum Transregional Studies with the Max Weber Foundation in co-operation with the GHIL; UCL (Alice Stevenson, Subhadra Das); and the University of the West Indies, Mona (James Robertson). Funding: Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), Germany.

Neil MacGregor's 2010 BBC Radio 4 programme (and subsequent book) *A History of the World in 100 Objects* was a resounding success with the British public, as well as internationally. Critics, however, felt that it presented the museum as a place to see the world; yet without any reflection on how the institution itself obtained and reframed the objects in order to create its own (seemingly universal) narrative. Nearly ten years after the radio programme was broadcast, it is time to turn to the formerly subaltern nations it left out. Where are the stories of the presented objects as seen by people who once used them? How was knowledge about an object informed by colonial collecting practices; and how is this context presented in museums today? How can formerly excluded voices be empowered to tell their own histories beyond these frameworks? This long-term project will show that one object can in fact have 100 histories of 100 worlds, with the ultimate goal of addressing broader questions about the role of museums in the multicultural societies of tomorrow. Starting with a meeting in Jamaica (Dec. 2019), the origin of Hans Sloane's collection, the long-term goal is to achieve not only an alternative history of the British Museum, but instead to work towards a multilateral fusion of object histories and present legacies in museums and their collections through and with scholars and curators in the 'Global South'.

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Global Royal Families: Concepts, Cultures, and Networks of International Monarchy, 1800–2020. International conference to be held at the GHIL, 16–18 January 2020. Conveners: Falko Schnicke (GHIL), Robert Aldrich (University of Sydney), and Cindy McCreery (University of Sydney). Sponsors: GHIL, University of Sydney.

Monarchies, by definition as hereditary institutions, are defined by their familial context. Apart from a very few examples of monarchical titles that survived without them (such as the papacy or the Holy Roman Empire until 1806), the families of sovereigns are crucial to succession to the throne, and to the survival and legitimacy of a dynasty. While Western and non-Western royal families are usually celebrated as icons of nationalism, they have often maintained a global presence. It is this familial nature of monarchy in global terms that requires further analysis. This conference will investigate the topic in carefully selected case studies ranging from the early nineteenth century to the present.

Drawing on existing research but developing new concepts, the conference will systematically address global royal families on three levels. (1) Concepts of global monarchy will be addressed in order to differentiate various types and models of global royal families. To that end, marriage practices, royal monogamy/polygamy, and politics of bloodlines will be considered, but also patterns of succession to thrones and the role of minor royals. (2) Cultures of global monarchies are an important issue because of the evolving practices of global royalty. Here, the conference will study royalty and heritage, royal family traditions such as gatherings (of royal families linked by both kinship and status) and ceremonies, issues of gender in regard to royal families, and the educational and training exchanges between courts of heirs and junior royals. (3) Concern with global networks provides insight into international and intercultural connections of royal families, and connects with such topics as travel and tourism, cultures of letter-writing and gift-giving, consumerism and collecting as integral to material culture, and the dissemination of European styles of dress, ceremonial, and the awarding of honours as part of court cultures.

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Global History: Challenges and Opportunities. A winter school for Ph.D. and early career scholars in Germany and India to be held at the India International Centre, New Delhi, 16–21 February 2020. Conveners: Debarati Bagchi (MWS India Branch Office, New Delhi), Felix Brahm (GHIL), Pablo Holwitt (University of Heidelberg Branch Office, New Delhi), Monica Juneja (Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural Studies), and Indra Sengupta (GHIL and MWS India Branch Office, New Delhi). The winter school is organized jointly by Heidelberg University, the India Branch Office of the Max Weber Stiftung, New Delhi, and the GHIL (India Research Programme).

The turn towards global history, which in its present form can be traced back to the middle of the 1990s, has never been more influential. It owes its origins to academic discussions about the globalization of the 1980s and 1990s; examines in historical perspective the connections, networks, and trajectories between unlikely and unequal spaces, sites, and actors in a globalized world; and analyses the relationship between Europe and the non-European world, long calibrated by colonial power relationships, as a history of globalization preceding the globalization of the late twentieth century. And yet, as ethno-nationalism begins to reassert itself against the forces of globalization, the question arises, is global history passé? Is it time to 'return' to smaller entities, such as local spaces, the region, or the nation as the principal subject of inquiry? Global historians have responded to these questions from various perspectives, most importantly by arguing that globalization, both past and present, constituted powerful processes that succeeded in connecting even the small spaces of the world. They argue that studying most modern phenomena, regardless of their scale, automatically involves a study of global entanglements. Global history does not flatten out difference with a Western-dominated approach, but enables difference to be studied relationally. Attempts have also been made to sharpen the focus and methods of global history and bring it into dialogue with related concepts such as translocality, transregionality, or transculturation. Such a 'critical globality' can be useful as a tool for questioning the epistemic foundations of most disciplines in the humanities, as these were formed in the course of European nation-building and that of younger, postcolonial nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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The winter school, intended for Ph.D. and early career scholars mainly from German and Indian universities, will address the following set of conceptual and methodological questions. How can globality as a critical perspective help to integrate the intellectual insights of regional experiences beyond Euro-America into more general analyses of historical phenomena? How do we move beyond the academic and institutional divisions between so-called area-studies and an unmarked 'mainstream' if we want to overcome the trap of universalizing narratives? Conversely: what is at stake when we choose a global approach? What are the issues that such an approach is ill-equipped to address? The sessions will engage with the relationship between global history, the history of colonialism and local/micro-history, and the methodological challenge posed by languages and concepts to the writing of global history.

Chronopolitics: Time of Politics, Politics of Time, Politicized Time. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 14–16 May 2020. Conveners: Tobias Becker (GHIL), Christina Brauner (University of Tübingen), and Fernando Esposito (University of Constance). Organized in cooperation with the Arbeitskreis Geschichte+Theorie.

Time is so deeply interwoven with all aspects of politics that its importance is frequently overlooked: politics takes place in time, needs time, and brings forth time; time can be an instrument and also an object of politics. Political actors also use time as a resource to legitimize or delegitimize policies and politics, for instance, when differentiating between conservatives and progressives, or when constructing 'primitive' states or people existing outside of (modern) time as objects of civilizing missions, development aid, and modernizing projects. More generally, politics aims to create futures in the present – or to prevent them. The 'politics of time' is strongly connected to the question of how social change is understood and managed.

The international conference 'Chronopolitics: Time of Politics, Politics of Time, Politicized Time' sets out to engage with these issues and questions in an interdisciplinary framework. It attempts a first systematization of the respective debates on chronopolitics, temporality, and historicity. The emphasis on chronopolitics connects tra-

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ditional fields of historical inquiry – politics, society, economy – with the history of temporalities, thereby demonstrating the importance of reflections on time and temporality for all historians and historiographical practices. We would also like to develop discussions on the chronopolitics of historians and historiography – not least our own. How do historians and other scholars create and contribute to ‘images of history and temporal order’ (Charles Maier)? Both time and history have their own histories and are thus in need of historical investigation.

The first panel, ‘Synchronicity: The Simplification and Co-ordination of Time’, focuses on the construction of non-synchronicities or temporalities of difference, while the second, ‘(Post)Colonial Temporalities, or: Pluritemporality’, explores conflicts between colonial or Western and different local temporal regimes, analysing how euro-centrism is built on chronocentrism. The third panel, ‘Ideological Temporalities from Communist to “Neoliberal”’, examines transformations of ideological temporalities in the last third of the twentieth century, focusing on (post-)communist and neoliberal temporalities. The fourth panel, ‘A Tale of Many Historicities’, discusses historicity as a specific form of temporality. It takes up the critique of ‘history’ in the singular, which is closely entangled with teleological narratives of modernization, and reflects on the chronopolitics of more recent calls for pluritemporal histories.

A sortable list of titles acquired by the GHIL Library in recent months is available at:

https://www.ghil.ac.uk/library/collections/recent_acquisitions.html

For an up-to-date list of the GHIL's publications see the Institute's website:

<http://www.ghil.ac.uk/publications.html>