German Historical Institute London

Bulletin

Volume XX, No. 1 May 1998

CONTENTS

cont.

Contents

SEMINARS AT THE GHIL
SUMMER 1998

28 April — PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH LENGER (Oxford / Tübingen)

Building and Perceiving the City: Germany around 1900

Friedrich Lenger is currently Visiting Fellow at St Antony's College Oxford. His publications include *Sozialgeschichte der Handwerker* (1988) and *Werner Sombart, 1863-1941. Eine Biographie* (2nd edn, 1995).

12 May — PROFESSOR em. NOTKER HAMMERSTEIN (Frankfurt)

National Socialism in German Universities

A well-known expert on the history of universities and education, Notker Hammerstein has published, among other books, *Jus und Historie* (1972), and *Antisemitismus und deutsche Universitäten* (1995). He is currently working on the history of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

19 May — PROFESSOR PETER WENDE (London)

Germany 1848: Revolution or Reform?

Peter Wende has been Director of the GHIL since 1994. His publications include *Radikalismus im Vormärz* (1975) and *Geschichte Englands* (2nd edn, 1995). Most recently he has edited *Die englischen Königinnen und Könige der Neuzeit* (1998).

26 May — PROFESSOR GERALD D. FELDMAN (Berlin / Berkeley)

Hugo Stinnes and his Bankers

Gerald D. Feldman is currently the Karl W. Deutsch Guest Professor at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. His books include *The Great Disorder. Politics, Economics and Society in the German Inflation, 1914-1924* (1993), and a biography of Hugo Stinnes (1998). At present he is working on a study of the Allianz Insurance Company in the National Socialist period.

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

SPECIAL LECTURE

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Berlin Airlift

DR DAVID WILLIAMSON

will give a lecture

'Say nothing and stay put.'
General Sir Brian Robertson and the Berlin Crisis, 1948-49

at the German Historical Insitute
on Monday 29 June at 5 p.m.
To be followed by a reception

REVIEW ARTICLES

ACCESS TO EDUCATION, WINNERS AND LOSERS

by Michael Heafford

KARL-ERNST JEISMANN, *Das preußische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft*, vol 1: *Die Entstehung des Gymnasiums als Schule des Staates und der Gebildeten 1787-1817*, Industrielle Welt, 15 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996), 475 pp. ISBN 3 608 91793 4. DM 148,- and vol. 2: *Höhere Bildung zwischen Reform und Reaktion 1817-1859*, Industrielle Welt, 56 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996), 797 pp. ISBN 3 608 91794 2. DM 148,-
ELKE KLEINAU and CLAUDIA OPITZ (eds), *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, vol. 1: *Vom Mittelalter bis zur Aufklärung* (Frankfurt / M.: Campus, 1996), 588 pp. ISBN 3 593 35412 8. DM 88,- and vol. 2: *Vom Vormärz bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt / M.: Campus, 1996), 680 pp. ISBN 3 593 35413 6. DM 88,-

In Prussia, the involvement of the state in the education of its citizens began early and advanced inexorably. This involvement not only resulted in a much clearer shaping of the educational system, but fundamentally altered the very structures of society itself. The creation of the *Gymnasium* at the apogee of the school system and as the sole means of access to higher education over the key period from 1787 to 1859 is the subject of Jeismann's two volumes. Any historical study of education needs to examine firstly the main ideas for reform which emerge from the melting pot of opinions including the cranky and the ultra-reactionary, secondly the sifting and selection of these followed by their translation into legislation, and thirdly the implementation of the legislation at local and institutional level. It is testimony to the depth of Jeismann's scholarship that he is able to examine these three elements separately but in relation to each other. The result is a clear reminder of how essential a study of Prussian secondary education must be to any general consideration of the way in which state educational systems emerged in the nineteenth century, and the merits and disadvantages of particular forms of institutional organization.

Michael Heafford

During the key period 1787 to 1817, the period examined in the first volume of Jeismann's work, Prussia was subject to two major influences, firstly the call for the creation of a new structure of society which recognized the rights and abilities of the individual and which rejected categorization of citizens according to birth and class, and secondly the search for a new and revitalized national identity following Prussia's military defeat by the Napoleonic armies. These influences led to demands for the creation by the state of a new national system of education in which the state and the individual, politics and education, were to be bound in a mutually dependent and creative relationship. However, grand schemes of change are constricted in three important ways: they have to take account of the existing order which is likely to be resistant to change, they have to propose a viable point of inception and scheme of development, and they need to be realizable in terms of finance and personnel. Jeismann analyses in most lucid fashion how the reforms proceeded in a piecemeal way along lines determined by the personalities of the legislators, the priorities they set for themselves, and the nature of the obstacles they had to confront. Of all the developments over this period, the creation of the *Gymnasium* proved the most important and the most enduring.

At the end of the eighteenth century, there existed in Prussia a large number of academic secondary schools (*Gelehrtenschulen*) organized essentially by municipal authorities and seeking to satisfy the demands not only of those proposing to continue to university, but also of those destined for posts in trade, commerce, and the increasingly important civil service. By gradually designating some of the schools as *Gymnasien*, the state did not merely succeed in putting some order into secondary schooling, but, in so doing, also began to change the structure of society itself. The change was effected in a number of ways mostly linked to the 'privileges' granted to the *Gymnasium* alone. The most important of these was the exclusive right of entry for pupils in the top form to the *Abitur* examination, which, in turn, gave access to higher education. In addition, the *Abitur* was the minimum requirement for certain posts in the civil service and even the satisfactory conclusion of specified pre-*Abitur* classes was required for access to some, more junior, civil service posts. A further important privilege was conferred on *Gymnasium* pupils, the right to have their period of military service reduced to one year.

Jeismann describes in detail the sorts of repercussions which the creation of the *Gymnasium* had on other schools and on society. These

included a pressurizing of upper-class parents to send their children to the *Gymnasium* and a considerable diminution of municipal and local control of secondary schools. The latter was reinforced by the granting of rights and privileges to teachers in the *Gymnasium* who were to be regulated as civil servants and not as employees of municipal authorities.

Most changes effected by the creation of the *Gymnasium* reflected the aim of its creators: the desire to replace a whole range of disparate establishments and agencies providing education at secondary level by a coherently organized hierarchy of educational institutions through which promotion would be achieved by personal ability, not by birth, patronage, or privilege. Some changes, however, were less intended but just as profound. Because of the strong focus on upper secondary education, including the creation of a specifically examined group of teachers to teach in them, a cleft was created between secondary and elementary education, an effect very much at variance with the idealistic schemes of a co-ordinated system of schools propounded in the first decade of the nineteenth century. A second and equally contentious division opened up between the *Gymnasien* on the one hand and other secondary schools on the other.

The relationship between the increasingly powerful *Gymnasien* and the other secondary schools, usually designated as *Realschulen* or *Bürgerschulen*, provides the central theme running through Jeismann's second volume. A range of factors prevented the realization of the simple three-tier system envisaged by the reformers at the beginning of the century: elementary school, *Gymnasium*, university. Some of the factors were ideological in nature and concerned the aims of schooling and their incorporation into the curriculum. Humboldt and his followers had placed the Classics, both Latin and Greek, at the centre of the curriculum maintaining that they were ideally suited to providing the general education (*allgemeine Bildung*) which young men entering universities and the professions needed. However, the domination of the curriculum by the Classics left little room for the inclusion of modern subjects, especially the sciences and modern languages, raising the question of whether, at secondary level, a single unified curriculum was feasible. Attempts in the 1830s to include other subjects in the *Gymnasium* syllabus merely led to accusations of overloading (*Überbürdung*). At the same time the growing and commercially orientated bourgeoisie maintained the need for a school which focused on the study of objects rather than languages, *Sachen*

rather than *Sprachen*, thereby ensuring the increased popularity of the *Realschulen*.

There were also strong pragmatic reasons for challenging the dominant position of the *Gymnasium*. In particular, *Realschule* pupils wished to share some of the privileges enjoyed by *Gymnasium* pupils, especially those relating to a reduced period of military service and to access to the professions and higher education. From an administrative point of view, there was a recognition by the state that the proliferation of non-*Gymnasium* secondary schools could not be allowed to continue haphazardly. Thus in 1859, the terminal point of Jeismann's second volume, a regulation was issued organizing the *Realschulen* into three categories according to the content of their curriculum and the length of their courses. By this measure, all secondary schools were moved into the overall system organized by the state. The integration did not result in equal privileges, however, and even when these were granted at the beginning of the twentieth century, differences in esteem proved extraordinarily difficult to eradicate. As late as the mid-1960s, *Der Spiegel* (21 October 1964) indicated that 'at the top of the value scale is, as before, the Classical *Gymnasium*, at the bottom the *Oberrealschule*'.

Throughout the period reviewed by Jeismann, the world of formal education was essentially a male world. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the word *Mädchen* rarely slips into his exposition. Girls enjoyed some opportunities to be educated both before and during the first half of the nineteenth century, but few of being 'schooled'. These opportunities, both formal and informal, are examined in the two-volume *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung* which spans the whole period from the Middle Ages to the present. The work consists of some sixty essays covering topics as varied as the education of nuns in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, to female holders of professorial chairs in the 1970s. Over this long time span, the most critical, and therefore most interesting, period is that which largely overlaps with that investigated by Jeismann. For this was the period culminating in the French Revolution which proposed a new structuring of society free from the constraints of birth and class. The new climate that emerged led for the first time to the creation and gradual development of national education systems, for the young had to be prepared not for a trade or occupation designated by social status but as citizens with, in theory at least, a much less preordained place in society. Such a fundamental restructuring of society inevitably raised questions about

the status of women and how they should be prepared for their new role.

In seeking to establish the ideal form of education for girls under the new order, the most vigorous advocates of female education were divided over the 'equal and the same' or 'equal but different' issue, an issue still not fully resolved. Certainly, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it led to delays in the opening up of the male education system to girls. The essays in the two volumes give us many snapshots of the opinions and attitudes existing at this period. The idea that it was the natural role of women to be mothers and to suckle their children in infancy implied that they had responsibilities for educating offspring of both sexes in the early years of life. Even unmarried women were considered to play a motherly role within society with the result, amongst others, that mothers of illegitimate children were regarded more positively and discrimination against the latter was reduced.

Specifying that the essential role designated by nature to women was that of mother led to a restricted definition of a desirable education for them. Knowledge in women needed to be cultivated only in so far as was necessary for educating young children, stimulating social conversation and running the household. As a result, women were not only largely excluded from educational institutions through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, but usually excluded themselves. 'For all the world, I would not wish to be considered learned', wrote Therese Heym, daughter of a professor at Göttingen.

Lack of access to traditional educational institutions did not exclude women from all forms of education. Other essays in the Kleinau / Opitz volumes explore some forms of alternative education, such as through the reading of magazines, some of which were created by women for women, and through the exchange of letters which were not restricted to two correspondents, but which formed the basis of discussion within small family circles. The daughters of some families succeeded in acquiring a high level of education in the home by participating in the tutorial sessions organized for their brothers, and / or by gaining access to books, and / or by enjoying informed, intellectual conversation within the family. Once grown up, these women were the pioneers in seeking career openings for themselves, as governesses, for instance, or as teachers in the increasingly popular kindergartens. In the first half of the nineteenth century, women pressed

overtly for greater access both to formal education and to access to professional employment. The 'equal but different' majority proposed the creation of girls' schools with a female-orientated curriculum and professional training for 'female-appropriate' employments; the 'equal and the same' minority sought integration of girls within mainstream schooling, especially important as this alone gave access to the *Abitur* and thereby higher education.

The growth of secondary schools for girls in the second half of the century removed the most rational of male arguments against female entry to the *Abitur* and university, namely, that they had not received the prerequisite intellectual education. Thus during the first decade of this century, the state not only began to take responsibility for the education of girls, but also granted access to higher education. These moves did not open floodgates: in 1915 there were 160,000 female pupils in Prussian schools, but only 612 successful *Abitur* candidates. Nor did they open up a primrose path into the professions. Essays in volume two describe the obstacles blocking female entry into medicine, the law, and academia, obstacles essentially created by male underestimation of female capacities, both physical and intellectual, and maintained into the post-1945 period.

With such a multi-contribution structure, there are inevitably gaps. The interesting essays describing 'alternative' forms of education during the period 1750 to 1850 are not accompanied by others examining female participation in more formal institutions. At secondary level, Jeismann mentions the *Realschule* created in Berlin by Johann Julius Hecker in 1747 and intended to provide post-elementary 'universal education' for girls as well as boys. Later the school was divided into a *Gymnasium* and a *Realschule* but under a single director. When August Spilleke took on this post in 1820, there were nine girls' classes within the bilateral establishment. While these institutions may have been exceptional, they were also prestigious; it would, therefore, be of interest to know more of their contribution to the theory and practice of girls' education. Similarly, and more importantly, little is said about the participation of girls in elementary education prior to 1850. It may be that it was felt that here the ground was better trodden; nevertheless, an examination of the proportion of girls to boys in the early *Volksschulen*, the degree to which they were taught separately with their own curriculum, along with the reasons for differences, would have added an essential component to the overall account.

Throughout the nineteenth century, British visitors to Germany showed a keen interest in the education system. Understandably, it was often the more superficial and sensational aspects of education which caught their attention, particularly the university students with their eccentric dress and rites. However, the system of education generally was both described and often admired, especially the provision of elementary schools and, increasingly, the number and quality of state secondary schools. The often anecdotal interest of individual tourists was replaced by considerable official interest in the system: John Roebuck gave a speech in Parliament in 1833 recommending the adoption of a Prussian-style system of elementary education, the Clarendon Commission Report (1864) contained an Appendix on the secondary schools of Germany, Matthew Arnold's famous book on *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany* appeared in 1868, Michael Sadler wrote a special memorandum on the *Abitur* for the Bryce Commission Report of 1895, and the Board of Education in 1902 devoted a whole volume of its *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* to 'Education in Germany', including an eighty-page section on 'Higher Schools for Girls'. If a succession of British governments did not adopt the 'Prussian model' of a system structured and controlled by the state, their decision was certainly not based on ignorance of the nature and merits of the system they were rejecting. The prevailing view was that the state should not become 'an alien and intrusive power in the community', as Matthew Arnold expressed it. At the same time, he acknowledged that there was also a subjective element of bulldoggish self-confidence in the rejection, based on 'our high opinion of our own energy and prosperity'.

The deliberate decisions about the shape and shaping of the English educational system took it along an evolutionary path which ultimately gave rise to serious structural problems. Ironically, many present-day academics and ministerial officials working within the field of Education have not been particularly successful in analysing German and other continental practice, and have therefore been slow to appreciate the repercussions of certain policies. The creation of the National Curriculum provides an excellent example of the British government disregarding wide continental experience, reinventing the wheel, but doing it so badly that radical revision was necessary even before full implementation. Even after the fundamental changes, and despite the resulting waste of time and money, the curriculum

cannot claim to be 'national' as long as it is not applied to Britain's independent schools.

The existence of this 'private sector' provides another example of how the failure to establish a structured institutional framework before the days of mass education has created difficulties subsequently. In contrast, the creation of the Prussian *Gymnasium* as the sole gateway to higher education and many civil service posts contributed to the eradication of the old class system. The English failure to integrate the independent sector continues to maintain unjustifiable social divisions. It has also meant that poor quality of teaching, inadequate resources, and pupil misbehaviour have too often been tolerated in state schools because most of those responsible for administering them send their own children to the independent sector.

University entrance provides another interesting example of divergence. Jeismann describes in detail how Prussian universities lost their control over student admissions as the *Abitur* was transferred exclusively to the *Gymnasium*. After toying with the idea of introducing a similar examination in Britain, especially in the 1890s, the government finally decided to leave university admission in the hands of the universities themselves. This privilege has had manifold consequences. It has allowed universities largely to control the curriculum of the upper secondary school, but to the disadvantage of many of its pupils, particularly those not destined for university. It has enabled cohorts of students to pass through university with few drop-outs, but only by constricting supply and ignoring demand. Now that the latter cannot be ignored any longer – the dismantling of the grant system and the introduction of student fees are manifestations of the change – British universities will inevitably assume many of the features and take on many of the practices of German universities, for example, a greater number of home-based students, more students combining paid employment and study, more students intercalating years or dropping out altogether. If some of the merits of the traditional British university, especially the tutorial system and the high percentage rates of satisfactory completion, are to be retained in the new order, serious lessons need to be learnt from the German system.

The wealth of well-researched information contained in the two works under review not only throws light on the evolution of the German educational system, but also provides an interesting contrast with that in Britain; the contrast indicates quite sharp divergence in

relation to the nature and function of upper secondary school but, as far as the education of women is concerned, a parallel struggle for integration into the formal system of education originally created by and for the male population. Both works also point to considerable mutual influence, for instance through the emigration to Britain after 1848 of some of the German women concerned with the education of girls, and through the mutual visiting of, and reporting on, educational institutions by German and British academics and civil servants throughout the nineteenth century. There is still much scope for research both into how structures created in the past influence present practice, and into the degree to which the creators of those structures were aware of, and took account of, practices beyond their frontiers. The volumes under review would provide an excellent starting point for such a study.

MICHAEL HEAFFORD was until recently a university lecturer in the Department of Education at the University of Cambridge. As well as being responsible for the training of language teachers, he also, for a number of years, ran a course in Comparative Education. He is currently a research student at Birkbeck College, University of London, where he is exploring the role played by European travel in the education of the British upper and middle classes in the nineteenth century.

WHO'S AFRAID OF HERMENEUTICS?

by Roger Chickering

OTTO GERHARD OEXLE and JÖRN RÜSEN (eds), *Historismus in den Kulturwissenschaften: Geschichtskonzepte, historische Einschätzungen, Grundlagenprobleme*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur, 12 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), vi + 414 pp. ISBN 3 412 14595 5. DM 78,-
WOLFGANG HARDTWIG and HANS-ULRICH WEHLER (eds), *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 333 pp. ISBN 3 525 36416 4. DM 78,-
KLAUS LICHTBLAU, *Kulturkrise und Soziologie um die Jahrhundertwende: Zur Genealogie der Kultursoziologie in Deutschland* (Frankfurt / Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), 605 pp. ISBN 3 518 58237 2. DM 68,-

German scholars seem to prefer the *fin de siècle* for their public reflection and debate on historical method. The turn of the nineteenth century brought what many observers regard as the founding moment in the modern historical profession, the birth of the phenomenon subsequently labelled 'historicism', which Ernst Troeltsch characterized as 'the historicization of all our thinking about humanity, its culture, and its values'.[1] The subversive implications of this principle lurked behind the bitter debates that raged over *Kulturgeschichte* at the conclusion of the same century. Freighted with new connotations, the same topos of 'cultural history' has fuelled methodological controversies that are currently underway among German historians – so far with more civility and good will than a century ago. The three volumes under review here serve as welcome reminders of this late-century coincidence, for they all relate, in one way or another, to these great moments.

[1] Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme: Das logische Problem der Geschichtsphilosophie* (Tübingen, 1922), p. 102.

I

The volume edited by Otto Gerhard Oexle and Jörn Rüsen presents a series of papers that were delivered in November 1993 at a conference in Essen, which addressed the problem of *Historismus*. The conference brought together most of the subject's leading scholars. One of the virtues of the volume is thus to provide an accessible review of debates that these scholars have carried out at great length during the last two decades. The principal issue in the debates has been the question of innovation, the extent to which methodologies that took root in the German historical profession in the early nineteenth century represented a break with the practices of the eighteenth century. One camp has argued that the approach connoted by the term historicism – the definition of history as an end in itself, the centrality of historical individuality, and the development of attendant hermeneutical techniques – represented a paradigmatic shift, the modernization of not only historical method, but also the very definition of history. This position has been ably argued by Rüsen himself, Horst-Walter Blancke, and Ulrich Muhlack. Along with Georg Iggers, Hans-Peter Reill has most systematically defended the opposing position, that the historiography of the early nineteenth century was prefigured in the practices of German academic historians of the late Enlightenment.

Much of the present volume is devoted to restatements of these positions by the principal proponents, as well as by their students. Reill again emphasizes, this time in connection with late-eighteenth-century vitalism, essential continuities between the two traditions. In an analysis of vitalistic elements in the philosophy of Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose *Ideenlehre* figures centrally in the case for historiographical revolution, Reill concludes that historicism represented 'no repudiation of the *Aufklärung*'s scientism' (p. 65). Rüsen and Muhlack remain unpersuaded. Rüsen again insists that historicism posed, if not a new paradigm, then at least what he calls a 'disciplinary matrix' (p. 127). Muhlack again calls historicism a 'wissenschaftshistorische Revolution' (p. 219). Gerrit Walther, a student of Muhlack, seeks the signs of paradigmatic upheaval in the realm of rhetoric, in the development of a language to capture the 'new and total reality of the post-revolutionary era' (p. 104). This effort led, on the one hand, to the rhetorical deployment of 'universal concepts' such as *Einheit* and *Menschheit*, and, on the other, to what Walther calls a 'stunted' (*gedrungene*) style, which characterized the staccato of Ranke's narratives and corresponded to

the 'explosively expanding fullness of what was to be narrated' (p. 107).

Despite the occasional nuance offered in these essays, the impression persists that the debate over the originality of historicism has grown tired. As the conflict settles into the recesses of detail, many of the issues have become blurred. The paper by Blancke, Rüsen's student, suggests that Reill's views have found significant accommodation among those who advocate the paradigm-shift of the early nineteenth century. Even as it insists on a basic distinction in *Wissenschafts-matrizen*, Blancke's essay, which is entitled 'Break and Continuity', concedes the extensive modernization of Germany historiography during the *Spätaufklärung*.

Other facets of the *Historismusproblem*, which were likewise rehearsed at the conference, send out more sparks. The first turns on the question of valences; and here the alliances that were formed in the other debate have broken. Muhlack has embraced the reorientation that took place in the early nineteenth century as the breakthrough to modern historical scholarship, whose tenets continue to govern the practice of history to this day. The view of Rüsen and Blancke has been more tempered. Like Iggers, these scholars have portrayed the same reorientation as a *Verlustgeschichte*, in which a great deal was sacrificed at the altar of political history; and they have characterized historicism as a nineteenth-century paradigm that has been displaced in the twentieth by the broader and more compelling claims of the French *Annalistes* and the German practitioners of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft*. The debates over the moral accounts occupied much of the discussion in Essen, where Egon Flaig, a student of Oexle, brought the indictment against historicism to a head when he argued that the reorientation of the early nineteenth century suborned a political discourse that was 'directed against the right of peoples to revise or found anew the political order by means of a conscious act' (p. 223).

Flaig thus joined Iggers in emphasizing the ideological freight with which the new historical methods – their enduring claims to general relevance notwithstanding – were loaded from the moment of their birth. In an essay that marks the highlight of this volume, Oexle provides a framework for sorting the enduring claims from the ideological freight. He speaks of historicism first in the broader sense (which he labelled *Historismus I* some years ago). This phenomenon pertains, in the manner that Troeltsch initially used the term, to basic

historicizing practices that continue in rich variation to characterize many of the modern academic disciplines, from philosophy to literary criticism.[2] This variety Oexle distinguishes from another, which he has called *Historismus II*. This one pertains to the more specific developments associated with the German historical profession in the early nineteenth century, but it has been a persistent source of trouble to historians since Friedrich Meinecke invented it in 1936. Meinecke's intervention defined the terrain on which historians have understood the phenomenon of historicism to this day, but the price has been high. 'In all of the other cultural sciences the word *Historismus* suggests still relevant modern problems', notes Oexle, 'while by contrast, historians have followed a trajectory (*Weichenstellung*) that has led away from this general discourse on the problem of historicism and modernity, hence away from a general discourse with the other cultural sciences' (p. 159). If Troeltsch's understanding of historicism emphasized the relativism that threatened to corrode the foundations of every *Weltanschauung*, Meinecke's celebrated a German ideological achievement that could alone, he claimed, contend with historical relativism. Failure to distinguish the one position from the other, Oexle argues, has left historians isolated in the German academy, still captive to an agenda set less by Ranke than by Meinecke.

The final section of the volume is devoted to the influence of German historiography in other lands. It comprises chapters on Italy, Russia, and the United States. The most illuminating of these comparative essays is Wolfgang Küttler's analysis of the *Historismusproblem* in the GDR. Here the ideological ramifications of the phenomenon governed the historians' discourse from the start, but they underwent a significant modulation during the second half of the GDR's life. Initially, Küttler explains, the East German project was to stand Meinecke on his head in the name of positivism and to demonize historicism – to portray it, in categories devised by Georg Lukacs, as a phase in the 'destruction of reason' and the prehistory of German fascism. The re-evaluation of historical traditions that began in the 1970s, however, extended to Marx's own intellectual roots and sug-

[2] Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Die Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus: Bemerkungen zum Standort der Geschichtsforschung', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 238 (1984), pp. 17-55.

gested the wisdom of discriminating between reactionary and progressive varieties of *Historismus*.

Still another question hovers over this volume. It is not mentioned often in the essays, most of which dwell on staple issues; but it provided the occasion of the conference in Essen. Historians must return to the discussion of historicism, remarks Rüsen, because it 'has again become chic' to talk about 'cultural memory and "lieux de mémoire"' (p. 120). In other words, historicism is back, its basic hermeneutical practices repackaged in the new cultural history. Rüsen, the historiographer of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft*, is uneasy about these recent developments, for he has long argued that the supersession of historicism in Germany during the 1970s was an epoch-making achievement. Frank Ankersmit provides the most sustained response to this argument in a jarring essay that concludes the volume. Ankersmit, the historiographer of narrativity, shares Rüsen's perceptions about the relevance of historicism to contemporary discussions, but his excitement over the return reflects an appreciation of historicism that is closer to Muhlack's. Historicism, or what Ankersmit calls 'the historical idea' is, he explains, the 'most fruitful concept that has ever been developed in the history of historical theory' (p. 401). Its proper modern idiom is narrativity, 'a historical theory of narrative substance that has been basically purged of all its metaphysical baggage (*Wucherungen*) and the last traces of Enlightenment substantialism' (p. 403). Its operating premise is that 'the language of the historian does not reflect the coherence of the past, but rather constitutes this coherence' itself (p. 403). This is a fair characterization of the beliefs of at least some of the scholars who are now calling themselves cultural historians, but equating it with historicism, however defined, requires an understanding of this term that finds little echo in the volume's other essays.

II

Ankersmit's essay advertises the extent to which the *Historismusproblem* looms over methodological controversies that have swelled in recent years in Germany. Here the focus of controversy has been the deficiencies of that variety of social history that Rüsen and others have characterized as the German successor to historicism. In emphasizing the modernization of social, economic, and political structures and institutions, the practitioners of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft* have defined a compelling research agenda and have produced an imposing

body of scholarship, but they are vulnerable to the charge of reifying basic historical processes, in which human beings figure as little more than passive objects. The 'subjective factor' – human perceptions of these processes and cultural constructions of their meaning – intrudes, so continues the indictment, at best as a secondary, derivative feature of social and economic change, an epiphenomenon of more fundamental (and measurable) social processes, like class-formation. Attempts to reclaim the 'subjective factor' in historical analysis have thus assembled in the 1990s in Germany under the banner of cultural history. Its central object is to remedy what has been lost or systematically neglected in social history – including an understanding of the high costs that modernization exacted from the multitudes who endured it. The defenders of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft* have in turn drawn attention to the risks of this 'new' cultural history, a remedy that threatens, they claim, to resurrect methodologies and ideologies that have duly been buried with historicism. The neuralgic point is the interpretive procedures that are evidently required for access to the realm of constructed meanings. The techniques that cultural historians have adopted, most commonly under the rubric of 'thick description', bear an uncomfortable resemblance to what was known in a Rankean idiom as *Einfühlung* or *Einverstehen*. Whatever it is called, this hermeneutic indulges the historian's subjectivity and ideological preferences, for it resists the kind of methodological control that 'historical social scientists' have found in analysing serial data and in the open embrace of a Weberian theory of ideal types.

Questions of accommodation between these methodologies have driven the recent controversies. Much of the impetus in these discussions has come from those who populate the fortresses of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft* itself, particularly the journal *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*.[3]

[3] For example: Ute Daniel, 'Klio unter Kulturschock: Zu den aktuellen Debatten der Geschichtswissenschaft', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 48 (1997), pp. 195-219; ead., '"Kultur" und "Gesellschaft": Überlegungen zum Gegenstandsbereich der Sozialgeschichte', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 19 (1993), pp. 69-99; Peter Jelavich, 'Poststrukturalismus und Sozialgeschichte – aus amerikanischer Perspektive', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 21 (1995), pp. 259-89; Olaf Blaschke and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (eds), *Religion im Kaiserreich: Milieus, Mentalitäten, Krisen* (Gütersloh, 1996).

The volume that Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler have edited is thus a primary document in the current discussions; and like a number of other such documents, it suggests an effort at damage control.[4] It purports to fulfill a number of objects. Like the useful anthology that Lynn Hunt edited several years ago, it furnishes an introduction to some of the basic concepts and techniques of the new cultural history.[5] An extended essay by Thomas Mergel provides a background survey of methodological controversies among the ethnographers. A similar survey by Carola Lipp summarizes a large body of social-science literature on the theme of political culture. Ernst Hanisch does the same for the 'linguistic turn'. A number of the essays are by younger scholars who have exploited methods of cultural history in their own research. These include Philipp Sarasin's smart report on the history of hygienic practices, Frank-Michael Kuhlemann's piece on religion, and an essay by Charlotte Tacke and Hans-Gerhard Haupt on the challenges posed by a cultural history of European nationalism.

The tone of the essays in this volume is nevertheless a great deal more cautious and tentative than in Hunt's. Cultural history is treated here like a pill, the benefits of which are not entirely clear even to the doctors. Postmodernism looks like the Trojan horse of 'neo-historicism' (p. 59). Discourse analysis has awakened the spirit of Hegel (p. 170). The ambiguities, inconsistencies, and conceptual confusions that have attended the study of culture and *mentalités*, and hence what one author calls the 'euphorically celebrated history of mentalities' (p. 182), are the objects of repeated strictures. Hanisch's crusty diagnosis of the linguistic turn is the most alarmed of the essays, but it speaks to anxieties that pervade the volume. 'Are the traditions of western rationalism still valid', he asks, 'or are they not?' (p. 219).

Many of these strictures speak to difficulties that have not sufficiently occupied North American enthusiasts of cultural history, to whom Clifford Geertz has supplied much of the theoretical canon. The general uneasiness in the present volume corresponds, in all events, to the level of theoretical abstraction at which German scholars have chosen generally to engage the problem of cultural history and its

[4] See Thomas Mergel and Thomas Welskopp (eds), *Geschichte zwischen Kultur und Gesellschaft: Beiträge zur Theoriedebatte* (Munich, 1997).

[5] Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989).

relationship to social history. In this respect, the most interesting aspect of the volume is the attempt to make the pill more palatable by identifying a defensible theory, which can open the basic insights of cultural history without loosening the secure moorings of social history. The essays by Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey on Pierre Bourdieu, Bernd Roeck on Aby Warburg, and Lutz Raphael on the practical implications of several contending theories all represent facets of this enterprise, as do the remarks of August Nitschke, an anthropologist, who claims to have found a way to synthesize social and cultural history in what he calls a process-oriented as opposed to an anthropomorphic understanding of culture. In the end, though, the volume's most compelling defense of cultural history – the pill's sweetest sugar-coating – is to fashion a Max Weber to fit it.

In view of the Weberian aura that has bathed (west) German social history during the past several decades, this project looks at first glance like an act of sacrilege. The governing concepts and methodologies of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft* flow directly from a common reading of the Great Sociologist. Weber's theory of rationalization has enabled German social historians to address secular processes of modernization in a manner that is free of the taint of Marxism. Weber's reflections on the ideal type and 'interpretive causal analysis' have furnished the practical criteria by which German social historians have sought to free their research from the taint of hermeneutics.

Nevertheless, the search for an alternative Weber has been underway for several years; and the essays in this volume document how far it has proceeded.[6] In their introduction, Hardtwig and Wehler concede that historical social science has relied on a 'halbierter Weber'. Ignoring the other half, they note candidly, has resulted in the neglect of 'the world of subjective experiences, frames of perception and meaning, the forms of symbolic understanding that guide behaviour' (p. 12). Other authors dwell on the same theme. In an analysis of Weber's reception in the

[6] Friedrich Tenbruck, 'Die Aufgaben der Kultursoziologie', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 31 (1979), pp. 399-421; Wilhelm Hennis, *Max Webers Fragestellung: Studien zur Biographie des Werks* (Tübingen, 1987); Detlev Peukert, *Max Webers Diagnose der Moderne* (Göttingen, 1989); Friedrich Jaeger, 'Der Kulturbegriff im Werk Max Webers und seine Bedeutung für eine moderne Kulturgeschichte', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft,* 18 (1992), pp. 371-93.

Federal Republic, Mergel points out that the sociologist returned to Germany after 1945 in a 'Parsonized' form (p. 56).[7] Redressing the balance, restoring the Weber who was sensitive to the symbolic dimension and the weight of cultural constraint in human affairs, is a central motif not only in Mergel's essay, but also in the thoughtful pieces by Oexle, Lipp, and Gilcher-Holtey. Given the reigning distrust of hermeneutics, there is little danger that Weber will now be 'Geertzified'. Geertz's name, like Foucault's, is in fact conspicuous in the infrequency with which it is invoked in this volume. By a wide margin in this volume, the contemporary theoretician of choice to preside over the marriage of social and cultural history is Bourdieu. For all their eclecticism, his theories seem best suited to blend the current interest in culture with the insights of Weber (and Georg Simmel, as some authors note) without sacrificing the hard-won methodological rigour of *Historische Sozialwissenschaft*. Bourdieu's achievement, notes Lipp, is most clearly to make 'manifest the structural and political elements in culture and the cultural elements in social structure' (p. 102).

III

Judgement is best withheld on whether it is fair or accurate to claim Max Weber in the name of cultural history, as this term is understood today. The test of this claim surely lies foremost in what Oexle has called the 'pivotal era (*Achsenzeit*) of modern scholarship' between 1890 and 1930 (Hardtwig and Wehler, p. 15). In this era, the scientific analysis of 'culture' already stood at the centre of academic debate; and the concepts that issued from these controversies have proved remarkably durable. Furthermore, the German historical profession's isolation for much of the present century followed from its own emphatic rejection of the kind of social history that the term *Kulturgeschichte* then implied. The writing of social history in Germany thereupon fell to economists and sociologists, who were also at the forefront of methodological discussions about the *Kulturwissenschaften* generally.

[7] On this theme see Guenther Roth, 'Max Weber's Empirical Sociology in Germany and the United States: Tensions between Partisanship and Scholarship', *Central European History*, 2 (1969), pp. 196-215.

Klaus Lichtblau's study is an excellent place to begin the historical analysis of modern theories of culture. Lichtblau is a sociologist, but he has written a powerful piece of intellectual history, which rests on a close and imaginative reading of canonical texts. Its theme is the encounter of German sociology's founding fathers with the 'crisis of cultural modernism' at the beginning of this century. Amid the dissolution of the beliefs and cultural certainties of occidental culture, these scholars struggled to define methodologies that could support systematic, scientific analysis of cultural fragmentation and address phenomena that eluded the categories of reason. Lichtblau's account focuses on two generations of German social thinkers, whose principal representatives were respectively Weber and Simmel, then Max Scheler and Karl Mannheim. The book revolves about their analytical confrontation with several related challenges, the metaphysical and ethical legacy of Nietzsche, the 'aesthetic remystification of the world', and the 'rehabilitation of love'. These challenges were linked in their apparent defiance of accepted modes of *fachsoziologische* analysis. Nietzsche's work seemed to embody nothing less than an 'anti-sociology', the triumphant repudiation of any attempt to subject cultural or social behaviour to regulative modes of understanding. Aesthetic creativity, whether musical, literary, or artistic, likewise resisted sociological analysis, in so far as it, like religion, invoked meanings that were elusively figured in metaphors, symbols, and other signs. Similar features appeared to bar methodological access to the realm of eros, the anti- or arational *Lebensmacht* in which the rational pursuit of interest, the concept that underpinned the psychology in modern sociology, could claim little purchase.

Lichtblau's analysis of the modernist challenge to German sociology begins with a survey of the *Nietzsche-Rezeption* in the work of Simmel and Weber, as well as Scheler and Werner Sombart. It then addresses the efforts of the same thinkers to work out a sociology of aesthetic experience and erotic emotion. The final part of the volume argues that the same 'crisis of modernity' which the sociologists of the first generation experienced as the fragmentation of both culture and knowledge of it was played out during the Weimar years as a *Wissenschaftskrise*, a bitter, intergenerational academic debate over the 'basic relativity and partisan character of all knowledge' (p. 419). Before the Nazi *Machtergreifung* brought it to a sudden conclusion, the debate had spawned its own resolution in the form of a modern sociology of

knowledge – 'a genuine sociological theory of culture (p. 456)' – which was most ably represented, in Lichtblau's view, by Mannheim.

It is impossible to do justice here to the range, richness, insight, or provocation that Lichtblau's study offers. One facet of the study will reward brief attention, however, for it suggests how much the current German controversies over social and cultural history are replicating scholarly debates of nearly a century ago. To this degree, Lichtblau's analysis engages centrally the question of Max Weber's relevance to the new cultural history.

Weber shared a general belief that aesthetic and erotic phenomena made up a distinct category of 'cultural objectifications', whose study required categories of understanding that were unlike those appropriate to the analysis of modern, rationalized forms of social behaviour. These cultural phenomena reflected instead an irrational order of experience, which could be expressed, communicated, and 'objectified' only by symbolic means. The difficulty was, in Weber's view, the incommunicability of this 'subjective experience' (p. 335n), the absence of external controls to test the intersubjective validity of meaning symbolically conveyed in this way. These meanings remained subjective, individual, and immanent; they could not be counted, nor could their validity be ratified generally – 'even', as Weber once described the acid test, 'by a Chinaman'.[8]

Weber's fascination with the erotic and aesthetic dimensions of human behaviour correlated with his legendary ambivalence about the processes that promised – or threatened – to temper the non-rational features of modern life. From one standpoint, however, the inaccessibility of the aesthetic and erotic to genuine scientific knowledge represented a fundamental defect in Weber's eyes, for his sociological project was, as has recently been noted, ultimately directed towards a model of rational social action.[9] The resulting epistemological dichotomies in the work of both Simmel and Weber are the topic of extended analysis in Lichtblau's volume. He notes that for the two

[8] Max Weber, 'Die "Objektivität" sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis', in id., *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen, 1982), p. 155.

[9] Thomas Welskopp, 'Der Mensch und die Verhältnisse: "Handeln" und "Struktur" bei Max Weber und Anthony Giddens', in Mergel and Welskopp, *Geschichte zwischen Kultur und Gesellschaft* (as in note 4), p. 55.

sociologists, the sphere of 'aesthetic and erotic values' remained, in its 'Autonomie und Eigengesetzlichkeit' (pp. 343-4), distinct from the 'genuine "rational" forms of human behaviour (*Lebensführung*)' (p. 265). If the one realm constituted the field of proper social-scientific analysis, the other was home to hermeneutics; it demanded something quite different, the employment of the 'empathetic-receptive capacities' (p. 301) and an 'understanding of symbols in the tradition of Goethe, Schleiermacher, and the romantics' (p. 217). But the terms that further marked this distinction were invidious. Hermeneutics could not yield 'real' knowledge of society or culture. It was passive, receptive, private, experiential, impressionistic, and – as the commentaries of both Simmel and Weber on gender made painfully clear – feminine. Simmel's views on academic history, which Lichtblau analyses under the rubric of 'masculine *Wissenschaft* and "feminine culture"', are instructive in this light. They did not altogether flatter the traditions in which this discipline had matured. '"The feminine-natural"', reads Lichtblau's paraphrase, 'could provide the basis for quite "original contributions (*Leistungen*)", in the sense of an empathetic, re-experiencing (*einfühlend-nacherlebenden*) "understanding" of past events' (p. 301). In this light, 'historical knowledge' carried an asterisk.

The question is apt whether the epistemological dualism can be sustained, now that Foucault has drawn attention to the symbolic meanings that massively gild the iron cage itself. Lichtblau's study raises questions, in all events, about the legitimacy of using a Weberian sweetener to coat the pill of cultural history, at least if this discipline is supposed to reconcile hermeneutics and 'historical social science'. In more than one sense, Weber and Geertz inhabit different worlds. The dichotomies that Simmel and Weber identified continue to mark off the basic oppositions in methodological controversies today, for neither thinker could suggest the framework of a unified science of culture, which would blend hermeneutics and scientific analysis in order to objectify the subjective and allow for the rational scrutiny of the non-rational. Lichtblau, however, is hopeful none the less, for he is persuaded that this feat was accomplished during the *Achsenzeit*. The achievement belongs, he insists, to Mannheim. Lichtblau's devotion to this epigonal figure is perhaps the most remarkable feature of this remarkable book. 'The resolution of this "quarrel among the faculties"', he announces in the beginning, 'is Mannheim, straight and simple' (p. 22). Mannheim's essential contribution, argues Lichtblau, was to work out a 'documen-

tary interpretation of symbols', by means of which it would be possible 'to situate specifically irrational moods, emotions, and experiences (*Erlebnisgehalten*) within the structural complexes that, in a given epoch, process meaning (*sinnverarbeitende Strukturbildungen*)' (p. 500). Mannheim hence defined social existence as a 'system of meanings (*Sinnzusammenhang*)', a 'mental infrastructure that helped lend form to mental elements in the superstructure'. From this perspective, the social scientist could 'relate meaning to meaning' in the context of a 'unified context of meaning specific to a social group or historical epoch' (p. 514). These unified contexts were particularly evident, Mannheim believed, in generational groupings.

Mannheim does emerge here as a precocious thinker, whose categories of analysis seem to offer succour to both sides in the current German debates on cultural history. Perhaps for this reason, the impression is difficult to suppress that Lichtblau has 'Bourdieuized' his hero. Mannheim, Lichtblau explains, proposed to 'determine the mental habitus of those whom he studied', an undertaking that promised a comprehensive approach to culture, which encompassed 'all the statements and cultural objectifications of a person, a group, or even an entire epoch' (p. 503). Here, however, Mannheim's difficulties began (as do Bourdieu's). The 'synopsis' that captures this habitus, Lichtblau confesses, was to be 'reconstructed by the observer himself' (p. 503). And to the question of the 'knowing subject', the licence by which the observer was entitled to engage in this reconstruction, Mannheim could appeal only to the privileges of *freischwebende Intelligenz*, the intellectuals who 'hovered free of partisan and ideological attachments' (p. 526).[10]

So the wheel comes full turn. Mannheim's epistemelogical credentials are as venerable as they are familiar. Their lineage extends at least

[10] 'Position in the classification struggle', notes Bourdieu at the conclusion of a prodigious exercise in classification, 'depends on position in the class structure; and social subjects – including intellectuals, who are not those best placed to grasp that which defines the limits of their thought of the social world, that is, the illusion of the absence of limits – are perhaps never less likely to transcend the "limits of their minds" than in the representations they have and give of their position, which defines those limits.' *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA, 1984), p. 484.

as far back as the early nineteenth century, to the great scholar who defined the historian's hermeneutic privilege on the same basis, if in a different idiom, as the ability to 'extinguish the self'. Lichtblau's study thus invites the same conclusion as do the other two volumes under review here. Ranke's ghost will not be banished easily from the debates at the end of the present century. Nor is it clear that it can be – or should.

ROGER CHICKERING is Professor of History in the Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University, in Washington D.C. His publications include *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life, 1856-1915* (1993) and *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918* (1998), and he has edited *Imperial Germany: A Historiographical Companion* (1996).

DEBATE*

MARY FULBROOK, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship. Inside the GDR, 1949-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 307 pp. ISBN 0 19 820312 8. £25.00

A study which, five years after the end of the SED (Socialist Unity Party) regime, aims to reveal the 'inner life and workings' (p. v) of the East German dictatorship faces unusual difficulties. These are caused not by any great distance from the subject, but on the contrary, by its close proximity. The historian has a wealth of historical sources which the former East German state left behind when it collapsed. The task of describing and classifying them, in some cases even just making them available, will not be completed for years to come. Moreover, the integration of GDR studies into contemporary German history has produced a flood of new research that has swept away the old discipline of *DDR-Forschung*, which existed for years as a mixture of history, sociology, and political think-tank. In 1994 the Bundestag's official commission of enquiry registered, in the German-language area alone, 750 scholarly projects on the future of the former GDR. By now this number has probably grown to more than 1,000. And finally, any work on recent German history takes place in the context of a public debate in which politics and scholarship are unusually closely intertwined. This discussion has been marked by sharp controversies between accusing and apologetic, between conciliating and condemning voices. Perhaps the detached view of someone who is familiar with the *querelles allemandes*, but not caught up in them, is needed for any attempt at a synthesis in such a confused situation, a synthesis which lays bare the anatomy of the second German state and exposes the ways 'in which the dictatorship was sustained and the manner in which it finally came to an end' (p. 14).

How was it possible for an imported dictatorship, which was never wanted by a majority of the population, to exist in an outwardly stable form in Germany for more than forty years, and then to collapse

* Mary Fulbrook's response will be published in the November 1998 issue of the *Bulletin*.

overnight? Mary Fulbrook rightly rejects the two most common explanatory models. The statement that the durability of the dictatorship was the result of the 'alleged docility of the apolitical German' (p. 270), a view derived from the well-known *Sonderweg* thesis, does not stand up to closer scrutiny. On the contrary, an examination of the internal workings of the GDR reveals the ubiquity of popular unrest. The sources that have now become available show that the East Germans' dissatisfaction with their state was by no means less than that in other Eastern bloc states. Nor do the explanations that see GDR life based solely on Soviet bayonets hold water. The view that the GDR was kept alive only by Soviet power, seemingly confirmed by the events of 1989, cannot explain the different degrees of stability in the Eastern European states, all of which were subject to Soviet hegemony. Nor does it do justice to the phenomenon of complicity and resistance, which also shaped the second German dictatorship. But if neither anthropological nor foreign policy explanatory patterns can do justice to the paradox of the stability and collapse of the GDR, then internal key factors must be identified, which can illuminate how domination was really exercised, interpreted, supported, and endured in the GDR.

Fulbrook's approach makes sense. She puts forward a thesis of the 'critical historicization' of the GDR. After an initial phase of delegitimization and distancing from the second German dictatorship, this notion gradually seems to have begun gaining ground. It is suitable for countering public and academic polarization, and can help us reach a historical assessment of the GDR going beyond condemnation and 'ostalgia'. Just because this book's approach and the degree of reflection in it are so informative, I shall critically juxtapose what it sets out to do, and what it actually achieves. From this point of view, the work holds some disappointments in the area of theory. Almost in passing, Fulbrook rejects approaches drawn from the theory of totalitarianism, and in particular, a comparison between the Nazi and SED dictatorships. She explains the renaissance of such comparisons in rather general terms as a political rather than scholarly phenomenon. The propaganda service it can render the process of coming to terms with and delegitimizing a defunct dictatorship is in inverse proportion to its analytical usefulness. Rather, Fulbrook suggests, it invites cheap 'black-and-white depictions of the GDR [which] tend to categorize the dictatorship rather simply, in terms of oppressors and victims, rulers and repressed' (p. 127). However, it could be argued that the theory of

totalitarianism, which has now become highly differentiated, has long gone beyond a simple equation between 'brown' and 'red' dictatorships. In fact, by systematically distinguishing between the theory and reality of totalitarian claims, by looking at the interpretative concept of 'political religion' and bringing it up to date, and by addressing the question of the totalitarian potential of the modern period in general, the theory of totalitarianism has become open to issues which are also discussed by Fulbrook. More important, however, is a noticeable inconsistency in Fulbrook's use of the totalitarian model which she first rejects so strongly. She herself argues within the framework of this theory in her examination of the dictatorship 'from above', for example, when she writes: 'The party aimed at total penetration and control of social processes, total persuasion of all the people, total conformity and outward support' (p. 62).

To return, however, to Fulbrook's own analytical concept, her *Anatomy of a Dictatorship* is a *post mortem*, so to speak, at three levels. The first looks at 'contours of domination', the second at 'patterns of complicity', and the third at 'challenges to domination'. The book covers the entire life-span of the GDR from 1945 to 1989, but in line with her approach the author concentrates on the periods when the system of domination was under particular challenge, or could have been, that is, 1953, 1956, 1968, and the 1980s. Economic and social developments in the GDR are not included; the 'exploration of its inner processes' (p. 14) is limited to an examination of its political culture (if this term is applicable to dictatorships of the Soviet type).

The first part centres on the viewpoint of the rulers. It is about 'the ways in which the rulers conceived, presented and legitimated their power' (p. 22). Here Fulbrook is on well-surveyed terrain. In a clearly structured account, she presents the mentality of domination of the SED dictators, and outlines the Stalinist transformation of fundamental anti-fascist legitimation and the emergence of the ubiquitous friend-foe mentality. Fulbrook is totally convincing when she relates the development of the dictatorship to generational change, and contrasts the two critical phases in the only apparently monolithic SED rule (1948-1955 and 1984-1989) with a period of stability and consolidation of power between 1971 and 1976, during which the rise of a technocratic generation, international recognition, and Honecker's 'unity of social and economic policy' seemed crucially to reduce the gap between coercion and consent.

However, this first part does not fully convince me because of a methodological decision which shapes the whole investigation. The consciousness of the actors, their ideological convictions, traditional attitudes, and mentalities are largely excluded. This becomes clear when Fulbrook describes the SED leadership's mentality of domination as a 'curious combination of paternalism and paranoia' (p. 22). The institutionalized demonology which suspected the machinations of the class enemy behind any resistance, and which blamed the West German anti-republic for every barrier to the state's claim to total penetration seems paranoid to Fulbrook. Yet this sort of thinking was 'paranoid' only from a Western view. In fact, every outside influence from the non-socialist camp was a threat to the artificial closedness of the SED state, and the Party had to aspire to total domination in order to exist at all. The diagnosis of 'paranoia' resigns rather than explains, and ignores the possibility that the irrational thing was not the self-understanding of the rulers and especially of state security, but the reality on which it was based. There is a similar short circuit in Fulbrook's argument on the role of the *Inoffizielle Mitarbeiter* (Stasi informers) which has been so prominent in the German debate. With their assistance, the East German Ministry for State Security was able to keep the country under Orwellian surveillance. The compliance with which such a shockingly large number of GDR citizens allowed themselves to be recruited as spies by the Stasi requires explanation. Fulbrook suggests a number of factors: naïvety, boastfulness, a desire for political influence, and ignorance on the part of the recruits. Apart from a presumably rather short-hand assumption about the easiness of de-conspiring, Fulbrook argues from an *ex post facto* position which sees the Stasi as the personification of evil, as an immoral institution from the start. But did contemporaries act in the same understanding? Or do we need to look more closely and differentiate more precisely in terms of population groups and age cohorts when researching motives? In any case, the vast majority of Stasi recruitment records give 'political-ideological conviction' as the motive for self-commitment. As a rule, this stereotyped assessment was not the whole truth, but it points to a field of investigation that Fulbrook's study bypasses: the points of view and the standards by which values were measured in the socialist dictatorship itself.

In the second main section Fulbrook looks at the complementary development of opposition challenges to the Communist dictatorship.

She rightly emphasizes that the GDR's trajectory was less a *decline* and fall, to quote the title of a popular book by two East German historians (Armin Mitter and Stefan Wolle), than a '*rise* and fall' (p. 172), and that the change in the nature of resistance from below contributed decisively to this result. Fulbrook argues that, paradoxically, the direct opposition and frontal challenge to the system of the 1950s unintentionally contributed to its stabilization and to the perfecting of its techniques of domination, whereas the reform attempts which came from within and aimed to improve socialist rule in the 1980s ultimately dug its grave.

This section is structured more chronologically than the first. Using reports on 'moods and opinions' and 'special events' from the East German trade unions (*Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), Fulbrook traces the development of political opposition during the forty years of SED rule. Her general conclusion that the extent of demonstrated dissatisfaction and political opposition in East Germany was far greater than the West was aware of before 1989 is convincing, and is confirmed by a number of more recent studies. However, Fulbrook's concentration on a single group of sources raises a fundamental question. Do the proportions remain the same if the sources she uses allow her repeatedly to establish 'clear indications of widespread unrest' (p. 188), but not the extent of support for the regime at the same time? How, for example, does the 'picture of uncoordinated protests and confused responses' (p. 184), which she draws from her sources for the uprising of 17 June, square with the declarations of loyalty to the regime made, for instance, by many university teachers during the same period, as the records of the Central Committee's *Abteilung Wissenschaft* (academic division) reveal? The conclusion that Fulbrook draws about the situation after the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 is similarly problematic: 'The regime had the power to control, but not the power to persuade' (p. 192). But that is precisely the question. Many reports show that especially among Party intellectuals, the closure of the borders was regarded, however paradoxical it may seem, as a liberation from external pressure that would at last allow the Party leadership to embark on a course of reform. And this hope seemed to be vindicated until the Central Committee's *Kulturplenum* of December 1965. It is a weakness of this book that it ignores the internal development of the people's belief in legitimacy and the regime's cohesive power, and therefore overlooks the significance of the key date of 1956 for the internal acceptance of the state in the GDR.

This also applies to the otherwise highly convincing account of the growth of a new type of opposition in the 1970s and 1980s. Fulbrook cautiously analyses the interconnections between the GDR's internal and external situation. With good reason she takes the accord between the Protestant church and Honecker of March 1978 as the starting point for the development of reform-orientated groups whose organizational networks and new forms of publicity make it possible to speak of the gradual emergence of elements of a civil society in the GDR of the 1980s. The peace movement, in particular, proved a threat to the internal consistency of SED rule because it was capable of dissolving the ubiquitous friend-foe image by means of a way of thinking that valued the joint preservation of peace more highly than socialism. In the words of a letter by theology students, quoted by Fulbrook: 'In our society, images of the enemy are constantly being created in order to arouse hatred and readiness to engage in violence. This hinders a positive attitude towards peace' (p. 205).

Fulbrook suggests dividing the emergence of the new opposition into three stages. The period from 1978 to 1984 she sums up as a phase of the 'controlled ventilation of dissent' (p. 206), in which the Protestant church leadership was able to keep political protest within the bounds of religiosity and the church, thus fulfilling the regime's demands. The next stage, from 1984 to 1987, she calls a phase of transition in which the state seemed to have triumphed by successfully demoralizing the peace movement and exiling many of its activists. The final stage covers the period from 1987 to 1989, when the SED regime wanted to return to open repression because the church leadership was no longer capable of effectively controlling an opposition movement that was becoming increasingly differentiated. This process, the result of increasing instability and political polarization, could no longer be prevented.

The approach chosen by Fulbrook means that large sections of this account are more narrative than analytical. The crucial question of what the decisive internal causes of the breathtaking process of delegitimizing the SED state were in the last three years before the fall of the Berlin Wall, is touched on only in passing, or overshadowed by judgements such as this about the culmination of the crisis in the summer of 1989: 'The moment was clearly ripe for the nascent movements for democratization within the GDR' (p. 241). This section presents the conditions under which 'increasing numbers of East

Germans began to change from being passive subjects to active citizens' (p. 247). Fulbrook asks the second question, equally crucial to the collapse: 'Why were SED and Stasi so helpless in the face of mass popular unrest, despite the massively increased numbers of those working in the state security apparatus, and in stark contrast to the smooth, effective repression of unrest in 1968?' (p. 252). Yet Erich Mielke's dumbfounded question, put retrospectively – 'How did it come that we simply gave up our GDR, just like that?' (p. 252) – remains in the most profound sense unanswered. Fulbrook compensates with an admittedly dense and successful description of the SED's final loss of power between October and December 1989, which ended with the seemingly resolute decision to put the security forces on a state of alert and the loss of the 'functionaries' will to rule' (p. 263).

The most interesting section of the book, however, is devoted neither to the regime nor to its opponents, but to the in-between region of popular behaviour which reveals the limits of the state's claim to exercise total control. In other words, it examines patterns of popular compliance and complaint which do not submit unconditionally to Party influence. Here the analysis concentrates not on the minority of the rulers, nor on the even smaller minority of open opponents, but on the broad majority of the population and their 'strategies of coping, of coming to terms with an often repressive but not always unpleasant regime' (p. 124). Where, if not here, should the secret of the stability of the Communist dictatorship be found? For good reason more and more studies of the GDR deal with the phenomenon of 'loyal reluctance' ('loyale Widerwilligkeit') and, taking a cultural history or history of everyday life approach, investigate the development of a belief in the legitimacy of the system and a positive sense of self in the second German dictatorship.

Yet even Fulbrook's impressive analysis leaves much to be explained here. She insists too dogmatically on her initial hypothesis that the GDR lacked internal legitimacy. If, at the same time, 'the population of the GDR' was certainly not 'the most docile in character, the least "uppity"' ... 'among Eastern European states' (p. 129), as she claims, then the investigation runs the risk of missing the point that it wanted to explain, namely, the longevity and relative stability of the SED dictatorship. The author resorts to the explanation that 'the central thesis of this book [is] that popular discontent alone was not sufficient to fell the system' (p. 127). This is as general as it is true, but it does not

take the argument much further, and is certainly not the main statement of her book. This is, rather, the thesis, supported by numerous examples, that responding to pressures to conform and making use of the remaining areas in which they were free to act, the people of the GDR developed a type of behaviour that could be described as a 'combination of conformity and crumbling' (p. 139). Fundamentally, this refers back to the argument, popularized by Günter Gaus and expressly acknowledged by Fulbrook, of a niche society, in which the 'East Germans came to terms with the pressures and demands of their regime by leading a double life of outward conformity combined with private authenticity' (p. 129). Taken together with the fact that resistance and disobedience were always more widespread than was once assumed, something that Fulbrook demonstrates convincingly, she concludes that 'perhaps the "niche society" [was] not so much an accurate description of a passive reality' as 'a reflection of the efficiency of East German security and police forces in repressing unrest' (p. 141).

There are two objections to this finding and to the account of daily dissent and resistance which follows. First, the rather static dichotomy – ironically, one inspired by theories of totalitarianism – between 'above' and 'below', between the claim to power and submission, and between action by the state and reaction on the part of the people leaves little space for the numerous areas of transition, mutual interactions, and areas of overlap between ruling and being ruled in SED society. Secondly, and to my mind more seriously, Fulbrook never reflects systematically on the difference between loyalty and legitimacy in the GDR, and how they were related. Her *Anatomy of a Dictatorship* merely delineates the coercive power of the political system. This continued to exist even under the conditions of normalization in the 1960s and 1970s, in essence, in the state of emergency, imposing external resignation and conformity. And as a result of the monolithic self-presentation of the SED leadership, it long remained effective. But this is just one side of the coin. The other is the admittedly limited and socially highly differentiated development of a popular belief in the legitimacy of the SED in the Weberian sense. While it did not have to be bound to ideological conviction, it did go beyond merely *outward* conformity. And finally, in Foucaultian terms, it was not least the order of another discourse that helped shape the political culture of the GDR. Without including this, the book's main question – 'why is it that the dominated accept their own subordination' (p. 272) – perhaps cannot fully be answered.

It must be asked whether the disintegration of this doctrinaire and closed discourse of domination during the 1980s did not contribute more to the destabilization of the GDR than the rigidity of the gerontocratic Party leadership. It could also be asked whether this disintegration of the artificial reality of a Communist dictatorship was not a crucial factor in creating the astonishing phenomenon of a SED leadership which, by the end, had lost its own will to domination. To sum up, it could be said that this impressively conceived, fluently written, and in many respects extremely stimulating study by Mary Fulbrook profitably investigates the anatomy of a dictatorship, but that the result of her *post mortem* is not yet final.

MARTIN SABROW is a departmental director at the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung in Potsdam, and heads a research project on 'History as a ruling discourse in the GDR'. His recent publications include *Die Mauern der Geschichte. Historiographie in Europa zwischen Diktatur und Demokratie*, ed. with Gustavo Corni (1996), and another edited volume, *Verwaltete Vergangenheit. Geschichtskultur und Herrschaftslegitimation in der DDR* (1997).

BOOK REVIEWS

DAVID NICHOLAS, *The Growth of the Medieval City. From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century*, A History of Urban Society in Europe, 1 (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), xviii + 413 pp. ISBN 0 582 29906 3. £17.99
DAVID NICHOLAS, *The Later Medieval City, 1300-1500*, A History of Urban Society in Europe, 2 (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), xiv + 430 pp. ISBN 0 582 013187 8. £17.99

These two books are part of a series intended to run to four volumes and to provide 'a descriptive and interpretative introduction to European urban society from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century'. The two volumes under review here offer an account of the medieval city from Late Antiquity to about 1500. Like the volume by Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750* (1995), they are methodical and thorough, appropriately illustrated by maps and plans, and furnished with detailed bibliographies and suggestions for further reading. It is notoriously difficult to review textbooks, especially if they are as good as these two. One does not, and must not, expect particularly interesting new revelations in a textbook, but rather, comprehensive summaries of major themes and theories, and evidence to support them. This is precisely what these two books provide. There are only very few minor faults (certain misspellings), and it is particularly helpful for the reader that notes have been set as footnotes at the bottom of the page.

David Nicholas is a renowned expert on the history of Flemish cities, and his most important articles on that subject have been collected and published as *Trade, Urbanisation and the Family. Studies in the History of Medieval Flanders* (1996). However, in these present studies he succeeds in giving a well-balanced picture of urban development throughout Europe. In *The Growth of the Medieval City* he rightly focuses on the core regions of Latin Christendom: England, France, the Low Countries, Germany, the Iberian Peninsula, and of course Italy. The focus remains more or less the same in the second study. As Nicholas correctly points out early in *The Later Medieval City*, there are marked similarities between the urban landscape of 1300 and that of 1600. There remained a concentration of cities in northern Italy,

in the German Rhineland, and the Low Countries; London and Paris still overshadowed the urban development of other centres in England and France. What is new to the sixteenth century is the growth of Madrid and Amsterdam, of Munich and Nuremberg, the change in status of Antwerp, formerly a major city, now a 'great' one, and finally, the decline of the lesser Italian centres.

Nicholas deals with some eleven centuries in his first book, compared to a 'mere three' in his second, and this is the reason for the far more general nature of his account of the early origins in *The Growth*. This book is divided into four main parts, each reflecting the growing specialization within urban history: Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages; The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries; The Maturing of Medieval Urbanisation, *c.* 1190 – *c.* 1270; and finally, A Half-Century of Crisis, covering the period from about 1250 to the early decades of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, *The Later Medieval City* has no fewer than ten main parts, and here Nicholas is of course able to draw on documentation far richer and more comprehensive than is normally available for the earlier period. This is apparent, for example, in his treatment of the roles of women (pp. 258-77 on women in law, women in marriage, women as merchants, women in the crafts, woman in the Cologne labour market, women in domestic service, sexual behaviour, prostitution).

His main theme in *The Growth* is that a considerable element of urban tradition and continuity was fruitfully interrelated with innovation and change. If the surviving cities of the later Roman Empire mainly acted as consumers, at least by the early eleventh century they had become producers of valuable and often specialized goods. The lay élites of the early cities consisted mainly of landowners with strong ties to the clergy and local nobility, and despite the growing importance of merchants within these urban élites, Nicholas argues, it was the older and more established semi-rural group which led the move for political autonomy in their communities. It was only after 1270 that a more purely commercial élite controlled political power in European cities.

Moving on in time in *The Later Medieval City*, Nicholas first gives full attention to the economic and demographic changes in what he calls the last two medieval centuries. He draws a complex and well-balanced picture of a period rich in contrasts: growth and new opportunities for the wealthy on the one hand, urban poverty, class divisions, and

social unrest on the other. Nicholas discusses the growing urban bureaucracy, the composition of town councils, and the involvement of crafts and guilds in the political and economic administration of cities. There are some 200 pages on these matters, and although he tends to present a somewhat rough and arbitrary distinction between the south and the north of Europe (particularly when dealing with the financial aspects of urban administration), there is no shortage of very well chosen supplementary evidence from places a little more remote. He concludes *The Later Medieval City* with a discussion of everyday life.

Faced with such a wealth of information, a reviewer cannot discuss even in outline more than a limited part. This review thus focuses on the treatment of, and in particular the emerging contrasts between, English and German towns as they appear in *The Later Medieval City*. The first obvious point to note here is what appears to be a striking imbalance. Nicholas refers to twenty-nine English towns and they are very much the obvious choice, ranging in alphabetical order from Beverley to York, with all the major provincial cities and, of course, London. As far as the German evidence is concerned, no fewer than 41 individual towns are listed in the index. Again, this very much reflects the obvious. Local urban history has had a strong tradition in both countries; Nicholas is bound to concentrate on well documented places, and there were plainly many more cities in late medieval Germany than in England, which was considerably less densely urbanized in a jurisdictional sense. There are no obvious omissions in his choice of examples; it represents the wide variety of towns in the jurisdictional sense in both countries and Nicholas is clearly aware of the important distinctions between royal, seigniorial, and territorial towns.

The first opportunity for comparison arises early in *The Later Medieval Town* when Nicholas speaks of 'The International Emporia' with reference to the economic and demographic realignments which affected urban Europe in the later Middle Ages. He sees Cologne, Lübeck, and Nuremberg as such German emporia, dominated by a merchant élite and prestigious crafts that supplied the now all-important regional as well as a long-distance market for a wide range of consumer goods (p. 30). London serves as the obvious English counterpart here, and Nicholas rightly stresses the dominance of the city's companies. There is a fleeting mention of the importance of the 'home staples' in fourteenth-century England, established for periods, for

example, in Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol (pp. 42-3), but it is revealing that only Nuremberg receives a separate 'mini-chapter' as an 'international emporium' (pp. 37-8).

There is a greater degree of comparison when Nicholas deals with urban migration resulting from, or strengthened by, the outbreaks of plague from 1348; he quotes evidence from London and Exeter, from Trier and Cologne, from Hamburg, Norwich, Hull, and Lynn. The picture which emerges underlines that in both countries individual towns handled admissions to the freedom of the city in distinctly different ways. In England, York was relatively open to craftsmen, for example, while Norwich was less so, and Hull, Lynn, and Exeter admitted only a few (p. 56). In Hamburg the number of craftsmen which had formed some 37 per cent of all admissions between 1370 and 1387 declined to only 20 per cent in the second half of the fifteenth century, while at the same time the merchant element increased markedly. Sometimes relatively simple figures can have long-term implications: in Hamburg these figures clearly illustrate the decline of urban crafts and the consolidation of political power by merchants. Hamburg is just one of the major German *Hanse* towns where this was the case.

The question of citizenship in towns in both countries is fascinating. All over Europe citizenship was normally tied not only to residence and often to ownership of land, but essentially to formal acceptance. There was usually an entry fee which in Frankfurt, for example, was linked to the possession or purchase of urban property worth ten marks. Nicholas claims that the criteria for admission to citizenship were most restrictive in England, stressing that admission went hand in hand with membership of the merchant guilds in places which had them (p. 60).

Nicholas devotes five pages to the very English question of 'urban decline in later medieval England', though admittedly, the heading is followed by a question mark. At least to the German urban historian, there is something peculiar about English urban history: towns are placed in a hierarchy created by the intricate use of taxable wealth and population figures. The German evidence, or nationwide lack of it, has never permitted German urban historians to devote much time to this aspect, and thus Nicholas cannot put his summary in a balanced perspective. Nicholas rightly points out that the majority of English cities shared the continental pattern of decline in areas within, but close

to, the walls (p. 75) and he offers a balanced account of the evidence in Colchester, Winchester, Lübeck, and, fascinatingly, Duderstadt. Social topography features strongly in urban history; Nicholas draws on evidence from Cologne, Freiburg, and York in this context. The social history of medieval York has recently been exceedingly well researched by Jeremy Goldberg, and Nicholas gives Goldberg's work the credit it deserves (pp. 82-8). One might have wished for a mention of Rolf Hammel-Kiesow's equally useful work on Lübeck here.

When Nicholas concentrates on the town-countryside relation in northern Europe, he has, almost naturally, to concentrate on London for the English evidence. It is here that the reader finds mention of the English phenomenon of towns with county status (Bristol, York, Newcastle, and Norwich are the early examples). Although the German situation is greatly different, Nicholas does well in drawing the reader's attention to the main cities of northern Germany which were largely *de facto* independent (p. 97), and then proceeding to the cities of the western part of that country (nicely set against the Flemish evidence here).

Nicholas understandably opens his account of urban leagues with the *Hanse*, and overlapping memberships (cf. the Saxon League, the Rhenish League, and the Swabian Confederation, pp. 103-104). There was no such thing in England, and this reflects concepts of medieval statehood and nation-state in England and Germany. Sadly, Nicholas fails to comment on this. In the same context, the English royal boroughs never matched the German imperial cities – Constance, Worms, Speyer, and Mainz being the most prominent – at least in jurisdictional status.

The intriguing and complicated aspect of the imperial *Zunftordnung* is beyond Nicholas's chosen period, but he prepares the stage carefully by dealing in a most convincing manner with the subject of 'city government and urban conflict' (pp. 108-50). In some towns (here Nicholas uses evidence from Gloucester, Hildesheim, York, Exeter, and Constance, pp. 108-10) generally small, but sometimes significantly large, the burgesses' organizations had to recognize, and not infrequently to fight against, the existence of an ecclesiastical body holding and exploiting a superior jurisdiction. The king was lord of most English cities. Although almost all English towns have preserved their own records, much of what is to be learned about them is contained in the rich archives of the central government (the Public Record Office).

Nicholas points out that the English kings did not suppress municipal institutions to the same extent as the French. It is telling that Nicholas approaches German towns *via* a detour through those of Bohemia and Bavaria here.

In addressing the question of the composition of town councils, Nicholas chooses to believe that most English cities remained under merchant guilds (p. 113), whereas most German city councils had a closely knit network of merchants and craftsmen. The number of city councillors (Nicholas should reconsider his frequent use of the term 'patrician', cf. p. 117) was certainly higher in Germany than in England, which raises some questions as to the efficiency of the German councils, and Nicholas is right in pointing out that the composition of the more important organs in German towns became rather static from the early 1320s. However, he equally rightly turns the reader's attention to the complex question of why so many leading German towns faced major internal riots from the 1330s. Nicholas points to the internal hierarchy of guilds here as a major factor in these riots, and in the case of Augsburg in 1368 he goes so far as to call the events a 'guild revolution' (p. 121). He concludes that the ruling type of early guild regime in Germany was the merchant, and only to a lesser degree the rentier, but not the craftsman (p. 123), and he sees this as a major cause of internal discontent in German guilds even after these had achieved a considerable degree of administrative power. London features prominently in what Nicholas entitles 'Urban rebellions of the fourteenth century – the second phase' (pp. 132-4) and most revealingly, the author draws strong comparisons in this context with Hamburg, Constance, and Cologne. As far as fifteenth-century rebellions are concerned, the author concentrates on the well-known riots in the *wendische* Hanseatic towns. The evidence from London and Norwich, although contemporary, has entirely different causes and ensuing explanations, and seems a little far-fetched.

This is also the point where Nicholas's style and use of argument border on the obvious ('Elsewhere pressure from below enlarged existing councils, but did not create new ones. The council of Exeter doubled in size between 1435 and 1455 but then reverted to the older form', p. 148). The analysis improves when Nicholas moves on to the élites of the later medieval cities. He addresses the question of 'lineages' (pp. 181-4), and illustrates it by referring to the family of Werner Overstolz of Cologne; he speaks of patrician society and provides a

good illustration by reflecting on the Circle Society of Lübeck (p. 188). When discussing continuity in office-holding, Nicholas refers to Adam Fraunceys and John Peyl. Another (adopted) Londoner was Richard Whittington, and Nicholas uses his case to show that despite strict regulations, there were chances for enterprising young men to rise from obscurity to prominence within the walls of late medieval towns.

This book does not have a conclusion – the evidence simply does not allow for one. The themes just pursued are among the many European ones which the reader can follow in Nicholas's works, no less well ordered than well informed.

BÄRBEL BRODT has been a Research Fellow at the GHIL since 1994. She is the author of *Städte ohne Mauern. Stadtentwicklung in East Anglia im 14. Jahrhundert* (1997), and is currently working on civic administration and social control in England between 1400 and 1650.

ISABEL V. HULL, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), xiii + 467 pp. ISBN 0 8014 3126 3. £31.50

In this highly informative and interesting book Isabel Hull provides the first account of changing attitudes to sexual regulation from the early modern period through to the nineteenth century. She focuses on the opinions of political, legal, and 'enlightened' thinkers, reconstructing in detail the making and implementation of policy in Bavaria and Baden. She argues that the ways in which sexual behaviour was 'shaped and given meaning through institutions' altered substantially during this period. In eleven chapters the book treats subjects ranging from perceptions of sexual sin by the medieval church to the impact of the Reformation, the practice of seventeenth-century state regulation, debates on reform, cameralists, the 'sexual self-image of civil society', and Napoleonic reforms. Chapter 12 summarizes the legacy of these developments for 'the sexual foundations' of the nineteenth century.

The discussion, as David Sabean promises on the back cover, is characterized by 'painstaking scholarship'. The writing can hardly be called fresh or lively, but there is no doubt that Hull offers a wide-ranging and thought-provoking study of transformations in German discourse which convincingly demonstrates the centrality of ideas about sexuality for politics throughout the ages. This constitutes a serious challenge for all those still trying to write political history that evades such themes.

Hull's analysis centres on changes from 'absolutism' to civil society. The goal of the seventeenth-century 'absolutist' states was to assume total responsibility for ensuring that sex was practised exclusively within marriage. This goal proved unattainable. Over 130 years every mandate on sexual crimes would repeat the same lament about an increase in adultery, fornication, and pre-marital sex. An important reason for this was that local officials often mitigated sentences, and dukes were acutely aware of the failures of bureaucracies. In the mid to late eighteenth century, and partly in response to the pressure exerted by local officials, governments began to redefine their notions of unacceptable sexual behaviour and the public relevance of punishments. Liberal reformers sought to establish the secularized notion that sexuality was a citizen's right. Feuerbach's Bavarian Criminal Code of 1813 thus strikingly decriminalized consensual sexual acts,

including prostitution, concubinage, sodomy, and masturbation. These were still seen as grave moral offences, but Feuerbach now argued that 'as sins they do not belong to the domain of external law codes'. In fact, the code abolished the category of sexual crimes as such; sexual acts involving violence or fraud were still judged criminal but discussed mainly as property offences or, as in the case of incest, in terms of misused 'private power'. Interestingly, adultery was not decriminalized, and the recommended period of imprisonment for women of up to three months remained considerably longer than for men. Thus even Feuerbach continued to regard marriage as a sexual contract which granted men exclusive sexual and reproductive rights.

Radical liberal ideas proved highly controversial, and policies in general emphasized the role of state intervention in upholding moral order, public welfare, and the social good. After 1815 marriage restrictions ensured that those deemed too poor to participate in civil society were also denied the right to marry, have sex, or reproduce. While many late eighteenth-century commentators had emphasized that male rather than female sexual desire was socially disruptive, bureaucrats now reaffirmed that women's sexual power victimized men, weakened women's positions in paternity suits, and stigmatized licentious women. Such policies, Hull claims, were in tune with communities' worries about the rising problem of bastardy and their own traditional, 'absolutist' moral views. Thus, instead of protecting the single mother and her child as the weakest link in the social chain, the law now principally protected the male and his sexual privacy.

An intriguing result of this emerging emphasis on male citizens' sexual privacy in civil society was, for example, the fact that the practice of examining and manipulating the penis to test wives' allegations that men were impotent came gradually to be repudiated.This development tied in with the emerging notion that virility as a foundation of the male self was not to be questioned in public: campaigns against masturbation obviously helped too. Orchestrated by Tissot, Rousseau, and German Philanthropinists, the campaign constructed masturbation as a disease of immoderation signifying the excessive, egotistic habits which were held to be emblematic of society's ills. Hull follows Foucault in seeing the campaign not as repressive but productive: it sexualized childhood and thus reshaped identities by problematizing and turning into a sexual event what formerly had been

unremarkable habits. Since 'absolutist' urges to survey, control, and extinguish popular sexual sins were now considered outdated, however, the campaign soon lost steam, its advocates merely recommending education in self-control. With regard to the *Biedermann*, care for the public good was to be articulated through pedagogy, not punishment.

The adult and sexually potent citizen's realm was the family, where the husband, as Fichte wrote, subsumed his wife's identity: 'her marriage utterly annuls her, so far as the state is concerned, by her own necessary will.' Hull follows Carol Pateman in postulating that marriage in civil society was a sexual relation of domination and 'the key relation that qualified a citizen'. In this grim scenario the new dichotomy of private and public ensured a greater scope for male domination within marriage than had ever existed before.

One limitation of the study is that not much is said about how these policies were appropriated, subverted, and perhaps in turn shaped by the population. Subjects by and large remain anonymous, passive, or are invoked as part of 'communities' which supported old-fashioned 'absolutist' agendas and formed the moral backwater of society in an age of reform. *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society* can therefore profitably be read in tandem with recent studies such as Joachim Eibach's *Der Staat vor Ort* (which gives a more nuanced account of changes in social regulation in nineteenth-century Baden, and a dynamic picture of the ways in which government, officials, and communities came into conflict and negotiated control), or Ann-Charlott Trepp's survey of the complex realities of gender roles in bourgeois marriages in nineteenth-century Hamburg.

Finally, early modern ideas and government practices deserve a more subtle treatment than they get here. Hull persistently refers to early modern German territories as 'absolutist' states, only then to argue that the success of their policies was limited: this seems problematic. The idea that early modern territorial states were based on an illusion, 'a kind of theory of government', which assumed that mandates would work magically through the power of 'king's word', ignores the massive efforts early modern governments made to control local officials and the execution of punishments. It was primarily because of common people's resistance to the state in regard to most aspects of their policies of sexual regulation that there seemed to be no way other than reform: the state's moral duties, as Hull shows, were

scaled down, while the control of those deemed deviant became more efficient in the modern age than they ever had been.

ULINKA RUBLACK lectures in Early Modern European History at Cambridge University and is a Fellow of St John's College. Her book *Magd, Metz' oder Mörderin: Frauen vor frühneuzeitlichen Gerichten* (1998) has been published in Germany, and will appear in England as *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (forthcoming 1998).

DANIEL FULDA, *Wissenschaft aus Kunst. Die Entstehung der modernen deutschen Geschichtsschreibung 1760-1860*, European Cultures: Studies in Literature and the Arts, 7 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), ix + 547 pp. ISBN 3 11 015014 X. DM 198,-

Daniel Fulda begins his exhaustive, sometimes demanding monograph with a letter Goethe wrote to the historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr in 1812. The first volumes of Niebuhr's Roman history had just appeared. Goethe queried Niebuhr's famous distinction between the poetic surface and the historical core of Livy's histories, which Niebuhr had used critically as sources. Goethe's letter, written in the middle of the century 1760 to 1860 that Fulda examines, signals Fulda's central interest: the arbitrariness, the artificiality of the usual distinction between history and literature. We normally think of Niebuhr as the earliest historian to make a radical separation between history and literature. It formerly belonged to the *beaux arts* and now, seemingly, had been severed from them in style and as an intellectual discipline. Fulda calls that separation radically into question. His book is a work of intellectual history and of literary theory. He traces an intellectual evolution, and he also takes sides and draws aesthetic lessons. Those tasks, of course, are well within the purpose of the series – European Cultures: Studies in Literature and the Arts, edited by Walter Pape at Cologne – in which he writes. The result is an important and cogent argument, though Fulda's twin tasks occasionally get a little in each other's way.

Modern historical writing, Fulda would have us know, did not really occur as a sharp break with history's literary past. To the contrary, it appeared under the aegis and powerful influence of the literary masterpieces and literary theories of the *Klassikerzeit*. True, Ranke from the time of his history of the Popes (*Die römischen Päpste*) (1834-36) abandoned the conscious literary styling of his earlier histories. And admittedly, Droysen consciously distinguished historical writing from imaginative literature well before the first edition of his *Historik* in 1857. Both historians' historically conditioned denials should not mislead us. Despite Ranke's and Droysen's self-deceptive pose of scholarship, their histories were literature pursued by other means. History claimed to be objective truth, but it was a construct in the same way and for the same reason that literature was. Fulda, then, has a critical, roughly post-modernist argument to put forward, and the

structure of his lengthy, hyper-organized text reflects this critical agenda.

He begins with forty-three pages of discussion of the 'Historicality of the Textuality of History' (*Geschichtlichkeit der Textualität der Geschichte*). This opening section poses historiographical problems through a review of critical historical and literary theory. The next two sections on, respectively, 'Historical Narration' (*Geschichte(n) erzählen*) and 'Aestheticization and Certification (*Ästhetisierung und Vergewisserung*) in "classical" Historicism' amount to three hundred and eighty pages. These sections contain the story of a century of history-writing, though the footnotes (which, despite their small print, at times consume half or more of the printed page) often carry on separate, critical discussions either of the subjects Fulda treats, and / or with the authors and sources on which he draws. Some of these side discussions seem ornamental, but many are helpful and informative.

Fulda's narrative sections, by contrast, present a linear and evidently progressive movement from eighteenth-century 'pragmatism' to the *Historik* of J. G. Droysen. The reader looks ahead to the discussion of Droysen with real anticipation because Fulda portrays eighteenth-century 'pragmatic' historiography as defective and its critics as less clear-minded and articulate than Droysen. Now, Droysen was one of the most brilliant historians ever to have written, but it is a sign of the remarkably high estimate that Fulda makes of historical theory (as opposed to historical accounts) that he describes a century of historical and literary conceptualization as just a run-up to Droysen's lectures on historical methods. Surprisingly, his actual discussion of Droysen is fairly brief, and the story seems to conclude in mid-air with the demonstration that Droysen actually depended on Herder's theories of speech, theories that have informed the attacks on historicism during the last twenty years. After providing this discontinuity, Fulda's argument resumes with the fourth, and final, section 'Outlooks' (*Ausblicke*). Here Fulda offers two related but also discontinuous essays.

The first discusses change and continuity in Droysen's aesthetics, measured by comparing the 1833 and 1877 editions of his classic life of Alexander the Great. The second is a determined essay on historical theory and aesthetics (*Geschichtstheorie und Ästhetik*) in the twentieth century. The former essay is succinct and engaging, though it is unfortunate that Fulda does not discuss Droysen's own poetic compo-

sitions, his translations of Aeschylus and Aristophanes, or his very revealing early writings on Greek history and literature before Alexander. These would have specified and strengthened his argument. The second, closing essay is both critical and enlightening. In it, Fulda presents clearly his critical agenda. His review of historiography, he explains, lays bare the rationalization in theory for historical scholarship's willed ignorance of literary modernity. The result is a *naïveté* that damages historical theory. Fulda wants to make it impossible to ignore history's essentially literary origins and basis. This honesty, he reasons, is necessary so that 'further discussion of this complex of problems' can be conducted in full awareness of the irreducibly aesthetic and verbal limitedness of historical discourse (pp. 472-3).

Fulda came to this topic through earlier work on Friedrich Schiller as a historian. His present book is a contribution to the continuing discussion of the 'linguistic turn' in recent historiographic discourse that, in essence, began with Hayden White's *Metahistory* in 1973. Fulda is scrupulous both in indicating his indebtedness to, and his often cogent disagreements with, White. A book of this scope, of course, incurs many intellectual debts, and Fulda's opening chapter and conversational footnotes gratefully acknowledge his debts. White, however, warrants a lengthy list of references in Fulda's index. Fulda's account also has much to offer those readers who are content to sit out the 'linguistic turn' in historiography but are none the less interested deeply in the history of historical writing in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Germany. His second and third sections, therefore, deserve an overview, though his interested and appreciative account of a long, complex, critical evolution defies easy summary.

Fulda tells his story by integrating literary and historiographic events. He begins his account in 1760 when 'pragmatism' was the 'paradigm' both for writing histories and novels. By 'pragmatism' Fulda means, specifically, the deliberate practice of viewing the past as a 'system of causes and effects' that could be studied as 'rational, established inference' (p. 60). The result for historians such as Johann Christoph Gatterer or August von Schlözer was histories markedly better at organizing synchronic patterns than in showing and explaining diachronic change. Fulda is able better to diagnose and indicate these problems through his informative discussion of suggestive changes in late eighteenth-century prose fiction. His remarks on Christoph Martin Wieland's novel *Agathon* are especially helpful in

understanding what needed to be done. Thus, Gatterer's and Schlözer's later histories show the influences of contemporaneous fiction composed, or much read, in late eighteenth-century Germany.

Really fundamental and positive change came only with Johann Gottfried Herder's 1772 critical discussion of Schlözer's essay on 'universal history' in the *Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeiger*. Fulda's discussion of Herder is deeply and acknowledgedly indebted to Robert Leventhal's studies, and stresses Herder's vision of history as an onward movement and his revelation that history is constructed in the historian's writing. In a manner that reflects the critical, as opposed to the intellectual historical, aspect of his book, Fulda celebrates Herder because he was right, because he pointed the way to Droysen. That route led, first, through Friedrich Schiller's works, through his important theoretical writings, but also through his histories, of which Fulda has a justifiably high opinion. In his view, they were much closer to later disciplinary, scholarly histories than later disciplinary, scholarly historians could bring themselves to admit. By 1800, literature (and, thus, history) in Germany were on the verge of 'modernity' (*die Moderne*), on whose meanings Fulda pauses to reflect.

These reflections point the discussion to Leopold von Ranke via the preparatory theoretical works of Goethe and, more important here, Friedrich von Schlegel. Their work enabled Ranke, in his much discussed first work *Histories of the Romance and Germanic Peoples* (*Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker)* to invest meaning into his ostensibly objective history in two ways. First, Ranke employed a symbolism whereby particular events none the less continually bespoke larger, ultimately divine, significance. Secondly, Fulda points to a phenomenon incompletely present in historiography as early as Schlözer. This is the 'syntagmatic axis' (*syntagmatische Achse*) by virtue of which 'event' (*Geschehen*) and 'significance' (*Sinn*) are clearly connected on the horizontal level even without explicit, perhaps arbitrary and subjective commentary from the historian (pp. 175, 287). Regrettably, Fulda does not explain this imposing concept very clearly; happily, we can see what he means about Ranke even without being much helped by technical terms. Ranke, that is, learned to use essentially poetic devices and they allowed him seemingly to distinguish the historical from the literary. The ideas that animated this modern historiography, as indicated above, found their fullest and most able expression in Droysen's magisterial *Historik*.

In tracing this development, Fulda performs a real service by connecting the evolution of modern historiography in the traditions of Ranke and Droysen to the development of literary theory and sensibility while, at the same time, offering implicit and explicit critical assessments that have present applicability. His arguments are cogent and suggestive, though his discussion of eighteenth-century historiography sometimes seems like older Christian accounts of the Old Testament: it contains important truths, but limited ones important chiefly because they prepare the way for Droysen. I also missed a serious discussion of the effects of Droysen's failed political strivings before and especially during the 1848 revolution. His frustrations, after all, affected in important ways his sense of how fully historians could discern providential purpose in history and that, in turn, changed his ideas on the sureness and purpose of historical narration.

ROBERT SOUTHARD is Professor of History and Jewish Studies at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana. His recent book *Droysen and The Prussian School of History* (1995) takes a comprehensive look at the Prussian historians in terms of the religious underpinnings of their scholarship and partisanship. He is now working on the German Jewish historians I. M. Jost and Heinrich Graetz.

HANNAH PAKULA, *An Uncommon Woman. The Empress Frederick: Daughter of Queen Victoria, Wife of the Crown Prince of Prussia, Mother of Kaiser Wilhelm* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), 701 pp. ISBN 0 297 81333 1. £20.00

Hannah Pakula has already published a biography of Queen Marie of Romania. Her current book is a further addition to the growing collection of recent 'royal biographies' of the Hohenzollern family, which includes John C. G. Röhl's scholarly book on the youth of WilliamII (*Wilhelm II. Die Jugend des Kaisers 1859-1888*, 1993), for example, and David Barclay's more theoretical approach to the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of Frederick WilliamIV (*Anarchie und guter Wille. Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und die preußische Monarchie*, 1995). Does Pakula's work on the Empress Frederick adequately round off the Hohenzollern library? She quotes amply from the archives of Windsor Castle and the Hessische Hausstiftung at Schloß Fasanerie. With the exception of Röhl's book and one of his articles ('Der Mythos der verpaßten liberalen Chance. Krankheit und Tod Kaiser Friedrichs III', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 June 1988), she does not quote from printed sources published solely in the German language. Instead, we find quotations from the English editions of sources such as Margarete von Poschinger's collection of the letters of Frederick III and the 1924 London edition of Alfred von Waldersee's *Memoirs*. It is not clear whether the bibliography added to the book covers all the literature used. If it does, some doubt arises as to whether the author's work is based on a genuine knowledge of German history.

There are sections in the book which suggest that this may not be the case. What is lacking is that empathy or *Einfühlung* with German affairs to which we have become accustomed in the works of so many historians of Germany with an Anglo-Saxon background. Instead, we find popular prejudice. According to Pakula, the Germans have a 'mania for obfuscation' (p. 41). In general, she describes the Prussia of the 1850s, when Prince Frederick William of Prussia wooed and married Victoria, Princess Royal of Great Britain, as exclusively dominated by militarism and a reactionary spirit. The Berlin of those days, admittedly, could be called a dreadfully small town compared to London, but it certainly was not as lacking in theatre and music as Pakula would have us believe. In any case, which were the 'other, more cultured capitals around Germany'(p. 62)?

Sometimes, when she undertakes historical excursions into earlier periods of the German past, Pakula is simply wrong. The medieval emperors did, indeed, frequently neglect the needs of the German empire because of their desire to maintain control over Italy. But that they fell victim to the 'sybaritic pleasures of life in the south' (p. 92) is a statement which certainly no medievalist would support. Barbarossa became a figure of mythological proportions as emperor rather than as king (p. 493). Furthermore, there was never a 'Holy Roman Emperor' in Germany (p. 97). Unfortunately we find this erroneous title in quite a number of publications in the English language. In fact, up to 1806 there was only a Holy Roman Empire, which in the last decades of its existence was simply called 'das Reich' by the Germans, while in diplomatic texts it was frequently named 'l'empire Germanique'. In the age of Metternich, a nation of 'Czechoslovakians' (p. 99) existed neither inside nor outside the Austrian empire; this nation was, incidentally, very short-lived and has already ceased to exist. It somewhat distorts the proportions if we read that under the 'renewed persecution of dissidents' after 1830 Prussia sent 'hundreds of people' not only 'to prison', but also 'to death' (p. 99). There had, indeed, been thirty-nine death sentences in the political trials of 1836, but these were commuted into prison sentences.

By comparison, a number of smaller errors are perhaps less significant. Nevertheless, they should be mentioned here. Frederick William III did not 'send his army to pursue Napoleon as he limped away from Moscow in the famous retreat of the winter of 1812' (p. 98). The king was widely criticized for not having done exactly that. Instead, he waited for Napoleon to return safely to Paris and to raise a fresh army, which the Prussians then had to fight in the heart of Germany during the spring and summer of 1813. Unfortunately, such errors also occur in the parts of the text that refer to the heroine's own lifetime. At Koblenz there was not just the 'country palace' of Princess Augusta (p. 103), but Prince William's official residence as military governor on the Rhine and in Westphalia. Frederick William III did not die in the Old Schloß, as stated on page 109, but in the Kronprinzenpalais, where he had lived for most of his life. Victoria and her husband had been given the Kronprinzenpalais as their main residence. This explains why young Princess Victoria was frightened to pass the 'death chamber' which now formed part of the young couple's suite (p. 109). When Bismarck was made Chancellor he was still a simple nobleman. He was

not made a count (p. 170) by WilliamI until 1865. When Cr own Prince Frederick William gave his famous Danzig speech in June of 1863, he was on a tour not of 'Poland' (p. 190), but of the provinces of West Prussia and East Prussia, which at that time nobody considered to be Polish in character. Some of these errors are distorting. In 1870, Bavaria was not annexed (p. 402). The Kingdom voluntarily joined the newly founded empire on the basis of equal rights, although admittedly, it did not have much choice.

In general, the authoritarian and militaristic aspects of Prussian life are carefully depicted, while the liberal and progressive elements, which certainly were not to be found at court, but amongst the public, in the Diet, and in the rising middle class, are underestimated. Therefore, to some extent the gravity of Prussia's choice in the years between 1861 and 1888 is missed. The situation was, indeed, open, and it is hardly conceivable that William I would have been able to defeat the liberal opposition of the *Konfliktzeit* without the genius of Bismarck. This, however, can only be understood if the modern traits of Prussian society are appreciated properly.

The lack of background in German affairs contributes to a somewhat unbalanced perspective. Since the main source of the book is Princess Victoria's (Vicky's) correspondence with her mother, the Queen, the English viewpoint prevails throughout. Towards the end of her life, the malevolence she had encountered in Berlin made Vicky less and less willing to give up her English nationalism in favour of a more sympathetic presentation of Prussian needs and desires. Naturally the letters reflect not the viewpoint of today's enlightened British historiography, but the naïve perception of two contemporaries who were deeply entangled in their everyday struggles. In their view, England always appeared to be the more advanced, the freer, the more enlightened, the more civilized, the more righteous nation. It would have been helpful if Pakula had consulted literature on Victorian England which would have demonstrated how meagre British superiority sometimes was. For example, it is true that Germany's colonies did not solve any of its social problems because most German emigrants went to the United States instead of settling in their own colonies (p. 405). The same, however, applies to Britain: most of the English and Irish who went overseas preferred America to the British Empire. This was a weakness of nineteenth-century imperialism in general.

If we take overall social trends into consideration, we come to the central question that puzzles every historian dealing with Victoria and Frederick. If Frederick had reigned earlier, or longer, would the course of German history have been altered? To answer this question it is not sufficient to look at the personality of the monarch alone. It has been stated time and again that Frederick would not have been able to bring about a change, and the shortcomings in his character have been emphasized. One might say that a monarch so dominated by his wife could easily fall prey to other influences. Frederick was a firm nationalist, and in 1870 he was keen to dispossess the other German princes, or at least to establish a much stronger Prussian domination over the new Reich. In this he had to be curbed by Bismarck. Frederick, or Fritz, as he is called throughout the book, took great pride in his dynasty and objected to his daughter marrying Prince Sandro Battenberg, because he did not regard Sandro as his equal. Many observers expected Frederick to busy himself with matters of ceremony and representation instead of skilfully wielding his power. Yet we are assured that Fritz and Vicky were determined to 'give the German people the kind of education that would prepare them to make their own political judgements'. As evidence, Pakula quotes from a memorandum that Vicky wrote for Minister of Justice Friedberg in 1885 (p. 433).

No particular greatness would have been needed to make the course of Prussian history fall in with the general course of Western European history. Instead, it took the exceptional greatness of Bismarck to prevent this and create a powerful German national state without a complete surrender to the demands of the liberal bourgeoisie. There is no reason to revise the judgement that in preventing parliamentary government, the foundation of the empire was 'dem Geiste der Zeit entgegen', as Johannes Ziekursch has put it. The stunning modernity of Germany in many other respects, recently underlined by Thomas Nipperdey, Hans-Ulrich Wehler, and others, makes it even more probable that a minor shift in the policy of the dynasty might have been able to create a style of government much more in harmony with the major trends of the age.

Franz Herre, whose biography of FrederickIII was first published in 1987 (*Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm III. Deutschlands liberale Hoffnung*), quotes Bismarck as a witness to the fact that Frederick would never have been prepared to turn his prerogatives over to a parliament. But Bismarck was doing everything he could to distort the image of the

emperor and his wife. It seems ill advised to give credit to anything that Bismarck, a master of disinformation, made public on this matter. Frederick's proclamation on his ascent to the throne may not have revealed any far reaching intentions, but this can be explained, as Pakula does, by the fact that it had been drafted years before. At that time Frederick assumed that he would have ample time, and be able to proceed gradually (p. 464). Nor is it possible to see FrederickIII's hesitancy, in the first weeks of his reign, about signing two bills that had already passed the *Reichstag* as proof of his autocratic inclinations (cf. Herre, p. 292). The bills had been prepared by Bismarck with the aim of weakening the opposition. They represented an extension of the Anti-Socialist Law and 'a constitutional amendment changing the period between elections from three years to five, thus retaining the current conservative, pro-Bismarck coalition in the *Reichstag* for another two years' (p. 469).

It is safe to assume that Frederick was not the 'democrat' he was repeatedly branded as by his ultraconservative enemies from 1861 onwards. However, it would not have needed a convinced democrat to achieve a decisive departure from the 'monarchical principle' as William I and Bismarck understood it. An emperor prepared to give the parties a share in forming the government would have been able to initiate essential changes without changing the written constitution. Denmark, for example, experienced a gradual shift to parliamentary government years before the written constitution was updated. In 1888, when Frederick had become discouraged, the window of opportunity had, perhaps, already closed. However, there had been a chance of a change in the course of German history in 1862, when WilliamI had considered abdication, and again in 1878, when he narrowly escaped two assassination attempts and was seriously wounded.

The feebleness of the liberal parties after 1879 can be interpreted, amongst other things, as a result of frustration on the part of the electorate. The liberals had not been able to demonstrate any decisive influence in high politics except in cultural matters. This trend, however, might have been reversible. Pakula causes some confusion by her use of the term 'parliamentary democracy' (p. 434). Even in England this type of government was not fully realized until 1918. Pure democracy was certainly not what Frederick III intended.

This book's greatest merit is that it gives a voice to Frederick's wife, the Empress, and her liberal intentions. By quoting extensively from

Empress Victoria's correspondence with her mother, the Queen, it provides a cross-check to the image of her and her husband's intentions passed down via the manipulations of the Bismarck press and the memoirs of William II. Pakula thus adds to the insights already afforded by Frederick Ponsonby's publication of the letters (*Letters of the Empress Frederick*, 1929) and John Röhl's book on the youth of WilliamII. To understand the Emperor's very own intentions, however, one should turn to Patricia Kollander's biography of Frederick III (1995).

Pakula correctly stresses that Bismarck's anti-British foreign policy as well as his colonial adventures were chiefly motivated by the Chancellor's fear of internal liberalization and the possibility that close friendship between Germany and England, and extensive exchange between their élites, might bring about a victory for parliamentary government. Bismarck, as much as Friedrich von Holstein, did indeed fear the success of the 'Coburg' design, as Pakula describes it in the initial chapters of the book. The degree to which Emperor Frederick and his wife were hated by their enemies, and the intensity of efforts to thwart their plans, are the best testimony that these plans represented a meaningful and momentous alternative to the course of German history.

THOMAS STAMM-KUHLMANN is Professor of Modern History at the University of Greifswald. His publications include *König in Preußens großer Zeit. Friedrich Wilhelm III., der Melancholiker auf dem Thron* (1992), and *Die Hohenzollern* (1995). He is currently working on Chancellor Hardenberg.

KONRAD CANIS, *Von Bismarck zur Weltpolitik. Deutsche Außenpolitik 1890 bis 1902*, Studien zur Internationalen Geschichte, 3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 430 pp. ISBN 3 05 002758 4. DM 124,-

Political and diplomatic history are enjoying a revival in Germany after years of the focus being on social history. History is never a closed story. There are always new interpretations as additional evidence is discovered. Each new generation of historians asks different questions. German foreign policy, and for that matter, William II, and all aspects of Wilhelmine society are the subject of an increasing number of studies. However, the political and diplomatic history being written today is quite different from that written in the inter-war period, or even that which set off heated debates among German historians in the 1960s and 1970s. The new political and diplomatic histories have benefited a great deal from the research that has been done in the past twenty years. In addition, much new archival material has come to light and some of the older material has been reworked from a different perspective.

Social history, while interesting and adding to our understanding of Germany's past, failed to come to grips with the overarching themes of history with which political and diplomatic historians deal. *Alltagsgeschichte* failed to live up to its potential because of the questions it asked, the methods it employed, and its theory. While the avant-garde scholars of *Alltagsgeschichte* in Germany have turned to the new cultural history, the history of experience (*Erfahrungsgeschichte*), microhistory, or gender history, a number of other historians have braved the current and produced outstanding political and diplomatic histories.

Konrad Canis, in this comprehensive and stimulating overview of the period from the fall of Bismarck to the onset of *Weltpolitik*, falls into the latter group, and makes a major contribution to our understanding of this important era of German history. His book covers in minute detail one segment of Klaus Hildebrand, *Das vergangene Reich. Deutsche Außenpolitik von Bismarck bis Hitler 1871-1945* (1995), and Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Das Ringen um den nationalen Staat. Die Gründung und der innere Ausbau des Deutschen Reiches unter Otto von Bismarck, 1850-1890* (1993), and the sequel covering the years 1890 to 1918 that was published in 1995 (*Bürgerstolz und Weltmachtstreben. Deutschland unter Wilhelm II, 1890 bis 1918*).

The thesis presented by Canis is one that William L. Langer worked with on a much broader scale in the 1930s in his *The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902* (1935). Canis's presentation is concerned only with Germany. It goes into more detail, and is based on archival research not available to Langer, and secondary accounts published recently. The conclusion he arrives at in this provocative, well researched account is that during this twelve year period events were set in motion that culminated in 1914 in the outbreak of the First World War.

Canis's goal is to counter the teleological approach of the 1960s and 1970s. However, he succumbs somewhat to this temptation himself in his conclusion which will be discussed below. In this clear account Canis has crafted a cogent, intensively researched argument against Hans Ulrich-Wehler's theory of social imperialism. Arguing against Eckard Kehr's theory of *Primat der Innenpolitik*, Canis presents a convincing case that it was not domestic policy that drove German foreign policy in this period. Canis also distances himself from Fritz Fischer, the structural continuity thesis, and the idea of *Sammlungspolitik*, all of which dominated German historiography from the 1960s to the 1980s. Canis deciphers the complex issue of the impact of *Sammlungspolitik*, inaugurated in 1897, and its relationship to German foreign policy. According to the theory of *Sammlungspolitik* reliable elements in German political life rallied together with the aim of defending the Kaiser's government. The goal was to defuse the conflict of interest between the industrialists and the agrarians. In some respects it was a revival of the Bismarckian alliance of iron and rye. The building of the fleet satisfied the industrialists while the agrarians found security in the high tariffs imposed on foodstuffs.

Throughout his study Canis makes comprehensive use of recent secondary literature along with new archival research to produce reasoned insights and analysis. Some of his interpretations in this stimulating book are the synthesis of other work supplemented with his new research. He makes use of work by Geoff Eley, David Blackbourn, David Kaiser, and Katherine Lehrman to demonstrate that the tariff issue was highly divisive rather than one that brought parties together. Naval expansion was not an integral part of *Sammlungspolitik*. Feudalization of the bourgeoisie was not a valid concept, nor was it a goal of *Weltpolitik* to prolong the ascendancy of the Junker class in German economic and political life. The interpretations

arrived at by Canis would not have been possible if he had not synthesized the work of his fellow historians.

If the impetus for *Weltpolitik* did not come from social imperialism, *Primat der Innenpolitik* or *Sammlungspolitik*, what were the engines that drove German foreign policy in these years? In his balanced and dispassionate style Canis presents his interpretation of what drove German foreign policy during these critical years. He concludes that the driving force behind *Weltpolitik* was Germany's desire to expand economically. Naval development was a corollary of economic expansion. There was the desire to expand Germany's influence wherever possible in the belief that other major powers, particularly England, would recognize Germany's greatness. The navy would be the instrument needed to unseat England from its position of world power. A successful policy of *Weltpolitik* would result in increased prestige and economic benefits for Germany while bolstering the position of William II and the monarchy.

Britain as an economic power peaked in 1865 and by the 1890s was being challenged by Germany, the United States, and to a lesser extent by Japan in the Far East. Germany was forced to expand or decline. *Weltpolitik* was necessary to expand German influence beyond the continent of Europe. If Germany continued to focus its interest on the continent of Europe as Bismarck had done, its imports and exports would decline. By 1887-88 even Bismarck was having doubts that he could hold his system together and keep it focused on the continent of Europe. The Bismarckian system could not have survived the 1890s as the Eurocentric world view gave way to an international system into which the United States, Japan, and China injected new variables in the power equation. *Weltpolitik* was the German answer to the changing system, and it was embraced by William II with the accord of the majority of the German people.

A reading of Canis's book prompts a number of questions. Was Germany the conscious creator of *Weltpolitik* or was it driven to this course by economic necessity? Were Bülow and William II merely catalysts that aided the forces that created *Weltpolitik*? Was Germany's fate determined by other nations whose policies it could not control, but whose actions led it to *Weltpolitik*? What choices did Bülow and William II have between *Weltpolitik* and its alternative of keeping focused on the European continent? Were Bülow and William II aware of the risks of *Weltpolitik* and the serious consequences such a policy

might have for the future? To what extent did they actively influence *Weltpolitik*? Canis concludes that the aim of *Weltpolitik* was not war or the acquisition of territory, but to find markets for Germany's increasing industrial output as well as sources of raw materials necessary to fuel its expanding industry. Unfortunately everywhere it turned it came into conflict with England, France, or Russia. The risks of *Weltpolitik* were great. But the alternative to not embarking on such a policy was unthinkable.

Canis points out that Germany embarked on a policy of *Weltpolitik* fully aware that it might come into conflict with other powers. 'Germany's striving for supremacy in Europe was linked with the desire for recognition as an equal in world politics. For the other powers, especially for England and Russia, this ambition had more far-reaching consequences than any desire for supremacy in Europe' (p. 136). 'England, in particular, was not prepared to recognize Germany's claims as justified' (p. 136). Thus from the outset of *Weltpolitik* Germany found itself in conflict with England. However, the rewards anticipated from *Weltpolitik* would justify any animosity it might engender. 'Economic expectations, notions of politics conferring prestige, and hopes for the future of domestic society gained momentum' (p. 138).

By the summer of 1897 Bülow and William II had agreed on the course of action to be taken regardless of the risk. Bülow noted: 'I had to oppose England in order to make space in the sun' (p. 229). They knew that England was their primary rival and that a new course would set off 'commercial rivalry of "immense force"' (p. 228). The alternative was not suitable. Canis notes: 'Without a considerable increase in foreign trade, without the struggle for world markets, Germany would not be the equal of the other industrial nations, and would deline into a second-rate power. Export policy and the policy of a world power were, for Germany, two sides of the same coin' (p. 141).

England, on the other hand, was also in a position where it either had to meet the German and American challenges or abdicate its position on the economic throne of the world. It had to maintain its naval supremacy to ensure its survival, as it needed foodstuffs and raw materials from abroad as well as foreign markets for its finished products. By the 1890s England was already falling behind Germany and the United States in industrial production and population growth. It viewed Germany's 1898 naval programme with great apprehension.

Philipp Eulenburg had predicted as early as 1895 that England would be Germany's deadly enemy on the commercial front, although it was a policy of William II's to improve relations with it in the hope that perhaps an alliance could be achieved. Also in 1895 Marschall noted in the Reichstag the German position in South Africa: 'We are not seeking any political influence there, we do not want to change conditions there; on the contrary, we want to maintain the territorial, political, and economic *status quo*, and believe that this will serve our interests; we want to maintain the economic relations that we have established in South Africa, and which are enjoying a steady growth. These are our interests, and we want, and intend, to protect them' (pp. 143-4).

Germany feared expanding Japanese influence in the Far East. If a Sino-Japanese alliance should be concluded, it could 'squeeze German trade and German industry out of East Asia' (p. 154). Germany needed 'a German base in China' (p. 163). South America was also important to Germany. 'South America, the Middle East, and East Asia are of particular interest to the Reich, which by establishing bases there wants to achieve a global economic balance which is to guarantee the industrial future of Germany' (p. 227).

Wherever Germany attempted to expand its economic sphere of influence it met opposition. Therefore a fleet was needed to protect its interests. '*Weltpolitik* was the real aim; the fleet was to be the most important means of coercion in achieving this, for in the past, maritime inferiority had repeatedly been held responsible for the fact that England had not accepted Germany's international political ambitions' (p. 255). As the historian Dietrich Schäfer noted: 'We need to be feared – then we will not be attacked' (quoted on p. 335). Canis concludes that economic matters were the driving force behind *Weltpolitik*. 'After the turn of the year 1900 to 1901, foreign policy came further under the influence of economic issues, and under the pressure of the need to make decisions in line with economic policy. The economic crisis deepened, and discussion focused on the decline in exports' (p. 356).

Canis ends his study with an *Ausblick* that he entitles 'Der Weg in die Isolation'. He introduces this with 'Die Weichen waren 1902 gestellt' (p. 396). While I have no argument with his conclusion, he is looking at events teleologically. By 1902 it was not possible to predict that Germany, by 1908, would find itself isolated on the continent of

Europe and shut out of further gains in the Far East. In 1902 Germany still had options open. The Björkö conference had not yet taken place, nor had Algeciras, nor the failure of Germany to achieve an alliance with the United States. Although the fleet was being built in 1902 it was not until 1907-08 that the naval race with England heated up. In 1902 William II was still optimistic that an alliance with England could be achieved. By 1902 neither the Anglo-French nor the Anglo-Russian alliances had been concluded.

Germany's defeat at Algeciras in 1906 and its failure to gain a German-American-Chinese alliance against Japan in 1907-08 were the real turning points in German diplomacy after the turn of the century. These two defeats frustrated the policy of *Weltpolitik* and led to disillusionment and a crisis of confidence among the German people in their Kaiser and his policies. From this point on there was a paranoid conviction that Germany had been encircled on the Continent and excluded from the Far East. None of this was evident by 1902. By 1908 the die was cast. Germany was encircled on the Continent and shut out of the Far East. The naval race had heated up. Also by 1908 William II knew that he could not hope to achieve an alliance with England, the United States, or Russia. All of this was still possible, though, in 1902. This book should be translated into English so that a much wider audience will be able to access the tremendous amount of information and the new interpretations it contains.

ANDREW R. CARLSON is Adjunct Associate Professor of History at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan. He is the author of *German Foreign Policy 1890-1914 and Colonial Policy to 1914* (1970), *Anarchism in Germany* (1972), and a number of articles. His research interests focus on Wilhelmine Germany, and he is at present working on a study of the relationship between William II and Theodore Roosevelt.

MATTHIAS PETER, *John Maynard Keynes und die britische Deutschlandpolitik. Machtanspruch und ökonomische Realität im Zeitalter der Weltkriege 1919-1946*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, 51 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), 343 pp. ISBN 3 486 56164 2. DM 88,-

Maynard Keynes made his name in 1919 with the publication of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, an account of the errors made by the Allied negotiators at Versailles that was widely read, quickly corroborated, and whose main lines of analysis have been accepted ever since. He died in 1946, shortly after struggling to renegotiate the post-war financial settlement imposed upon Britain by the United States – it is generally thought that the effort killed him. In both cases war with Germany had created severe financial and economic problems, both for Britain and the international economy. Taking a Keynesian slant on the development of British policy towards Germany in the era of the two world wars has therefore much to recommend it, especially as in the Second World War Keynes played an important role in the formulation of economic policy, both directly and indirectly. Furthermore, as Matthias Peter observes, in the course of this century Germany has displaced Britain as the dominant commercial power in Europe, the substantial external sectors of both countries linking their fortunes closely to those of the world economy. And finally, during this same period the conduct of international affairs altered, military and diplomatic considerations increasingly being displaced by a directly economic assessment of the relations between states. During the twentieth century the contest between states has become an economic one; this point was brutally demonstrated by the Second World War.

These three elements form Peter's very promising starting point, and although in the event much remains unfulfilled, this is largely because of a failure to depart from conventional diplomatic historiography – quite simply, there is a disjunction between the substantive transformation of diplomacy that Peter correctly identifies, and the manner in which he goes about writing his historical narrative. This is pointed up by comparison with the British scholarship upon which Peter draws, for in the past twenty years the social and economic changes brought about in the course of two world wars have been widely debated by historians, politicians, and journalists. The Second World War has been especially controversial in this respect, playing an important role in discussions of the 'decline' of the British economy

and in the creation of the welfare state – these two points being brought together, not uncontroversially, in the writings of Correlli Barnett. Moreover, British historians who write about aspects of Keynes's work generally display a clear grasp of the relevant economics – examples here being Peter Clarke's account of the background to the *General Theory*, and Robert Skidelsky's second biographical volume covering the inter-war period; added to which two of the three biographies of Keynes are written by economists. Peter by contrast gives only the barest outline of the economic writings at issue here. The seminal *How to Pay for the War* of 1939 / 1940 is dealt with in one page (pp. 82-3) although Keynes's essay was only one of many similar pieces that appeared at the time; it would be good to have an assessment of the manner in which his differed from the others, and the possible effects of this difference. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* is nowhere given a detailed assessment, despite its great importance for the issue of a post-war settlement in the early 1940s. Likewise Walther Funk's speech on the New European Order of 1940, which prompted much of the wartime discussion detailed by Peter, is provided with an exact reference (for which this reviewer was very grateful) but is nowhere adequately summarized.

Some readers, seeing the linkage in the title between Keynes and Germany, might jump to the conclusion that the book would deal in part with the nature of 'Keynesian' economic policy and the controversy over Keynes's preface to the German translation of the *General Theory*, in which he seemed to endorse the success of Nazi economic policy in promoting recovery from depression. In fact this issue is not raised, nor for that matter does any of the inter-war history of unemployment, trade recession, international finance and slump enter prominently into the discussion. Given that the 'transfer problem' – the problems in trade and finance created by the imposition of reparation payments which obliged Germany, as Keynes argued in 1919, 'to hand over to the Allies the whole of her surplus production in perpetuity' – exercised policymakers throughout the 1920s, surprisingly little space is given over to this and related issues. More than three-quarters of the book is devoted to the 1940s, although this is in itself no bad thing, in view of the thoroughness with which Peter has trawled the Whitehall files.

The problem is rather what he does with his catch. The account of the wartime period shares personalities and key events with other

histories, but here the similarity ends. Peter's treatment of the reception of the Funk Plan in Whitehall emphasizes its impact upon British war aims and the attitude to a post-war Germany in particular. The lines of argument are established early and alter little: they turn upon the twin imperatives of demilitarization and industrial recovery. Policymakers and their advisers (whose ranks in the UK included a number of academics serving the wartime administration) were at least clear that the prevailing French idea at Versailles – to make Germany pay the full costs of the war it had started – was a non-starter, for the same reasons eloquently argued by Maynard Keynes in 1919. In addition, during the period before Pearl Harbour politicians on both sides of the Atlantic sought to establish coherent war aims – in Britain to win over the American public, in America to placate a reluctant Congress. The first substantial outcome of this was the signing of the Atlantic Charter in August 1941, a policy which aimed, as Hugh Dalton pithily summarized it for the British Cabinet, to render a post-war Germany 'fat but impotent'. Writing in the *New Statesmen* at the end of August 1941 Kingsley Martin, its editor, pointed out that this aim could not be realized without the creation of supranational institutions capable of ensuring European prosperity and preventing the re-emergence of aggressive military powers. Churchill's stance at this time was that peace was to be secured by Germany having the butter and Britain the guns, a posture which lacked all credibility. Not only would this have been economically unattainable, it would also have been unacceptable to the British electorate. In late 1941 this and related issues became the object of discussion in Whitehall committees, and continued through to 1944, intersecting then with Morgenthau's proposals for the de-industrialization of a post-war Germany. Most of Peter's account is given over to documenting the twists and turns of this debate in committee.

Several points arise from this. First of all, the importance of social reform in Britain is neglected by Peter. The foundations of the new 'Welfare State' were laid down during the war in Whitehall committees, covering healthcare, education, social insurance, pensions, and housing; the necessary legislation began to be passed in 1944. As many historians have argued, this was part and parcel of a common sentiment that the social and economic divisions of pre-war Britain should be permanently banished. However, these reforms also did service as a component of British war aims, and were understood as such in

Germany; they provided a model for a post-war social order which had an international, as well as a domestic, dimension.

Secondly, given the troubled history of Britain and Europe since the later 1940s, it would be interesting to follow the European dimension of Kingsley Martin's prescience concerning the need for supranational institutions, since the 'European project' is part and parcel of post-war reconstruction. France's eventual recognition that the German economy could not be subjugated, but should be bound within a joint political venture, provided an important initial impulse. Britain's German policy was recognized by many to be linked to a European policy, and it is a pity that this avenue goes unexplored.

The British Empire, which had become more of an economic reality during the 1930s and which in the shape of sterling area reserves was to be of such financial importance in the immediate post-war years, cut across this European dimension in British foreign policy. It also played an important part in American calculations, much of the negotiations over Lend-Lease arrangements, and latent hostility in Congress, being associated with Britain's pre-war imperial role, and its role in international trade. Peter's emphasis upon the painful role of imperial decline in the reorganization of British diplomacy is important, but this had many dimensions. Without American financial and material support Britain could not have continued the war beyond late 1940, and this imperative permeated all foreign policy considerations, including the post-war reconstruction of Europe.

Nowhere has this more relevance for Keynes than in his plans for the reorganization of the post-war international economy, culminating in the Bretton Woods agreements. Keynes's own reaction to the Funk Plan was enthusiastic, since it involved a clearing mechanism which could in principle be used to overcome the inter-war difficulties in international trade and finance. Through many drafts and reports this original insight became a proposal for an international clearing union, but in negotiations with the US government before the Bretton Woods meeting in July 1944 the clearing union idea gave way to Harry White's proposal for a funded system – what then became the International Monetary Fund. The IMF is a fair-weather institution that has generally worked best when little is demanded of it, not at all what Keynes had in mind. Instead, Keynes's, and by extension Funk's, plan was revived in the guise of the European Payments Union which, during the 1950s, played a critical role in the

development of intra-European trade, which to a great extent meant, of course, German trade.

Peter's treatment of the reaction to the Funk Plan only touches on this history, which is, of course, an implicit, rather than an explicit, component of Britain's policy towards Germany. But this is because policy is here conceived of as diplomacy, rather than as the result of diverse political, economic, and social forces. Through the footnotes in this book march memoranda from committees and between participants in committees, not statistics on trade and production, nor of consumption and employment. Yet this was what they were talking about all the time.

KEITH TRIBE is Reader in the Department of Economics, Keele University. His most recent publication is an edited collection of interviews with British economists, *Economic Careers. Economics and Economists in Britain 1930-1970* (1997). He is at present completing a book on the development of the discipline of economics in Britain, 1860 to 1930.

PETER CLARKE, *Hope and Glory. Britain 1900-1990*, The Penguin History of Britain, vol. 9 (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press), 1996, 454 pp. ISBN 0 713 99071 6. £25.00 (hardback). ISBN 0 14 014830 2. £8.99 (paperback).

In Britain, the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century gained extra resonance from the fact that it coincided with the end of the Victorian age. It is well known that the Victorian period was marked by an extraordinary complacency amongst many of the class which provided England's leaders. They subscribed to a long established canon of religious, ethical, and literary values, and saw no reason to adapt their world view to the changed circumstances of the time. During Queen Victoria's reign, this class arrogance had provoked the scorn of a number of intellectuals such as G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Arnold Bennett. Of course, their criticisms could not evoke any audible response until after Victoria's death; thus a willingness to criticize and question existing values, norms, and institutions is regarded as characteristic of the Edwardian period. Admittedly, the Edwardian age is also seen as a sort of finale to the glorious nineteenth century, in which the British Empire enjoyed days of halcyon tranquillity just before the First World War. Many contemporaries saw it in these terms, and this notion inspired A. C. Benson, for example, to write his panegyric, 'Land of Hope and Glory'.

Thus in contemporary assessments of the Edwardian age there was already an obvious inconsistency between unshakeable faith in the strength of the British Empire on the one hand, and a deep insecurity about Britain's future on the other. This seemingly irreconcilable discrepancy provides the starting point for this account of twentieth-century British history by Peter Clarke, Professor of modern British history at the University of Cambridge and Fellow of St John's College. However, he does more than point to this opposition. In the Prologue he suggests that seen from a British viewpoint the Edwardian age as well as what came after was a period of contradictions and oppositions. These existed not only in the areas which he examines in closer detail, but occasionally spanned the whole century.

It is generally accepted that although Britain was struggling with considerable social difficulties at home, around 1900 it was the most powerful political and economic nation in the world. According to Clarke, British power rested on three pillars: the Royal Navy, the

Empire, and the gold standard. Consequently, British international standing shrank as the pillars tottered. Today, few would describe Britain as a global Top Nation. Yet most of its individual citizens are much better off than their great-grandparents were at the beginning of the century. Clarke sees this as the conciliatory end of a long and painful process of retrenchment, characterized by a continuous loss of power and thus the constant need to reconsider Britain's position in Europe and the world. Sober analysis of Britain's contemporary position shows that it can no longer set the tone in international politics as it did a hundred years ago. All that is left for Britain is the choice between full acknowledgement of the USA's leading role in global politics, or active participation in the EU's common foreign and security policy as a counterweight to it.

Many Britons find it difficult to accept the country's new role as a middling power. Instead, they mourn the 'good old times' when Britannia still ruled the waves. Their sorrow takes the form of a sort of hangover mentality which paralyses those forces that, on the eve of the twenty-first century, should be drawing up new perspectives for British society. In Clarke's opinion, British historians are particularly affected by this syndrome. Instead of tackling their real subject, national history, and revising it, the majority are content simply to point out that as far as assessing the twentieth century goes, there is little to celebrate. Clarke in principle welcomes the fact that the long dominant glorification of the national past – he speaks of a Whig interpretation of history – no longer has a part to play. Yet he is by no means satisfied with contemporary historiography. Given the widespread hangover mentality, he suggests, it is understandable that present-day British historiography concentrates almost exclusively on searching for the origins of the failures of the twentieth century. In his view, this means that many opportunities are passed over. The approach to the subject prevalent today is fundamentally out-dated as it deals exclusively with questions of international military, political, or economic rivalry while other, more important and innovative factors are ignored. Here Clarke means a social history approach, which must not be confused with an equally out-dated Marxist account of conditions governing work and production. Rather, it must be conceived as a comprehensive history of culture and consumption. If such an approach could also be consistently interdisciplinary, the result would be a new form of historical knowledge whose breadth would put everything achieved so far into the shade.

Clarke's ambitious intention in this book is to enter historiographically uncharted or inadequately charted territory. In his introductory remarks he points out that while his account is not a 'new history' written along these and other lines, he tries – I think successfully – to approach this sort of methodology as closely as possible. He deliberately tries to break with the older traditions of historiography, which he sees as offering only extracts from a much bigger total scene, and which are distorted beyond recognition by the obvious bias of the authors. The object of his investigation – the history of Britain in the twentieth century – seems to him to be an ideal-typical subject, as the lack of a success story makes it easier to look at other aspects.

This starts with the sub-title of this book – *Britain 1900-1990*. This could be interpreted as a reference to the title of the series in which the book is published. A second look, however, reveals that the Penguin History of Britain is intended to replace the older History of England brought out by the same publisher. Clarke explicitly welcomes this project. We can simply no longer assume that the terms 'English' and 'British' are synonymous. On the contrary, he maintains, such an interpretation, long cultivated mainly in the south of the British island, dates from a period when London hoped to solve the serious problems of nationalism by deliberately ignoring them. This view was certainly still predominant at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the United Kingdom was in reality already a 'Disunited Kingdom'. If this had been clear in time to those with political responsibility, such clumsy attempts as the division of Ireland in response to the Irish question between 1912 and 1922 could have been avoided. This was by no means a permanent solution to the problem, but in fact exacerbated it, as the British have witnessed on a daily basis in Northern Ireland since 1969.

Clarke uses the historical experiences which the British government gained in Northern Ireland as a parallel to the similar but more recent manifestations of Scottish political identity and the more culturally motivated demands for greater Welsh autonomy. As we know, politics has reacted more quickly than our author dared to hope in 1996. Since the change of government in spring 1997, Scottish and Welsh devolution have been decided upon. Of course, it remains to be seen whether the future parliaments in Edinburgh and Cardiff will wield enough powers to satisfy local demands.

Political change in the Britain of 1997 was obviously faster than Clarke had expected at the time of completing his manuscript. Thus in

the last chapter of this book, which goes as far as 1990 and also looks forward to the twenty-first century, he does not give the problem of national identity much prominence. Instead, he treats it in detail in the penultimate chapter of his book ('Britons?' – dealing with the period 1970 to 1979), and places it within a larger historical context. Here he does not limit the investigation to Anglo-Irish-Scottish-Welsh co-existence or conflict in the United Kingdom, but includes the other ethnic groups which went to Britain from the Commonwealth states after the Second World War, and largely settled there. It could be argued that placing this discussion here makes little sense, for immigrants from the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa presented a completely different problem to Britain from that posed to the Union by the Scottish and Welsh nationalists. On the other hand, Clarke argues in the context of the idea of the Commonwealth (at least until the Commonwealth Immigrant Act of 1962, which for the first time restricted the right of Commonwealth citizens to settle in the United Kingdom). He also takes account of the fact that the descendants of these immigrants, born in the United Kingdom, now number one million, and thus undoubtedly deserve as much attention as the Scots and the Welsh.

This example is well-suited to illustrating Clarke's method. In order to fulfil his aim, expressed at the beginning, of providing a synthesis of the usual historiographical approaches, Clarke has to divide his subject into a large number of small and manageable units which can be dealt with using various methodologies. His diachronic structure is necessarily orientated by the key dates relevant to British history, which frequently deviate from the periodizations generally applicable internationally. Clarke's starting and finishing points are marked by particularly momentous general elections or changes of government. The chapters built around these key dates form well defined periods of time which Clarke sums up in the chapter titles: chapter 1 'Hands Off the People's Food 1900-1908; chapter 2 'Wait and See 1908-16'; chapter 3 'The Man Who Won the War 1916-22'; chapter 4 'Safety First 1922-29; chapter 5 'Economic Blizzard 1929-37'; chapter 6 'Guilty Men 1937-45'; chapter 7 'Let Us Face the Future 1945-55'; chapter 8 'Never Had It So Good 1955-63'; chapter 9 'In Place of Strife 1963-70'; chapter 10 'Winters of Discontent 1970-79'; chapter 11 'Rejoice? 1979-90'.

These labels are all comprehensible – they employ the categories in general use. More problematic but ultimately also justifiable, in my

view, are the subtitles of Clarke's chapters. His promise at the beginning of the book to offer a new approach to the topic means that he has to subdivide the individual periods in order to do justice to chronology as well as particular phenomena typical of the period. Thus, for example, the first chapter is divided into five subsections (A Trading Nation, Imperialism, Joe's Wars, The Road to 1906, The Road to Biarritz), and chapter 9 into four (Youth, Consensus Policy, Social Policy, Recovery). 'A Trading Nation' provides a brief introduction to the key dates of British social and economic history in the second half of the nineteenth century, while 'Imperialism' offers an overview of the problems of imperialism in the same period, plus a brief sketch of relations within the Empire, a subject which is examined in greater detail in 'Joe's Wars'. In 'The Road to 1906' Clarke switches perspective and concentrates on party political developments in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. 'The Road to Biarritz' investigates the rise and fall of the first majority Liberal government under Campbell-Bannermann.

All in all, Clarke has designed the first chapter as a classic introduction. His claim to be following new methodological paths is justified – indeed, can only be justified – to a limited extent because every overview requires the historical background to be illuminated from a political as well as social historical viewpoint. Thus only the needs of composition prevent the consistent application of Clarke's approach. In the rest of his account Clarke makes greater use of his room for manœuvre, including methodological innovation. This involves, among other things, an attempt to emphasize phenomena especially typical of individual time periods. In the second chapter, the subsection 'Welfare' is an example. It is by no means limited to the subject of social welfare. Of course this lies at the heart of the investigation, which starts by discussing the reasons for the comparatively high mortality rates around 1900 – a thoroughly unusual chapter opening which immediately captures the reader's attention. The chapter also discusses the forms in which society reacted to social need. Clarke does not try to gloss over anything, yet his presentation of different attempts to find answers to the social question does contain an element of reconciliation. Misery is seen not as a symptom of the failure of a political model, but as a motive for improving British society.

'Welfare' and the next subsection, 'Popular Culture' – in my opinion a highly successful account of the cultural scene on the eve of the First

World War – are mentioned here only as examples of many other sections which provide similarly accurate depictions of conditions in Britain at various times during the twentieth century. They could be described as historical miniatures, which are worth reading in isolation as well as in the context of the whole book. From this perspective the individual sketches provide a total panorama, which has depth as well as contours, of British society in this century. They are an excellent complement to the account of political developments, which runs through the entire study. Of course, Clarke cannot present any new findings here, but the montage of individual pictures, whose sum is far more than mere background to political history, allows this to appear in a new light. Thus even for those who are familiar with the material, this account offers many new aspects and possibilities of interpretation.

At the beginning of the book Clarke promises his readers a new approach to British history in this century. He keeps his promise, giving us a polished presentation of cleverly arranged material. In addition, he is a master of wit. His victims are not only Conservative figures such as Margaret Thatcher, but also thinkers such as G. B. Shaw, whom he actually likes. Despite the promise in the introduction, this book should not be understood as a more objective account of British history than others, for naturally Clarke's selection and presentation of material is – must be – subjective again. Seen in this way, his panorama has more in common with an expressionist painting than with a photograph. No doubt an expressionist sometimes comes closer to the truth than a photographer, but ultimately it is a matter of taste what kind of presentation we prefer.

JÜRGEN ELVERT is *Privatdozent* and *Oberassistent* at the University of Kiel. He works in the history of European integration, intellectual history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and British and Irish history. Publications include *Geschichte Irlands* (2nd edn, 1996), and *Mitteleuropa! Deutsche Pläne zur europäischen Neuordnung (1914-1945)* (forthcoming). He has also edited *Nordirland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1994).

URSULA RATZ, *Zwischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft und Koalition. Bürgerliche Sozialreformer und Gewerkschaften im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 79 (Munich, New Providence, London, and Paris: G. K. Saur, 1994), xii + 574 pp. ISBN 3 598 23223 3. DM 128,-

This study at once builds upon and continues the author's valuable contributions to the history of bourgeois social reformism in early twentieth-century Germany and to its inter-connections with the labour movement. More specifically, it is a sequel to her *Sozialreform und Arbeiterschaft. Die 'Gesellschaft für Sozialreform' und die sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges* (1980). Indeed, the two works taken together constitute as detailed and as definitive an account as we are likely to get of the Society for Social Reform from the beginning of the century to the establishment of the Weimar Republic. The Society was an important organization, among whose leading lights were men of practice, like its Chairman, the erstwhile reformist minister Freiherr von Berlepsch, and the businessmen Alfred and Richard Merton of the *Metallgesellschaft*, concerning whom Ratz has produced some very useful articles, and the notable academics, Professors Ernst Francke, the most influential figure in the organization, Lujo Brentano, Waldemar Zimmermann, and the indefatigable Ludwig Heyde, who was responsible for the day-to-day editorial operation of the Society's widely-read journal, *Soziale Praxis*.

The fundamental goal of Ratz's study is 'to place the thesis of the continuity of bourgeois social reform and trade union strategy from the Kaiserreich to the Republic on a well-founded basis' (p. v). As she seeks to show in the early parts of her work, however, there was considerable continuity between the pre-war and wartime periods as well. The creation of 'temporary communities of action' (*Aktionsgemeinschaften*) between bourgeois social reformers and trade unionists, the quest to create 'working communities' (*Arbeitsgemeinschaften*), and the ultimate prospect of establishing some kind of coalition involving formal collaboration were all on the table before the war. Not surprisingly, the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker trade union leaders were more open to arrangements with the Society than the Free Trade Union leaders, but the latter showed increasing interest as well. Since the goal of the society was the integration of the working class into the state through

the medium of social reform and, above all, collective bargaining, every sign of Free Trade Union interest in collaboration was especially welcome. The *Burgfrieden* accompanying the outbreak of the war seemed especially promising, and the leaders of the Society for Social Reform hoped to place the trade unions at the centre of reform efforts and to bring the major trade union organizations into collaboration with one another. Initially, the way also seemed to be paved for an 'intellectual working community' (*geistige Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) reflected in the well-known collection of essays of bourgeois reformers and labour leaders edited by Friedrich Thimme and Carl Legien which appeared in 1915 under the title *Die Arbeiterschaft im neuen Deutschland*.

As Ratz shows, however, there was a good deal more 'working community' than there was 'coalition' among the various trade union organizations as well as between the Free Unions and the Society for Social Reform. On the one hand, the Christian Unions were nervous about losing their identity by aligning too closely with the Free Trade Unions. On the other, the Free Trade Unions had to deal with the increasing politicization as the war progressed and the privations on the home front became more extreme. Collaboration proved easiest where a united front was needed against the miseries of war, as was the case with the War Committee for Consumer Interests. Ratz also charts in some detail efforts to form common policies on the creation of labour exchanges based on parity between industry and labour, to deal with the question of home workers, and to organize care for war disabled and widows and orphans.

The most interesting parts of the study pertain to the role of the Society for Social Reform as an adviser to the government and the significant role played by the Reports of the Bureau for Social Policy, most of which were written by Heyde, on the situation in the labour movement. A few of these reports appear as appendices in the book, and they demonstrate how well informed the Society was about both persons and trends in the labour movement. At various times, these reports certainly exercised a strong influence on the military and civilian authorities. In her analysis, Ratz shows very convincingly how they were slanted to favour the reformist trade union position, and it is not surprising that the Society and its work were sharply criticized in heavy industrialist and right-wing circles. The Society was especially pleased with the Auxiliary Service Law of 5 December 1916, which effectively installed the trade union leaders as participants in the

wartime mobilization, created mediation and arbitration agencies based on parity, and seemed to open the way to collective bargaining in the post-war period.

Nevertheless, Ratz quite correctly contends that the effectiveness of collaboration was very limited in important fields. This was especially the case with respect to war aims, where the establishment of the People's League for Freedom and Fatherland (*Volksbund für Freiheit und Vaterland*) to counter the Fatherland Party was half-hearted and highly ineffective. Nor could consensus or success be claimed in such important social areas as collective bargaining, care for the war disabled, and the question of Worker Chambers. Only with the coming of the Max von Baden government, that is, with defeat, were the Society's goals taken up by the government and was genuine interest shown in regulating social policy on an international basis. As Ratz tellingly observes, however, the Society's leadership looked back to the Prussian experience and viewed social reform measures as a revival of the Baron von Stein tradition of using defeat to implement evolutionary reforms. Thus, it failed to take a positive attitude toward the Revolution and, while certainly continuing to support suffrage reform, did not come out whole-heartedly in favour of the Republic. The leaders of the Society did take a very positive position toward the Stinnes-Legien Agreement of 15 November 1918 and the creation of a Central Working Community between the employer and worker organizations. This sudden conversion of the employers to collective bargaining, however, was more an act of practical crisis management than a testament to the ideas of the Society for Social Reform.

One can certainly agree with Ratz that the Society, for all its weaknesses, did play a positive role in promoting lines of continuity between the Empire and the Republic in the field of social policy. As she points out, however, the organization was very much held together by the personalities of Berlepsch and Francke, and was hard hit by their demise and the 'crisis of social policy' at the end of the inflation. The Society was unable to resolve the dilemma of reconciling its posture toward its constituents in the middle classes with its position on big labour and big business. Ratz devotes considerable attention to the efforts of the Society to bring the white collar workers and civil servants into its socio-political fold, but she might have done more to analyse the dilemmas of the socio-political positions of the Society more critically. There is a relationship between the developments

which the Society viewed as successes – the Auxiliary Service Law and Stinnes-Legien Agreement – and the subsequent crisis of social policy that deserves exploration. Perhaps, however, that is asking too much of a study intended to be an organizational history based on much new archival research, and that certainly is an important contribution to the history of social policy in modern Germany.

GERALD D. FELDMAN is Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley. His publications include *The Great Disorder. Politics, Economics and Society in the German Inflation, 1914-1924* (1993) and *Hugo Stinnes: Biographie eines Industriellen 1870-1924* (forthcoming 1998). He is currently working on a study of the Allianz Insurance Company in the National Socialist period.

GUSTAVO CORNI and HORST GIES, *Brot, Butter, Kanonen. Die Ernährungswirtschaft in Deutschland unter der Diktatur Hitlers* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 644 pp. ISBN 3 05 002933 1. DM 124,-

The arrival of this new examination of agricultural policies under the Hitler regime is welcome on at least three distinct grounds. First, both its authors are well-seasoned practitioners in this area of research, and second, now enjoy the opportunity to incorporate the latest findings of local and regional studies into their work. Third, the various analyses of the NSDAP's electorate now available enable us to appreciate somewhat better the role played by the peasantry in supporting the movement, as National Socialists harnessed the long-standing grievances of the farmers to drive themselves forward politically. As Gies and Corni see it: 'Thus the NSDAP became not only the first real people's party in German history, but also by far the strongest farmers' party that had ever existed' (p. 588). Once such electoral momentum has been analysed, the authors devote the remainder of the book to an evaluation of *Blut und Boden* ideology in practice. This entails an examination of how well National Socialist agrarian structures served the needs of both the peasantry and the nation as a whole.

In advance of any critique of their assessment a little has to be said about how the book has been put together. Most sections have been individually composed by one author, whilst the introduction, the summaries of each chapter and the overall résumé have been jointly written. There is little noticeable difference in style, and the quality of research and analysis is uniformly of a high standard.

Not surprisingly, Gies is responsible for the initial two chapters on the historical background prior to the NSDAP's accession to power, and on the origins and organization of the food and farming corporation which ensued from *Gleichschaltung* on the land. The head of the Party's Agrarian Office, Richard Walther Darré, soon emerged both as *Reichsbauernführer* and as Minister of Food and Agriculture. On his shoulders lay the ultimate responsibility for the new organization, the *Reichsnährstand* (RNS). Since it embraced not merely farmers but also all aspects of food distribution and marketing, the title was misleading; as Gies emphasizes, the corporation really should be termed a *Kartell* and not a *Stand*. Even Max Frauendorfer, the NSDAP's chief corporatist pundit, conceded that *Stand* essentially meant a common way of life for its members. In his view, therefore, it was quite clear to farmers 'that

this common way of life must come to an end with the farm' (p. 87). In other words, an organization containing various professions could not be designated a *Stand*.

Of course, the main issue for Gies lies in the efficiency or otherwise of the new corporation, rather than in its title. He clearly finds it bureaucratic and over-centralized, as well as plagued by conflict between old Party members and agrarian technocrats within its ranks. Bureaucracy and empire building are not, however, confined to the Third Reich, and that particular aspect of the RNS tells us rather less about Hitler's Germany than the author imagines. Gies is surely on firmer ground in his analysis of how the regime's rejection of both a command economy and of the ethics of supply and demand made the task of the RNS so difficult in practice. The 'Middle Way' devised by the corporation centred around the necessity of avoiding the unacceptable price fluctuations of a liberal system whilst spurning sovietization. The solution lay in the use of fixed prices.

'"Fixed price" was understood to mean tied and stable prices, whose stability was guaranteed by the authority of the state' (p. 335). The point of departure was the perceived requirement of offering a fair income to producers without unduly burdening the consumers. Stable prices to farmers represented one track in the strategy; the other resulted from a reduction of the difference between what the producer received and what the consumer paid in the shops for the same produce. This latter aim could be achieved by cutting out excess middlemen, or in RNS terminology, 'unnötige Zwischenmitglieder und unzuverlässige Elemente' (p. 352).

The authors are convinced that the bold attempt to find an option excluding liberalism and Marxism simultaneously did not work. In practice it soon became virtually impossible to please both farmers and the general public, especially as from 1936 the rearmament programme demanded that fixed prices to the producer should be held at existing levels, to obviate inflation. Ironically the organ which Darré had envisaged principally as a means of saving the peasantry probably served consumers somewhat better, and certainly proved of great help to central dictatorship.

This assistance arose from the fundamental nature of the RNS, which the authors insist never represented the organ of self-government for agriculture which the regime claimed it to be. Rather, Gies and Corni interpret Darré's creation as first and foremost an instrument of

national policy, which sought to preserve the agrarian sector for a whole complex web of social, economic, and political reasons. Although this book rejects the simplistic *Stamokap* view of the RNS merely as a way of preparing for war (since other factors lay behind its foundation), the authors do stress that in wartime National Socialist agrarian administration did actually function well. In their opinion, the maintenance of civilian morale and the continued faith that the public showed in the regime owed at least something to the presence of reasonable food supplies during hostilities. What is almost the final sentence here runs: 'By comparison with the First World War, too, food supplies in Germany between 1939 and 1945 were much better' (p. 588).

The NSDAP might well have claimed that in this fact lay the justification of their agricultural policy; the trauma of 1918, when food shortages contributed at least in part to German defeat, did not occur in 1945. Morally this could be classified as a negative virtue since it enabled Hitler to execute aggressive war. Moreover, there are factual reservations as well, which the authors do underline. The most obvious concerns the German opportunity of exploiting the resources of occupied Europe, on which the book is informative. According to its citation from Brandt (p. 554), imports and requisitions from abroad yielded some 13 million tons of the foodstuffs consumed in Germany during hostilities, from a grand total of 95 million tons. True, the Third Reich did acquire a very large number of additional mouths to feed in wartime, whether as foreign workers or as prisoners of war. None the less there must have been a net gain in food resources after 1939.

Any final judgement on how well the RNS performed is rendered even harder by the efforts made from 1936 to hold down consumption, the obvious alternative to higher output. Hence no doubt the choice of the title of this book. Did Germany pull through simply by compelling its citizens to eat less? Naturally the campaign to avoid waste *(Kampf dem Verderb)* did restrict consumption, but if 'guns or butter' were literally interpreted, Germans did have more of the latter available in 1939 than in 1932, according to statistics here. But elsewhere the authors make use of Richard Overy's well-known thesis on German living-standards. He states that official policy lay more in the desire to establish a minimum level of nutrition than to maintain prosperity. As Overy himself summarized it: 'This was to avoid at all costs another "turnip winter"' (quoted on p. 572). This is, of course, a reference to the

shortages of 1917 in Germany. However, the authors' citation from Overy is not entirely persuasive, as elsewhere here (p. 556) they point to a survey in 1937 of nutrition levels among 350 workers' families; it showed a per capita daily consumption of 2,750 calories. Few experts would describe that as a minimum level. Moreover, rations in wartime did not fall below 2,000 calories daily for normal consumers (the lowest category) until autumn 1944, as Gies and Corni concede.

Even Goebbels's famous allusion to a possible choice between guns and butter in a speech of January 1936 referred to a temporary shortage of fats at the time. It has to be treated with some caution in any debate on pre-war living-standards. To what extent, therefore, the RNS owed its success to limitations on nutrition levels is likely to remain unresolved; but this research does not appear to support the notion that Germans really had to tighten their belts in peacetime.

Naturally the war did pose considerable problems in respect of food supplies. In particular, the Allied bombing campaign disrupted distribution just as increasing military setbacks deprived Germany of outside food resources. Under such circumstances domestic output and the maintenance of farm discipline took on greater significance. Despite appeals by the regime to remind the peasantry of its duty, however, the evasion of regulations did become ever more common, and a Black Market slowly developed. Interestingly, Hitler turned a blind eye to minor infringements, in order not to upset either producers or the public. Increases in the practice of *Hamstern* (illegal food hoarding and bartering) went largely unpunished. Once peasants began to falsify statistics on how much fodder they were growing in order to understate the size of their livestock herds, the supply of bread grain to urban areas became more endangered. In sum, rural discipline slackened, yet no serious nutritional crisis occurred. The campaign begun in 1934 to maximize domestic output *(Erzeugungsschlacht)* bore fruit in wartime. Thus in spite of failing controls towards the end of hostilities, the RNS supervised the collection and distribution of foodstuffs with a reasonable degree of efficiency.

No work of this nature would be complete without an assessment of the relationship between Hitler and Darré, and of their respective views of the peasantry. Did the latter, who came late to the Party, really share his leader's policies, including expansionist war, or did his endlessly repeated propaganda about *Blut und Boden* represent a different set of values? Gies and Corni stand firm in the belief that

'Hitler saw agrarian policy exclusively from the perspective of power politics' (p. 73). This suggests that he regarded the farming community as a means to an end, unlike Darré. There is little doubt in the authors' minds that the dream of the *Reichsbauernführer* centred around the notion of a re-agrarianized Germany based on the peasantry. Darré seems to have felt, according to them, that a Germany of this kind could well serve as a model for all Europe. Nevertheless, Gies and Corni accept that the two men had some ideas in common, for example, on the Third Reich's need for expansion. As evidence for Darré's opinion on the matter they offer an analysis of a speech which he delivered in January 1939. The extract which they cite does not, however, seem to support such a conclusion. The thesis here that *Blut und Boden* could not be separated in practice from Hitler's foreign policy may be considered doubtful.

Of course, there was a great deal of apparent similarity in the strategies of the two men. The RNS did serve expansionist interests in wartime, although that may well have been coincidental from Darré's point of view. Certainly both saw the peasantry as the life source of the nation and as a barrier to Marxism. Hitler did sanction a special status for the RNS, which Gies and Corni admit he did not intend to use as a model for other sectors. In addition, although it is not discussed here, he exerted his influence to push through the law on hereditary farm entailment (the *Erbhofgesetz)* in 1933, when the Cabinet was expressing doubts on its viability. Both men wished to preserve the peasantry by lifting it out of the capitalist economic order, but the thesis of Darré as an advocate of military expansion is harder to sustain. The authors are on safer ground in attributing his downfall in 1942 to his impracticality as an agrarian leader. They do not feel that political differences with Hitler played any part.

Apart from the thinness of the debate here on modernization under the Hitler regime, and the role which the *Erbhofgesetz* might have played in the long run in that respect, this is an excellent and detailed study of its chosen theme. It is all the more regrettable that it is marred, both in the main text and in the footnotes, by a considerable number of misprints.

JOHN FARQUHARSON was formerly Lecturer in Modern European History at the University of Bradford. His account of National Socialist

agrarian policy *The Plough and the Swastika* was published in 1976. He is currently interested in the issue of reparations and the division of Germany in 1949.

ANTHONY GLEES, *Re-inventing Germany. German Political Development since 1945* (Oxford and Washington D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1996), xxxiii + 306 pp. ISBN 1 85973 190 2. £ 44.95 Hardback. ISBN 1 85973 185 6. £ 17.95 Paperback

In his latest book Anthony Glees has a twofold objective. First, he wants to reflect on Germany's new role within the system of states since unification in 1990, a topical political issue of interest to everyone in Europe. Secondly, he seeks to describe and explain 'Germany's' history since 1945. But since he deals only with the former West Germany, he presents the reader with his objective in the form of a paradox: his intention is to write a 'national history of West Germany'. His main questions are directed towards asking whether, in historical perspective, there is a realistic chance of a unified Germany developing according to the principles of the old Federal Republic: 'The real question has to do with how permanently liberalism is entrenched at home' (p. xxix). The new Federal Republic's chance of having a constructive foreign policy role stands and falls, he says, by whether the liberal political system and social consensus are stabilized. All in all, Glees views the future with considerable scepticism. He considers it more likely that Germany will dominate Europe and turn away from the West than that Germany will contribute to the Westernization of Eastern Europe within the framework of the European and Atlantic alliance systems.

Eight chapters deal with the history of West Germany from unconditional surrender in May 1945 to the opening of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. Two further chapters cover the political process of unification and questions of the future. The book is based on secondary literature and a number of contemporary texts by politicians and journalists. The author shows a certain preference for the politics of the Social Democratic-Liberal era, and passes judgement from this perspective.

The presentation of facts and the assessment of political decisions until the 1960s conforms to the prevalent and established, fairly critical historical view of the post-war period. For the Germans, the year 1945 meant defeat rather than liberation, there was no 'year zero'. Occupation policy is outlined briefly, and the position of the Western powers is reduced to: 'What the West offered was a reinvention through consent' (p. 57). The Basic Law seems to be of particular importance

since it laid the foundations for the old Federal Republic's political stability. The Adenauer era is portrayed as a period of conservative policy with the aim of Westernization, both in foreign relations and in the parties' political programmes. Kurt Schumacher's SPD is included in this context, as is Ludwig Erhard's economic stance against the interests of the Christian Socialists in the CDU.

Glees pays particular attention to the period of transition from Adenauer to Brandt and to the changes in the domestic political situation. Before describing *Ostpolitik* in the Brandt-Scheel era in a detailed separate chapter, Glees focuses on internal developments in the Federal Republic up to 1977, when terrorism was at its peak. Glees does not pose the question concerning the crisis or stabilization of the liberal order in the Federal Republic. The style of presentation makes it clear that the author's sympathies are with the state and its measures against terrorism, although he does try to shed some light on the Bader-Meinhof Gang's motives.

Ostpolitik is not presented as a contrast and a necessary supplement to the policy of Western integration, but is clearly dealt with from the perspective of 1989-90. Glees addresses the question of the aim of *Ostpolitik*: was it unity, compromise, or recognition of the GDR? Following the line of argument put by Timothy Garton Ash, Glees works around to Willy Brandt's political realism, pointing out that Brandt's intention was not to 'unify Germany but to live with Germany's division' (p. 185). As in the section on terrorism and the policy of protecting the constitution (*Berufsverbote*), when dealing with *Ostpolitik* Glees clearly has the continuous subversion by various measures on the part of the GDR in mind.

Helmut Schmidt appears as the 'managing director of an impressive business enterprise called West Germany' (p. 196). The ideology behind his policies is clearly shown to have been influenced by the Anglo-American theory of 'pragmatism' (Popper). Throughout this account there are occasional references to British and American influences on the social development of West Germany – liberal consensus, end of ideology, pragmatism – but unfortunately no attempt is made to systematize them. Thus, there is also, regrettably, no analysis of changes in social theory and social behaviour in the old Federal Republic.

Helmut Kohl is portrayed as a 'second-rate Chancellor' before 1989, but then the narrative hurtles towards the crucial year 1989-90, when he is compared with Bismarck: 'Kohl: A Better Bismarck'.

Following on from this, Glees then looks at the question of Germany's future, its new role in Europe, and its impact on the other European states.

Glees argues here from the traditional perspective of political history which centres around the categories of 'nationalism', 'German dominance', and 'interest': 'The new Germany is obviously going to be the main European power, a state with the potential to dominate – two things which the Bonn Republic never was' (p. 279). The author shows extreme scepticism when he says that Berlin is further away from Bonn than Bonn is from London, but that it is only a stone's throw from the Polish border. The present 'commitment to Western values' amongst Germany's political leaders could, he says, quickly disappear if the liberal institutions and 'constitutional habits' of the old Federal Republic are not kept alive. In addition, it is important that a 'statement of Germany's national interest' is produced that will satisfy both the German people and neighbouring countries. In this respect, Glees does not really want to believe in the future, but returns instead to the era of Palmerston and Bismarck, in order to hint at the fear that with Germany's reunification the nationalistic power politics of bygone times might resurface. This line of argument remains short of the mark to the extent that no thought is given to whether, and to what extent, the other European states, and particularly Britain, might return to the nationalistic power politics of a hundred years ago in the light of Germany's reunification. The significance of alliance systems and integrative mechanisms at the end of the twentieth century, which are certainly not comparable to the state of affairs at the end of the nineteenth century, needs greater emphasis in a historical account.

Although the contemporary German reader will therefore not be able to make sense of the author's prognosis of a new German power politics, he will be able to relate to what Glees calls the latent threat to the liberal order in Germany. The integration of 18 million people who have never experienced the Western liberal system and the rule of law in West Germany could produce a shift in political values.

Whether or not the reader finds such a prognosis justified will depend upon his opinion of the book's concept. It seems methodologically suspect to outline a prognosis for a reunified Germany based exclusively on the history of the former Federal Republic and without any reference to the history of the GDR. It is also doubtful whether an account that is restricted to the institutions of the state, politics, the

economy, and leading figures can really explain enough. Glees's excursions into the social history of the former Federal Republic are all conceived from the perspective of the state, 'from above'. This means that in this book endogenous changes in West German society during forty-five years of Westernization are not even mentioned, let alone analysed. The parallel question as to social developments in the GDR during forty-five years of membership of the Soviet bloc cannot even be addressed in this book because the GDR is totally excluded. Surely history is too complicated for it to be possible to write a 'national history of West Germany', and to compare Kohl with Bismarck, only to conclude that there is a danger of a 'Fourth Reich' emerging in Germany. Glees's interesting and stimulating book shows, in fact, how difficult it is not only for German but also for British historians to explain how the complicated present situation came about, and to draw illuminating conclusions.

ANSELM DOERING-MANTEUFFEL is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Tübingen. Among his publications is (ed.), *Adenauerzeit. Stand, Perspektiven und methodische Aufgaben der Zeitgeschichtsforschung* (1993). He is at present working on the Westernization of West German intellectual élites after the Second World War, and from1998-9 the results of this research project are being published in a new series, *Ordnungssysteme. Studien zur Ideengeschichte der Neuzeit*. He is also interested in biographical continuities and breaks in German history from 1920 to 1970.

CONFERENCE REPORTS

Reform in Great Britain and Germany, 1750-1850. Conference of the British Academy and the German Historical Institute London, held on 26-27 September 1997 at the British Academy.

This conference, which was organized on behalf of the British Academy and the German Historical Institute by T. C. W. Blanning (Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge), was attended by seventy-three scholars. The aim was to make a contribution to the theory of a concept which is more often treated merely as the opposite of 'revolution', a notion which has been much more widely investigated. Yet 'reform' was of crucial significance to practical politics in the German states and especially in Britain.

The conference was divided into three sessions. The first, chaired by Blanning, dealt with practical reforms and reform movements in eighteenth-century Britain and Germany. In a broadly based paper on 'Reform movements in Great Britain and Germany in the later eighteenth century', Eckhart Hellmuth (Munich) examined reforms and reform demands in both countries. He pointed out that the most recent research contradicts the contrast usually drawn between a weak English state and strong, centralized governments on the Continent. On the one hand, it has been shown that the lack of well trained bureaucrats strictly limited the implementation of absolutist reforms in German states, whereas in England the state was extraordinarily efficient, especially in the military sector. On the other hand, the continued existence of 'old corruption' in England created permanent pressure for reform. The most obvious difference between the German states and England was that in the German territories reforms were initiated by the state and its bureaucracy, whereas in England the aim of reform was to dismantle state corruption and thus to create a 'slimmed down state'. In a contribution entitled 'The Whigs, the people and reform', Leslie Mitchell (University College London) described the English Whig aristocracy as a group unique in Europe. It attempted to implement popular ideas of reform and thus to gain political legitimacy by a deliberate and ostentatiously demonstrated closeness to the people. From the 1830s, however, Mitchell argued, this attitude increasingly

deteriorated into mere rhetoric. Diethelm Klippel (Bayreuth) concluded the session by analysing 'Legal reforms in Germany'. Attempts to modernize the law failed in the eighteenth century, he argued, and did not succeed until the nineteenth century. Even attempts to put together general legal codes faced almost insuperable obstacles as a result of complex conditions and uncertainty about where legislative power actually lay – difficulties which became acute when codes were put into practice.

The second session, chaired by Rudolf Vierhaus (Göttingen), examined the influence of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars on reforms in the German states and in Britain, and each country's perception of the other as a 'reforming state'. Hagen Schulze (Free University Berlin), speaking on 'Napoleon, the Prussian reforms and their impact on German history', analysed the conditions under which the Prussian reforms were undertaken and the structural problems they faced. The reformers did not succeed in resolving the tensions inherent in liberating citizens from traditional restrictions in areas which could provide the state with new powers, and the continued existence of an authoritarian constitution. In his paper on 'Facing Napoleonic France: Reform in Britain and Prussia 1797-1815', Brendan Simms (Peterhouse, Cambridge) began by observing that a comparison between Britain's and Prussia's reactions to the French threat was justified by the mere fact that in both countries politics at that time were dictated by the primacy of foreign policy. In both cases the need to put the state's resources to better use had produced far reaching programmes of popular emancipation, reflected among other things in the actual or attempted emancipation of religious minorities. However, reform programmes were only partly realized in both states. On the basis of travel reports, Paul Langford (Lincoln College, Oxford) described continental perceptions of 'The English as reformers'. He emphasized that between 1750 and 1850 this image clearly shifted. Whereas in the middle of the eighteenth century England had been regarded as having unleashed modernity, by the nineteenth century its success in taming modern developments was emphasized. Contemporaries had already stressed that to transfer national concepts of reform to other states was exceedingly difficult because of differing national traditions. Rudolf Muhs (Royal Holloway, London) gave the complementary paper on 'The Germans as Reformers'. Although some English observers regarded Prussia in particular as exemplary, the stum-

bling block to acceptance of continental models was always the fact that they were part of the 'despotic' continental system.

The last session, chaired by Roy Foster (Hertford College, Oxford), looked at the situation in Ireland, and at the semantics of the term 'reform'. In his paper 'Riding a tiger: Daniel O'Connell, reform and popular politics in Ireland', Theo Hoppen (Hull) described O'Connell as a figure who succeeded in transforming a rural protest movement into a movement for liberal reform. The two final papers, given by Peter Wende (German Historical Institute London) and Derek Beales (Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge), addressed more general problems of the concept of reform. Wende started by pointing out that the question of why there was no revolution in England in 1848 was quite sensible as there had been a significant revolutionary potential there. He went on to demonstrate, by means of an analysis of the use of the terms 'reform' and 'revolution' in *Vormärz* and revolutionary Germany, that the real aim of the German Liberals had not been revolution, but a thorough reform of political conditions. Their attempt to define reform as a revolution without violence, as the outcome of negotiations between government and opposition, was inevitably doomed to fail. In England, by contrast, where sovereignty had already been transferred to a representative assembly, reform was practically a preordained path. Beales explained that in the contemporary discourse of the English era of reform between 1829 and 1850, the word 'reform' was used almost exclusively to refer to the parliamentary reform of 1832. Other terms were used to describe other 'reforms'. In England, too, reform was seen as radical change that could only be outdone by revolution. This explains why the predominantly conservative social reformers used the term so sparingly. Not until 1850 did the semantic field open up to include the idea of social reform.

ANDREAS FAHRMEIR

Science and the Historical Discipline in a Transcultural Perspective, 1850-1950. Workshop sponsored by the German Historical Institute, Washington, D. C. and the German Historical Institute London, held on 4-5 October 1997 at the German Historical Institute, Washington.

Developments in international historiography since the end of the nineteenth century have recently stimulated a new interest among historians of historiography. Up to now, however, they have mostly concentrated on the emergence of national historical communities. They have taken little notice of the development of the historical discipline in an international perspective, and have neglected non-Western historical writing in particular.

This workshop tried to break new ground in the study of historiography by encouraging an interest in this sort of international and transcultural perspective on the history of the historical discipline. Its purpose was to look back at the origins, the mechanics, and the results of scientific exchanges between different cultures, to compare the processes by which the historical discipline was professionalized within these different cultures, and to define the workings of the international relationship between Western and non-Western scientific communities. The twenty-two participants who attended the meeting represented four continents and taught in seven countries. They gave papers on European, American, African, Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Latin American historiography.

The first session concentrated on theoretical and methodological problems. It was followed by three sessions that took Britain, France, and Germany as points of departure, since the national historical disciplines were most advanced in these countries at the end of the nineteenth century. Two main topics were discussed: the possibilities and the limits of a structural comparison between academic historical disciplines from different cultures on the one hand, and their relationships with each other, mutual perceptions, and influences on the other. One general question was whether the period from 1850 to 1950, which for the West was characterized by industrialization, modernization, and an increasing emphasis on science and scientific methods, was also relevant for the growth of non-Western science and historiography.

After the opening of the conference by Detlef Junker, Director of the German Historical Institute in Washington, and introductory remarks by Eckhardt Fuchs (GHI Washington), Jörn Rüsen (Kulturwissen-

schaftliches Institut Essen) began the first session by addressing the theoretical problem of how to compare cultures in an 'intercultural communication'. According to Rüsen, ethnocentrism is the main challenge facing intercultural communication. He developed some thoughts on the gap between cultural differences and a universalistic discourse, arguing that this gap might be bridged by historical narratives and their claims to universal truth. Finally, he applied his principles to an intercultural comparative historiography using a theoretical approach to cultural differences that is guided by the idea of cultural specifics. For Rüsen, such an approach could avoid Eurocentrism and the presupposition that excludes cultures from one another.

Stefan Tanaka (University of California, San Diego) then showed how the modernization of Japanese society and its increasing reliance on scientific methods during the Meiji restoration led to a historicization of society, a completely new interpretation of society which made history and thus historical writing possible. According to Tanaka, the 'forgetting' of traditional patterns of thinking and their replacement by the metaphor of 'childhood' brought a new understanding of human existence to light. The universal and unifying notion of 'childhood' became the basic element of the national historical consciousness. It was used as a symbolic reminder of the existence of the nation and helped to legitimize the nation-state.

In the second session, Carlos Aguirre Rojas (Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico) offered an overview of the reception of French historical writing in Latin America from 1850 to the present. The dominance of German historiography since the second half of the nineteenth century gave way to French influence after the First World War. After the 1920s in particular, the *Annales* school gained special significance. Almost all the writings of the *Annales* historians were translated immediately and received wide distribution. After 1968, however, American historical science had the greatest impact on Latin American scholars. In Aguirre's view, Latin American historians consider themselves highly cosmopolitan and see themselves as part of the Western scientific community.

Matthias Middell (University of Leipzig) drew a different picture of the influence of French thought on Francophone African historiography. Here, the *Annales* did not play a decisive role in the genesis of a historical discipline. It was only after 1960 that, under the leadership of a new post-colonial generation, a shift from nationalistic to Marxist

concepts took place. Marxism, according to Middell, was the main vehicle for the professionalization of history in Africa. In France, African historiography played only a minor role.

The British-African case was quite different. In his paper on British imperialism and African historiography Benedikt Stuchtey (GHI London) stated that the historical discipline in England developed a strong interest in African history. In South Africa, Boer historical writing can be analysed using the frontier thesis. Black African historiography, as the example of Nigeria revealed, has developed as a professionalized and institutionalized historical science following British models only since the 1960s. Historians were radical in the area of application but orthodox in their concepts.

Michael Gottlob (University of Bergamo), in his talk on British and Indian historiography, raised the problems of centre and periphery and scientific colonialism. He argued that according to James Mill the British treatment of the Indian past was incorporated into the strategy of historicizing the 'ahistorical'. Later in the nineteenth century this resulted in a confrontation between historical and 'ahistorical' societies. Indian historians, who first tended to adopt the Western theory of progress, increasingly rejected the colonizing character of British historiography by presenting India itself as the origin and centre of civilization. Some of these historians, seeking to avoid essentialism, confronted the Western ideology of historicization with the empirical reality of colonialism.

In the final session, Gabriele Lingelbach (Free University Berlin) spoke about the German historical discipline and its impact on US historiography. In her analysis of the establishment of history departments throughout the United States, she argued that there was much less direct influence than previously supposed. This holds true for professional historical institutions outside the universities as well. The 'German model' as such never existed, Lingelbach asserted, and American historians misread historicism.

Edward Wang (Rowan State College) focused on the role that German historicism played in China in the first half of the twentieth century. He concentrated on the 'scientific history' that owed its concepts primarily to Leopold von Ranke and Gustav Droysen. The historians belonging to this school regarded science as methodology, which was applicable to historical writing. For them, therefore, the method of *Quellenkritik* was the basis of historical science.

The concluding discussion drew attention to the problem of the use and definition of such terms as ‘universal’ or ‘world history’, ‘transculturalism’, and ‘Eurocentrism’. Suggestions were made as to how to overcome the ethnicity that had been touched on in Jörn Rüsen’s remarks. It became clear that inevitability of language barriers makes a globalization without discrimination very difficult.

ECKHARDT FUCHS
BENEDIKT STUCHTEY

The Personal Unions of Saxony-Poland and Hanover-England. A Comparison. A conference of the German Historical Institute Warsaw, the German Historical Institute London, and the Polish History Society, held in Dresden, 20-23 November 1997

In 1697 Frederick August, Prince Elector of Saxony, was elected King of Poland. As August II he established the rule of the House of Wettin in Dresden and Warsaw, a dual rule which lasted for sixty-six years. In November 1997 the German Historical Institute Warsaw with the GHIL and the Polish History Society held a conference which took the anniversary of the Saxon-Polish union as a starting point from which to draw a comparison with the roughly contemporaneous dynastic connection between Hanover and England (1714-1820).

Regardless of all the differences between them, the two personal unions involved a number of similar structural problems, which suggested that a systematic investigation would prove useful. The conference was divided into five sessions. Each session, devoted to a different thematic block, opened with foundation papers on the two personal unions. These papers, presented in a short form, were followed by a comparative paper presented at full length.

The first session was on 'Factors which influenced accession to the throne and change of sovereign in the foundation and continuation of the personal union'. It was opened by the former president of the Polish History Society, Jacek Staszewski (Torun), and foundation papers were given by Graham C. Gibbs (Devon) and Heide Barmeyer-Hartlieb (Hanover). The comparative paper was given by Andrzei Link-Lenczowski (Cracow). This session emphasized differences between the two personal unions. In Poland, which was an electoral monarchy, it could by no means be taken for granted that August II would be succeeded by his son August III, and indeed, this only became possible after complicated political manœuvres. In the English hereditary monarchy, by contrast, once the dynastic decision had been taken, the change of monarch from George I to his son George II, and thereafter to his grandson George III, took place without any problems.

Greater similarities between the two personal unions were revealed in the papers given in the second session, which was on 'Political relations between the states of the personal union: institutions and procedures'. The two partners in each union essentially retained their own political structures unchanged, and the responsibilities of newly

created institutions (the Saxon Chancellery in Warsaw and the German Chancellery in London) were limited in scope, as revealed in the foundation papers given by Mariusz Markiewicz (Cracow), Reiner Groß (Chemnitz), and Dieter Brosius (Hanover), and the comparative paper by Jerzy T. Lukowski (Birmingham).

The next thematic block, entitled 'Political relations between the states of the personal union: interests and aims', centred on tensions and conflicts between the partner countries. In the case of Hanover-England, these tended to be incidental, whereas in Saxony-Poland they were of a more fundamental nature because of different constellations among the European concert of powers. This was demonstrated by the foundation papers given by Jacek Staszewski (Torun), Karlheinz Blaschke (Dresden), Brendan Simms (Cambridge), and Carl-Hans Hauptmeyer (Hanover), as well as the comparative paper given by Jeremy Black (Exeter). During a spirited discussion various participants put forward cost-benefit analyses for the countries they were presenting. Was the continental power Hanover an asset or a liability for the sea power England? Was August II an 'accident' (Blaschke) in the history of Saxony?

The thematic block devoted to 'Personal union and culture contact: the court as the scene and transmitter of cultural interchange' demonstrated the strides made in research on Saxony-Poland during this anniversary year. Jerzy Kowalczyk (Warsaw) looked at architecture, Alina Zorawska-Witkowska (Warsaw) discussed music, Katrin Keller (Leipzig) examined court society, while Carsten-Peter Warncke (Göttingen) spoke on architecture and the arts and crafts movement. There was only one foundation paper, given by Annette von Stieglitz (Hanover), who spoke on the personal union of Hanover and England. The significance of the court for cultural transfer differed greatly in the two unions, as reflected in the number of papers devoted to each. While there was a lively exchange between Saxony and Poland, this was not the case for Hanover and England. The only interchange that is attested in this case was scholarly. In this context, the different role of the court as an institution in the two composite states must be taken into account. The comparative paper by Tim Blanning (Cambridge) demonstrated graphically that by this time London had long since developed a modern bourgeois public which fulfilled the functions, both institutional and in the area of shaping taste, that fell to a classical court in Dresden or Warsaw.

Yet the case of the Welfs and the Wettins showed that these 'rulers with dual responsibility' (Heinz Duchardt) faced problems with many parallels. This became clear in the fifth thematic block, devoted to 'One ruler – two states: the personal union as a problem of the monarch'. In both monarchies, the first rulers had hardly been prepared for their role, and they barely possessed the language skills and geographical knowledge their positions required. However, they ensured that their sons received a more thorough training. In the end George III, who did not visit the country of his ancestors once during his long reign (1760-1820), embodied the type of the 'English' ruler much more than that of the 'German'. Building on the papers by Jósef Andrei Grerowski (Cracow), Karl Czok (Leipzig), and Aubrey N. Newman (Leicester), Heinz Duchardt (Mainz) drew a wide-ranging comparison which also summed up the conference.

The success of a personal union, he concluded, depended to a large extent on both parties to the union being of the same confession, and also on the monarch's instinctive feeling for the institutions and the political culture of the acquired country. While turning a personal union into a real union may have been in the interests of the ruler, it only too rarely served the interest of the states involved. Finally, Duchardt pointed to the fact that while personal unions possessed dynastic roots, they must also always be seen in relation to the international system of states. The personal union between Hanover and England proved to be comparatively unproblematic because it did not involve a fundamental shift in balance. The connection between Saxony and Poland, by contrast, affected the frontier regions of states in the west (Habsburg, Prussia) and in the north east (Sweden, Russia) which were in the process of becoming great powers.

By bringing together various regional or national history approaches to the subject of personal unions, the conference shifted into sharper focus the general structural problems of a European phenomenon of the early modern period. The conference proceedings will appear in the publication series of the German Historical Institute Warsaw, 'Quellen und Studien'.

MATHIAS NIENDORF

NOTICEBOARD

Research Seminar

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

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

5 May	Susanna Schrafstetter Großbritannien und die internationalen Verhandlungen um den Nichtverbreitungsvertrag von 1968
2 June	Dr Magnus Brechtken Die deutsch-britisch-amerikanischen Beziehungen 1890-1914. Der Einfluß des Seemachtdenkens auf die Formulierung der Außenpolitik und die Perzeption der politischen Führungsschichten
9 June	Udo Göllmann Die finanziellen Beziehungen zwischen den englischen Herrschern und ihren Baronen 1154-1216
16 June	Holger Stoecker Die Afrikawissenschaften in Berlin 1919-1945
30 June	Martin Schmidt Politik und Ästhetik bei John Ruskin

7 July	Christian Sepp Das Heilige Römische Reich und England zwischen der Thronbesteigung Königin Elisabeths I. und dem Ausbruch des Dreißigjährigen Krieges
14 July	Verena Lippold 'Wandering Tribes' und 'Street Arabs': Der ethnologische Blick in der viktorianischen Sozialkritik

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

4 Nov. 1997	Jörg Mosig Pusey's 'German War' – an English Controversy about the State of Protestantism in Germany in the Age of Romanticism
18 Mar. 1998	Dr Margrit Schulte Beerbühl Staatsbürgerschaft und Migration. Zur Genese der neuzeitlichen Staatsbürgerschafts- und Immigrationsgesetze in Großbritannien, 1660-1905
7 April 1998	Daniel Porsch Wissenschaft der Außenpolitik in Deutschland und Großbritannien zwischen den Weltkriegen. Das Royal Institute of International Affairs in London und das Institut für Auswärtige Politik in Hamburg / Berlin im Vergleich
21 April 1998	Dr Nils Jörn Early Chancery Proceedings. Eine bisher unbeachtete Quelle der europäischen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte

Scholarships awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate students and *Habilitanden* to enable them to carry out research in Britain, and to British postgraduates for research visits to Germany. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months, depending on the requirements of the research project. British applicants will normally be expected to have completed one year's postgraduate research, and be studying German history or Anglo-German relations. The scholarships are advertised in the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* and *Die Zeit* every September, but applications may be sent in at any time before the deadline of 30 September. Applications, which should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, together with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research, should be addressed to the Director, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2LP. Allocations are made for the following calendar year.

During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the Institute's Research Seminar, and English scholars do the same on their return from Germany (see above for the current programme).

For 1998 the following scholarships have been awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Ph.D. Scholarships

Louise Allamby (Birmingham): The re-opening of schools in the British Zone of Germany 1942-1947

Michaela Freund (Hamburg): Prostituierte und Prostitutionsbekämpfung zwischen 1922 und 1956 am Beispiel der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg

Oliver Gnad (Frankfurt / M.): Parteien unter Kuratel – Lizenzierung und Kontrolle der politischen Parteien in den westlichen Besatzungszonen Deutschlands (1945-1949)

Udo Göllmann (Münster): Die finanziellen Beziehungen zwischen den englischen Herrschern und ihren Baronen 1154-1216

Jonathan Grix (Birmingham): Exit, Voice and Loyalty in the Collapse of the GDR

Ulrike Lindner (Munich): Maßnahmen und Auswirkungen der Gesundheitspolitik in Großbritannien und der Bundesrepublik 1948-1963 im Vergleich

Verena Lippold (Göttingen): 'Wandering Tribes' und 'Street Arabs': Der ethnologische Blick in der viktorianischen Sozialkritik

Kerry Longhurst (Birmingham): Post-War West German Strategic Culture

Daniel Porsch (Tübingen): Wissenschaft der Außenpolitik in Deutschland und Großbritannien zwischen den Weltkriegen. Das Royal Institute of International Affairs in London und das Institut für Auswärtige Politik in Hamburg / Berlin im Vergleich

Martin Schmidt (Munich): Politik und Ästhetik bei John Ruskin

Susanna Schrafstetter (Munich): Großbritannien und die internationalen Verhandlungen um den Nichtverbreitungsvertrag von 1968

Peter C. J. Schwarzer (Cologne): Die englische Diskussion zur indischen Unabhängigkeit zwischen 1900 und 1947

Christian Sepp (Munich): Das Heilige Römische Reich und England zwischen der Thronbesteigung Königin Elisabeths I. und dem Ausbruch des Dreißigjährigen Krieges

Ben Shepherd (Birmingham): The Barbarisation of Frontline German Infantry Divisions in Russia, 1941-1944

T. Skelton-Robinson (London): Government Responses to the Student Movement in West Germany 1967-72

Holger Stoecker (Berlin): Die Afrikawissenschaften in Berlin 1919-1945

Peter Stützel (Erlangen): Der Wachshandel im Hanseraum im Spätmittelalter

Habilitation Scholarships

Dr Magnus Brechtken (Munich): Die deutsch-britisch-amerikanischen Beziehungen 1890-1914. Der Einfluß des Seemachtdenkens auf die Formulierung der Außenpolitik und die Perzeption der politischen Führungsschichten

Postgraduate Students' Conference

The German Historical Institute London held its second postgraduate students' conference on 8-9 January 1998. Its intention was to give postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history an opportunity to present their work-in-progress, and to discuss it with other students working in the same field. The Institute also aimed to present itself as a research centre for German history in London, and to introduce postgraduates to the facilities it offers as well as to the Institute's Research Fellows.

In selecting students to give a presentation, preference was given to those in their second or third year who had possibly already spent a period of research in Germany. Students in their first year were invited to attend as discussants. Thirteen projects in all were introduced in plenary sessions held over two days. Sessions were devoted to the Middle Ages, the early modern period, the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the post-1945 period.

As well as discussing their subjects and methodologies, the participants exchanged information about practical difficulties such as language and transcription problems, how to locate sources, and finding one's way around German archives. Many comments came from the floor, including information about language courses and intensive courses for the reading of German manuscripts, references to literature already published on the topic, and suggestions about additional sources. Information about institutions that give grants for research in Germany was also exchanged. The German Historical Institute can offer support here by facilitating contact with German archives and providing letters of introduction which may be necessary for students to gain access to archives or specific source collections. In certain cases it may help students to make contact with particular German universities and professors. The German Historical Institute also provides scholarships for research in Germany (see above).

The GHIL is planning to hold the next postgraduate students' conference early in 1999. For further information, including how to apply, please contact the Secretary, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2LP.

Prize of the German Historical Institute London

The German Historical Institute London awards an annual prize of DM 6,000, known as the German Historical Institute London Prize, for an outstanding work of historical scholarship. The prize is sponsored by Deminex UK Oil and Gas Limited, and was initiated in 1996 to mark the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the GHIL. In 1997 the prize was awarded to Lothar Reinermann for his thesis on 'Der Kaiser in England – Perzeption und Image Wilhelms II. in der britischen Öffentlichkeit 1888-1920 / 1', submitted to the University of Duisburg.

To be eligible a work must be:

1 a Ph.D. thesis written at a UK or German university and, as a rule, submitted to the university within the 12 months prior to the closing date
2 on a subject matter taken from the field of UK or German history or UK-German relations or comparative studies in the nineteenth or twentieth century
3 unpublished.

An entry which has been submitted to a UK university must be in English and on German history or UK-German relations or a comparative topic; an entry which has been submitted to a German university must be in German and on British history or UK-German relations or a comparative topic.
To apply, please send the following to reach the Director of the German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2LP, by 1 September 1998:

1 the complete text
2 all relevant reports from the university to which it is being submitted
3 a declaration that, if a work in German is awarded the prize, the author is prepared to allow the work to be considered for publication in the series *Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London*, and that the work will not be published elsewhere until the judges have reached their final decision
4 the applicant's current *curriculum vitae*.

The Prize will be presented on the occasion of the Institute's Annual Lecture in November 1998. Future awards will be advertised in the *Bulletin* of the GHIL.

No member of the Committee of Judges and no employee or blood relative of an employee or ex-employee of the Sponsor or the Institute or any member of the Committee shall be eligible as a candidate for the Prize.

Staff News

The academic staff of the Institute changes from time to time, as most Research Fellows have fixed-term contracts of three to five years' duration. During this time, along with their duties at the Institute, they work on a major project of their own choice, and as a result the Institute's areas of special expertise also change. We take this opportunity to keep our readers regularly informed.

BÄRBEL BRODT joined the Institute in 1994, having been a DAAD Scholar at Oxford in 1987 / 88, and a research assistant at the Institute of Comparative Urban History in Münster for several years. She completed her Ph.D. at the University of Münster in 1993 and is currently working on civic administration and social control in England between 1400 and 1650. Her research interests also include historical biography, 'timely deaths' in history, Westphalian towns, and the Hanseatic League. She is the author of *Städte ohne Mauern. Stadtentwicklung in East Anglia im 14. Jahrhundert* (1997).

ANDREAS FAHRMEIR joined the GHIL as a Research Fellow in 1997. He studied medieval and modern history, English, and history of science at the University of Frankfurt / Main, obtaining an M.A. in 1994, and was a visiting student at McGill University, Montreal in 1991 / 92. His Cambridge Ph.D. was on 'Citizenship, nationality, and alien status in England and the German states, *c.* 1815-1870'. While at the Institute, he will be working on the history of municipal self-government in the Corporation of London in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

DAGMAR FREIST was a Research Fellow at the GHIL from 1995 to 1998. Her project is on mixed marriages, conversion, and the meaning of religious identity in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England and Germany, and she has also worked on early modern gender history. She is the author of *Governed by Opinion. Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645* (1997). She has now left the Institute to take up a post at the University of Osnabrück.

SABINE FREITAG joined the GHIL as a Research Fellow in 1997. She studied history, philosophy, and German literature in Frankfurt / Main and Rome. Her main fields of interest are nineteenth-century German, British, and American history. During her time at the Institute she will be editing a multi-volume series, *Reports by British Ambassadors to Germany (1815-1866)*, which the Institute will be publishing in conjunction with the Royal Historical Society. She is the author of *Friedrich Hecker. Biographie eines Republikaners* (1998).

ULRIKE JORDAN was a member of the Institute's editorial team working on the project to inventorize the British Control Commission files (CCG / BE) in 1991, before joining the Institute as a Research Fellow in 1994. Her Ph.D. thesis (Cologne 1990) was on freedom of opinion in eighteenth-century Virginia. She is currently working on the British impact on the re-establishment of justice in post-war Germany, and her other areas of research are twentieth-century women's history, and the history of refugees from Nazi Germany in Britain in the 1930s and 1940s. She is the editor of *Conditions of Surrender. Britons and Germans Witness the End of the War* (1996).

LOTHAR KETTENACKER is Deputy Director of the Institute. From 1973 he ran the London office of the Deutsch-Britischer Historikerkreis, which was later to develop into the GHIL. His Ph.D. (Frankfurt 1968) was on Nazi occupation policies in Alsace (1940-44), and he also completed a B. Litt at Oxford in 1971 on Lord Acton and Döllinger. He has written a major study of British post-war planning for Germany during the Second World War, as well as various articles on National Socialism and on British history in the 1930s and 1940s. He is currently working on a survey of Anglo-German relations between 1871 and 1990 which includes politics, economics, culture, and popular perceptions. His most recent publication is *Germany since 1945* (1997).

BENEDIKT STUCHTEY joined the GHIL in 1995 after studying in Münster, Freiburg, and Trinity College Dublin. His main research interests are the history of historiography and of European imperialism. He is currently working on anti-colonialism in the twentieth century in a comparative perspective. He is the author of *W.E.H. Lecky (1838-1903). Historisches Denken und politisches Urteilen eines anglo-irischen Gelehrten* (1997). As well as editing the *Bulletin of the GHIL*, he is on the editorial committee of *European Review of History. Revue Européenne d'Histoire.*

Manfred Schlenke (1927-1997)

When it comes to Britons and Germans of the older generation it always makes sense to establish to which generational cohort they actually belong. Manfred Schlenke was born in 1927 in Wuppertal, which then still belonged to the Prussian Rhine Province. He was one of the generation which experienced the end of the war as adolescents, either in the *Hitler-Jugend* or as young recruits. Young Schlenke saw no action, but endured the tough training of a *Gebirgsjäger* in Garmisch-Patenkirchen. His was a generation which was subjected to two starkly contrasting educational experiences: the mindless indoctrination in the name of 'Führer, Volk und Vaterland', made palatable through the campfire romanticism of the Hitler Youth, and re-education under British supervision in one of Prussia's successor states: North Rhine-Westphalia, a British creation.

National Socialism was beyond the pale. But for that generation it could not possibly have been the logical outcome to German history. Prussia, surely, had an ethos of its own, as the many Prussian aristocrats involved in the Resistance were to prove (with their lives). Schlenke went on to study history and English language and literature,

two subjects which furnished the topics which engaged him all his life: English history, mainly in the eighteenth century, and Prussia, its history and afterlife. In his Ph.D. thesis under the direction of Fritz Wagner, he rediscovered the European connections of the Scottish historian William Robertson (1721-1793). Then followed his post-doctoral thesis (*Habilitationsschrift)* which was to make him eligible for a chair at Mannheim University. His book on England and Federick's Prussia (1740-1763) established Schlenke as one of the foremost German experts on English history at the time. His approach was innovative inasmuch as he examined in detail the impact of foreign policy on nascent public opinion. Until then no one had amassed so much evidence for the popular appeal of the Prussian king in Britain, who was praised and cheered as the 'great Protestant Defender'. Religion was still a powerful argument in British politics.

Not surprisingly, then, Manfred Schlenke was one of the 'founding fathers' of the Anglo-German Group of Historians which came into being as a registered society on 5 December 1969. Its declared aim was the establishment of a German Historical Institute in London on the model of the existing institutes in Rome and Paris. For a while Schlenke was its Treasurer, before being elected Chairman in 1977. One year earlier the Institute had been officially christened. The Anglo-German Group of Historians served as the 'godparents' and the official channel for the funding provided by the German Federal Ministry for Research and Technology. The Institute's Advisory Board was also chaired by Manfred Schlenke. He held these two positions for no less than fifteen years (1977-1992). Next to the Institute's directors no one had more on his shoulders, and yet he was never remunerated for a task which required a veritably Prussian sense of duty and devotion. Among the young research fellows at the Institute he was known as 'Papa Schlenke' because, on the occasion of the society's annual meetings, he called upon them individually to inquire about their work, their career prospects, and even their social life.

Schlenke was perfectly aware that, in order to make its mark in Britain, the Institute would have to provide library and research facilities for the benefit of British historians as well as for young German post-graduates. In this respect, as in others, he was very supportive of the direction the Institute was to take. It was therefore only fitting that he should have been made a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Apart from English history and the GHI's business, Schlenke developed an absorbing interest in Prussia. For many years he was chairman of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Preußische Geschichte* (1974-1989). No doubt overall responsibility as chief academic advisor to the Berlin Exhibition on Prussia (1979-1981) marked the climax of his career. The exhibition, a kind of stock-taking exercise, was a huge success, attracting many visitors and drawing praise from experts for its balanced concept. No one was more painfully aware of the ambivalent perception of Prussia than Schlenke. Though he did not try to whitewash Prussian history, he nevertheless saw it as his duty as a historian to disentangle Prussia from the distortion it had suffered at the hands of Nazi propagandists. To the end of his life he felt scandalized by the fraudulent, yet undetected use of Prussia's ethos in the Third Reich.

Manfred Schlenke died in November 1997 in Bad Nauheim.

Lothar Kettenacker

LIBRARY NEWS

Sources in the Library – German *Flugblätter*

The Library holds a number of reprints and catalogues of German *Flugblätter* from the Reformation to the twentieth century. This section lists a selection of this valuable historical source material.

Ascher, Saul, *Vier Flugschriften. Eisenmenger der Zweite, Napoleon, Die Germanomanie, Die Wartburgfeier* (Berlin and Weimar, 1991)

Behrens, Klaus (ed.), *Die Publizistik der Mainzer Jakobiner und ihrer Gegner. Revolutionäre und gegenrevolutionäre Proklamationen und Flugschriften aus der Zeit der Mainzer Republik. 1792/93. Zum 200. Jahrestag des Rheinisch-Deutschen Nationalkonvents und der Mainzer Republik*, exhibition catalogue (Mainz, 1993)

Brednich, Rolf Wilhelm, *Katalog der Liedflugblätter des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 of *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Baden-Baden, 1975)

Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, vols 1-3: *Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Kommentierte Ausgabe*; vol. 4: *Die Sammlungen der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt. Kommentierte Ausgabe* (Tübingen, 1980-1987)

Dowe, Dieter (ed.), *Deutsche Arbeiterhalle. Flugblätter, Jg. 1-2, 11. Juni 1867-4. Dez. 1868*, reprint (Berlin and Bonn, 1980)

Dowe, Dieter (ed.), *Flugblatt vom ständigen Ausschusse des Vereinstages deutscher Arbeitervereine, Nr. 1-15, Mai bis 3. September 1865*, reprint (Berlin and Bonn, 1980)

Flugblätter. Aus der Frühzeit der Zeitung. Gesamtverzeichnis der Flugblatt-Sammlung des Kurpfälzischen Museums der Stadt Heidelberg anläßlich der Ausstellung des Kupferstichkabinetts vom 30.10.1980-11.1.1981 (Heidelberg, 1980)

Flugschriften der frühen Reformationsbewegung. 1518-1524, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 2 vols (Berlin / East, 1983)

Gebhardt, Hartwig and Adolf Wild (eds), *Flugblattpropaganda im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, exhibition catalogue (Bremen, 1980)

Harms, Wolfgang (ed.), *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, exhibition catalogue (Coburg, 1983)

Harms, Wolfgang and John Roger Paas (eds), *Illustrierte Flugblätter des Barock. Eine Auswahl*, reprint (Tübingen, 1983)

Hohenemser, Paul, *Flugschriftensammlung Gustav Freytag* (reprint of the edition Frankfurt / M., 1925; Nieuwkoop, 1966)

Holtzendorf, Franz von and Wilhelm Oncken (eds), *Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen. Flugschriften zur Kenntniss der Gegenwart*, vols 2-14, Neue Folge 2-7 (incompl.) (Berlin and Hamburg, 1873-1893)

Kirchner, Klaus, *Flugblatt-Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg: Europa. Bibliographie. Katalog*, vol. 1- (Erlangen, 1985-)

Kirchner, Klaus, *Flugblattpropaganda im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Europa*, 15 vols (Erlangen, 1978-1996)
- Vol. 1: *Flugblätter aus England. 1939, 1940, 1941* (1978)
- Vol. 2: *Flugblätter aus Deutschland. 1939/1940* (1982)
- Vol. 3: *Flugblätter aus Frankreich. 1939/1940* (1981)
- Vol. 4: *Flugblätter aus England. G-1942* (1974)
- Vol. 5: *Flugblätter aus England. G-1943, G-1944* (1979)
- Vol. 6: *Flugblätter aus den USA. 1943/44* (1977)
- Vol. 7: *Flugblätter aus England, aus den USA. 1944/1945* (1980)
- Vol. 8: *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR. Juni-August 1941* (1986)
- Vol. 9: *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR. September-Dezember 1941* (1988)
- Vol. 10: *Flugblätter aus Deutschland. 1941* (1987)
- Vol. 11: *Flugblätter aus England, aus den USA. Nachrichten für die Truppe 1944* (1989)
- Vol. 12: *Flugblätter aus England, aus den USA. Nachrichten für die Truppe 1945* (1989)

Vol. 13: *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR. Frontillustrierte 1941-1945* (1992)
Vol. 14: *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR: Gesamtverzeichnis der strategischen Serie 1941-1945* (1995)
Vol. 15: *Flugblätter aus der UdSSR, Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland. 1943-1945* (1996), plus 27 Microfiches on 'Freies Deutschland' 1943-1944 in pockets

Kroker, Evelyn (ed.), *'Wer zahlt die Zeche?' Plakate und Flugblätter aus dem Bergbau-Archiv Bochum*, exhibition catalogue (Bochum, 1995)

Lauger, Christel (ed.), *Flugschriften der Bauernkriegszeit*, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 2nd edn (Cologne, 1978)

Meuche, Hermann (ed.), *Flugblätter der Reformation und des Bauernkrieges. 50 Blätter aus der Sammlung des Schloßmuseums Gotha* (Leipzig, 1976)

Obermann, Karl, *Flugblätter der Revolution. Eine Flugblattsammlung zur Geschichte der Revolution von 1848/49 in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1970)

Pfeffer, Maria, *Flugschriften zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Aus der Häberlin-Sammlung der Thurn- und Taxisschen Hofbibliothek* (Frankfurt / M., 1993)

Pikarski, Margot and Günter Uebel (eds), *Der antifaschistische Widerstandskampf der KPD im Spiegel des Flugblattes 1933-1945* (Frankfurt / M., 1978)

Scheel, Heinrich (ed.), *Jakobinische Flugschriften aus dem deutschen Süden Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vaduz / Lichtenstein, 1980)

Scheible, J. (ed.), *Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, in sogenannten Einblatt-Drucken mit Kupferstichen und Holzschnitten zunächst aus dem Gebiete der politischen und religiösen Caricatur, aus den Schätzen der Ulmer Stadtbibliothek*, reprint (Hildesheim, 1972)

Schüddekopf, Charles (ed.), *Wir sind das Volk!' Flugschriften, Aufrufe und Texte einer deutschen Revolution* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1990)

Schütz, Hans J., *Nun, Brüder stehet wie ein Mann. Flugblätter, Lieder und Schriften deutscher Sozialisten 1833-1863. Im geschichtlichen Zusammenhang dargestellt* (Modautal-Neunkirchen, 1979)

Siefken, Hinrich, *Die Weiße Rose und ihre Flugblätter. Dokumente, Texte, Lebensbilder, Erläuterungen* (Manchester and New York, 1994)
Vol. 1: *Flugblätter aus England. 1914-1918* (1985)
Vol. 2: *Flugblätter aus Frankreich. 1914-1918* (1992)

Recent Acquisitions

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

Alkemeyer, Thomas, *Körper, Kult und Politik. Von der 'Muskelreligion' Pierre de Coubertins zur Inszenierung von Macht in den Olympischen Spielen von 1936* (Frankfurt / M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1996)

Amann, Klaus and Karl Wagner (eds), *Literatur und Nation. Die Gründung des Deutschen Reiches 1871 in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, Literatur in der Geschichte, Geschichte in der Literatur, 36 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1996)

Appel, Reinhard, *Die Regierenden von Berlin seit 1945. Die Nachkriegsgeschichte der Stadt im Spiegel ihrer Bürgermeister* (Berlin: Edition q, 1996)

Ash, Mitchell G. and Alfons Söllner (eds), *Forced Migration and Scientific Change. Emigré German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933*, Publications of the German Historical Institute Washington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Atkins, Robert and Martin Kane (eds), *Retrospect and Review. Aspects of the Literature of the GDR 1976-1990*, German Monitor, 40 (Amsterdam, Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, 1997)

Baechler, Christian, *Gustave Stresemann, 1878-1929. De l'impérialisme à la sécurité collective*, Les mondes germaniques (Strasburg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1996)

Bahr, Egon, *Zu meiner Zeit* (Munich: Blessing, 1996)

Barkow, Ben, *Alfred Wiener and the Making of the Holocaust Library*, Parkes-Wiener Series on Jewish Studies (London and Portland, Or.: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997)

Baumgart, Constanze, *Stresemann und England* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996)

Becht, Lutz (ed.), *Frankfurt am Main, Lindenstraße. Gestapozentrale und Widerstand,* Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt / M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1996)

Beck, Gottfried, *Die Bistumspresse in Hessen und der Nationalsozialismus 1930-1941*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 72 (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1996)

Behrenbeck, Sabine, *Der Kult um die toten Helden. Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten und Symbole 1923 bis 1945*, Kölner Beiträge zur Nationsforschung, 2 (Vierow: SH-Verlag, 1996)

Bennett, Gill (ed.), *The End of the War in Europe 1945* (London: HMSO, 1996)

Benz, Wolfgang and Juliane Wetzel (eds), *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit. Regionalstudien 1. Polen, Rumänien, Griechenland, Luxemburg, Norwegen, Schweiz,* Solidarität und Hilfe, 1 (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 1996)

Bessel, Richard (ed.), *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Comparisons and Contrasts,* 2nd imp. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Bialas, Wolfgang and Georg G. Iggers (eds), *Intellektuelle in der Weimarer Republik*, Schriften zur politischen Kultur der Weimarer Republik, 1 (Frankfurt / M.: Lang, 1996)

Bialas, Wolfgang and Gérard Raulet (eds), *Die Historismusdebatte in der Weimarer Republik*, Schriften zur politischen Kultur der Weimarer Republik, 2 (Frankfurt / M. etc.: Lang, 1996)

Biastoch, Martin, *Tübinger Studenten im Kaiserreich. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Contubernium, 44 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996)

Biernacki, Richard, *The Fabrication of Labor. Germany and Britain, 1640-1914*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture, 22 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995)

Bodemann, Y. Michal (ed.), *Jews, Germans, Memory. Reconstructions of Jewish Life in Germany*, Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1996)

Boehling, Rebecca L., *A Question of Priorities. Democratic Reforms and Economic Recovery in Postwar Germany. Frankfurt, Munich, and Stuttgart under U.S. Occupation 1945-1949*, Monographs in German History, 2 (Providence, R.I. and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996)

Brechtken, Magnus, *'Madagaskar für die Juden'. Antisemitische Idee und politische Praxis 1885-1945*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, 53 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997)

Brinson, Charmian, *The Strange Case of Dora Fabian and Mathilde Wurm. A Study of German Political Exiles in London during the 1930's*, Publications of the Institute of Germanic Studies, 67 (Berne: Lang, 1996)

Browder, George C., *Hitler's Enforcers. The Gestapo and the SS Security Service in the Nazi Revolution* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Burkhardt, Johannes *et al.*, *Lange und kurze Wege in den Ersten Weltkrieg. Vier Augsburger Beiträge zur Kriegsursachenforschung*, Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg, 49: Historisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Reihe (Munich: Vögel, 1996)

Burleigh, Michael Christopher Bennet (ed.), *Confronting the Nazi Past. New Debates on Modern German History*, A History Today Book (London: Collins & Brown, 1996)

Carrington-Windo, Tristam and Katrin Kohl, *A Dictionary of Contemporary Germany* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996)

Cesarani, David and Mary Fulbrook (eds), *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe* (London and New York.: Routledge, 1996)

Clay, Catrine and Michael Leapman, *Master Race. The Lebensborn Experiment in Nazi Germany* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996)

Dartmann, Christoph, *Re-Distribution of Power, Joint Consultation or Productivity Coalitions? Labour and Postwar Reconstruction in Germany and Britain, 1945-1953*, Veröffentlichungen Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 31 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1996)

Deichmann, Ute, *Biologists under Hitler*, transl. by Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1996)

Dolatowski, Elrun (ed.), *Die Bestände der Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv. Kurzübersicht* (Berlin: Ed. Colloquium, 1996)

Duchhardt, Heinz (ed.), *Der Herrscher in der Doppelpflicht. Europäische Fürsten und ihre beiden Throne*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 43 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1997)

Duchhardt, Heinz, Eva Ortlieb, and Matthias Schnettger (eds), *Bibliographie zum Westfälischen Frieden*, Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte, 26 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996)

Eckhardt, Ulrich and Andreas Nachama, *Jüdische Orte in Berlin. Ein Buch der Jüdischen Kulturtage* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1996)

Eiber, Ludwig, *Die Sozialdemokratie in der Emigration. Die 'Union deutscher sozialistischer Organisationen in Großbritannien' 1941-1946 und ihre Mitglieder. Protokolle, Erklärungen, Materialien*, Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, Beiheft 19 (Bonn: Dietz, 1998)

Eisenberg, Carolyn Woods, *Drawing the Line. The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Eley, Geoff (ed.), *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany. 1870-1930*, Social History, Popular Culture and Politics in Germany (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1996)

Engel, Helmut and Wolfgang Ribbe (eds), *Geschichtsmeile Wilhelmstraße*, Publikationen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1997)

Engel, Helmut and Wolfgang Ribbe (eds), *Karl-Marx-Allee. Magistrale in Berlin. Die Wandlung der sozialistischen Prachtstraße zur Hauptstraße des Berliner Ostens*, Publikationen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1996)

Engelbrecht, Jörg, *Das Herzogtum Berg im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution. Modernisierungsprozesse zwischen bayerischem und französischem Modell*, Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte Neue Folge, 20 (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1996)

Ernst, Fritz, *Im Schatten des Diktators. Rückblick eines Heidelberger Historikers auf die NS-Zeit*, ed. by Diethard Aschoff (Heidelberg: Manutius Verlag, 1996)

Esch, Michael G., Kerstin Griese *et al.* (eds), *Die Medizinische Akademie Düsseldorf im Nationalsozialismus*, Düsseldorfer Schriften zur neueren Landesgeschichte und zur Geschichte Nordrhein-Westfalens, 47 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1997)

Felinska, Kamila *et al.*, *Zwangsarbeit bei Ford. Eine Dokumentation* (Cologne: Betrieb Rode-Stankowski, 1996)

Fernhout, Jan (ed.), *Niederländer und Flamen in Berlin, 1940-1945. KZ-Häftlinge, Inhaftierte, Kriegsgefangene und Zwangsarbeiter*, Reihe Deutsche Vergangenheit, 126 (Berlin: Hentrich, 1996)

Fischer, Conan (ed.), *The Rise of National Socialism and the Working Classes in Weimar Germany* (Providence, R.I. and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996)

Forgács, Eva, *The Bauhaus Idea and Bauhaus Politics*, transl. by John Bátki (Budapest, London, and New York: Central European University Press, 1995)

Frei, Norbert, *Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*, Veröffentlichung des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte (Munich: Beck, 1996)

Freund, Elisabeth, *Als Zwangsarbeiterin 1941 in Berlin: Die Aufzeichnungen der Volkswirtin Elisabeth Freund*, ed. by Carola Sachse, Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit, 5 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1996)

Fricke, Thomas, *Zigeuner im Zeitalter des Absolutismus. Bilanz einer einseitigen Überlieferung. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung anhand südwestdeutscher Quellen*, Reihe Geschichtswissenschaft, 40 (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996)

Gehrig, Astrid, *Nationalsozialistische Rüstungspolitik und unternehmerischer Entscheidungsspielraum. Vergleichende Fallstudien zur württembergischen Maschinenbauindustrie*, Nationalsozialismus und Nachkriegszeit in Südwestdeutschland, 5 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996)

Gelberg, Karl-Ulrich (ed.), *Kriegsende und Neuanfang in Augsburg 1945. Erinnerungen und Berichte*, Biographische Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, 17 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996)

Gerrens, Uwe, *Medizinisches Ethos und theologische Ethik. Karl und Dietrich Bonhoeffer in der Auseinandersetzung um Zwangssterilisation und 'Euthanasie' im Nationalsozialismus*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 73 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996)

Geyer, Bodo, Helmut Goerlich, and Gerd Schliebe (eds), *Samuel Pufendorf und seine Wirkungen bis auf die heutige Zeit* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996)

Gier, Helmut and Reinhard Schwarz (eds), *Reformation und Reichsstadt. Luther in Augsburg* (Augsburg: Wißner, 1996)

Glaeßner, Gert Joachim (ed.), *Germany after Unification. Coming to Terms with the Recent Past*, German Monitor, 37 (Amsterdam, Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, 1996)

Glees, Anthony, *Reinventing Germany. German Political Development since 1945* (Oxford, Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1996)

Goertz, Hans Jürgen, *The Anabaptists*, transl. by Trevor Johnson, Christianity and Society in the Modern World (London and New York: Routledge, 1996)

Gröper, Reinhard, *Erhoffter Jubel über den Endsieg. Tagebuch eines Hitlerjungen 1943-1945* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996)

Gruner, Wolf, *Der geschlossene Arbeitseinsatz deutscher Juden. Zur Zwangsarbeit als Element der Verfolgung 1938-1943, Dokumente, Texte, Materialien*, Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung der Technischen Universität Berlin, 20 (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 1997)

Grzeszick, Bernd, *Vom Reich zur Bundesstaatsidee. Zur Herausbildung der Föderalismusidee als Element des modernen deutschen Staatsrechts*, Schriften zum Öffentlichen Recht, 705 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996)

Hackmann, Joerg, *Ostpreußen und Westpreußen in deutscher und polnischer Sicht. Landeshistorie als beziehungsgeschichtliches Problem*, Quellen und Studien, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996)

Hagemann, Harald (ed.), *Zur deutschsprachigen wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Emigration nach 1933* (Marburg: Metropolis-Verlag, 1997)

Hagenlücke, Heinz, *Deutsche Vaterlandspartei. Die nationale Rechte am Ende des Kaiserreiches*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 108 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1997)

Hamann, Brigitte, *Hitlers Wien. Lehrjahre eines Diktators*, 5th edn (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1997)

Hanna-Daoud, Thomas, *Die NSDAP und der Film bis zur Machtergreifung*, Medien in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 4 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996)

Hassels, Michael, *Von der Dynastie zur bürgerlichen Idealfamilie. Studien zum fürstlichen Familienbild des Hauses Hannover in England*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 28: Kunstgeschichte, 257 (Frankfurt / M.: Lang, 1996)

Heilbronn, Wolfgang, *Die politische Geschichte der Erzdiözese Köln von 1918 bis 1933*, Berichte aus der Geschichtswissenschaft (Aachen: Shaker, 1997)

Heinen, Armin, *Saarjahre. Politik und Wirtschaft im Saarland 1945-1955*, Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 19 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996)

Heither, Dietrich *et al.*, *Blut und Paukboden. Eine Geschichte der Burschenschaften* (Frankfurt / M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997)

Hentschel, Volker, *Ludwig Ehrhard. Ein Politikerleben* (Munich and Landsberg: Olzog, 1996)

Herbert, Ulrich, *Best. Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft, 1903-1989* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996)

Herwig, Holger H., *The First World War. Germany and Austria-Hungary 1914-1918*, Modern Wars (London etc.: Arnold, 1997)

Hettling, Manfred and Paul Nolte (eds), *Nation und Gesellschaft in Deutschland. Historische Essays. Hans-Ulrich Wehler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Munich: Beck, 1996)

Heusler, Andreas, *Ausländereinsatz. Zwangsarbeit für die Münchner Kriegswirtschaft 1939-1945*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt München, 1 (Munich: Hugendubel, 1996)

Hipler, Bruno, *Hitlers Lehrmeister. Karl Haushofer als Vater der NS-Ideologie* (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1996)

Höhle, Michael, *Die Gründung des Bistums Berlin 1930*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 73 (Paderborn etc: Schöningh, 1996)

Hucker, Bernd Ulrich, Ernst Schubert, and Bernd Weisbrod (eds), *Niedersächsische Geschichte* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1997)

Hull, Isabel V., *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca, N.Y. and London: Cornell University Press, 1996)

Hundt, Michael, *Die mindermächtigen deutschen Staaten auf dem Wiener Kongress*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 164: Abt. Universalgeschichte (Mainz: von Zabern, 1996)

Kaienburg, Hermann, *Das Konzentrationslager Neuengamme, 1938-1945* (Bonn: Dietz, 1997)

Kasper-Holtkotte, Cilli, *Juden im Aufbruch. Zur Sozialgeschichte einer Minderheit im Saar-Mosel-Raum um 1800*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden. Abt A: Abhandlungen, 3 (Hanover: Hahn, 1996)

Kauders, Anthony, *German Politics and the Jews. Düsseldorf and Nuremberg, 1910-1933*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Kenkmann, Alfons, *Wilde Jugend. Lebenswelt großstädtischer Jugendlicher zwischen Wirtschaftskrise, Nationalsozialismus und Währungsreform*, Düsseldorfer Schriften zur neueren Landesgeschichte und zur Geschichte Nordrhein-Westfalens, 42 (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 1996)

Kettenacker, Lothar, *Germany Since 1945* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Kim, Sun-Ryol, *Die Vorgeschichte der Trennung von Staat und Kirche in der Weimarer Verfassung von 1919. Eine Untersuchung über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Preußen seit der Reichsgründung von 1871*, Hamburger theologische Studien, 13 (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 1996)

Klein, Gotthard, *Der Volksverein für das Katholische Deutschland 1890-1933. Geschichte, Bedeutung, Untergang*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 75 (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1996)

Klemperer, Victor, *Curriculum vitae. Erinnerungen 1881-1918*, ed. by Walter Nowojski, 2 vols (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1996)

Kletzin, Birgit, *Trikolore unterm Hakenkreuz. Deutsch-französische Collaboration 1940-1944 in den diplomatischen Akten des Dritten Reiches* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1996)

Kley, Stefan, *Hitler, Ribbentrop und die Entfesselung des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Paderborn etc: Schöningh, 1996)

Kloosterhuis, Jürgen (ed.), *Aus der Arbeit des Geheimen Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Arbeitsbericht 1 (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Geheimen Staatsarchivs PK, 1996)

Knüpfer, Volker, *Presse und Liberalismus in Sachsen. Positionen der bürgerlichen Presse im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Geschichte und Politik in Sachsen, 2 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996)

König, Gudrun M., *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Spazierganges. Spuren einer bürgerlichen Praktik 1780-1850*, Kulturstudien, Sonderband 20 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1996)

Krause, Michael, *Flucht vor dem Bombenkrieg. 'Umquartierungen' im Zweiten Weltkrieg und die Wiedereingliederung der Evakuierten in Deutschland 1943-1963*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 109 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1997)

Kröger, Martin and Roland Thimme, *Die Geschichtsbilder des Historikers Karl Dietrich Erdmann. Vom Dritten Reich zur Bundesrepublik*, with a foreword by Winfried Schulze (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996)

Kupfer, Torsten, *Sozialdemokratie im Freistaat Anhalt, 1918-1933*, Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteldeutschland, 5 (Weimar, Cologne, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996)

Kurki, Allan W., *Operation Moonlight Sonata. The German Raid on Coventry* (Westport, Conn. and London: Praeger, 1995)

Leitz, Christian, *Economic Relations Between Nazi Germany and Franco's Spain 1936-1945*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Lemke-Müller, Sabine (ed.), *Ethik des Widerstands. Der Kampf des Internationalen Sozialistischen Kampfbundes gegen den Nationalsozialismus*, Quellen und Texte zum Widerstand aus der Arbeiterbewegung 1933-1945 (Bonn: Dietz, 1996)

Lengemann, Jochen *et al.*, *MdL Hessen, 1808 - 1996. Biographischer Index*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, 48, 7; Politische und parlamentarische Geschichte des Landes Hessen, 14 (Marburg: Elwert, 1996)

Lepp, Claudia, *Protestantisch-liberaler Aufbruch in die Moderne. Der deutsche Protestantenverein in der Zeit der Reichsgründung und des Kulturkampfes*, Religiöse Kulturen der Moderne, 3 (Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1996)

Liepach, Martin, *Das Wahlverhalten der jüdischen Bevölkerung. Zur politischen Orientierung der Juden in der Weimarer Republik*, Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo-Baeck-Instituts, 53 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996)

Liess, Albrecht (ed.), *Plakate als Spiegel der politischen Parteien in der Weimarer Republik. Eine Ausstellung des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs. München, 17. September – 8. November 1996*, Ausstellungskataloge der Staatlichen Archive Bayerns, 36 (Munich: Selbstverlag der Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Archive Bayerns, 1996)

Lindner, Erik, *Patriotismus deutscher Juden von der napoleonischen Ära bis zum Kaiserreich. Zwischen korporativem Loyalismus und individueller deutsch-jüdischer Identität*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 726 (Frankfurt / M. etc.: Lang, 1997)

Linke, Angelika, *Sprachkultur und Bürgertum. Zur Mentalitätsgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 1996)

Lucassen, Leo, *Zigeuner. Die Geschichte eines polizeilichen Ordnungsbegriffes in Deutschland 1700-1945* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996)

Lüdtke, Alf, Inge Marßolek, and Adelheid von Saldern (eds), *Amerikanisierung. Traum und Alptraum im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Transatlantische historische Studien, 6 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996)

Maase, Kaspar, *Grenzenloses Vergnügen. Der Aufstieg der Massenkultur 1850-1970* (Frankfurt / M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997)

Mallmann, Klaus Michael, *Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik. Sozialgeschichte einer revolutionären Bewegung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996)

Maurer, Michael, *Die Biographie des Bürgers. Lebensformen und Denkweisen in der formativen Phase des deutschen Bürgertums, 1680-1815*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 127 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996)

Meding, Dorothee von, *Courageous Hearts. Women and the Anti-Hitler Plot of 1944*, transl. by Michael Balfour and Volker R. Berghahn (Providence, R.I. and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997)

Mehlhausen, Joachim (ed.), *Zeugen des Widerstands* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996)

Mildt, Dick de, *In the Name of the People. Perpetrators of Genocide in the Reflection of their Post-War Prosecution in West Germany. The 'Euthanasia' and 'Aktion Reinhard' Trial Cases* (The Hague, London, and Boston, Mass.: Nijhoff, 1996)

Möckl, Karl (ed.), *Wirtschaftsbürgertum in den deutschen Staaten im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert*, Deutsche Führungsschichten in der Neuzeit, 21; Büdinger Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte, 1987 / 1988 (Munich: Boldt im Oldenbourg Verlag, 1996)

Moll, Martin (ed.), *'Führer-Erlasse' 1939-1945. Edition sämtlicher überlieferter, nicht im Reichsgesetzblatt abgedruckter, von Hitler während des Zweiten Weltkrieges schriftlich erteilter Direktiven aus den Bereichen Staat, Partei, Wirtschaft, Besatzungspolitik und Militärverwaltung* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997)

Mommsen, Hans, and Manfred Grieger, *Das Volkswagenwerk und seine Arbeiter im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1996)

Monteath, Peter and Reinhard Alter (eds), *Kulturstreit, Streitkultur. German Literature since the Wall*, German Monitor, 38 (Amsterdam, Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, 1996)

Morsey, Rudolf, *Heinrich Lübke. Eine politische Biographie* (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1996)

Muehl-Benninghaus, Sigrun, *Das Beamtentum in der NS-Diktatur bis zum Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Zu Entstehung, Inhalt und Durchführung der einschlägigen Beamtengesetze*, Schriften des Bundesarchivs, 48 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1996)

Müller, Dirk H., *Arbeiter, Katholizismus, Staat. Der Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland und die katholischen Arbeiterorganisationen in der Weimarer Republik*, Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 43 (Bonn: Dietz, 1996)

Müller, Ulrich (ed.), *Herzog Albrecht von Preußen und Livland (1525-1534). Regesten aus dem Herzoglichen Briefarchiv und den Ostpreußischen Folianten*, Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 41 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996)

Nagel, Anne Christine, *Martin Rade, Theologe und Politiker des Sozialen Liberalismus. Eine politische Biographie*, Religiöse Kulturen der Moderne, 4 (Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1996)

Neugebauer, Gero and Richard Stöss, *Die PDS. Geschichte, Organisation, Wähler, Konkurrenten*, Analysen, 54 (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1996)

Nicolaisen, Carsten and Nora Andrea Schulze (eds), *Die Protokolle des Rates der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, with an introduction by Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, Arbeiten zur kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte. Reihe A: Quellen, 5-, vol. 1- (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995-)

Niendorf, Mathias, *Minderheiten an der Grenze. Deutsche und Polen in den Kreisen Flatow (Zlotów) und Zempelburg (Sepólno Krajenskie) 1900-1939*, Quellen und Studien, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997)

Nolte, Hans-Heinrich (ed.), *Europäische innere Peripherien im 20. Jahrhundert*, Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 23 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997)

Nonn, Christoph, *Verbraucherprotest und Parteiensystem im wilhelminischen Deutschland*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 107 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1996)

Pape, Rainer, *Notzeit. Herford zwischen Kapitulation und Währungsreform 1945-1948* (Leopoldshöhe: heka-Verlag, 1996)

Peter, Matthias, *John Maynard Keynes und die britische Deutschlandpolitik. Machtanspruch und ökonomische Realität im Zeitalter der Weltkriege 1919-1946*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, 51 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997)

Post, Walter, *Unternehmen Barbarossa. Deutsche und sowjetische Angriffspläne 1940/41*, 2nd edn (Hamburg, Berlin, and Bonn: Mittler, 1996)

Potthoff, Heinrich, *Bonn und Ost-Berlin 1969-1982. Dialog auf höchster Ebene und vertrauliche Kanäle. Darstellung und Dokumente*, Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, Beiheft 18 (Bonn: Dietz, 1997)

Prinz, Michael, *Brot und Dividende. Konsumvereine in Deutschland und England vor 1914*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 112 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996)

Puvogel, Ulrike, Martin Stankowski, and Ursula Graf (eds), *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus. Eine Dokumentation*, vol. 1: *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995)

Pyta, Wolfram, *Dorfgemeinschaft und Parteipolitik 1918-1933. Die Verschränkung von Milieu und Parteien in den protestantischen Landgebieten Deutschlands in der Weimarer Republik*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 106 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1996)

Quack, Sibylle (ed.), *Between Sorrow and Strength. Women Refugees of the Nazi Period*, Publications of the German Historical Institute Washington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Quint, Peter E., *The Imperfect Union. Constitutional Structures of German Unification* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997)

Reichart, Andrea, *Alltagsleben im späten Mittelalter. Der Übergang zur frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel der Stadt Essen (1400-1700)*, Essener kulturhistorische Studien, 1, 2nd revised edn (Essen: Item-Verlag, 1996)

Reinicke, Christian, Horst Romeyk, and Ingeborg Schnelling-Reinicke (eds), *Nordrhein-Westfalen. Ein Land in seiner Geschichte. Aspekte und Konturen, 1946-1996*, Veröffentlichungen der staatlichen Archive des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Reihe C: Quellen und Forschungen, 36 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996)

Rodger, Richard, *A Consolidated Bibliography of Urban History* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996)

Roeper, Hans and Wolfram Weimer, *Die D-Mark. Eine deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Frankfurt / M.: Societäts-Verlag, 1996)

Rösch, Eva Sibylle and Gerhard Rösch, *Kaiser Friedrich II. und sein Königreich Sizilien*, 2nd edn (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996)

Ruck, Michael, *Korpsgeist und Staatsbewußtsein. Beamte im deutschen Südwesten 1928 bis 1972*, Nationalsozialismus und Nachkriegszeit in Südwestdeutschland, 4 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996)

Saldern, Adelheid von (ed.), *Mythen in Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung aus polnischer und deutscher Sicht*, Politik und Geschichte, 1 (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 1996)

Schambach, Karin, *Stadtbürgertum und industrieller Umbruch. Dortmund 1780-1870*, Stadt und Bürgertum, 5 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996)

Schildt-Specker, Barbara, *Klosterfrauen und Säkularisation. Prämonstratenserinnen im Rheinland*, Düsseldorfer Schriften zur Neueren Landesgeschichte und zur Geschichte Nordrhein-Westfalens, 44 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1996)

Schläger, Ulrike, *Und wann wir? Die Vernichtung der ungarischen Juden und der Budapester Judenrat 1944*, PapyRossa Hochschulschriften, 10 (Cologne: PapyRossa Verlag, 1996)

Schmidt, Helmut, *Weggefährten. Erinnerungen und Reflexionen* (Berlin: Siedler, 1996)

Schminck-Gustavus, Christoph U., *Der 'Prozeß' gegen Dietrich Bonhoeffer und die Freilassung seiner Mörder*, 2nd revised edn (Bonn: Dietz, 1996)

Schoenbaum, David and Elizabeth Pond, *The German Question and Other German Questions*, St Antony's Series (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1996)

Schoeps, Julius H. (ed.), *Ein Volk von Mördern? Die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen-Kontroverse um die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust*, 3rd edn (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1996)

Schötz, Susanne (ed.), *Frauenalltag in Leipzig. Weibliche Lebenszusammenhänge im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Geschichte und Politik in Sachsen, 4 (Weimar, Cologne, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1997)

Schorn-Schütte, Luise, *Die Reformation. Vorgeschichte, Verlauf, Wirkung* (Munich: Beck, 1996)

Schott, Dieter (ed.), *Energie und Stadt in Europa. Von der vorindustriellen 'Holznot' bis zur Ölkrise der 1970er Jahre. Beiträge auf der 3. Internationalen Stadtgeschichts-Konferenz in Budapest 1996*, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 135 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997)

Schrader, Fred E., *Die Formierung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, 1550-1850* (Frankfurt / M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996)

Schreiber, Gerhard, *Deutsche Kriegsverbrechen in Italien. Täter, Opfer, Strafverfolgung* (Munich: Beck, 1996)

Schröder, Peter, *Die Leitbegriffe der deutschen Jugendbewegung in der Weimarer Republik. Eine ideengeschichtliche Studie*, Geschichte der Jugend, 22 (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 1996)

Schwabe, Klaus (ed.), *Quellen zum Friedensschluß von Versailles*, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe. Reihe B: Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte der Neuzeit, 30 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997)

Schweigepflicht. Eine Reportage. Der Fall Schneider und andere Versuche, nationalsozialistische Kontinuitäten der Wissenschaftsgeschichte aufzudecken, AutorInnenkollektiv für Nestbeschmutzung, 2nd revised edn (Münster: Unrast-Verlag, 1996)

Seeger, Andreas, *'Gestapo-Müller'. Die Karriere eines Schreibtischtäters* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 1996)

Seidel, J. Jürgen, *Aus den Trümmern 1945. Personeller Wiederaufbau und Entnazifizierung in der evangelischen Kirche der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands. Einführung und Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996)

Showalter, Dennis E., *The Wars of Frederick the Great*, Modern Wars in Perspective (London and New York: Longman, 1996)

Sierakowiak, Dawid, *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak. Five Notebooks from the Lódz Ghetto*, ed. by Alan Adelson, transl. by Kamil Turowski (London: Bloomsbury, 1996)

Sime, Ruth Lewin, *Lise Meitner. A Life in Physics* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1996)

Smith, Arthur Lee, *The War for the German Mind. Re-Educating Hitler's Soldiers* (Providence, R.I. and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996)

Sprenger, Isabell, *Gross-Rosen. Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien*, Neue Forschungen zur schlesischen Geschichte, 6 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996)

Staszewski, Jacek, *August III., Kurfürst von Sachsen und König von Polen. Eine Biographie*, transl. from the Polish by Eduard Merian (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1996)

Stoltenberg, Gerhard, *Wendepunkte. Stationen deutscher Politik 1947-1990* (Berlin: Siedler, 1997)

Strunk, Peter, *Zensur und Zensoren. Medienkontrolle und Progandapolitik unter sowjetischer Besatzungsherrschaft in Deutschland*, Edition Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1996)

Tatar, Maria, *Lustmord. Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995)

Terpitz, Werner, *Wege aus dem Osten. Flucht und Vertreibung einer ostpreußischen Pfarrersfamilie*, ed. by Michael Schwartz, Biographische Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, 18 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997)

Teuteberg, Hans Jürgen (ed.), *Die westmünsterländische Textilindustrie und ihre Unternehmer*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Wirtschaftsbiographien, 16; Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Westfalen, 17 B (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996)

Tischler, Carola, *Flucht in die Verfolgung. Deutsche Emigranten im sowjetischen Exil, 1933 bis 1945*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte Osteuropas, 3 (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 1996)

Treffeisen, Jürgen (ed.), *Der Präsident des Landesbezirks Baden, 1945-1952. Präsidialstelle. Inventar des Bestandes 481 im Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe*, Werkhefte der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg. Serie E: Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, 1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997)

Trepp, Anne-Charlott, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit. Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 123 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996)

Turner, Henry Ashby, *Hitler's Thirty Days to Power. January 1933* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996)

Ungern-Sternberg, Jürgen von and Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Aufruf 'An die Kulturwelt!'. Das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 18 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996)

Vieregg, Axel (ed.), *'Unsere Sünden sind Maulwürfe'. Die Günter-Eich-Debatte*, German Monitor, 36 (Amsterdam, Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, 1996)

Volckart, Oliver, *Die Münzpolitik im Ordensland und Herzogtum Preußen von 1370 bis 1550*, Quellen und Studien, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996)

Wächter, Detlef, *Von Stresemann zu Hitler. Deutschland 1928 bis 1933 im Spiegel der Berichte des englischen Botschafters Sir Horace Rumbold*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 736 (Frankfurt / M. etc.: Lang, 1997)

Weber, Charlotte, *Gegen den Strom der Finsternis. Als Betreuerin in Schweizer Flüchtlingsheimen 1942-1945*, 2nd edn (Zurich: Chronos, 1997)

Weber, Georg *et al.*, *Die Deportation von Siebenbürger Sachsen in die Sowjetunion 1945-1949*, 3 vols (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1995)

Wegener, Peter P., *The Peenemünde Wind Tunnels. A Memoir* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1996)

Weichlein, Siegfried, *Sozialmilieus und politische Kultur in der Weimarer Republik. Lebenswelt, Vereinskultur, Politik in Hessen*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 115 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996)

Weizsäcker, Richard von, *Die Deutschen und das Kriegsende. Die Reden der Bundespräsidenten Richard von Weizsäcker und Roman Herzog zum 40. und 50. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes*, with a commentary by Friedhelm Ost (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1997)

Witt, Ulrike, *Bekehrung, Bildung und Biographie. Frauen im Umkreis des Halleschen Pietismus*, Hallesche Forschungen, 2 (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996)

Wolf, Hans-Georg, *Organisationsschicksale im deutschen Vereinigungsprozeß. Die Entwicklungswege der Institute der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR*, Schriften des Max-Planck-Instituts für Gesellschaftsforschung Köln, 27 (Frankfurt / M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1996)

Woller, Hans, *Die Abrechnung mit dem Faschismus in Italien 1943 bis 1948*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 38 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996)

Zuche, Thomas (ed.), *StattFührer. Trier im Nationalsozialismus*, 2nd edn (Trier: Spee, 1997)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

Vol. 1: Wilhelm Lenz (ed.), *Archivalische Quellen zur deutsch-britischen Geschichte seit 1500 in Großbritannien; Manuscript Sources for the History of Germany since 1500 in Great Britain* (Boppard a. Rh.: Boldt, 1975)

Vol 2: Lothar Kettenacker (ed.), *Das "Andere Deutschland" im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Emigration und Widerstand in internationaler Perspektive; The "Other Germany" in the Second World War. Emigration and Resistance in International Perspective* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1977)

Vol. 3: Marie-Luise Recker, *England und der Donauraum, 1919-1929. Probleme einer europäischen Nachkriegsordnung* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1976)

Vol. 4: Paul Kluke and Peter Alter (eds), *Aspekte der deutsch-britischen Beziehungen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte; Aspects of Anglo-German Relations through the Centuries* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978)

Vol. 5: Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Peter Alter and Robert W. Scribner (eds), *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland; The Urban Classes, the Nobility and the Reformation. Studies on the Social History of the Reformation in England and Germany* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979)

Vol. 6: Hans-Christoph Junge, *Flottenpolitik und Revolution. Die Entstehung der englischen Seemacht während der Herrschaft Cromwells* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980)

Vol. 7: Milan Hauner, *India in Axis Strategy. Germany, Japan, and Indian Nationalists in the Second World War* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981)

Vol. 8: Gerhard Hirschfeld and Lothar Kettenacker (eds), *Der "Führerstaat": Mythos und Realität. Studien zur Struktur und Politik des Dritten Reiches; The "Führer State": Myth and Reality. Studies on the Structure and Politics of the Third Reich* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981)

Vol. 9: Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica majora des Matthaeus Paris* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981)

Vol. 10: Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld (eds), *Sozialprotest, Gewalt, Terror. Gewaltanwendung durch politische and gesellschaftliche Randgruppen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982)

Vol. 11: Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Wolfgang Mock (eds), *Die Entstehung des Wohlfahrtsstaates in Großbritannien und Deutschland 1850-1950* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982)

Vol. 12: Peter Alter, *Wissenschaft, Staat, Mäzene. Anfänge moderner Wissenschaftspolitik in Großbritannien 1850-1920* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982)

Vol. 13: Wolfgang Mock, *Imperiale Herrschaft und nationales Interesse. 'Constructive Imperialism' oder Freihandel in Großbritannien vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982)

Vol. 14: Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exil in Großbritannien. Zur Emigration aus dem nationalsozialistischen Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982)

Vol. 15: Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Hans-Gerhard Husung (eds), *Auf dem Wege zur Massengewerkschaft. Die Entwicklung der Gewerkschaften in Deutschland und Großbritannien 1880-1914* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1984)

Vol. 16: Josef Foschepoth (ed.), *Kalter Krieg und Deutsche Frage. Deutschland im Widerstreit der Mächte 1945-1952* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985)

Vol. 17: Ulrich Wengenroth, *Unternehmensstrategien und technischer Fortschritt. Die deutsche und britische Stahlindustrie 1865-1895* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986)

Vol. 18: Helmut Reifeld, *Zwischen Empire und Parlament. Zur Gedankenbildung und Politik Lord Roseberys (1880-1905)* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987)

Vol. 19: Michael Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987)

Vol. 20: Karl Heinz Metz, *Industrialisierung und Sozialpolitik. Das Problem der sozialen Sicherheit in Großbritannien 1795-1911* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988)

Vol. 21: Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Wolfgang Schwentker (eds), *Max Weber und seine Zeitgenossen* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988)

Vol. 22: Lothar Kettenacker, *Krieg zur Friedenssicherung. Die Deutschlandplanung der britischen Regierung während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989)

Vol. 23: Adolf M. Birke and Günther Heydemann (eds), *Die Herausforderung des europäischen Staatensystems. Nationale Ideologie und staatliches Interesse zwischen Restauration und Imperialismus* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989)

Vol. 24: Helga Woggon, *Integrativer Sozialismus und nationale Befreiung. Politik und Wirkungsgeschichte James Connollys in Irland* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990)

Vol. 25: Kaspar von Greyerz, *Vorsehungsglaube und Kosmologie. Studien zu englischen Selbstzeugnissen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990)

Vol. 26: Andreas Wirsching, *Parlament und Volkes Stimme. Unterhaus und Öffentlichkeit im England des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990)

Vol. 27: Claudia Schnurmann, *Kommerz und Klüngel. Der Englandhandel Kölner Kaufleute im 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991)

Vol. 28: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Vom Wiener Kongreß zur Pariser Konferenz. England, die deutsche Frage und das Mächtesystem 1815-1856* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991)

Vol. 29: Peter Alter (ed.), *Im Banne der Metropolen. Berlin und London in den zwanziger Jahren* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993)

Vol. 30: Hermann Wentker, *Zerstörung der Großmacht Rußland? Die britischen Kriegsziele im Krimkrieg* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993)

Vol. 31: Angela Schwarz, *Die Reise ins Dritte Reich. Britische Augenzeugen im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland (1933-1939)* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993)

Vol. 32: Johannes Paulmann, *Staat und Arbeitsmarkt in Großbritannien: Krise, Weltkrieg, Wiederaufbau* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993)

Vol. 33: Clemens Picht, *Handel, Politik und Gesellschaft. Zur wirtschaftspolitischen Publizistik Englands im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993)

Vol. 34: Friedrich Weckerlein, *Streitfall Deutschland. Die britische Linke und die "Demokratisierung" des Deutschen Reiches, 1900–1918* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994)

Vol. 35: Klaus Larres, *Politik der Illusionen. Churchill, Eisenhower und die deutsche Frage 1945-1955* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995)

Vol. 36: Günther Heydemann, *Konstitution gegen Revolution. Die britische Deutschland- und Italienpolitik 1815-1848* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995)

Vol. 37: Hermann Joseph Hiery, *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee (1900-1921). Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrungen verschiedener Kulturen* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995)

Vol. 38: Michael Toyka-Seid, *Gesundheit und Krankheit in der Stadt. Zur Entwicklung des Gesundheitswesens in Durham City 1831-1914* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996)

Vol. 39: Detlev Clemens, *Herr Hitler in Germany. Wahrnehmung und Deutung des Nationalsozialismus in Großbritannien 1920 bis 1939* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996)

Vol. 40: Christel Gade, *Gleichgewichtspolitik oder Bündnispflege? Maximen britischer Außenpolitik (1910-1914)* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997)

Vol. 41: Benedikt Stuchtey, *W. E. H. Lecky (1838-1903). Historisches Denken und politisches Urteilen eines anglo-irischen Gelehrten* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997)

Vol. 42: Sabine Sundermann, *Deutscher Nationalismus im englischen Exil. Zum sozialen und politischen Innenleben der deutschen Kolonie in London 1848 bis 1871* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997)

Vol. 43: Knut Diekmann, *Die nationalistische Bewegung in Wales* (Paderborn: Schöningh, forthcoming)

Vol. 44: Bärbel Brodt, *Städte ohne Mauern. Stadtentwicklung in East Anglia im 14. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997)

Vol. 45: Arnd Reitemeier, *Außenpolitik im späten Mittelalter. Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Reich und England (1370-1422)* (Paderborn: Schöningh, forthcoming 1998)

STUDIES OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON – OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Eckhard Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990)

Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (eds), *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility. The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991)

Rolf Ahmann, Adolf M. Birke, and Michael Howard (eds), *The Quest for Stability. Problems of West European Security 1918-1957* (Oxford, 1993)

Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (eds), *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996)

FURTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Wolfgang Mock (eds), *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany* (London: Croom Helm, 1981)

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld (eds), *Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1982)

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Lothar Kettenacker (eds), *The Fascist Challenge and the Policy of Appeasement* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983)

Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany* (Leamington Spa: Berg Publishers, 1984)

Kaspar von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion, Politics and Social Protest. Three Studies on Early Modern Germany* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984)

Kaspar von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985)

Josef Foschepoth and Rolf Steininger (eds), *Die britische Deutschland- und Besatzungspolitik 1945-1949* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1985)

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Hans-Gerhard Husung (eds), *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, 1880-1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985)

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds), *Imperialism and After. Continuities and Discontinuities* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986)

Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *The Policies of Genocide. Jews and Soviet Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986)

Ralph Uhlig, *Die Deutsch-Englische Gesellschaft 1949-1983. Der Beitrag ihrer "Königswinter-Konferenzen" zur britisch-deutschen Verständigung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986)

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds), *Max Weber and his Contemporaries* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987)

Peter Alter, *The Reluctant Patron. Science and the State in Britain 1850-1920* (Leamington Spa: Berg Publishers, 1987)

Stig Förster, Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Ronald Robinson (eds), *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa. The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)

Adolf M. Birke, Hans Booms and Otto Merker (eds), *Control Commission for Germany/British Element. Inventory. Die britische Militärregierung in Deutschland. Inventar*, 11 vols (Munich etc.: Saur Verlag, 1993)

Günther Heydemann and Lothar Kettenacker (eds), *Kirchen in der Diktatur* (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993)

Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks (eds), *Contesting Colonial Hegemony. Africa and India 1858 to Independence* (London and New York: British Academic Press, 1993)

Ulrike Jordan (ed.), *Conditions of Surrender: Britons and Germans Witness the End of the War* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996)

Hermann Hiery and John Mackenzie (eds), *European Impact and Pacific Influence. British and German Colonial Policy in the Pacific Islands and the Indigenous Response* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997)

Peter Alter (ed.), *Out of the Third Reich. Refugee Historians in Post-War Britain* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998)

HOUSE PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

Lothar Kettenacker and Wolfgang J. Mommsen (eds), *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany 1978-1983* (London, 1983)

Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Two Centuries of Anglo-German Relations. A Reappraisal* (London, 1984)

Adolf M. Birke, *Britain and Germany. Historical Patterns of a Relationship* (London, 1987)

Frank Rexroth (ed.), *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany 1983-1988. An Annotated Bibliography* (London, 1990)

Gerhard A. Ritter, *The New Social History in the Federal Republic of Germany* (London, 1991)

Adolf M. Birke and Eva A. Mayring (eds), *Britische Besatzung in Deutschland. Aktenerschliessung und Forschungsfelder* (London, 1992)

Gerhard A. Ritter, *Big Science in Germany. Past and Present* (London, 1994)

Adolf M. Birke, *Britain's Influence on the West German Constitution* (London, 1995)

Otto Gerhard Oexle, *The British Roots of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft* (London, 1995)

Ulrike Jordan (ed.), *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany 1989-1994. An Annotated Bibliography* (London, 1996)

Andreas Fahrmeir (ed.), *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany 1995-1997. An Annotated Bibliography* (London, forthcoming 1998)

***Annual Lectures** of the German Historical Institute London*

1979 Samuel Berrick Saul, *Industrialisation and De-Industrialisation? The Interaction of the German and British Economies before the First World War* (London, 1980)

1980 Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Gustav Stresemann: The Revision of Versailles and the Weimar Parliamentary System* (London, 1981)

1981 A. J. P. Taylor, *1939 Revisited* (London, 1982)

1982 Gordon A. Craig, *Germany and the West: The Ambivalent Relationship* (London, 1983)

1983 Wolfram Fischer, *Germany in the World Economy during the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1984)

1984 James Joll, *National Histories and National Historians: Some German and English Views of the Past* (London, 1985)

1985 Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Britain and Germany 1800 to 1914. Two Developmental Paths Towards Industrial Society* (London, 1986)

1986 Owen Chadwick, *Acton, Döllinger and History* (London, 1987)

1987 Hagen Schulze, *Is there a German History?* (London, 1988)

1988 Roger Morgan, *Britain and Germany since 1945. Two Societies and Two Foreign Policies* (London, 1989)

1989 Thomas Nipperdey, *The Rise of the Arts in Modern Society* (London, 1990)

1990 *Not available*

1991 Lothar Gall, *Confronting Clio: Myth-Makers and Other Historians* (London, 1992)

1992 Keith Robbins, *Protestant Germany through British Eyes: A Complex Victorian Encounter* (London, 1993)

1993 Klaus Hildebrand, *Reich – Nation-State – Great Power. Reflections on German Foreign Policy 1871-1945* (London, 1995)

1994 Alan Bullock, *Personality and Power: the Strange Case of Hitler and Stalin* (London, 1995)

1995 Ernst Schulin, *'The Most Historical of All Peoples'. Nationalism and the New Construction of Jewish History in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (London, 1996)

1996 Michael Howard, *The Crisis of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1916-17* (London, 1997)

***Bulletin** of the German Historical Institute London*, Issue 1 (Spring, 1979)-

***Bulletin** Index, 1979-1996* (London, 1996)