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SEMINARS AT THE GHIL
SUMMER 1999

27 April — DR CHRISTOPH JAHR (Berlin)

War, Discipline, and Politics. Desertion in the German and the British Army, 1914-1918

Currently *Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter* at Berlin's Humboldt University, Christoph Jahr is the author of *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer 1914-1918* (1998) and co-editor of *Feindbilder in der deutschen Geschichte* (1994).

13 May (Thurs.) — PROFFESSOR WOLFGANG SCHIEDER (Cologne)

Italia docet: The German Right and Italian Fascism before 1933

Wolfgang Schieder's areas of specialization include the history of the Rhineland, particularly in the era of the French Revolution, popular religiosity in nineteenth-century Europe, and the comparative study of European fascism. Most recently, he has edited, with Jens Petersen, *Faschismus und Gesellschaft in Italien* (1998).

18 May — PROFFESSOR HARALD KLEINSCHMIDT (Tsukuba)

Nomen and *Gens*: The Germanic Settlement in Britain and the Genesis of the English

Harald Kleinschmidt is Associate Professor at the College of International Relations of Tsukuba University (Japan). He has published widely on many aspects of medieval and modern history, including *Tyrocinium militare. Militärische Körperhaltungen und -bewegungen im Wandel zwischen dem 14. und dem 18. Jahrhundert* (1989, 2nd edn in preparation), and *Württemberg und Japan* (1991).

8 June — PROFFESSOR ROBERT WISTRICH (Hebrew University)

The Dreyfus Affair through German Eyes

Robert Wistrich is an expert on the history of Nazi Germany and the history of Jewish-Gentile relations in nineteenth-century European states. Recent publications include *Weekend in Munich: Art, Propaganda, and Terror in the Third Reich* (1995), and *Die Juden Wiens im Zeitalter Franz Josephs* (1999). He is currently writing a book on *Dreyfus, the Jews and the French Republic*.

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.

REVIEW ARTICLE

PAINS OF THE PAST. RECENT RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN GERMANY

by Cornelie Usborne and Willem de Blécourt

MANFRED BERG and GEOFFREY COCKS (eds), *Medicine and Modernity. Public Health and Medical Care in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany*, Publications of the German Historical Institute Washington, D.C. (New York: German Historical Institute Washington, D.C. and Cambridge University Press, 1997), 242 pp. ISBN 0 521 56411 5. £45.00. $59.95

UWE GERRENS, *Medizinisches Ethos und theologische Ethik. Karl und Dietrich Bonhoeffer in den Auseinandersetzungen um Zwangssterilisation und 'Euthanasie' im Nationalsozialismus*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 73 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), 222 pp. ISBN 3 486 64573 0. DM 35.00

SIGRID STÖCKEL, *Säuglingsfürsorge zwischen sozialer Hygiene und Eugenik. Das Beispiel Berlins im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 91 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), xv + 445 pp. ISBN 3 11 014539 1. DM 198.00

CORNELIA REGIN, *Selbsthilfe und Gesundheitspolitik. Die Naturheilbewegung im Kaiserreich (1889 bis 1914)*, Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte, Beiheft 4 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 492 pp. ISBN 3 515 06432 X. DM 128.00

MARTIN DINGES (ed.), *Medizinkritische Bewegungen im Deutschen Reich (ca. 1870 - c. 1933)*, Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte, Beiheft 9 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 206 pp. ISBN 3 515 06835 X. DM 76.00

Compared to Britain, German medical history has had an easy life in academia. Ever since 1960 when the German government decreed that it was to be a compulsory component of medical faculties it has been an established discipline in universities. Although last year this arrangement seemed to be under threat, there is now hope that this

might be averted. The close link between empirical medicine and the study of its history has obvious advantages but also some disadvantages. On the plus side is the fact that many medical schools have endowed chairs for the history of medicine, which in Germany usually means a thriving institute with generous staffing and funding arrangements for large-scale projects, conferences and the like. On the minus side, however, it has meant that medical history has effectively been cut off from history proper both in academia as well as on the book market. It was also characterized until recently by a rather traditional outlook and methodology often confined to the history of great medical men and to tracing the heroic progress of élite medicine. Part of the reason why there has been little attempt to contextualize medical developments and pay heed to the 'view from below' was obviously connected to organizational arrangements. Whereas in Anglo-Saxon countries the history of medicine has attracted scholars often unconnected with the medical field, in Germany institutionalized medical history to this day remains firmly linked with medical schools where it is practised by, and caters for, medics rather than historians.[1] This not only led to occasional rivalries and fracas between medical historians and their colleagues in history departments, but it also limited the scope of, and approach to, the history of medicine. As a result there was often a noticeable culture clash between older and young scholars with some of the latter criticizing the writing of their older colleagues as 'exclusive' and 'self-satisfied' because of the assumption that academic medicine was the 'highest, possibly the undisputed authority in questions of illness and health' and that the patient was 'merely ... an object ... , necessary but always subordinate'.[2]

[1] Cf. Alfons Labisch and Reinhard Spree, 'Entwicklungen und aktuelle Trends in der Sozialgeschichte der Medizin in Deutschland. Rückschau und Ausblick', *Münchener Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Beiträge*, 26 (October 1996), pp. 1-22. Cf. also Dorothy Porter, 'The Mission of Social History of Medicine: An Historical Overview', *Social History of Medicine*, vol. 8, no. 3 (December 1995), pp. 345-60; Judith Walzer Leavitt, 'Medicine in Context: A Review Essay of the History of Medicine', *American Historical Review*, 95 (December 1990), pp. 1471-84.

[2] Ute Frevert, 'Akademische Medizin und soziale Unterschichten im 19. Jahrhundert: Professionsinteressen – Zivilisationsmission – Sozialpolitik', *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin der Robert-Bosch-Stiftung*, 4 (1985; published 1987), pp. 41-59, at 41.

It was not until the late 1970s, when historians interested in social structures and social change took an interest in medicine, that the situation changed significantly. They began to place medicine within particular contexts of time and place. This showed clearly that medical theories did not simply exist universally across national boundaries and that their adoption depended on specific historical settings. The injection of social theories and interests also meant that medical history increasingly moved away from a Whig position towards linking scientific with social concerns. Instead of writing hagiographies of 'great doctors', medical historians explored social relationships: between doctor and patient, academic and lay practitioners, health insurance funds and the state, or insurance funds and their members. Thus medical history slowly turned into social history of medicine, a process that had been presaged almost fifty years earlier by Henry Ernst Sigerist, formerly the director of the Institute of the History of Medicine in Leipzig and, since his emigration in 1935 to the USA, director of the John Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine in Baltimore, and, at the same time, by one of his star pupils, Erwin Ackerknecht in Germany. This development was given an important boost when some leading German medical faculties incorporated social history of medicine into their curricula and when the Robert Bosch Foundation in Stuttgart established its research institute for the social history of medicine. This meant that the number of trained historians working on medical history increased significantly.

The books under review here indeed bear witness to this successful application of social history to the history of medicine. They have all succeeded in situating medical developments in their socio-political, economic, and cultural contexts, even if they pay little attention to a social history 'from below' and cannot be described as an attempt to portray the patient's perspective. As recent history they rightly address such key issues as continuity and change, the role of the state, professionalization of the middle classes, and the rise of social policy. But the ghost that haunts nearly all of these books, and, indeed, others about the recent German past, is that of the Holocaust. Unsurprisingly, it is this aspect which distinguishes all writing about modern Germany – whether social history or social history of medicine – from books written about other Western societies. Nazi atrocities, their antecedents in earlier eugenic and racial attitudes and movements, and the complicity of the German medical profession in the Third Reich seem

powerfully present whether they are central, marginal, or even irrelevant to the subject matter under scrutiny. All the contributions, for instance, to the volume on movements critical of medicine, whose history is here told only up to 1933, display a sensitivity to anti-Semitism.

Another case in point is the volume on *Medicine and Modernity*, based on a conference held at the German Historical Institute in Washington. The aim was to assemble both historians and physicians engaged in medical history to try to insert historical perspectives into medical history. Nevertheless, the overriding concern is a self-conscious attempt to re-integrate the 'history of the Third Reich back into the history of Germany, Europe, and the West' by placing the 'medical crimes and collaborations of the National Socialist era into their larger German and Western contexts' (p. 1). As a result, most of the chapters deal either with Nazi policies, their legacy, or with developments leading up to them. Although it is recognized that doctors intervene more often and more deeply into people's lives than most other professionals, there is a sense that the editors, and to a lesser extent some authors, are eager to detect any sign of a particularly German brand of authoritarianism, whether in general practice, in hospitals, or in psychiatry, which could then explain Nazi atrocities. Only a few authors try to disengage themselves from this framework by stressing the autonomy and self-rationality of the topics under investigation. The result is a rather unsatisfactory mix of some authors presenting the events long before 1933 as leading up to and explaining Nazi policies, and those after 1945 as to some extent pre-determined by Third Reich events, while others challenge this vehemently. An integration into a wider European (medical) history thus remains unachieved. According to the editors, recent developments in medicine can also shed light on such classic concerns of German historiography as a teleological approach to understanding the past, the vexed question of the German *Sonderweg*, and the controversial issue of modernism. They suggest that the question of whether Germany's development was unique or not is relevant to such topics as the professionalization of medicine, the medicalization of society, and the political battles over health insurance.

Given the professed aim to eschew a pogressivist narrative and a Whiggish history, it seems rather surprising that the first chapter, by Johanna Bleker, is a revisionist account of nineteenth-century German hospitals. Bleker rejects their common portrayal as arenas of death and

contagion, and instead suggests that they functioned as a refuge from a dangerous life for migrants and servants. It is a pity that there is little attempt to discuss the reception by patients, or to explore their profile according to class, age, gender, and marital status. A comparison with other Western European research is also missing, which would surely have suggested a darker story. Alfons Labisch and Charles McClelland discuss the process of the professionalization of physicians, a subject which has attracted considerable attention in Germany since the late 1970s. Labisch's chapter strikes a curious tone. In fact, the first part of this badly translated contribution seems, almost like a primer of German political history, to address medical students rather than historians before the author starts to describe what he calls the *Sonderweg* of the dynamic relationships between doctors, the state, and the health insurance system. Charles McClelland wishes to shed light on why doctors espoused National Socialist ideology in such large numbers. Arguing against the thesis that all German professions had a 'neocorporatist' strain once they had transferred their allegiance from liberalism to authoritarianism and nationalism in the Kaiserreich, he blames extraneous factors such as the economic and political crises during the First World War and the Weimar Republic. On the same topic Geoffrey Cocks examines why German doctors crossed the ethical border in their experimentation on and eventual murder of concentration camp inmates during the Second World War. His method of using the Nuremberg Doctors' Trial as a probe into German history of medicine and history in general, however, suggests the very teleological approach which this volume set out to criticize. Without precise international comparisons it is also difficult to appreciate why it was particularly in Germany that so many doctors were implicated in murderous practices when other countries experienced similar developments, such as the rise of academic medicine and two world wars. Michael Kater endorses the strong sense of continuity in modern German medical history by demonstrating the Federal Republic's failure to make a clear break with the Nazi past. National Socialist practices were condoned indirectly by tolerating the fact that many former Nazis continued to hold important posts in the federal health service. Nor were policies always changed decisively. Kater also points to the depressing reluctance of doctors to examine critically their own past despite the now conclusive evidence of close medical involvement in all areas of Nazi policy.

Richard Evans's 'In Search of German Social Darwinism' is a vigorous and often trenchant critique of various of his fellow historians' interpretations of this complex ideology. Most historians, he claims, have failed to explain the reasons for its trajectory from a scientific theory in the nineteenth century (when it was associated with notions of competitiveness in economic liberalism) to a belief in radical selectionism, and, finally, to a central place in Hitler's programmes of negative selection and extermination. Evans insists that the racist or radical versions of Social Darwinism which fed the later Nazi policies were in a minority, and that it is therefore wrong to hold this ideology responsible for what followed after 1933. Indeed, he argues that Social Darwinism was always a nebulous concept, multi-layered and changing according to time and place, and reflecting as much as generating cultural trends. While Evans's argument is persuasive when it concerns Imperial Germany, it is less able to explain the relevance of Social Darwinism during the Weimar Republic. Nevertheless, he is surely right to point out that historical developments were marked by contradictions and unevenness, and that they must be judged in the context of changing relationships between the state and its citizens, science and society, and doctors and politics.

The introduction to this volume promises that voice will be given to all those who are usually unheard or marginalized in historiography, namely 'the sick, mentally ill, handicapped, women and ethnic and religious minorities' (p. 10), but, disappointingly, the view from below is almost wholly denied to us. It is left to one of the two women contributors, Atina Grossmann at least to introduce one of these marginalized groups. She discusses women as targets of health and population policy, and, to a smaller extent, also as its agents. In her article on the politics of abortion Grossmann addresses the question of continuity and change in a more subtle and even-handed manner than some of the other authors. She demonstrates that the policy and the law regulating abortion was surprisingly consistent between the Weimar Republic and the immediate post-Second World War period in that both times were marked by a refusal to recognize abortion as a right, and, instead, understood it only in terms of a need dependent on socio-economic circumstances. Yet this stress is rather odd since such attitudes were also prevalent in most other Western societies. Even the Soviet Union, where abortion was legalized in 1920, earlier than in any other country, had decided by 1936 under Stalin, as Grossmann herself

points out, to narrow down permission for reasons of economic and population policy. Grossmann also indicates a complex phenomenon of continuities and discontinuities between the Nazi and the post-Second World War periods, when the authorities permitted abortion on demand for rape victims, echoing Third Reich policies. She suggests that women had appropriated the discourse of Nazi racial hygiene in order to secure their own ends, and argues that the ensuing phenomenon of mass abortions shaped the views of subsequent reforms. Comparing Weimar and Nazi Germany she is quite clear that the Third Reich represented an abrupt change from the liberal climate during the Weimar Republic in that the Nazi government systematically destroyed the powerful sex reform movement and tightened control of contraceptive and abortion practices. Yet this is not the whole picture. Usborne's own research on abortion practices suggests a surprising continuity between Weimar and Nazi Germany. Despite official threats and a powerful pronatalist campaign directed at Aryan and 'valuable' German women, unwanted pregnancies continued to be terminated in a widespread sub-culture of self-help and commercial abortions. Moreover, at least until the mid-1930s, these practices were often judged surprisingly leniently when they came to trial.

Gisela Bock in her chapter on compulsory sterilization and euthanasia similarly points to strong continuities as well as discontinuities in the trajectory of both programmes. For her the watershed occurred when the Nazis introduced compulsion into social engineering, and when individual doctors crossed ethical boundaries and determined individual fates on eugenic grounds, dividing humanity into 'valuable' and 'unworthy' categories. She is one of the few to question the notion of modernity, suggesting that it is more fruitful to understand developments in ethical terms. It is, indeed, curious that 'modernity' (which features in the title of the volume) and a number of other key concepts are seemingly unquestioningly adopted here. For example, the paradigm of the German *Sonderweg* has now been largely discredited, and much work has recently been done by Anglo-Saxon and German scholars to undermine or refine such theories as that of the professionalization of medicine or the medicalization of society.

The social historian's way of looking at psychiatry differs from the point of view of psychiatrists themselves in that the former situates it within its social context. Social historians thus explain mental illness as the redefinition of abnormal behaviour by psychiatrists and as their

attempt to pathologize it. In his brief history of German psychiatry, Heinz-Peter Schmiedebach depicts the patient as the plaything of both the maturing psychiatric profession and prevailing political systems. Psychiatry further deviated from other medical professions in that a substantial number of its patients was considered incurable. Accordingly, psychiatric history becomes the analysis of situations in which specific models of patient management were tried out. By 1900 German psychiatry was increasingly influenced by eugenics and the economic considerations associated with it, as Imperial Germany weighed up the costs of care for the mentally ill with the price of a strong army of workers and soldiers. During the First World War this culminated in mass starvations and other forms of 'mistreatment' of mental patients, which doubled the mortality figures in German asylums. Over 140,000 inmates died. At the time, most attention was directed at patients suffering from war neurosis, which was deemed curable. As Paul Lerner shows, previously discredited treatments such as hypnosis and electrotherapy were resurrected to that end. Both were ambiguous answers to state demands, as well as means of boosting the social identity of individual psychiatrists, but, Lerner stresses, they were definitely not harbingers of Nazi psychiatric excesses.

As in the other contributions to the Berg and Cocks volume, the patient is voiced over and denied his or her own historical agency. The volume edited by Martin Dinges contains another essay by Schmiedebach, which does, in fact, partly remedy this omission. Here he focuses on what is commonly known as the 'anti-psychiatry' movement. But, as the author asserts, it is more appropriately described as a critique of psychiatry, since it opposed particular psychiatric practices rather than the discipline itself. But although the patient's rights are central to this discussion, the patient's perspective is, again, neglected.

Uwe Gerrens's book on medical ethos and theological ethics, albeit approaching the problem of compulsory sterilization and 'euthanasia' from the viewpoint of two leading opponents, nevertheless posits the central problem of how to defend the basic human rights of patients deemed deviant or 'undesirable' in a state which increasingly judged individuals according to a hierarchy of human worth. Gerrens compares the intellectual and practical stance taken against such inhuman practices by a father and son: Karl Bonhoeffer, one of Germany's leading psychiatrists during the Weimar Republic and his son, the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer. The example of Karl's courageous and

spirited defence of patients' rights and dignity shows just how much scope there was in both Weimar and Nazi Germany to resist the increasingly interventionist and finally murderous methods of eugenic programmes. In 1923 as a member of the Prussian Medical Council he spoke up against compulsory sterilization and in 1924, as the President of the German Association for Psychiatry, he was able to defend the right of mental patients freely to choose practitioner and therapy. Even after 1933 he continued to criticize all attempts to infringe on patients' rights. Bonhoeffer's son Dietrich, a leading member of the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*), participated in the movement protesting against the 'euthanasia' programme, but his most important contribution was his ethical theory of 'the right to natural life'. This defined medical responsibility towards patients in terms of theological insights and the medico-ethical principles employed by his father.

Sigrid Stöckel's book on infant welfare from Imperial to Nazi Germany represents an interesting mixture of the history of ideas and social health care. Against the backdrop of the situation in Berlin, this meticulously researched account presents a careful interpretation of the responses to Germany's perpetual problem of lowering the mortality rate of children under the age of one. The topic is an important one because infant mortality was, in many ways, considered to be the touchstone of the level of civilization and an important indicator of racial fitness in the Social Darwinian struggle for survival among the industrializing nations of the West. At the turn of the century, when population size was commonly associated with national virility and military power, the German Reich anxiously watched the decline in its birth-rate as it was apparently unable to preserve the life of the newborn. Compared with its competitors Germany had a shamefully high infant mortality rate, which worried politicians, economists, physicians, and other commentators. For historians this is an interesting problem in that it reflects some of Germany's political and social upheavals. For example, in the mid-nineteenth century the infant mortality rate was around 20 per cent, but in 1871 it climbed to an new peak of 41 per cent, clearly indicating the toll that rapid industrialization and urbanization were taking on the most vulnerable in society. Only after 1905, when a new communal infant care programme had come into operation which recognized the importance of breastfeeding and actively supported it, did the rate start to decline significantly. This progress was halted again from 1914 to 1923 reflecting the effects of

total war, post-war dislocation, and hyperinflation. Once the welfare measures of the Weimar Republic kicked in the rate moved down again. By offering class-specific rates in the capital (interpolated from the social make-up of different districts) Stöckel makes clear the correlation between infant mortality on the one hand and extraneous factors such as cost of living, unemployment, family size, and women's economic activity. Thus infant mortality can be said to have acted as a barometer of a nation's social policy, its economic performance, and its class differences. Yet from the turn of the century onwards the poor survival rates of babies were also discussed within a Social Darwinian framework of degeneration. Like the declining birth-rate, infant mortality and the decrease in breastfeeding were considered symptoms of a genetic decline. The unwillingness, or apparent inability, of so many working-class mothers to breastfeed was decried by eugenicists as a degenerative trait which could be transmitted to the next generation. Thus some argued that the high death toll among babies reared on cows' milk should be welcomed since it prevented the passing on of negative hereditary characteristics.

It is a measure of the ambitious scope of this book that it set out to discuss the problem of infant mortality both in theory and practice and, what is truly remarkable, does so over six decades and two major political systems with additional references to a third. In a rather thankless task the author has carefully read and interpreted the large number of manuals on hygiene and welfare which were published throughout the period. Stöckel was concerned to establish the interrelationship between social hygiene and eugenics, and to show how this fed into welfare programmes at national and local level. She demonstrates that at least from the turn of the century the thinking of German paediatricians and hygienists was also increasingly informed by the notion of racial hygiene. German hygiene manuals of the 1870s and 1880s were characterized by a caring and enlightened humanism. Not until 1891 was the word 'race' first mentioned explicitly, but the watershed came in 1899 with the publication of a handbook on hygiene by the medical practitioner Ferdinand Hueppe, who was the first to evoke an ideology explicitly informed by Social Darwinism and the idea of racial hygiene. Although he conceded that acquired characteristics could be transmitted to future generations, he clearly prioritized the influence of 'race'. He favoured state welfarism being harnessed for the benefit of the 'race' or the *Volk* rather than the individual. This

unashamed acceptance of social inequality and the celebration of a struggle between individuals or classes was a clarion call for a deeply discriminating ideology. It paved the way for the growing acceptance of racial hygiene within the scientific-medical discourse.

Stöckel's study confirms what other social historians have demonstrated elsewhere, namely how blurred were the boundaries between social hygiene, which today seems the acceptable face of population policy, and eugenics or racial hygiene, its unacceptable side. Key representatives of social hygiene, such as Alfred Grotjahn, who occupied the first academic chair of this new discipline, should, she argues rightly, also be regarded as proponents of racial hygiene. Yet despite the increasingly high profile of eugenics among the medical profession and interested individuals, it is noteworthy that government circles were reticent to adopt eugenics or racial hygiene as official policy. This is not made clear in Stöckel's account. Here the watershed occurred after the dislocation of the First World War, when Social Democrats, many of whom had previously been enthusiastic supporters of eugenics, had more public influence. In the 1920s eugenics also emerged as a popular movement, increasingly supported by official circles. In tandem with social policy it appeared indispensable to a nation ailing from the wounds of war and later from the impact of a world economic crisis. Stöckel is eager to show how quickly the Nazis were able to institutionalize eugenics. In 1933 compulsory sterilization was introduced within a few months, eugenic abortion in two years, and the euthanasia programme was set up in seven years.

It is here that Stöckel's thesis remains unconvincing. Her attempt to show Weimar eugenics preparing the way for Nazi policy is too undifferentiated to be helpful. It also contradicts many examples in her own account. For example, when members of the Berlin councils discussed the effects of infant welfare clinics in the 1920s, they significantly never referred to eugenics at all. The centres they had instituted were open to everyone. Councillors used eugenic arguments if at all mainly to secure funding. Similarly, it is a pity that the clear shift in infant welfare policy between Imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic is implied rather than explicitly stated or explained. It might have helped here to look beyond infant mortality to the wider question of population policy and social policy in general to detect the full extent of changes in attitude and policies. A number of important recent studies covering this field throw light on this, but were not consulted.

Nor, disappointingly, does the author refer to a great deal of recent and important relevant work by feminist historians. Furthermore, this study would have benefited enormously from a comparative perspective. A declining birth-rate and a fear of degeneration were, after all, not restricted to Germany, but shared to a lesser or greater extent by all other industrialized nations. What is more, German debates of the early twentieth century contained constant cross references to the views and experiences of neighbouring countries, a sign of international co-operation, but also of a truly Social Darwinian spirit of international rivalry. Finally, it seems curious that a study of babies and children hardly mentions the many women activists who played such a large part campaigning for the better recognition of mothers and calling for their financial support. The newly enfranchised women of the Weimar Republic, whether they were voters or members of the Reichstag, Diets, or local councils, made maternity protection and infant welfare their special concern. Nor is any attention paid to those at whom infant policy was directed: mothers and fathers. These reservations notwithstanding, this is a thorough investigation, and a careful and subtle interpretation of an important field of medical history for which many scholars working in similar fields will be grateful.

Much recent research, particularly by British and American scholars, has shown that we need to pay attention to the activities of the many different lay or non-élite practitioners of medicine to understand the full picture of healing in the past: nurses and midwives, folk healers, wise women, herbalists, blessers, and fortune-tellers have all continued to play a vital role for the sick of all classes. Indeed, the process of professionalization of medicine which so dominates many of the books under review here did not result in doctors achieving a monopoly on the market for health care delivery. The books so far discussed are curiously quiet about this important contradiction in the story of the 'medicalization' of German society: the continued popularity of lay or alternative medicine. Without reference to this, the complex picture of health care and the medical market must appear distorted. Moreover, religious healing practices and medical self-help constitute fascinating topics for future medical histories. To date only a fraction of this terrain has been charted. While Nazi atrocities still monopolize the attention of many scholars, a new generation of social historians of medicine is airing its preoccupation with more recent concerns such as the

popularity of alternative medicine since the 1970s and the accompanying critique of academically dominated health care. Cornelia Regin's study of the nature therapy movements of a century earlier has clearly been inspired by present-day interests. Her modest aim here was to fill another gap in the historiography: a movement with, at its height, 150,000 members cannot be ignored historically. It is also of special relevance in the context of the medicalization process, which reached a decisive stage after the introduction of mandatory vaccination schemes in 1873 and the German national health insurance in 1883, and an ongoing hygienic offensive. With doctors' quest for a monopoly, these policies were paralleled by the founding of local naturopathic societies, and culminated in 1889 in the creation of an umbrella organization, the German Federation of Societies for Healthcare and Therapy without Medicines (*Deutscher Bund der Vereine für Gesundheitspflege und arzneilose Heilweise*).

Regin shows how naturopathy originated in a dissatisfaction with academic medicine. At the beginning of the nineteenth century when heroic treatment was in its heyday doctors still treated patients according to the humoral pathology. But medical diagnosis was being transformed. Before it had been based on the physician listening to his patients and respecting their agency as a subject. Increasingly, however, doctors exchanged the use of their ears for that of their eyes, and turned their patients into objects. In Germany this process triggered the development of homeopathy as well as hydropathy. The latter formed the basis of naturopathy. In the course of the nineteenth century diets and healing by light, air, and sunshine were added to the repertoire of naturopathy. This approach was thus defined by its rejection of treatment with drugs. While it shared its original objectives with homeopathy it also differed markedly from it. Naturopathy also stood apart from some of the more traditional methods of healing by the application of poultices, tinctures, and herbs. Although faith healing and blessing were not incongruent with the methods of naturopathy they were not adopted by it. Only more modern variants such as hypnosis, suggestion, and autosuggestion were applied. Illness was considered to be a disturbance of the body's balance, and therapy was directed towards activating and supporting the patient's inborn powers of self-healing. Trust and dialogue between healer and patient were thus of vital importance, as was the patient's confidence in the powers of nature. To academic doctors, whose worldviews were evolving in a more materialistic

direction anyhow, the mere fact that naturopathy was prepared to collaborate with non-state registered healers degraded it into quackery.

Naturopathy not only gained support for its opposition to academic medicine, it was also popular because it constituted a vigorous reaction to larger social problems. The daily manifestations of the ill effects of industrialization and urbanization, environmental pollution, lack of proper housing, and malnutrition as well as the high rates of infant mortality, alcoholism, prostitution, promiscuity, and rape, all contributed to a critique of industrialized society and fostered a romantic conception of nature. The Federation had its roots in Saxony, where it emerged out of a network of local societies. Regin observes that the naturopathy movement evoked a strong response in densely populated areas with high levels of commercial and industrial production. But the movement also appealed to people outside Saxony. In 1888, 95 societies contributed a total of about 18,000 members. These numbers rose sharply in the first decade of the Federation's existence. By the turn of the century 776 societies had joined with a total of 96,867 members. Thereafter, the number of associated societies stabilized at about 875 with a total membership of over 140,000. How was this remarkable feat accomplished? Or, to give the question a different perspective: why did opposition to academic medicine take the kind of organized form it took in Germany?

Unfortunately these kinds of questions are neither posed nor answered. Regin's meticulously researched and well organized book is largely descriptive. The author only occasionally asks probing questions and then seems at a loss as to how to answer them. Members of the movement were well aware of the uniqueness of their organization. In England, for instance, kindred movements of vegetarians and anti-vivisectionists were better organized than in Germany, but there was no naturotherapy movement. Regin's description, however, gives no hint as to how this extraordinary phenomenon can be explained with reference to German society and culture. Nor are links explored between religion and the underlying ideology of the movement, which might well have illuminated the reasons for its tremendous growth. Class is not an obvious answer, since members were recruited from all strata of society. Only the predominance of men in the organization could be read as reflecting German patriarchal culture in general. Regin, however, explains this away by pointing out that even though men paid the membership fees probably whole families participated in

the societies. It seems likely that no meaningful correlations could be established because the scale of this study did not allow it. Germany as a whole offers too many variations to establish an unambiguous pattern. A clearer picture would probably emerge only in a local or regional study which paid attention to the diffusion and regional variations of the general organization. It is, of course, no coincidence that the movement was born in Saxony which industrialized early, had a large female industrial workforce, was influenced by socialism, and had a Protestant outlook. Only when naturopathy had grown so big in Saxony could it apparently also become popular in other areas, but for different reasons. Yet the dearth of source material might not allow local studies. In fact, the most relevant sources for this history, the archives of the Federation, were lost during the Second World War and the various state and municipal archives contain only scarce data since an organization which was perfectly legal generated no police records. This meant that Regin had to concentrate on printed sources such as monographs, brochures, pamphlets, and a series of journals, of which *Der Naturarzt* (the Natural Doctor) was the most important. These partisan sources were then aptly supplemented by the printed records of the movement's most vocal opponents: publications by the medical profession. The absence of a local perspective also leaves unclear what the movement meant to its members, how they experienced it, and how it informed their lives.

Dinges's volume places Regin's book into the larger context of the countermovements to medicalization in modern Germany before National Socialism. Refreshingly it does not restrict itself to what today is called 'alternative medicine', and it is appealing in the way it presents a number of neat case studies on divergent topics such as the critique of psychiatry, the debate on the syphilis drug Salvarsan, anti-vivisectionists, and the opponents of smallpox vaccination. The common characteristics of these various groupings are their revolutionary attack on specific trends in mainstream medicine, even if their existence is also justified beyond it. Their members were recruited from different strands of society. The anti-vivisectionists were dominated by the aristocracy, the anti-psychiatrists by lawyers, while the naturotherapists started out as a petty bourgeois movement but increasingly attracted lower-class members. As debates on specific topics became more and more dependent on publicity, the role of journalists increased in importance. The different contributors discuss

how people combated the forces of science, state, and industry in the arena which Dinges defines as the field of tension between daily experience (*Lebenswelt*) and science, but which was, in fact, composed of the power structures that encapsulated and directed the individual. Basically this arena concerned two different and incompatible ways of speaking. Statistics, one of the languages of science and the state, had no meaning for people in danger of losing their child, as Eberhard Wolff explains in his article on the debates about vaccination. But in a medicalized environment most of these 'counter movements' could not hope to achieve their aims. For example, in the 1920s an attempt to establish a chair in naturopathy at the University of Leipzig came to nothing. Furthermore, doctors won the battle for a monopoly in the treatment of patients suffering from venereal disease even though they failed to make this treatment compulsory. The 'anti-psychiatry' movement, too, lost momentum as it concentrated on combating abuses within the system instead of campaigning against the underlying élitist philosophy in which, for instance, the mentally ill were considered deviants and thus socially stigmatized. Science and industry were too dependent on animal testing to permit anti-vivisectionists to scale it down. Yet the fact that these campaigns failed does not make their history any the less interesting.

But there is one perspective which is missing from all of these books: a patient-orientated history which investigates the complex relationship between healer and sufferer. Without it, however, we cannot hope to study the cultures of health and illness. This must include the point of view not just of the doctor or non-medical practitioner and the patient, but also of the patient's family and of all those others who play a role in the wider healing process. Add to this feminist critiques of medicine and anthropological approaches and we have a recipe which promises fresh reflections on such interesting problems as medical power, the gendered conceptions of the human body, the significance of different belief systems, and the relationship between culture and biology.

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DEBATE*

MICHAEL MAURER, *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), 712 pp. ISBN 3 525 35441 X. DM 142.00

This is a large, important, and ambitious book. The central argument proposed by Maurer is that during the eighteenth century representatives of the German bourgeoisie developed a set of values which both claimed and achieved hegemony within the German lands. A major form through which these values were elaborated and communicated was that of biography, the principal source used by Maurer. He has consulted some twelve hundred biographies (the numbers alone are indicative of their significance), broadly defined to include autobiographies, collective biographies, diaries, and obituaries. His method is that of qualitative literary analysis of certain themes within this material, providing illustrations of these themes and showing how they formed a coherent value system.

Maurer begins by considering the meaning of his two major terms: *Bürgertum* (henceforth I will use the word *bourgeoisie*) and biography. The first term is notoriously difficult. Maurer refers to the usual categories – privileged inhabitants of towns, middling orders, members of professions and trades, citizens. The great majority of those considered are *Gelehrte*, especially Protestant pastors, and *Beamte*. Towards the end of the period there was increasing involvement of what one might call *Literaten*. There were some representatives of the merchant class, especially from such cities as Hamburg. Artisans, small-town bourgeoisie, and manufacturers hardly figure. Maurer must therefore show that his socially skewed collection of 'bourgeois' biographies spoke to and for a wider social constituency. He addresses this issue, arguing that the biographies outlined a model of acculturation which could draw in and unify a range of groups.

Maurer traces the genre of biography back a long way, starting with the account of Socrates provided by Plato. He notes various forms

* Michael Maurer's response will be published in the November 1999 issue of the *Bulletin*.

taken by biography: the lives of the powerful (Plutarch's parallel lives of Greeks and Romans), medieval lives of saints. What is important about modern biography is that it extends beyond the great (whether worldly or unworldly). Subjects are presented not as types but as individuals with a distinct character, and, above all psychological properties, who interact with the world around them to produce history. In particular, it is virtue (and, implicitly, vice) which enables individuals to make their own way through the world. These were also features of the new genre of the novel, especially advanced in England. However, biography insisted that it was the 'truth', constructing a category of non-fiction to contrast with that of fiction.

Maurer includes autobiography, pointing out that very often biography was what we would now call 'authorized' and indeed shaped by the subject. He notes that graveside speeches and published obituaries, the keeping of diaries or other kinds of reflections on one's life were all of a piece with biography and its concern with the inner life of the individual in interaction with the wider world. Such biographies increased greatly in number. By mid-century one finds biographical series (for example, Württemberg clerics) until, by the end of the century, there is the idea that this could be an appropriate way of expressing the new national character of Germans. (However, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* was started only in 1875.) Thus the rise of biography in this particular and mass form represents both a class and a national assertion.

We need to place this within its social and political context. In negative terms the keyword is particularism. There is the social particularism of the corporate society (*ständische Gesellschaft*) with its fixed divisions based on birth and honour, and expressed and enforced through privilege. There is the political particularism of a plurality of states and, within the larger territorial states, regions. In positive terms the bourgeois assertion is for a nation made up of individuals who can, in principle, exercise a broad range of occupations and are to be valued for their virtues rather than their standing.

The roots of these virtues are located in religious reform and the Enlightenment. So far as religious reform is concerned, Maurer concentrates upon Pietist Lutheranism. This raises the question of how far the values asserted within Pietism can be extended to Calvinists or Catholics or Jews. Maurer also insists on the compatibility, indeed close positive ties, between Pietism and Enlightenment. He argues that

Pietism challenged the dogmatic and magical in religion, stressed education, and made good conduct as well as a good heart the basis of the good life. The German Enlightenment is seen as a practical-pedagogic movement concerned to rationalize and moralize conduct. Both movements stress the capacity, through education and will, to effect a transformation of one's own personality and, in turn, others. Change therefore is understood as potentially progress, and progress is understood as psychological and cultural transformation (in other words, changes in values lead to changes in behaviour).

These propositions are explored and supported in detail through analysis of the biographies. By 'bourgeois biography' Maurer means biography written by bourgeois. Biographies of non-bourgeois figures can be deployed to assert bourgeois values. Biographies of princes stress their dutiful discharge of their tasks rather than valour in war; those of nobility point up their rational conduct of farming. Where a biographer cannot gloss over the attachment of a noble to hunting but is not writing a critical study (something only encountered after 1789), there is a strained attempt to portray the activity as love of nature or learning the ways of the forest. Although princes and nobles did not achieve their positions by merit or service, these are made the distinguishing features of a worthy prince or noble.

There are also biographies of commoners (leaving aside those who succeed in rising up to the ranks of the bourgeoisie). Maurer identifies two principal kinds: the 'philosophical peasant' and the 'pious poor'. Again, the virtues of reason (asserted against a credulous village community) and of a good heart (asserted against ill fortune) are at the centre of such biographies and point to Enlightenment and Pietist values. However, most biographies are *of* as well as *by* bourgeois. To analyse these Maurer identifies a range of virtues and values. These constitute the heart of the book which is divided into two parts entitled 'Religiosity, Virtue and Work' and 'Education, Family and Society'. In a short review I can present only the barest summary of these rich chapters.

Religiosity is mainly that of Pietist Lutherans and, to a much lesser extent, Calvinists. German Catholicism is quickly dismissed as a subject in which nothing happens and on which, understandably, little has been written. (There is a short section on Josephinism but this is just tacked on to the end of the chapter.) Of course, if more were written we might find out that something had happened. The main features of this

religiosity involve an appeal to natural religion; a rejection of revelation (at least as a way in which God might be made known in the present age), and of original sin and the threat of eternal damnation (again, historicized as ways in which more credulous ages might be brought to live a good life). Christ is seen not as the Son of God who through his blood sacrifice offered the possibility of redemption to corrupt mankind, but as the supremely good man who through his example and his teachings provides us with a model for the good life. The pastor, in turn, must take his humble part as exemplar and educator.

The links to Enlightenment values are clear. Pietism denies much that rationalists found objectionable in received Christianity. The stress on the goodness of nature (human and non-human) and education fitted well with the ideas of rational education and exploration of the natural world, glorified as the work of God and proof of his existence. The concern with individual religious experience was accompanied by mass publications of the Bible. (One Bible edition in 1712-19 matched the 200,000 copies of the Lutheran Bible published between 1522 and 1626.) The pastor was preacher and educator. Administering the sacraments, hearing confession (private confession was abolished in many churches), or conducting exorcisms were declining parts of his duties. The good life which was preached was as much about service to others as conduct calculated to save one's soul. Such a movement often went beyond toleration of other confessions to explicit ecumenicalism. In all these ways religiosity became bourgeois, secular, and potentially national.

The argument proceeds in a similar way in subsequent chapters. Virtue was above all sexual virtue, although the very taboo nature of the subject meant that this was often approached by hints and insinuations. Honour became honesty and uprightness, as opposed to valour or defence of status. Being natural (crying, feeling with the heart, enjoying the world of nature) was praised. Sociability was problematic, given the stress on work and inner reflection, but in so far as it was valued, it was in terms of useful and rational recreation (reading circles, a new kind of theatre and music, walks) as opposed to hunting, gambling, drinking, and womanizing. Close ties with others – friendship and, increasingly, love – were valued. Reason, seen as a practical and effective way of acting, was highly praised. Maurer also has a section on economic values although this is a misleading term, as he himself recognizes. It was not so much the rational pursuit of profit or

management of an enterprise as a distinct end which was stressed, but rather the efficient, honest, and industrious arrangements of one's life, including one's occupation. The unintended result might be profit, as Weber long ago argued, and this might well create a tension in so far as it could conflict with values of frugality, but profit was a sign of virtue rather than a good in itself. The notion of economic growth was absent from the thinking of this time and few advocated free market principles.

Quite rightly, therefore, Maurer treats the value attached to work as separate from what he calls economic virtue. Here we clearly encounter something new and indeed obsessive. Work in some accounts becomes the point of life rather than its necessary accompaniment. Biographies boast of the hours devoted to work; the nights without sleep; the capacity to do two or three things at the same time. One writer asserts that he cannot imagine heaven except as a busy place! As a consequence recreation is re-creation of the capacity to work, recovery (*Erholung*) rather than the true mark of a civilized man.

The other central virtue is education – *Bildung* – the cultivation of heart and mind to effect transformation. The mother as educator at home and the teacher as educator at school were both elevated in status. Education was for character but also for use. Much of the content and method of established ways – tutoring at home, Latin schools, rote learning – was condemned. Particularly interesting are examples of where new ideas did *not* anticipate later developments, for example, the lack of stress on physical exercise, or the enthusiasm for *Realschule* which engaged in *Denkschulung* rather than *Sprachschulung*. One finds similar short-lived experiments in other countries. One thing that remains unclear in this whole section is how far what was outlined was an ideal for the education of everyone, or education for a minority.

The chapter on family argues that change was culturally conditioned; there was no significant economic change which could account for a new stress on separating home from work or on the family as a biological/emotional unit rather than a household which included domestic servants, apprentices, and farm labourers and was held together by calculative ties of mutual need. Again some contemporary ideals cannot be seen as anticipations of the future. Friderika Baldinger was neither anticipating feminism nor nineteenth-century 'domestic romanticism' when she insisted that while she wished to subordinate herself to a husband, it could only be one who was her superior in

reason and understanding. As she regarded herself with justification as well-endowed in these respects this made many prospective husbands unacceptable.

Finally Maurer argues that a new notion of 'society' was projected, based on north-German, urban, bourgeois Protestant values, participating in a national life through the rise of a commercially diffused German literature, and representing a model to which many outside the core group of *Gelehrte* and *Beamte* could assimilate – other bourgeois, serious-minded nobles and princes, women, Jews, even some from below the bourgeoisie. Maurer concludes that this was a 'hegemonic' image in which nobility and court, even if still powerful, were seen as obsolete and doomed, and in which the clergy had been replaced by the bourgeoisie in the triad of noble, clergy/bourgeois, peasant. Although the bourgeoisie (leaving aside small merchants and artisans) constituted only a few percent of the population, with this hegemonic image it had established cultural, if not yet economic or political, dominance.

The argument is a solid and consistent one and the scholarship is extremely impressive. There are, however, in my view some serious problems. First, there is the limitation of the method of qualitative literary analysis. Thankfully Maurer does not introduce any fashionable jargon about discourse which would have added nothing to his case except opacity. Nevertheless, he is arguing that a certain type of writing creates rather than reflects particular ways of life, and has the power to expand beyond the core groups which originally developed these values. But what is left out? There are many passages where the argument proceeds without any reference to biographical accounts. Given the range of subjects discussed, even where biographies are cited this has to be in a very selective manner. How can one establish that these themes are the only central ones in all the biographies? Quantitative literary analysis (for example, contents analysis) would add conviction.

Second, there is the issue of the coherence which Maurer imposes in the way he connects the various values. But one can easily point to disjunctions. The Pietist stress on the good heart led to forms of mysticism which were at odds with Enlightenment values. The high value placed on intellectual and spiritual partnership between husband and wife, juxtaposed with the sense that sexuality was animality, could lead Wilhelm von Humboldt – in many ways a high priest of bourgeois idealism – to justify recourse to prostitutes in a most

unbourgeois fashion. The honour of the guildsman and his pride in the honesty and craftsmanship of his trade justified the enforcement of economic privilege. The fetish of work stood in the way of tranquil self-reflection. Bourgeois work was not manual labour and, in a world where most must toil in the fields or the workshop, could not be a universal virtue. Denial of the divinity of Christ implies devaluation of the New Testament and secession from any church subscribing to the doctrine of the Trinity. Stress on the individuality of all is difficult to reconcile with emphasis on the creative genius of a few. The notion of a 'useful education' jars with the classical ideals of neo-humanists; the *Realschule* with the project of a reformed *Gymnasium*; a university such as Göttingen in which the study of political economy figured centrally with the new University of Berlin in which the *Philosophische Fakultät* took pride of place. Is there really a single ideal, even a family of related ideals, in all this?

Third, as Maurer implicitly at least recognizes, one must distinguish between 'bourgeois' values which appear *sui generis* to this period and those which anticipate values preached and perhaps practised by the more numerous and significant bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century. Here one finds no fetish of profit-making and economic growth, or the view that the market knows best. Here there is no cult either of utilitarian education or of a liberal education designed to enable second and third generation bourgeois to leave behind the work-obsessed world of their grandfathers or fathers. Which is bourgeois – what is anticipated and grows larger or what is peculiar to this pre-industrial world and fades away?

Fourth, this raises the issue of how unified a category is the bourgeoisie. Maurer stresses unity through acculturation both in space (different bourgeois groups at one time) and over time (above all the passing on of bourgeois values to new bourgeois groups). Yet the overwhelming concentration upon Pietist Lutherans, especially scholars and officials, makes it difficult to establish the first point, and the restriction to the period before 1815 the second. Indeed, one might argue that some of these values have no social location at all and are just as likely to be found amongst some princes and nobles (just as some historians have located the origins of Victorian values amongst a devout element within the gentry).

Finally, the concept of hegemony raises problems which Maurer never considers. Gramsci probably never intended it to mean cultural

domination in any simple sense but rather the always fragile assertion of intellectual-cum-cultural frameworks within which arguments and conflicts take place. This means it can co-exist with other values and ways of seeing but occupies a superior vantage point. Was even this more qualified concept of hegemony the case by 1815? Consider proceedings at the Congress of Vienna. One might see the implicit acceptance of a rationalist and secular world-view in the refusal to restore the temporal powers of the Catholic Church or the myriad of statelets. Yet at the same time the Congress was preoccupied by issues of princely and noble status. A national idea of Germany was accepted, but one which restored the order of Estates and insisted on the absolutist prerogatives of princes. How can we fit this to any idea of bourgeois hegemony?

I am not persuaded by Maurer's central argument. The agent of his story is too narrow to be captured by the large term 'bourgeoisie'; the impressive yet diverse range of values considered too fragmented to be seen as aspects of a coherent and expanding value system; the variety of other ways of life and values too vigorous to be seen as subordinate to bourgeois hegemony. For me the great value of the book does not reside in this central argument. Rather it is the accompanying argument that far-reaching and innovative views of the individual, his or her character, the importance of education, work, and love in people's lives and relationships, and the way in which these could be cultivated and shaped so as to change self and society – that these values were religiously rooted, above all in the Pietist re-working of Lutheranism. This is a constant thread in Maurer's argument. It fits with much of the recent revaluation of the importance of religion in the modern period and means we must take a fresh look at the 'age of reason'. That is a very considerable achievement.

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BOOK REVIEWS

NATALIE FRYDE, *Ein mittelalterlicher deutscher Großunternehmer. Terricus Teutonicus de Colonia in England, 1217-1247*, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 125 (Steiner: Stuttgart, 1997), 258 pp. ISBN 3 515 06817 1. DM 84.00

The problem at the heart of this intriguing study is that we do not and cannot know exactly who Terricus Teutonicus of Cologne, the thirteenth-century merchant, burgess of Stamford in Lincolnshire and proprietor and owner of a wine cellar in London, actually was. A man of some importance certainly: he stood in a special relationship to Henry III, who greeted him in 1236 as 'dilecto et fideli suo Therrico theutonico'. Terricus bought cloth for the royal wardrobe at the great international fair at Stamford. He lent money to Richard of Cornwall for the purchase there of horses. He received trading privileges from the king, notably the use of a ship and a special licence to export wool to north-western Europe. Thanks to the cartulary which Natalie Fryde has discovered in the Public Record Office we can see him acquiring property in Stamford itself and in neighbouring villages. The charters themselves and a considerable body of other evidence culled from both public and private records and all printed here, show him connected in one way or another to most of the prominent families in Stamford. His wife, Beatrice, possibly came from one of them, the fitz Archards, their daughter Juliana married into another, the Tikencotes. Witnesses to the charters show that Terricus moved in the circles of the good and great in Stamford, not only the Tikencotes and fitz Archards but also Alexander Serviente and Hugh de Sciandeby, reeves of the borough, and Richard Peck, whilst in 1245 he acted with two burgesses from Northampton and another from Lincoln to buy cloth for the king. In London, Robert le Here, the Saxon, granted Terricus in 1235-36 the important wine cellar in the parish of St Peter the Less by Paul's Wharf which, according to the eyre of 1244, Richard I had granted and John had confirmed to Robert and in which the king 'was wont to keep his wine' (in qua vina sua solebant reponi).

Here was a man of some substance, who could spend the not inconsiderable sum of £240 on acquiring property in Stamford and its neighbourhood, a man who served the crown and who was connected in some ill-defined way to Matilda, Countess Warenne. Yet his identity

remains something of a mystery. As Natalie Fryde points out, Terricus or Theoderic or Dietrich was a very common name in Cologne in the Middle Ages, and one often borne by leading members of the patrician class. There was even a Terricus Anglicus there, who can perhaps be identified as Dietrich von der Mühlengasse, sent by the city in 1226 to Frederick II and Pope Honorius II to complain yet again about the activities of the archbishop. It is not likely that he was this Terricus, for whom there are at least four other possible candidates: Terricus or Tyse, a notable mercenary captain; a thirteenth-century landholder in Lincolnshire and servant there of Gilbert of Ghent; Terricus the Alderman of London; and, most interestingly and best documented, Terricus of Cologne, goldsmith of Canterbury and controller of the mint there in 1206-7, and king's exchanger at York and London and especially at the Tower in 1218 (if that was the same man).

Whether he, or more likely one of his descendants, since Terricus of Stamford did not die until 1247, was Fryde's Terricus Teutonicus cannot be proved. Such a connection would have given him the wealth he needed to become a merchant, not perhaps quite of the first rank but with important royal patronage, and, by his death, a substantial property owner. But there is no certainty and that is what makes this study the more intriguing. Natalie Fryde uses Terricus's shadowy life as a vehicle for the discussion of some important topics, most notably the economic and political relations between Cologne and the Plantagenets to 1260, the role of Stamford, its fair and its cloth industry in the economy of England and the trade of Europe, and the means by which a German merchant was able to acquire property and office – or was it the other way round? – in a leading English town.

The second of these is perhaps the least valuable. Stamford's international fair has been discussed extensively by E. W. Moore and Alan Rogers, whilst the whole question of what 'Stamford' or 'Stamfort' and 'hauberget' actually meant in terms of particular types of cloth has been much debated, as has the international nature of the town's cloth trade. 'Stamfords' were bought by the king's court in England and by members of the higher nobility and episcopate not only in that country but also in France and Sicily. They were sold in Genoa, Siena, Lucca, Venice, and in the crusading states of the Levant, and were used to make uniforms for the monks of the Prussian Order. None the less, it is useful to see Terricus against this general background and in the context of relations between England and Cologne generally in the late

twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Here Fryde has much of value to say about the intricate politics of Plantagenet, Welf, and Hohenstaufen, and the role of Cologners both as financiers and as early exchange bankers for the transmission of funds across Europe. She also reconsiders and redates the early grants of trading privileges in London to the Cologners. Lappenberg thought them to be of 1157 and 1175 respectively, but Fryde argues convincingly that they should both be dated to 1175-76. The privileges, once granted, had to be defended, both diplomatically and commercially but clearly, by 1260, the Cologners could no longer withstand the pressing claims of the Lubeckers and the eastern merchants to equal status in England. All this forms the basis for an interesting chapter, dealing as it does with the complex interplay between the town of Cologne and the archbishop, Richard I, John and Henry III of England, and the various candidates for the imperial throne from Otto IV to Richard of Cornwall. It forms a valuable addition to what however must still be the standard account in English of Anglo-Hanseatic relations to be found in Terence Lloyd's *England and the German Hanse* (1991), surprisingly not listed in the bibliography.

But for the economic and social historian of thirteenth-century England the main interest will be the cartulary and what it has to tell us about the urban land market in the period. The cartulary itself consists of some 58 charters of the first half of the century, with a further two added in the early fourteenth century. These are transcribed, with a register at the beginning and a brief summary of the contents of each charter before the Latin text is given in full. Also transcribed and printed in the same way are all the other documents concerning Terricus and his family that Fryde has been able to cull from public and private records. It has to be said that the transcriptions and the conversions of monetary sums made in the headings are not always entirely accurate. King John was never referred to as John I (Cartulary no. 2), surely it is 'portu' and not 'pertu de Lenn' (Document no. 3), neither 'Teste regis' nor Teste Henrici' are the usual forms used by the king in witnessing writs (Documents 3 and 4), whilst the conversion of marks (a money of account, value 13s 4d) to sterling is often simply wrong. Nine marks and 8s 8d was worth £6 8s 8d not £8 6s 8d (Cartulary no. 28), eleven and a half marks equals £7 13s 4d not £7 6s 8d, four marks and 15s 4d amounts to £3 8s 8d not £2 13s 4d (Cartulary no. 42).

Nevertheless, what the cartulary does show is a classic and almost unique example for the period of the acquisition of property by a

successful and mobile merchant, and what is more a merchant from another land and another nation. Because of his wealth, which presumably came from either trade or inheritance or both, Terricus was able to buy houses and land in Stamford itself and in the surrounding villages, and especially at Little Casterton and Wittering, mainly between 1235 and 1247. Within Stamford, he concentrated his acquisitions in the parishes of St Peter and St Mary at the Bridge, and in All Saints parish around the market place. Although not in the cartulary, which probably does not include all his property transactions, the purchase of Kingsmill, lying below the castle on the river Welland, was important because it could possibly have been used as a fulling mill. Whether Terricus was actually involved in cloth production cannot be known. He did buy property around the tenter grounds, he had a mill, he made significant purchases around the market place. One can only assume that there was a direct commercial purpose here, connected in some way with the manufacture or sale of cloth. In Little Casterton and Wittering he put together parcels of land to form 30 acres of arable in Little Casterton and a carucate and seven acres in Wittering, along with ten acres of meadow in East Deeping. Perhaps these lands were used to supply his household at his 'place' in St Peter's parish, but certainly, by his death, Terricus was a man of substance in and a burgess of one of England's leading provincial towns.

The manner in which this was achieved is as important as the achievement itself, however. One theme runs through the charters, forced sale through indebtedness, for expenses incurred through pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and, above all, as a result of debts to the Jews. When Ralph, son of Fulco of Stamford, sold his five acres of land to Terricus he did so 'pro me liberando de debitis Judeorum', whilst Reginald Bursarius sold his house in All Saints parish 'necessitate coactus et precipue ad reddenda debita mea creditoribus meis et proficiendam peregrinacionem meam versus Jerusalemum'. Debts to the Jews are the most common reason given for the sale of property and by publishing this cartulary Fryde has added substantially to the whole debate on this issue. This time it is not a matter of the rise and fall of the knightly class, however, but of how one astute Cologne businessman could exploit an active urban property market in thirteenth-century Stamford.

Yet when all is said and done, Terricus remains an elusive character. One is left wanting to know much more about him and one theme

might have been further explored. Like Arnold fitz Thedmar, alderman of London and son of a Bremen father and Cologne mother, Terricus was an outsider who rose to high office in his adopted 'home' town. That simply was not to be possible even by the late thirteenth century and certainly not in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when anti-alien attitudes hardened. Why then could you have an alien alderman in London and an alien burgess in Stamford in the earlier thirteenth century? Why were attitudes so different in those years? This should perhaps have been considered in what is otherwise a fascinating and much to be recommended study built around a most interesting cartulary.

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PETER MATHESON, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd., 1998), x + 265 pp. ISBN 0 567 085937. £23.95

The basic idea of this attractively written book is that the Reformation 'was primarily a paradigm shift in the religious imagination, not a structural reform, not even a doctrinal reform' (p. 241). Matheson argues that as a movement to reform the church, or as an academic dispute about regaining pure doctrine, it would have failed. It succeeded, as he explains, referring to Huizinga's metaphor, because it turned observers into participants. However, the participation of the masses, and the creation of 'something like a public opinion', were made possible only by 'a comprehensive reimagining of law, prophets, wisdom, Gospel, Church, sacraments and discipleship' (pp. 239, 242). The iconoclast Andreas Karlstadt, too, used the most daring linguistic imagery to sound the attack on 'material images' (p. 174). Matheson calls on the experts thoroughly to revise their image of the Reformation, and to see it as encouraging all Christians to create their own version of being Christian, in their original, personal imaginings. Logically, therefore, he does not accept the usual interpretation of Luther's *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* as a programme for reforming the church, but sees it as 'an invitation to an apocalyptic dance, to enter with Christ into his Kingdom' (p. 243). The world of the Reformation is presented as a world of dreams and Utopias which could no longer be restrained by the fetters of learned theology and church tradition. In this context, the rhetoric of the Reformation gained a special significance. It was more than the linguistic forms in which religious thinking was expressed; rather it should be seen as equivalent to Reformation discourse itself, because religious meaning was created in it (p. 244). Even the polemic in the texts had a heuristic function. It was only in the polemical exchanges that positions were thought through to the end. Matheson sees the achievement of the pamphletists as to have created a new means of communication, new languages, at a time of complexity and of 'the word', which turned the Christian God into a 'polemical God' (p. 13).

It is not possible to separate what the countless authors said from the way in which they said it. Matheson, however, by no means operates only with texts as texts. The printed sermons, dialogues, and other forms of literature produced for immediate use cannot be grasped adequately at this level. For him, they are a representation of the oral

culture of the period. Thus the Reformation as a 'scriptural movement' signifies a new, drastic orientation of culture towards the Bible, but at the same time it also signifies a comprehensive, cultural translation of the Bible. In essence, Matheson is advocating the application of the methods and perspectives of post-colonial studies to our own history. He is concerned with a sort of cultural understanding of our own past, in the interests of which he is prepared simply to jettison the classical hermeneutics of the study of history: the practice of maintaining a scholarly distance to the subject, and the conceptual instruments with which we structure our knowledge of the past. This may sound adventurous, but does not require further criticism here, as it is not achieved in Matheson's book. Rather, it is presented on the last page as the task of future research.

Like Bernd Balzer and others, Matheson assumes, contrary to Habermas, that the age of Reformation saw the 'Emergence of a Public Opinion' (thus the title of chapter two). But unlike Rainer Wohlfeil in his study, *Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Reformation* (1992), Matheson fails to distinguish clearly between Habermas's concept of a public sphere, and a 'Reformation public'. Quite correctly, Matheson initially interprets the rapidly growing contemporary pamphlet literature as indicating a loss of consensus and as the expression of a social crisis. The discourse in the pamphlets rarely addressed abstract themes in a moralizing way (and when it did, it was not successful). Rather, it presented itself as a dispute in which each side was grouped around a charismatic personality, and in which both sides tried to keep their supporters together through information and instruction, or by refuting opposing positions. In an approach that is reminiscent of the Cambridge history of ideas school, Matheson sees the Reformation pamphlet literature as 'thought tailored to action' (p. 6), which took into account the level of knowledge and the expectations of the public, interacted with the men and women it addressed, assumed that they were capable of judgement, and demanded that insight be translated into action.

At the height of Reformation pamphlet-writing, that is, in the early 1520s, at least, this did not take the form of any sort of manipulation of public opinion, according to Matheson. One of the main concerns of his study is to redefine the concept of polemics in this sense as heuristics, and thus to contrast it positively with the term 'propaganda'. The concept of propaganda, which implies that a minority with an interest

directs public opinion in a linear way, does not do justice, in Matheson's view, to the complex processes of inter-communication which were broken in so many ways at this time (pp. 44-5, 119-20, 138, 140). Matheson regards the Reformation literature which was intended for immediate use as a quasi experimental bridge between oral and written culture. It is more discursive than agitatory in nature, and was often the product of a communication process rather than something which initiated it. Thus the communication flow should not be seen as the one-sided infiltration of inexperienced masses by a writing élite, but as an interactive process.

The popular culture of the masses to some extent dictated to the writers, for this was the starting point and the conclusion of the argument, and thus largely influenced its form. Moreover, literary controversies often assumed the character of public acts. This meant that public assessments and expectations exerted enormous pressure on literary opponents. The pamphlet literature of the time thus assumed the existence of a certain degree of publicity, and indeed, itself constantly increased this by giving rise to other forms of communication (conversation circles, petitions, correspondences, etc.). Ultimately, the literacy of the time was not merely the reflection of an oral discourse, but also required the support of processes of non-verbal communication; in Foucault's terms, it was embedded in a network of symbolic orders. Luther's reforming writings must be seen together with his 'German Mass'. His hymns were significant not only because of their words, but also as events, given that they were sung together. The concept of the public is primarily justified in terms of such synergetic effects between the various media within the 'mini-media' world of the Reformation (pp. 36-7, 40-3).

Matheson explicitly discusses his approach mainly in the first two chapters and in the concluding chapter of his book. He draws widely on the research of, among others, Robert Scribner, Miriam Chrisman, and Hans-Joachim Köhler, as well as on American dissertations which are as yet little known in Germany (Deborah Brandt, Kurt Werner Stadtwald, Neil Richard Leroux). In the third chapter he systematically explores the factors which might have persuaded a reformer to make use of the new literary form of the pamphlet. In addition to pastoral and pedagogical motives, there were polemical ones, and the desire to encourage the masses to act. But the main one was the urge towards personal confession. Matheson chooses Karlstadt as his example

partly to allow this Reformation writer to emerge from Luther's shadow.

Chapters four, five, and six, on 'Reformation Dialogues', 'Reformation Language', and 'Reformation Polemic' respectively, make up the main part of the book. Here Matheson offers detailed descriptions of Reformation rhetoric based on close readings of the texts. He concentrates on a few texts, and focuses on central concerns and themes in them (the increasing value placed on the laity combined with the creation of a new, positive image of the ordinary man, anti-clericalism, use of the vernacular). Matheson conveys a lively impression of popular stylistic devices such as direct addresses to an opponent, the reader, or God, interspersed prayers and Biblical images, interjections, curses, and abuse, appeals to the judgement of readers, series of rhetorical questions, proverbs and aphorisms, elements drawn from the catechism, alliteration, vulgar language, contrastive style, the translation of religious contents into everyday images drawn from the lives of the ordinary people, and many more. However, Matheson would object to the concept of a stylistic device, for in his view the language of the Reformation should no longer be seen as a means, but as an end, as the actual setting for Reformation events, as in Martin Luther's forays to the 'frontiers of language' (p. 124), or Thomas Müntzer's and Argula von Grumbach's attempts to draw up a new 'language of the heart' (pp. 138, 143). In the case of Müntzer, in particular, the meticulously quantifying textual analysis gives the surprising result that the *Hochverursachte Schutzrede* is dominated not by criticisms of Luther, but by positive images and the vision of a new Christianity (pp. 146-7).

Chapter seven, 'The Down-Side of Polemic', concerns the process by which polemic became propaganda after all, as the question of truth was reduced to the issue of power. According to Matheson this disastrous process of polarization was caused by the Apocalypse to some extent penetrating the old genre of satire in the rhetoric of the Reformation. Thus the Pope was no longer merely compared with the devil, he was actually identified with him. Matheson sees mental inflexibility, a loss of a sense of reality, and a reduction in negotiating space as the necessary consequences. In one of the few passages in which Matheson discusses the positions taken in the research, he argues, disagreeing with Siegfried Bräuer, that a quarrel such as the one between Luther and Müntzer was so intractable less because of the substance of the

dispute or the irreconcilability of the positions taken, than because of the inability of the parties simply to listen to each other (pp. 185-6). Taking Luther as an example, Matheson then demonstrates how the experience of failure in the battle for the truth produced a 'language of despair' (p. 192). The need, when exchanging blows, to hit the opponent ever harder, not least in order to maintain one's own public credibility, ultimately led to the point where the linguistic skills even of a master of language such as Luther failed. Thus although Matheson still tries to present Luther's descent into the depths of vulgarity in his late writings as an attempt to find a new language, he occasionally sees it as a 'loss of all language' (p. 195).

Chapter eight, 'Mediation and Reconciliation: Essays at Colloquy', provides a contrast. It looks at the historical alternative to the loss of dialogue, that is, at contemporary irenics (Erasmus, Mosellanus, Bucer, and Gropper, among others) and the religious colloquies of the Reformation, in particular, at the Regensburg *Reichstag* of 1541. This chapter to some extent deviates from the concept governing the book as a whole, as it basically recapitulates contents and describes the moderate viewpoints, and those susceptible of compromise, held by contemporary irenic theologians on the question of truth. Matheson goes into greater detail on Bucer's rhetoric, but there is hardly anything else about the language of the irenic scholars here.

When addressing the question of how effective the Reformation pamphlets were, Matheson soon comes to the limits of what can be researched. Statements about the 'success' of Reformation rhetoric are regularly introduced with the words 'as one can imagine'. Matheson's own rhetoric comes to resemble that of the Reformation, and thus the reviewer's language must become 'polemical' in response. When Luther, asking a rhetorical question, did not distinguish between a murdered priest and a murdered peasant, did all his readers (or listeners, given the widespread practice of reading such texts aloud) really beat the table with their fists to signify approval, as Matheson 'can imagine' (p. 122, cf. also p. 134)? This reviewer doubts it. He can equally well imagine that respect for an ordained priest was still so deeply rooted in the consciousness of the masses that the shocking aggressiveness of Luther's question might have produced an icy silence among his audience. Reformation pamphletists faced the difficulty that they had to create the public that they needed. Their success was always only relative, and the pamphletists only had a short time

in which to work. The social revolutionary nature of their pamphlets soon came up against the inertia of the system, and controversies among the reformers helped further to reduce the force of the collision between the new and the old.

Matheson's book, which is on the whole carefully edited and has a useful index incorporating subjects, names, and places, has few formal shortcomings. It is annoying that Luther's works are generally cited in the form of a short reference to the Weimar edition, without mentioning the name of the text from which the citations come in each case. And there is no reference at all for Luther's claim that the Gospel, preached truthfully, will always create turmoil (p. 13; is this really Luther?). Helmar Junghans's statement that the theology of the Reformation is structured by its rhetoric is central to Matheson's concluding chapter, but is neither documented in a footnote, nor traceable through an entry in the bibliography.

The author is economical with his references to relevant literature. This helps to make the book readable, and is probably also a reflection of the fact that the rhetoric of the Reformation is not yet established as a field of research. From a German point of view, it would have been helpful if more attention had been paid to the general historical research on rhetoric. Thus there is one reference to volume five of the journal *Rhetorik* (p. 198), but there is no mention of the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* edited by Gert Ueding. In general, however, the German as well as the English-language discussion is well represented.

Matheson draws on a variety of sources. He frequently cites texts from the invaluable microfiche edition of *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* by Hans-Joachim Köhler, representing the average discourse of the Reformation. And his exemplary systematic analyses of Reformation language draw upon not only master texts such as Luther's main reforming writings *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* and *Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche*, and Thomas Müntzer's *Hochverursachte Schutzrede*, but also Luther's late invective *Wider das Papsttum zu Rom vom Teufel gestiftet*, and the literary works left by Argula von Grumbach, a member of the Bavarian higher nobility. There are reasons for the choice of examples. In the case of Luther, Matheson can draw upon Heinrich Bornkamm's and Martin Brecht's research on Luther the writer. Matheson himself is an expert on Thomas Müntzer and Argula von Grumbach, having produced edi-

tions of their works. Individual analyses of the works of these three writers provide an adequate spread across the spectrum, from the magisterial Reformation (Luther), to the radical though still professional Reformation (Müntzer), and the radical lay Reformation (Argula von Grumbach). That the textual basis of the investigation is rather narrow, and that the book in essence consists of case studies, is connected with a fundamental difficulty which confronts anyone working on rhetoric. The linguistic aspects of texts can be discussed sensibly only against the background of the contents of the texts, the contexts in which these contents are embedded, and the motives of the writers. All this must be included, and it takes up space. Important texts, in particular, quickly fill many pages. Matheson cannot afford to allude airily to the dispute about Holy Communion, anti-clericalism, or other central aspects of Reformation history. He has to explain them in order to relate what he wants to say back to them. Matheson's book is therefore eminently suitable for student use, while also providing stimulating reading for professional historians.

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VOLKER THEN, *Eisenbahnen und Eisenbahnunternehmer in der Industriellen Revolution. Ein preußisch/deutsch-englischer Vergleich*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 120 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 512 pp. ISBN 3 525 35783 4. DM 78.00

The pedigree of Volker Then's scholarly account of English and Prussian railways in the nineteenth century is not difficult to establish. Its origins can be located in the now dispersed 'critical school' at Bielefeld, whence the discernible influence of Then's mentor Jürgen Kocka as well as Hans-Ulrich Wehler and (perhaps most importantly for this volume) Sidney Pollard. Through them Then was led to the theoretical work of Alfred Chandler with its more extended roots in Schumpeter and Redlich. From these rich ingredients Then has conceived an innovative book of unrelenting earnestness, dense prose, and elevated tone. His interest is not in tracks and trains but laws, statutes, resolutions, and statistics. Here one finds no sounds and smells of the station, no clangs and puffs of a steam engine, no scraping metal, no bustling crowds, no locomotive drivers, firemen, or conductors, no workers, and no women.

What we discover instead is the boardroom of some major private railway companies in England and northern Germany between 1830 and 1880. Then sets out to investigate the entrepreneurs who began the first great businesses of modern times, who invested in them, and who guided their industrial strategy. He does so by deploying what he repeatedly calls 'das Sample' of rail companies: in England principally the London and South Western Railway, the Great Western Railway, the London and North Western Railway; and in Germany the Leipzig-Dresdener Eisenbahn, the Berlin-Potsdamer Eisenbahn, the Düsseldorf-Elberfelder Eisenbahn, the Rheinische Eisenbahn, the Köln-Mindener Eisenbahn, the Berlin-Hamburger Eisenbahn, the Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburger Eisenbahn, and a few others. In the aggregate, Then tells us, these firms represented about one quarter of the total market in terms of track length and investment capital. From this selection he is able to identify 218 individual English railway entrepreneurs and 645 German. They are examined for their social status, education, domicile, profession, political orientation, and so on. Such a procedure enables Then to present evidence with statistical precision to support his generalizations, yet it also involves him in a number of methodological difficulties. The available numbers do not always parse. Some

series are divided into segments of 1834-38, 1839-53, 1854-77; but others are 1837-41, 1842-56, 1857-79; or 1843-47, 1848-62, 1863-79. One column may contain figures up to 1887, while another ends in 1860. Moreover, 'das Sample' of course has unavoidable lacunae and is naturally incomplete. When, for example, Then notes that 54 per cent of English professional men involved with railways owned country estates, one must remember that he is writing about twenty-seven people in all of the British Isles.

Whatever reservations his analytic technique may raise, Then's conclusions are generally sensible and unsurprising. He argues that national comparisons must always be nuanced by regional variations. He rejects the notion of a German *Sonderweg*, refusing to view England as a norm-setting model from which Prussia somehow deviated. And he dismisses the old canard that an authoritarian Germany lacked a vigorous *Bürgertum* when compared to the more liberal parliamentary Britain – indeed, he makes a convincing case that Prussian railroads were a thoroughly bourgeois enterprise run by *nouveaux riches*, whereas a significant portion of English investors emerged from the established élites. This was so because the financial basis of England's rail industry was wider and deeper, while Prussia needed to devise new strategies to mobilize and concentrate existing capital: hence the more prominent role of Prussian bankers in creating entrepreneurial networks that funded and directed the private railroad business. Then takes the position, following Knut Borchardt und Richard Tilly, that Germany possessed sufficient capital resources but had problems in allocating them. For this purpose the early competition among private rail firms was especially favourable. Finally, he finds little evidence here of a feudalization of the German *Bürgertum*, which continued to lack the larger percentage of landowning 'squires and gentlemen' present among English railway stockholders.

Then does not narrate the development of the two national systems. His topic appears in snapshots, not motion pictures, or (as he himself suggests) as a series of *tableaux vivants*. He is primarily interested in the founding phase of railroads and is scarcely concerned with the transition in Prussia to state ownership, which culminated with a *Verstaatlichung* under Bismarck during the 1870s and 1880s. Thus the chancellor is mentioned only once in over 500 pages. It is symptomatic that Then seems unaware of the identity of Albert Maybach, Bismarck's right-hand man in railway matters, who likewise gains but

one reference in the entire text as 'Minister Maybach'; nor is he, unlike most others, awarded a first name in the index. By contrast, the pre-1870 Rhenish liberal businessman Gustav Mevissen, who is portrayed as an ideal type of early German railway entrepreneur, rates both a full name and seventeen entries in the index. Throughout, the focus thereby remains fixed on the first generation of investors, mainly before 1848, and the story of the Prussian state's acquisition of the private companies is confined to six pages, of which only three actually treat their demise after 1870. This reviewer's initial impulse was to encourage Volker Then to undertake a sequel – until the realization dawned that his chosen methodology would preclude it. After all 'das Sample' pertains exclusively to private railway firms whose existence virtually ceased altogether in Prussia and the rest of Germany before 1890. Any evaluation of Then's contribution must therefore presume that it is necessarily confined to the early part of the nineteenth century. Within these narrow bounds the book succeeds as a monograph in railway studies, but it fails to establish strong connections to the flowing mainstream of either German or British history. A certain static quality rather than a sense of momentum is the lasting impression of a reading from cover to cover.

Let us none the less suppose, from the platform of his published research, that Volker Then were to launch a more ambitious project on European railroads. What, in other words, must he do in order to connect the specific themes of his monographic analysis to the general course of nineteenth-century history? Briefly, the following six proposals may be proffered.

First, the chronological framework should be lengthened. The significance of early railway organization is best grasped in light of its subsequent evolution later in the century. The gradual fusion of British rail firms is a theme mentioned but not pursued by Then. As we saw, the same is true of Bismarck's *Verstaatlichung*, which occurred only after the failure of his efforts to nationalize German railways in the 1870s. The questions of how and why the private companies persisted in one instance but disappeared in the other require much fuller explanation.

Second, the geographical focus could be widened. Surely there should be some mention of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland in a more comprehensive treatment of British railways. And the emergence of state rail administrations in Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden would

provide a useful counterpoint to Prussia, enabling the author to elucidate the federal character of Germany's national system after 1870. Also Saxony with the densest network of tracks in Germany, second only to Belgium in all of Europe, deserves more than a glance. Furthermore, the French connection merits some attention (France does not appear in Then's index, though it is twice discussed in the text.) As a minimum, the outstanding work of François Caron and Georges Ribeill should be considered in a comparative context.

Third, a greater place should be awarded to the state. We need to learn more about the political importance of railways as a key issue in the formulation of public policy. Then alludes to parliamentary conflicts in England, but the tensions between government agencies and private companies do not figure in his account. That topic is especially relevant for Germany, given the strength of states' rights – so-called particularism – both in Prussia and the south. The topical organization adopted by Then is certainly defensible, but it demands much back-and-forth between England and Prussia at the risk of losing the idiosyncratic political dynamics of both.

Fourth, more emphasis could be placed on the military. Then accepts Hans-Ulrich Wehler's dictum that this aspect was largely inconsequential for the early entrepreneurs. Yet he concedes, without elaboration, that the rivalry among European states increasingly became a motive for railway construction. As long as the focus rests solely on Germany's relations with Britain, whose tracks of course posed no threat to the continental powers, the omission of any military considerations may be justified. But it was obviously otherwise with French rail connections to the Rhineland. Accordingly, a history of nineteenth-century railways can ill afford to neglect the names of Helmuth von Moltke and Alfred von Schlieffen.

Fifth, account should be taken of technology. The political strategy and financial affairs of railway administrations were importantly affected by a cluster of technological innovations: compound locomotives, steel rails, electric signals, air brakes, the telegraph and telephone, typewriters, and the rest. A survey of investments and operations of the railroad industry is incomplete without some analysis of their impact. Again, a monograph like Then's, centred as it is on the earliest railway entrepreneurs, may perhaps avoid such an examination, but the growing complexity of the railway business as a bundle of technologies remains a theme crucial to develop.

Sixth, a place should be found for personnel. The evolution of the workforce is another critical matter mentioned but not allotted major importance by Then. Railway companies became the largest single employer of the late nineteenth century, and yet we still have no adequate history of their labour practices, health plans, welfare benefits, or housing projects – nor of the relationship of these to national policies such as the Bismarckian social legislation of the 1880s.

Clearly these much broader considerations would spill over the boundaries of any monograph, and it would be wildly unfair to judge the quality of Volker Then's achievement by such general criteria. Yet a simple enumeration here of the six points may serve to remind us of the historical profession's ultimate responsibility to relate current research to longer and wider perspectives. Then's work deserves to be regarded as a valuable stone in a complex mosaic. We only need to step back in order to see and appreciate its worth.

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JOHN R. DAVIS, *Britain and the German Zollverein, 1848-66* (London: Macmillan, 1997), vii + 238 pp. ISBN 0 333 67828 1. £45.00

During the nineteenth century trade became an increasingly important factor in Anglo-German relations. For a start, economic connections strengthened between the pioneer of industrialization and the straggler, Germany, which had become more and more successful since the middle of the century. And secondly, since the onset of industrialization, trade policy had been accorded ever more weight in diplomatic relations between the European powers. Many economic and political histories have already been written about Anglo-German trade relations. At first glance, relations between Britain and the German Customs Union (*Zollverein*), which was created in 1834, appear to be well researched. On closer investigation, however, it emerges that German historians, who have done more work on this topic than British historians, have long been looking at the subject from a very narrow perspective. Their main interest has been in Britain's attitude during the formative phase and early history of the German Customs Union. Older works generally argued that Britain was hostile to the Customs Union out of fear that it would strengthen Germany economically. The foundation for this view was largely laid by Heinrich von Treitschke in the nineteenth century. It is only in recent decades that economic historians have questioned this older interpretation. However, it is undisputed that the export of finished and semi-finished goods from Britain crucially stimulated the German process of industrialization, and that Germany's economic development would have slowed down if the Customs Union had pursued a more protectionist line, as many contemporaries demanded with reference to the work of Friedrich List.

Unlike the economic aspects, the political background and consequences of Anglo-German trade relations have not been the subject of much recent research. This applies especially to the period 1848 to 1866, which is investigated by Davis in the book under review. His study has two main aims. First, it asks about the internal conditions and intentions of British policy towards the German Customs Union. And secondly, it wants to show what impact this policy had on Germany's political development. Davis is mostly interested in the question of how British policy was perceived in Germany.

In the first two chapters, Davis vividly describes the different positions from which Germany and Britain started. During the 1840s

there was a heated debate within the German Customs Union, led by Prussia, between those who supported a more protectionist policy, and those who favoured free trade. This conflict about the correct strategy for trade policy climaxed during the revolution of 1848-9. The bad state of large sections of German industry meant that the movement for protective tariffs had a great deal of public support. There was much to suggest that a politically unified Germany would pursue a more protectionist policy than that of the German Customs Union. This development would clearly not be in Britain's interests. German contemporaries generally attributed Britain's doubts about a more protectionist German economic union to the fact that, as they saw it, London wanted to keep down a potential rival. Davis, by contrast, demonstrates convincingly that this German perception had little to do with the actual intentions of the British side.

British policy towards Germany's efforts to achieve economic union was based primarily on the idea of unilateral free trade, which established itself fully during the 1840s and always enjoyed a broad domestic consensus. Whereas in Germany questions of trade policy had increasingly been caught up in power politics, in Britain, the reverse was the case. British trade policy was orientated by general free trade principles drawn up by the Board of Trade, and in the mid-nineteenth century, it had little influence on the making of specific power political decisions relating to German policy. In Germany, however, it was assumed that there was always a close connection between British foreign policy – as in Britain's attitude towards the Schleswig-Holstein conflict and the question of the German navy, for example – and considerations of trade policy and power politics. Davis cites many examples which rectify this contemporary perception. Thus the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849 had little to do with the fact that Prussia was threatening to strengthen its own position in international trade by introducing differential tariffs. Rather, it was exclusively a response to an internal British debate which had been going on for a long time and was determined by the principle of free trade.

In Davis's view, the British side paid relatively little attention to economic developments in Germany, despite the reports drawn up by British ambassadors, consuls, and Chambers of Commerce. As a result, official British reactions to developments in the German Customs Union were rather weak during the whole period under investigation.

After assessing the sources which Davis consults, it must be asked whether Britain ever had a specific policy towards the Customs Union in the period from 1848 to 1866. Yet Davis's study demonstrates that regardless of original intentions, British attitudes towards the German Customs Union after 1848-9 did have an impact on the further course of German economic unification, and thus on political developments in central Europe. Britain's attitude, dictated by the idea of free trade, supported those forces within the Customs Union that wanted, via a more liberal tariff policy, to develop Prussia's leading role.

With the adoption of free trade, and in response to the negative experience of the protectionist tendencies of the German 1848-9 revolution, a more positive attitude towards the Customs Union established itself in Britain around mid-century. The Customs Union was now increasingly seen as a contributory factor in the dismantling of barriers to continental trade. Prussia's extension of the Customs Union to include northern Germany was interpreted as a victory for free trade, which Britain by no means regarded as serving only its own interests. On the contrary, in the British view, it promoted the cause of progress in the whole of Europe. In the first big crisis to hit the German Customs Union, which seemed to put a question mark over its continued existence in the early 1850s, Britain therefore sympathized with the Prussian position. Berlin's policy of integrating the free trading north of Germany seemed more advantageous to Britain's main objective of European free trade than the plans of Austria and the central states for a central European Customs Union. This did not mean, however, that Britain fully supported Prussia's power political ambitions that were connected with its policy for the Customs Union. Economic motives alone were crucial. Davis demonstrates this using the example of the German conflict on iron tariffs. Prussia, which had a modern metal-working industry dependent on imports of pig iron, backed a lowering of tariffs on iron in the 1850s. The southern German states, however, vetoed this. Although it was in Britain's interests to lower the tariff on iron, Britain refrained from intervening in the German conflict in favour of Prussia by offering reciprocal agreements and thus breaking the resistance of the southern German states. Rather, in 1853 the British side decided to continue lowering tariffs unilaterally on the basis of principle and for internal reasons.

Even after the Crimean War, general free trade continued to be the principle guiding British policy towards the German Customs Union.

Davis cites several examples, however, to demonstrate that the British side now gradually adopted a more active trade policy. Britain no longer limited itself merely to preaching free trade, but tried to work towards the implementation of economic liberalism in negotiations between states and through trade treaties. In Davis's view, the reasons should be sought in changes in power politics, economic policy, and domestic policy. In domestic policy, the advocates of a more pragmatic free trade policy gained ground over the idealists as the result of changes within liberalism and the fact that more attention was being paid to economic interests. Added to this was the fact that the Crimean War and the general expansion of trade made Britain look more towards European markets and its rivals there. Although the German Customs Union was not yet seen as posing a serious threat to British economic power, there was a growing trend in Britain towards promoting its own interests by taking a more active part in international trade policy. This new policy was reflected in efforts, described in detail by Davis, to dismantle European transit charges, and in the new policy on trade agreements that led to the 1860 Anglo-French Trade Agreement, and to treaties being concluded with the German Customs Union in 1865.

This new British trade policy, too, was primarily economically motivated. Its aim was not to force particular developments in German policy. Yet even more than in the early 1850s, it indirectly strengthened Prussia's attempts to develop its own power political position *vis-à-vis* Austria and the central German states through free trade policy. Davis sums up as follows: 'Passively, too, British free trade was having a political effect on the German states, though this had little to do with British intentions. Free trade, by definition, worked against the petty trade barriers which particularist states had held to. ... It also encouraged the internationalization of markets, and the process of large-scale industrialization. British free trade therefore worked in opposition to the status quo of the Confederation' (p. 173).

Davis not only shows that the actual impact of British policy towards the Customs Union had little to do with British intentions, but also superbly demonstrates the continuing mismatch between British aims and German perceptions. In Germany, the most varied forces had always believed that British trade policy was dictated by political aims. While the supporters of a *großdeutsche* solution interpreted it as pro-Prussian, political economists continued to impute to it the aim of

weakening the Customs Union. The Germans still suffered from an economic inferiority complex, and this produced the argument that Britain's main aim was to halt the development of a potential economic rival. Since the mid-1850s, Britain had certainly been more aware of the fact that German industrialization was beginning to catch up, but at this time there was no question of Britain feeling threatened.

German historians, too, were long misled by contemporary misperceptions and, of course, by the open economic rivalry which later erupted between the two countries, while they did not recognize the peculiarities of British policy during the 1850s and 1860s. And British historians have not paid much attention to this subject because London's policy towards the German Customs Union seemed, at first sight, to have had few consequences. This book by Davis, however, underlines that it is worth looking at these questions. His study, based on a wide range of sources, is an important and far-reaching contribution to Anglo-German relations in the nineteenth century.

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ANTJE HAGEN, *Deutsche Direktinvestitionen in Großbritannien, 1871-1918*, Beiträge zur Unternehmensgeschichte, 97; Neue Folge, 3 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997), 356 pp. ISBN 3 515 07152 0. DM 148.00

Capital exports before the First World War were, until very recently, thought of as consisting essentially of portfolio, as distinct from direct, investments. Thus, in order to estimate the sums involved, contemporaries and later observers would list painstakingly all the portfolio investments of which they could find records, and then simply round up that total by adding a notional 10 or 11 per cent for direct investments, which were considered to be neither knowable nor greatly significant. Portfolio investments were traditionally defined as those over which the investor had no personal control, being interested merely in their yield, such as, typically, bonds of foreign governments; direct investments were those under the control of the foreign owner, such as, typically, branches of commercial firms.

For that emphasis on the portfolio type there were good grounds. In the early nineteenth century much capital which crossed borders was, indeed, destined for public authorities: few other borrowers could inspire credit or confidence abroad. The tradition was upheld in the mid-century when foreign capital increasingly turned to railways and similar projects, many of which carried, in any case, Government interest guarantees. It was only in the 1980s that the dominance of that type of investment was called into question, first by D. C. M. Platt in a brilliant article in 1980 ('British Portfolio Investment before 1870: Some Doubts', *Economic History Review*, vol. 33, pp. 1-16), which was followed by a full-length study in 1984. Since then there has been a far-reaching revision of the weight to be attached to direct investment, which is now found to have been significantly more extensive that was once assumed, as record after record shows the widespread expansion of transnational enterprise before 1914. None of the work published so far, however, can equal in extent and exhaustiveness the study of German investment in Britain up to 1918 which is now before us. Hagen has found no fewer than 179 cases, many times more than had been thought to have existed before she set out on her work.

The book starts with a review of economic theory regarding the motivation for making direct investments abroad. This, however, turns out to be of limited relevance. For one thing, much of the theory is concerned with the traditional pattern in which the richer and more

advanced country invests in the poorer, backward economy, in order to open up its resources, by sinking mines, setting out plantations, or by building docks and railways. The ultimate purpose was to supply the advanced economy with food or raw materials, and such investment across the borders was indeed a main method by which the world was linked up to create the prosperity of the richer economies of Europe and North America before 1914. Hagen's subject, however, is quite different: here it is the poorer, and over much of the time also the less advanced economy which invests in the richer. Purpose and motives are thus likely to be quite different.

The companies providing the detailed material collected for this study are grouped into fifteen industrial sections and chapters, each of which begins with a brief but competent economic and technological history of the industry concerned – itself a most useful contribution to an understanding of the age. In virtually all of them, Britain was at the outset technically ahead of Germany: in several, that position was reversed by 1914, while in others it continued to the end of the period. In those circumstances, again, the motivation of the German investor was likely to be quite different from the assumptions made by much of current theory.

More recently, theory has come to concern itself also with direct capital exports between economies of which both may be considered to be advanced. The subject here, however, is the multinational company, with branches and supply centres in many parts of the world, as part of the current globalization process. That, too, is quite different from the bulk of the investment studied in this volume. It is, therefore, not altogether surprising that current theory, with which the study is introduced and to which it returns at the end, should offer only limited lessons.

There is yet a third approach known as the 'product cycle' theorem. According to this, the manufacture of new products is farmed out to other countries in the search for lower labour costs; but in our period, British wages were well above those of Germany while, in some key industries at least, German workers were more skilled. Why, then, should German firms open branches in Britain?

There is a final, more general point. Much of the literature on direct investment abroad refers to some superior product or method developed by the investing country which could be introduced profitably into the market of the other economy. The fact that Britain was

considered a rich and sophisticated market in those years provided a particularly strong incentive for German pioneer firms to seek it out. But to do that, the alternative of simply exporting the superior product was always available: why go to the trouble of making it abroad, or selling it from foreign depots? Britain, in our period, was a free trade country, there were no protective tariffs, no other obstructions to imports, and the distances from Germany were relatively short. Why invest in capacity in Britain with all the implied costs, risks, and loss of control?

Before turning to the factors which actually did move German entrepreneurs to make direct investments in Britain, it is worth reminding ourselves that much of economic theory is static: it asks why things are as they are. But entrepreneurial history is dynamic by nature: the subject of interest is how it got there. There were, in the development of foreign investments of this kind, several well-recognized stages. First there would be exports of commodities or services, or possibly the licensing of patented processes. Next, if successful, an agent might be sent from the home company to further sales, and, if the volume warranted it, a sales depot or selling branch might follow. In 54 per cent of the cases studied, the German investment stopped there. But in 34 per cent, the company went on to open a production unit abroad (the remaining 12 per cent were made up of service branches). Even then, some of these producing units were set up gradually, as for example in the case of Zeiss, where a service and repair unit preceded a manufacturing assembly plant in Britain.

In general, these steps were not premeditated, but were taken when the opportunity beckoned to increase sales. But even then, hidden behind these apparently obvious transactions, is the unspoken assumption that businessmen will follow every lead that will increase their markets, even when it is associated with costs and risks, almost as a matter of course - rather as much traditional history assumes that every monarch will naturally attempt to annex his neighbour's territory as soon as he thinks he can get away with it. Why should not monarchs be content with their inheritance, and firms be content to live within their producing plant at home, enjoying the bonus of foreign sales from there, when they offer? There are two kinds of answer. One is the fear that if one does not expand, others will, to swallow one up: expansion may be thought of as being defensive in a dynamic world. The other is that businessmen are always greedy for more and more

profit – the aggressive drive. The fact is, however, that not all businesses will expand into possible opportunities: some owners prefer a quiet and secure life. But it needs only some businessmen who are Schumpeterian entrepreneurs to get a movement going, and the significant thing to remember, when we look for explanations for direct capital exports from Germany in the years to 1914, is that we are dealing here not with an average, but with a selection of particularly go-ahead firms. This may be put differently. Though it is normal to discuss whether German or British 'industries' were ahead of each other, such an approach is misleading in a major sense. In each country and industry, there will be some firms which are ahead of the pack, and others behind. Irrespective of any general level, therefore, there may be *some* firms which are at any one time in a position to benefit by a foreign location.

Circumstances, as well as motivations, differed greatly within that selection of 179 firms. There was Karl Wilhelm Siemens, sent to Britain to represent the family electrical equipment firm, who virtually made his branch independent, linked only by shifting fraternal shareholdings, to develop a huge steel-making enterprise and become Anglicized himself – as Sir William. There was the engineering firm Werner & Pflederer, which began as a London sales office for German machines, then built up its engineering capacity in Germany and linked up with the British company A. M. Perkin & Sons. After various other changes these companies became so intertwined that it was difficult to determine which was head office, and which was branch. Or again, we have the Metallgesellschaft A. G., developed at one time by the British-born Ralph Merton, which in due course branched out into two companies engaged in metal trading, Metallgesellschaft in Frankfurt and Henry R. Merton & Co. in London, closely interlinked by large shareholding in each other's companies, so that, once more, it is not clear which way the investment should be reckoned.

Most commonly, it was some technical innovation or presumed superiority which induced German firms to invest in a branch in Britain. Not surprisingly, it was in chemicals, in electricals, and in metal working, together with the smaller, but highly significant optical glass section, that the largest concentrations of German capital in Britain could be found. The Osram light bulb factory was, in fact, the largest German employer of labour in Britain, while several other companies in these groups were hoping for monopolistic or oligopolistic profits.

The trend for this type of German firm to operate from Britain received a sudden spurt in 1907, when the United Kingdom at last joined other industrial nations by passing an Act to make the continuance of patent protection conditional on using the patented processes. Up to then, German companies had been in the habit of registering their patents in Britain but letting them lie, thus stopping British firms from using them while not using them in Britain themselves. A number of hurried German foundations, especially in chemicals, followed. As it turned out, however, the panic was premature: the legislation was made practically nugatory in 1909 by judicial decision.

There was, in addition, always the hope of economizing on transaction costs: agencies abroad were difficult to supervise and control to make sure that they did not favour other companies, or overcharge for their services. Some of the costs could be internalized by establishing wholly owned branches, though these, as it turned out, might suffer from poor management or dishonesty in their turn. At any rate, direct ownership offered better means of control on the part of head office.

Although the United Kingdom could be expected to continue its free-trade policies of not discriminating against foreigners, there might still be advantages from operating from within its borders. One was the better terms achieved in exports to some of the colonies which did discriminate in favour of Britain in their tariff policies. Another was the growth of 'local contents' rules in the contracts awarded by public authorities. This could be particularly important in the case of military suppliers, such as the Mannesmann seamless tube works, or the makers of optical equipment. The significance of this was shown after the outbreak of war, when the United Kingdom found itself cut off from several key military supplies which had up to then come from the German enemy.

Finally, there might be unique or special reasons for direct investment in Britain. Thus the St Pauli brewery went there because of a shortage of capacity at home, while a number of banks set up London branches largely to be able to service their German customers there.

Altogether, something of the order of £12 million was placed by German firms in direct investment in Britain in those years. Britain and Germany were the most advanced economies in Europe at the time, and they were among each other's largest customers. As has frequently been observed, they were keen rivals in many areas, but they also constituted fundamentally complementary economies in other re-

spects. The close linkage by so many examples of direct investment was an integral part of that hopeful development of closer economic integration in the world that would benefit both partners.

All this was shattered by the First World War. Virtually the whole of the property described in these pages was sequestrated by the British Government, and either closed down or made over to British firms, in close parallel to similar action taken by Germany. Some of these links were laboriously rebuilt after 1918, many others only well after the end of the Second World War. Here is another example of damage done by the war to the people of Europe, no less grievous for being often forgotten.

It is a complex story, well and competently told. Inevitably, given the large number of cases, the study at times takes on the nature of a catalogue, which does not make for easy reading. It also cries out for an index, unaccountably lacking. Yet all told, it is a notable work by a young scholar, providing a valuable insight into an aspect of economic interrelations between Britain and Germany in the past which has so far been unduly underestimated and neglected.

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JUTTA BÜCKENDORF, *'Schwarz-weiß-rot über Ostafrika!' Deutsche Kolonialpläne und afrikanische Realität*, Europa-Übersee, 5 (Münster: Lit, 1997), 496 pp. ISBN 3 8258 2755 0. DM 78.80

Few *bon mots* so aptly describe the transformation brought about by the scramble for Africa as the well-crafted words of the British missionary Alexander Mackay. In 1890 he made the succinct but perceptive observation: 'In former years the universal aim was to steal the African from Africa. Today the determination of Europe is to steal Africa from the African' (p. 209). The causes of this substantial alteration in European policy towards sub-Saharan Africa, the methods initially employed to put it into effect, and the means by which it was ultimately achieved, at least in respect to that part of the continent that would become the German protectorate of East Africa and which is known today as Tanzania, is the subject of this investigation by Jutta Bückendorf.

Much of the story that Jutta Bückendorf relates is already a familiar one. At the start of the 1880s the German government of Otto von Bismarck had absolutely no interest whatsoever in developing Germany as a colonial power. For the master of *Realpolitik*, imperialism, especially in respect to the unknown lands of the African interior, seemed both an unnecessary distraction from the real diplomatic arena of central Europe and a source of potentially limitless problems, obligations, and burdens. However, if Bismarck could see no gain in the advancing of Germany's 'civilizing mission' throughout the far reaches of the globe, that does not mean that his lack of interest was universal. On the contrary, inside Germany was to be found a growing colonial movement. Although, the aims of the vast majority of colonial enthusiasts initially went no further than changing the chancellor's mind through a programme of colonial propaganda, their failure to achieve this soon led some of them, in their frustration, to contemplate the idea of more direct action. As a result, in 1883 an insalubrious coterie of German nationalists and adventurers, epitomized by such figures as Carl Peters and Joachim Graf von Pfeil, set off for East Africa in an attempt to promote the cause of German colonialism by private action.

More by accident than design, their expedition coincided with a shift in Bismarck's diplomacy. While still utterly unconvinced by the argument for African colonies, the chancellor nevertheless momentarily saw some foreign policy as well as some domestic political advantages to be gained from pretending otherwise. The result was a temporary

willingness to give official protection to private colonial ventures such as Carl Peters's *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (DOAG). The sole stipulation to Bismarck's support was that these companies, rather than the Reich government, should shoulder the burden of administrating and developing such new territories as were thereby acquired. This concept of 'colonial empire with limited liability' (p.183) was loosely based upon a mistaken notion of how chartered companies functioned in the British colonial system. Unfortunately, just as most British chartered companies were to prove a failure when it came to colonial government, so too was the DOAG. Through a combination of inadequate resourcing, insufficient forward planning, and insensitivity to local conditions the DOAG not only failed to make a profit out of its colonial enterprises, it also managed to alienate the indigenous population to such an extent that a major armed uprising broke out. The magnitude of this local resistance movement was so great that, in the end, it could only be suppressed by military intervention on the part of the Reich government, which found that from this first involvement there was no turning back. In this manner, Bismarck's colonial concept of government by colonial merchants proved a failure and direct control by a Reich-appointed administration had to be instituted. As a result, six years after its initial foundation by private action, the territory of East Africa had become a formal colony.

Bückendorf's decision to reiterate afresh this familiar tale inevitably leads the reader to the question: does the author have anything new to bring to the topic? As this book emerged out of a doctoral dissertation completed at the University of Bamberg, the expectation is clearly that it will. Whether or not this actually proves to be the case, however, is not quite so readily apparent. In terms of the archival sources utilized, for example, the answer is essentially in the negative. The principal documentary collection upon which this study is based is that of the *Reichskolonialamt*, the papers of which were, until recently, housed at Potsdam. This is, of course, the most logical place from which to begin any examination of the primary sources for German colonial history. However, in the case of this particular topic, it has been done before. One of the delvers into these files was Fritz Ferdinand Müller, author of the 1959 publication *Deutschland – Zanzibar – Ostafrika*. A comparison of the files consulted by Bückendorf with those used by Müller some forty years ago shows a remarkable similarity. Indeed, there is very little to distinguish between the two lists, with the possible exception

that, whereas Müller also consulted some of the Potsdam-housed files of the *Auswärtiges Amt*, the *Reichsamt des Innern* and the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*, Bückendorf was more circumspect. She confined her attention to a few of the files of the *Auswärtiges Amt*. That she did not use the resources of Potsdam more fully is somewhat surprising and leads to some unnecessary lacunae in her primary source base.

One example of this relates to Joachim Graf von Pfeil, a not unimportant person in the history of the foundation of German East Africa. His *Nachlaß* was, until the recent move to Berlin, also to be found at Potsdam. Surely it would have been worth a look to see if it contained anything of importance for this study. The same point could be made with respect to the utilization of further German archival sources, for which there are many possible candidates. Yet, other than visiting Potsdam, the only additional collection scrutinized by Bückendorf was the records of the Bavarian ministry of state at the *Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv* in Munich. This is a somewhat surprising choice. The Bavarian government was not a prime mover in formulating colonial policy and, although their representatives in Berlin scrupulously observed and commented upon Reich policy, such indirect reporting is not guaranteed always to be revealing. Certainly, it does not appear to have been particularly fruitful for this study. Yet, if Munich proved of only marginal value, there were other places that might have been more useful. Most obvious as a source of relevant material, especially given that Anglo-German relations are a consistent aspect of this topic, would have been the records of the German Foreign Office. Yet, surprisingly, the *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes* at Bonn was not consulted.

If this study does not advance much that is new in terms of archival evidence, does it have anything new to offer in terms of its approach? With respect to methodology Bückendorf does, indeed, lay claim to originality. The volume begins with the contention that too much colonial history is written from the perspective of the European colonizers and that not enough notice is taken either of the conditions that existed in Africa before the arrival of the European powers or of the impact that such African realities had on the process and progress of imperialism. This is certainly true. In part, this reflects the difficulty of finding reliable contemporary sources written by indigenous people rather than by European merchants, explorers or missionaries; in part, it also reflects prevailing Eurocentrism. Bückendorf is, therefore, correct

to say that there is a need to re-examine the major incidents of the scramble for Africa in a form that takes note of the interaction between European trends and African circumstances. The question is, does this study succeed in doing this? At times, the answer is a resounding yes. One section of the book that is particularly successful in this respect concerns the armed resistance to the DOAG that broke out in 1888. The particular local conditions that made the population so antagonistic to the company's programme and allowed the various local groups to sink their differences in response to this common threat are described in a most effective manner and place the DOAG's actions in sharp relief.

Unfortunately, the author is not always so successful in weaving together the two themes of African conditions and German actions. This is especially evident in the opening part of the book. The first main section of text (pp. 15-157) provides an extensive corpus of background information about African history, at times stretching back many hundreds of years, that includes details of migrations, economic developments, and warfare. While this is certainly interesting, it does not lead to an integrated history in which the interactions of African and European developments are fully offset. Instead, it produces a separate 'stand alone' narrative of African affairs which is simply too bulky and self-contained properly to weave together with later chapters. Indeed, from a non-German perspective, this extensive body (150 pages!) of background information is, quite frankly, an unnecessary indulgence that slows down the pace of the text and makes the reader impatient to know when the central questions will be addressed. To be effective this section would have to be both shorter (remember Mies van der Rohe's dictum 'less is more') and would also have to integrate more clearly with the succeeding chapter on the German background to colonialism.

Bearing in mind these criticisms, how should one evaluate this study? Clearly the work does not succeed totally in its stated aim of making the German acquisition of East Africa more explicable in the light of the African context. However, it is a step in this direction. Equally, while the book does not offer all the archival depth that might have been desired, Bückendorf does make extensive use of both contemporary publications and the large secondary literature. As a result, there emerges a very competent and extensive synthesis of existing research that is supplemented by some new findings, a great

deal of detail, and a lot of interesting anecdotal material from the newspapers and journals of the 1880s. Anyone seeking information on the founding of German East Africa would be well advised to start with this book.

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MICHAEL PRINZ, *Brot und Dividende. Konsumvereine in Deutschland und England vor 1914*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 112 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 404 pp. ISBN 3 525 35775 3. DM 78.00

A historical study of consumers' associations in Britain and Germany before the First World War is timely. A wide and well established historical interest in questions of consumption already exists. In particular, social groups other than the middle classes have now attracted substantial interest, and the history of medicine and diet is adding to our knowledge about workers' lives. Additionally, at least in Britain, there is an increased general interest in socio-economic and political aspects of self-help organizations such as the mutually owned building societies, life insurance companies, and, closer to the subject of this study by Michael Prinz, the Co-op (the Co-operative Wholesale Society), which has recently been in the news because of a hostile take-over bid. Prinz adds to this discussion mainly in the German case.

The present study is largely written as organizational history. Thus, for example, it tells us about Michels's law of oligarchy, but not much about women or the family, or about cultural aspects. It does include plenty of political and social background material, and does not neglect the legal situation in the two countries. However, the bulk of the interpretation is concerned with the administrative rise of German consumer associations up to the First World War. In addition, there are, for instance, concise, clear, and important summaries of the reasons for the creation of consumer self-help organizations, and discussions of their advantages and problems. The fundamental difficulties people faced are well brought out. Prinz insists that not only low, but especially fluctuating incomes were a driving force behind the establishment of consumer associations. The at times very high dividend paid was an attempt to even out the cash available for buying food over the year. The second important cause was the low, fluctuating, and uncontrollable (from the consumers' point of view) quality of basic food, and its price. Prinz demonstrates that the control of quality and weights was crucial for the foundation phase, but also remained important throughout the period covered by this study.

The German case is contrasted with the British one. Originating in Bielefeld, as this study does, it is not surprising that the *Sonderweg* thesis, or, in this case, the latecomer argument, is evident throughout.

Prinz sees the German development of consumers' associations as having been heavily influenced, explicitly or implicitly, by the earlier, successful British foundations. He provides an asymmetric comparison, or rather a comparatively orientated study of Germany. The better known British developments are briefly introduced in the second main chapter of seven. Although this part is brief, Prinz draws upon unpublished material and a wide range of published literature. The German experience is then set against this background at greater length. As Prinz mentions, there are far fewer unpublished, primary sources available for Germany, but he makes excellent use of the associations' published material. The German chapters contain many references to the British case. These comparative remarks work well. Of course, a procedure like this produces some generalizations (such as comments about the lack of a *Mittelstand* in Britain on p. 303), which are neither explained nor used in the interpretation. But overall, readers who are familiar with the British case and want to refresh their memories, and those who want to learn something new about it, will both find this study informative.

The main story of Germany's lateness and of Britain's role as an example is well told. It is divided into in three major phases: the 1840s to 1860s, the foundation era which had varying degrees of success; the liberal era spanning the next thirty years; and what Prinz calls the 'taking over by Social Democracy' (*Sozialdemokratisierung*) from the 1890s to the First World War. These parts provide a substantial amount of detail, and micro-studies of specific developments are well integrated into the overall interpretation. The example of the *Lebensmittel* association in Eilenburg in Saxony, for instance (pp. 145-55), is effectively used to provide evidence for the arguments about the slow and late but none the less strong wave of foundations after 1848, as well as for the weaknesses of the restoration period, before the liberal involvement in the organization of consumer associations in the 1860s. The liberal phase then led to the first substantial increase on an organizational basis, with the *Allgemeine Verband* in the forefront. After 1890, this liberal phase was pejoratively labelled 'petit bourgeois'; as Prinz argues, this was mainly to do with general developments among the German liberal bourgeoisie, whose progressive modernizing phase was coming to an end at that time. After 1890 the involvement of Social Democracy and political parties, and a massive increase in membership were apparent in the history of consumer associations. By 1913, German

associations had well over two million members. In the mid-1920s, at their peak with over four million members, German associations were approaching British levels of membership, although coverage remained lower in Germany with about one fifth of households covered as opposed to almost half in Britain just before the Second World War (see p. 15).

Thus this book contains much of interest for students of the history of consumer organizations in Germany. Unfortunately, however, the study has a number of weaknesses, most of which could easily have been avoided. It is a pity that the usually well edited series *Kritische Studien* does not always maintain its usual standards. For example, several graphs and tables do not include the sources. Some lack a caption, and in a number of cases the print is so small that it is impossible to read the labels on the axes. The origins of the present study in a *Habilitation* thesis are also evident. The necessary and excellent discussion of methodological and related issues is often marred by an academic style that Anglo-American readers would find difficult in any language. This trait, unfortunately, makes a great deal of excellent German-language historiography even more inaccessible to all but a small group of specialists. In the present case this is all the more regrettable as the history of German consumers' associations and the comparative and methodological discussion in this volume would surely be appreciated by a wider audience, including advanced undergraduates. If the study were to be directed to a wider audience, more explanations would also be helpful (for example, about the truck system).

However, the methodological and conceptual sections largely ignore the recent important discussion about the position of cultural history in political and socio-economic developments. The history of consumer associations seems ideally placed to play a role in this debate. Prinz's study shows, amongst other things, how organized, bureaucratized, and legally controlled consumer associations became in Germany. The legal and formal aspects of those organizations (what Prinz calls the tip of the iceberg, pp. 16-17) should, however, also be brought into an analysis of cultural developments and social relationships (which Prinz to some degree does).

Another important problem concerns the fact that the author does not distinguish between England and Scotland. Although the use of the term 'England' in the title might be considered acceptable (it has,

of course, been used by German, English, and other authors as synonymous with Britain or the UK for a long time), inaccuracies resulting from this are more serious. Ayrshire is not an English shire, and Govan is in Glasgow (see, for example, p. 42). These inaccuracies should surely not appear in a book published in 1996. This becomes really problematic, however for comparative history. Was there no difference between the Scottish and the English experience? It could be argued that there were, and continue to be, substantial differences not only in the organizational history of their self-help associations, but also in their past and present role in society. If it is argued that these differences do not exist or are not important for the analysis, we should talk about British national structures. Otherwise, a comparison between regions rather than nations / countries might be more appropriate, and major parts of the interpretation based on the conscious acceptance of national patterns might have to be revised. In this respect the industrialized southern Scottish belt was much more similar to the industrialized north-west and north-east of England, and possibly parts of Wales, than either of these to the south-west or south-east of England. For Germany Prinz mentions, and at times even emphasizes, the difference between, say, Hamburg and Saxony, but even here he does not sufficiently develop this theme.

A less important, but none the less noteworthy, problem is the lack of a subject index (although there are indexes of names and places). The wealth of information provided, and the generally good mixture between narrative and analysis, and between macro and micro developments, would have made a subject index extremely useful. A good example of this is the development of legal positions in both countries. Important and interesting insights are provided, but at so many different places throughout the study that it is all but impossible to go back to the information provided on this aspect without an index. And finally, the excellent concluding part, which goes beyond a summary and provides interpretative comparative remarks about continuity and change, could have been extended to make an even stronger conclusion to Prinz's important study.

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RAFFAEL SCHECK, *Alfred von Tirpitz and German Right-Wing Politics, 1914-1930*, Studies in Central European Histories (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1998), xix + 261 pp. ISBN 0 391 04043 X. $75.00. £46.95

Scholars of the Wilhelmine era usually complain that there is no comprehensive biography of Admiral Tirpitz, the architect of the German battle fleet. Indeed, while historians generally agree that the admiral was one of the most influential figures in contemporary German politics, it has yet be to explained why he has not found an adequate biographer. The American historian Raffael Scheck now presents a study which to a certain degree closes this gap, and also reveals some hitherto unknown aspects of Tirpitz's political career. Scheck is not interested in Tirpitz's part in German naval matters, which has often been described, or more generally, in the role he played in the politics of Imperial Germany. Scheck's account starts at a time when Tirpitz's influence was already diminishing, that is, the outbreak of the First World War. The author examines Tirpitz's role as a right-wing politician, a 'potential unifier of the right' (p. xii). His case serves Scheck as a 'lesson in the political strategies of the German right on the defensive against socialism and democracy'. Scheck intends to examine the 'strategies of the right to reconcile mass mobilization and participation in politics with elitist leadership, social privilege, and the dominance of the military in society' (p. xiii).

In the first chapter, the author briefly summarizes Tirpitz's rise and career. Scheck points out that Tirpitz became a supreme manipulator of public opinion by working for the *Reichsmarineamt*, and emphasizes his commitment to German sea power. Although the build-up of the German fleet was largely responsible for Anglo-German tensions before 1914, Tirpitz himself played no active part in the outbreak of the First World War. He resented the idea of war – as he had done since 1912 – because the battle fleet needed more time. When the war broke out, Tirpitz, who headed 'only' the administrative body of the *Reichsmarineamt*, had virtually no influence on naval strategy. Formally, the Kaiser was Supreme Commander of the Navy; his power was delegated to three admirals with whom Tirpitz had not got on very well in the past. Yet as a 'concession to Tirpitz's merits and popularity' (p. 22), he was granted an advisory role in all naval matters in August 1914. Usually, however, his opinion was ignored.

As the war dragged on and the German fleet remained idle in port, Tirpitz developed the idea of submarine warfare against England. During 1915 and the first half of 1916 – until his resignation – he was among the firmest supporters of a U-boat campaign against Britain. This brought him into conflict not only with the Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, but also, at least until late 1915, with the Chief of the General Staff, Falkenhayn. Both feared American intervention. Tirpitz's ongoing conflict with the Chancellor finally culminated in open opposition to the Supreme Warlord, that is, the Kaiser himself. Since Tirpitz had come into office, he had often proved to be a harsh critic of William II. In 1924, for instance, he claimed that the Kaiser had made life 'a perfect hell' (p. 37) for him. From early 1915 onwards, the admiral worked towards establishing a military dictatorship in the Reich which would have left the Kaiser nothing more than a figurehead. These intrigues were soon to be discovered by Bethmann Hollweg and the Emperor. Public opinion prevented William II from dismissing Tirpitz, but as early as February 1915 the Emperor was firmly determined to do so immediately after the war. However, Tirpitz twice offered his resignation in 1915, and after another quarrel with the Chancellor and the Kaiser concerning the submarine question, he was finally dismissed in March 1916. As Scheck correctly states, 'Tirpitz's dismissal was a milestone in the disaffection of the German right, both old and new, from the Kaiser and ... the monarchic system' (p. 43). Under these circumstances his resignation turned out to be a Phyrric victory for Bethmann Hollweg. From now on Tirpitz's political activities were no longer restrained by the fact that he was, after all, a member of the *Reichsleitung*.

After his removal from office, Tirpitz became something like the German right's natural candidate for the chancellery. Many rightists, including the 1920 insurgent Wolfgang Kapp, did everything to promote him as a candidate, including appealing directly to Hindenburg and Ludendorff. In September 1917 Kapp made Tirpitz First Chairman of the *Vaterlandspartei*, an organization created to oppose the *Reichstag* majority and its desire for a peace of understanding. It is typical of Tirpitz that he should become the only soldier to take an active part in politics after being dismissed – a step many old-fashioned officers would have deemed to be absolutely improper. Many scholars have claimed that Tirpitz was nothing more than a figurehead for the party, chosen for his popularity and his connections with prosperous indus-

trialists. This may have been what Kapp had intended, but Scheck is partly right to argue that Tirpitz became an 'energetic and committed first chairman, particularly in the crucial first months' (p. 68). The former admiral acted as 'public speaker, fund-raiser, safeguard of the party's domestic neutrality, secretary, and liaison to the OHL [*Oberste Heeresleitung*, General Headquarters] and the government' (ibid.). But Kapp, who was the founder of the party and its *spiritus rector*, mainly dictated the party's course.

After the revolution, Tirpitz initially thought that his political career was over. But the name Tirpitz did not vanish from German politics. In October 1919, his memoirs were published, causing a 'public uproar' because of their 'muted but unmistakable criticism of the emperor' (p. 83). Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother, sent Tirpitz a letter accusing him of disloyalty towards the Kaiser and of attempting to vindicate himself at the Kaiser's expense. In response, Tirpitz published an article vindicating the monarchy, but he never advocated its restoration. Like many other rightists, he considered the Hohenzollern too deeply compromised by their indecisive attitude during the war, and especially by their flight to Holland in November 1918. Tirpitz was never a monarchist from the heart like Hindenburg, but he supported the monarchy as an authoritarian form of state which emphasized military strength and national unity: 'His vision resembled more a military-industrial dictatorship with a monarchic figurehead than the defunct Bismarckian state' (p. 84).

In 1920, his former associates from the *Vaterlandspartei* were heavily involved in the Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch. Although in principle he favoured a strong dictatorship, Tirpitz condemned the putsch as premature and poorly prepared, which indeed it was. After the putsch, Tirpitz developed 'the key principle of his political activity under the Weimar Republic: to rally and coordinate all groups on the German right' (p. 87) – a task which many men before him had attempted. The way in which he wanted to achieve this, however, was clearly backwards-looking. Tirpitz did not want to become a populist right-wing politician (perhaps because he felt he was not so popular after all), but intended to mobilize the masses within existing organizations to change the political system. Ultimately, he wanted to push the masses out of political decision-making – the very idea which had been behind the *Vaterlandspartei*. This was to be achieved by exploiting international tensions and pursuing a policy stopping just short of war against

France, with the result that a dictator would take over and sweep away the Weimar Republic and the Versailles Treaty. His ultimate goal was to replace the republic with an authoritarian state, and to restore Germany's independence and military power. In order to come to power and change the constitution, Tirpitz wanted to 'combine illegal and legal elements' in what Scheck describes as 'quasi-legal putschism' (p. 88).

Tirpitz concentrated his efforts on Bavaria, where he became involved with nationalist circles around Prime Minister Kahr and former General Ludendorff. Initially, the admiral did not mean to play a public role, seeing himself 'as a coordinator and adviser behind the scenes'. Gradually, however, he became a candidate for the leadership himself (p. 95). He was also in touch with Adolf Hitler, but doubted his skills as a statesman and resented his anti-Semitism. Like many right-wing politicians after him, Tirpitz, however, hoped to use the chairman of the NSDAP and his demagogic talents to rally the Bavarian masses behind a rightist dictatorship. In 1922-3 Tirpitz and other right-wing politicians developed various plans for a dictatorship, which were not fully realized. Yet he was not involved in the Beer Hall Putsch; the insurgents had not contacted him, with the result that the events of 9 November 1923 took the former admiral by surprise. In the aftermath of the putsch, a tight net of conspiracies aiming to abolish the republic unfolded around him, although the putsch had demonstrated that this was not the way in which the right would come into power. Moreover, General Seeckt, Chief of the *Reichswehr*, around whom all the conspiracies centred, had made it absolutely clear that the right could not count on any military support for open or 'quasi-legal putschism'.

In April 1924 Tirpitz was invited to run for the *Reichstag* elections on the ticket of the conservative DNVP (German National People's Party) in Bavaria. Tirpitz had often professed sympathies for the party, which to some extent had inherited the *Vaterlandspartei*. He won his seat easily and the party as a whole gained almost 22 per cent of the votes, making it the strongest group in the *Reichstag*. During the consultations between the German Nationals and the other parties, the DNVP as the winner of the elections put forward Tirpitz as their candidate for the chancellery – a step the other parties unanimously rejected for diplomatic reasons. After a week of fruitless bargaining, the parties of the middle withdrew from the negotiations and excluded the DNVP from a future government. Thus instead of moving into the *Wilhelm-*

straße, Tirpitz spent the rest of his political career, which lasted until 1928, as a mere *Reichstag* deputy, devoting his time to fighting Stresemann and his conciliatory foreign policy. After the 1928 elections Tirpitz, who celebrated his eightieth birthday that year, did not return to parliament, and gradually retired from politics. He died on 6 March 1930, receiving a state funeral in Munich.

Based on a huge array of archival sources, Scheck's book is a very useful and stimulating study of the admiral's political career. It presents a persuasive analysis of the traditional Wilhelmine right and its strategy of *Sammlungspolitik* from the 1890s to the late Weimar Republic. Scheck comes to the convincing conclusion that as neither Hindenburg nor Tirpitz nor any other politician was able to unite the German right, 'only a radically new political alternative on the right could seize power' (p. 218). In this respect, Tirpitz's failure as a politician also marked the end of traditional *Honoratiorenpolitik* in Germany.

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WINFRIED MÜLLER, *Schulpolitik in Bayern im Spannungsfeld von Kultusbürokratie und Besatzungsmacht 1945-1949*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 36 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995), 319 pp. ISBN 3 486 56116 2. DM 98.00

Winfried Müller's book is a welcome addition to the already impressive corpus of literature on educational reconstruction in Germany after the Second World War. It is concerned with the American Zone of Occupation, specifically with school policy in Bavaria, and it examines in detail the conflicts and tensions between American impulses for reform and German resistance to radical change.

It is particularly useful to have available a scholarly study which provides detailed information on the German administration and its reactions. The dominant tendency has been for researchers to concentrate on the policy initiatives of the occupying powers, and particularly on what we might call the 'significant actors' who sought to develop and implement them, at the expense of the German educators and administrators at the receiving end. Thus our general knowledge of the American Zone might lean too heavily on the roles of Lucius D. Clay, John McCloy, John W. Taylor, Herman B. Wells and others at the high policy level, as well as on the activities of lesser-known OMGUS education officers whose testimony is now available to us through the release of official documents and through various colloquia, held since the late 1970s and early 1980s, which have brought them together with researchers to discuss their work in Germany.

Müller's study begins with a detailed analysis of conditions and developments in the Munich education ministry following the cessation of hostilities. Material conditions were appalling – 'a Sauerei is', *Ministerpräsident* Schäffer is quoted as saying – and the search for suitable people to take charge of the administration was exacerbated by the early stages of the denazification processes. *Kultusminister* Otto Hipp was dismissed after only a few months in office ostensibly because of his unwillingness to take the strongest line on denazification. Hipp's successor, Franz Fendt, was replaced towards the end of 1946 by Alois Hundhammer, who remained in office until 1950 and whose battles with the military government – what James Tent has called 'Kulturkampf in Bayern' – form the main focus of Müller's book. Hundhammer was a conservative politician with a thoroughly respectable anti-Nazi past and was renowned as a clever strategist.

Despite his many clashes with the occupying powers, he retained their respect for his political integrity and shrewd manœuvring. The Americans said of him: 'He would be a power-house if he were on our side.'

Müller takes us through the details of physical destruction, school population, and teacher recruitment, and describes the problems involved in providing anything like regular schooling, before analysing American re-education policy, which is traced through its various phases of development – from the sometimes extreme stances of wartime planning to the *Realpolitik* of persuasion in place of direction. 'Re-education', of course, is a highly complex term, subject to a wide variety of interpretations depending in particular on the sense assigned to the prefix 're-'. Should it be seen as educating 'afresh', 'anew', 'again' – that is, indicating a new beginning? Or should it rather have the sense of 'turning round', 'converting', as the force of the German prefix 'um-' suggests in one of the frequently used German terms for re-education, *Umerziehung*? The former interpretation is consistent with a philosophy that seeks to provide fresh opportunities, to build a new society out of the ashes of the old, while the latter assumes that everyone is in need of 'conversion', whatever their individual ideological position might have been.

The restoration of a school system in Bavaria which in its essentials reflected the situation before the *Reichsschulreform* of 1938-9 is consistent with the view that West German education policy generally in the post-war years was based on the principle 'On from Weimar'. Radical change or experiment were rejected in favour of the familiar, with the purpose of creating stability. A joke of the time went: A British observer asks a German how long it will take to rebuild his country. Answer: 'Forty-two years.' Why precisely forty-two? 'Well, I suppose you intend to stay here for forty years, and it will take at least two to reconstruct everything after you've gone.'

While the Americans were not minded to permit 'the continuation of the old Bavarian school system which contributed its share to National Socialism and which now [1947], in effect, the Bavarian Ministry of Education is proposing to re-establish as the basis of democratic education', it was pointed out that 'in a democratic state regulation of the school system is the basic right of representative government, and an area in which it has the right to offer advice. In the measures it takes, especially in the planning and implementation of

reforms and the introduction of new elements, the ministry is bound by the government's decisions and instructions, apart from the obligatory constitutional provisions.' This reminds us of what Michael Balfour identified as the basic paradox implicit in the role of the occupying powers in Germany: their principal function was to encourage democratic processes. Given this basic premise, any attempt to impose policy would, by the sheer fact of imposition, demonstrate the efficacy of undemocratic processes and therefore prove counterproductive. The Germans were well aware of this and capitalized on the Western Allies' dilemma.

And so the American notion of introducing a differentiated *Einheitsschule* was rejected, despite a direct intervention from General Clay ordering reform; and ever since – but especially in Bavaria – there has been very little enthusiasm in Germany for the comprehensive school. Given the high regard in which education in Germany has generally been held it might be argued that the Germans were wise to resist all attempts to interfere radically with the basic shape and philosophy of their education system. While doubts persist about what the American high school can deliver, or about the success of the comprehensive school in England, it seems in retrospect that a restructuring of education in Germany would have been based on little more than faith in a relatively untried system. It was clearly not the case that the Western Allies had the answers to the perennial questions of equity in educational provision.

Müller concludes that it would be unfair to regard American policy in Bavaria as a total failure based solely on the collapse of reform plans envisaging the introduction of the *Einheitsschule*. Much was achieved in terms of stimulus relating to curricular questions and teaching styles, and close ties were formed through exchange programmes: an enduring influence can be traced. But the lesson of the American Zone is salutary. There is in education systems a dynamic which has to do with long traditions and contexts (social, cultural, political, religious, economic) which have been instrumental in forming them. Outsiders in a position of power and control cannot impose alien frameworks. The most promising approach is to advise, to encourage, to stimulate; and in this regard the Western Allies, and especially the British, were ultimately successful.

Winfried Müller's book will be a valuable point of reference for anyone wishing to understand the tensions between occupiers and

occupied. Its wealth of information and the author's command of a vast multiplicity of sources will ensure that it will remain a standard work on the vicissitudes of school policy in the American Zone.

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ANTHONY J. NICHOLLS, *The Bonn Republic. West German Democracy 1945-1990*, Postwar World Series (London and New York: Longman, 1997), xvii + 341 pp. ISBN 0 582 49231 9. £44.00 (hardback). ISBN 0 582 49230 0. £14.99 (paperback)

The story of the Bonn Republic is a success story. Anthony Nicholls, who teaches at St Antony's College, Oxford, leaves no doubt about this. And yet the West German state, founded fifty years ago, had to tread a stony path in order to become a federal republic, a democratic community firmly anchored in terms of structure and political culture, and, particularly important from a British point of view, a reliable partner of the West.

In many respects it is particularly rewarding for German readers to follow this path with the (interpretative) help of Anthony Nicholls. For Nicholls, undoubtedly one of the greatest British experts on contemporary German history, does not merely present an informative and knowledgeable history of the Federal Republic. What is stimulating, sometimes even disturbing, about the book is the way the author looks at things and approaches them. For all his sensitivity towards Germany and 'the' Germans this is still very British, and opens the eyes of German readers, who are generally used to self-reflection, to new interpretations of the history of the Federal Republic. This less provincial perspective makes the book very worth reading. What makes it a real pleasure is its style and construction. Although the author clearly has a love of detail, he does not get bogged down in specific issues, but draws a colourful arc from the last years of the war to reunification in 1990, in a way which is highly accessible and linguistically skilful. To this extent the book is yet another good example of the didactic merits of (contemporary) British historiography, which is not above presenting complex historical issues to a wider readership without over-simplifying the arguments.

The beginning of the book is already a challenge to the (German) reader. Nicholls does not start with capitulation in 1945 or the Founding Act in May 1949. His history of the Federal Republic begins on 20 July 1944, the day of the failed assassination attempt on Hitler. However, Nicholls certainly does not interpret the conspiracy that culminated in the assassination attempt as the birth of the second German democracy. This could perhaps have been the assumption given that former resistance fighters such as Jakob Kaiser, Eugen Gerstenmeier, Fabian

von Schlabrendorff, and Andreas Hermes played such a prominent role during the founding phase of the Federal Republic. Rather, he regards the failure of the plot as a symbol of the irreversible decline of the Protestant conservative élites of Prussia-Germany – a decline which, so to speak, cleared the way for the political and social modernization, and West-orientation, of Germany. Only without the baggage of a 'stab-in-the-back legend', which, in Nicholls's view, a successful assassination attempt would probably have produced, and on the basis of Germany's total political and economic defeat leading to the collapse of traditional social structures and cultural traditions, could a new state be founded.

Nicholls's interpretation of 20 July 1944 could be regarded as cynical. After all, if the assassination attempt had succeeded the death of many millions of people could have been prevented. And one might not necessarily agree with the author on all the detailed historical issues, for example, his assessment of Prussia, which was not only a hot-bed of militarism and the spirit of subjugation. Basically, however, one cannot disagree with the thesis that the total collapse of Germany eased its path towards democracy along Western lines, and that the starting-point of the Bonn Republic, despite the division of Germany, the loss of the eastern territories, the war-damage, and the numerous war casualties and refugees, was much more favourable than that of the Weimar Republic. Political society in the Western zones after 1945 was far less fragmented in regional, religious, and social terms than its forerunners. The break with many traditions was so deep that an anti-democratic, authoritarian-nationalist atmosphere could no longer unfold as a matter of course, as had happened thirty years earlier. In this context it is interesting that Nicholls considers the Western Allies' denazification programme, much disputed in German historiography and largely deemed to have been useless, if not counter-productive, to have had an extremely positive effect on the further development of the Western zones and later on the Federal Republic. At least the old Nazis did not dare show their faces and could not blight the new state.

Nicholls leaves no room for doubt that without real support from the Allies, for example, in the shape of the Marshall Plan, the second German democracy would not have been able to transform these relatively favourable preconditions into long-term success. But, according to him, Ludwig Erhard's enormously successful economic policy which, unlike the introduction of the market economy in the

former GDR in 1990, could rely on an infrastructure that was still functioning to some degree, also played an essential role in generating the trust of the German people in the new republic. Nicholls's portrayal of the founding fathers of the Federal Republic is strangely pale. Certainly, we hear about the political achievements and mistakes of Kurt Schumacher, Ludwig Erhard, and Theodor Heuss, but almost nothing about their backgrounds and how they became what they were. Konrad Adenauer is the only one dealt with in more detail. In this case, Nicholls seems to be more impressed by the domestic and foreign policy achievements of the 'old man's' fourteen-year period in office, culminating in sovereignty (he largely accepts Hans-Peter Schwarz's assessment in this), than by Adenauer as a person, whom, again in a very British way, he does not trust an inch.

'Growing Pains' is the title of the chapter that deals with the emergence of the young republic from puberty in the second half of the 1960s. Like most other interpreters of the history of the Federal Republic, the author does not accord any great significance to Ludwig Erhard's chancellorship, though he does not neglect the frictions between Erhard and Adenauer as well as Franz-Josef Strauß. On the other hand, Nicholls devotes considerably more space to political and social developments from the mid-1960s onwards. Here too, there is quite a different emphasis from what we have become used to in the work of German historians (such as Schwarz, Bracher, Jäger, and Link, for example). Nicholls presents the origins of the student revolts, in particular the young generation's preoccupation with their fathers' 'guilt', with great sensitivity. He considers their methods, some of which, like the terrorist attacks on department stores, were reminiscent of Nazi practices, as a regression to pre-parliamentary times. Nicholls shows that parliamentarism had taken root in the Bonn Republic, despite all challenges, by comparing the Kiesinger/Brandt government with Hermann Müller's cabinet during the final phase of the Weimar Republic. Despite their very different backgrounds – Kiesinger the former NSDAP member and Brandt who took refuge from the Nazis abroad now had to agree policy between them – and considerable political differences, compromise was now sought, unlike in Weimar, and there was a willingness to act pragmatically: 'Parliamentary democracy had become the normal way of conducting German business.'

Nicholls's discussion of the Grand Coalition basically boils down to an appreciation of Willy Brandt. He undoubtedly has Nicholls's

sympathies. Even if he considers Brandt's famous comment to foreign correspondents, that his election as Chancellor finally meant that Hitler had lost the war, to be less than tactful, Nicholls largely shares this view. For the first time since 1930 there was now a Social Democratic Chancellor, and with the 'change of power' (Baring) the West German democracy had passed the test.

Given the constraints in presenting a detailed overview of forty-five years, Nicholls describes the comprehensive reform programme embarked upon by the Brandt government in as much detail as possible. He assesses *Ostpolitik*, described by Egon Bahr as 'Wandel durch Annäherung', in a more balanced way than German historians or political scientists are probably capable of. He is aware that many people in Germany in the early 1970s, and again with particular vehemence in 1989, saw *Ostpolitik* as a selling out of German interests. But the author ultimately reaches a positive judgement of Brandt's *Ostpolitik*: 'Had the German government not been willing to take its initiatives in Ostpolitik at this time, the Federal Republic would have appeared as a recalcitrant Cold War relic, and its vital interests could have been bartered away by others.' The Brandt government's programme of social and political reform is seen by Nicholls as a vital step towards the further liberalization of German political culture and its becoming more firmly anchored in the West. One has to read between the lines to realize that Nicholls also regards this as the end of a German 'special path'.

The description of the Schmidt era is fairly unspectacular. This may, of course, have something to do with the fact that normality was precisely what characterized the years from 1974 to 1982, perhaps disrupted only by tensions in policy towards the GDR and by left-wing terrorism. The Federal Republic had by now become a *de facto* equal partner of the West; Schmidt could establish himself as a world leader; West German democracy, whose stability was never seriously threatened by terrorism, supported the democratization processes on the Iberian peninsula; the economy, compared, for example, with that of Britain, was certainly on the up. It would have been illuminating, however, if Nicholls had tried to grasp and explain the ideological roots of the discussion about disarmament and rearmament, which ultimately led to Schmidt's demise as Chancellor. Nicholls creates the misleading impression that the controversy developed out of thin air, or was forced upon the Federal Republic from outside.

It is not yet possible to put the 1980s, dominated by Helmut Kohl's chancellorship, into historical perspective. This is perhaps why the final chapter on the Kohl government and German reunification is clearly not up to the same standard as the others. Here Nicholls seems to give up passing judgement altogether and restricts himself to what really is a quite boring list of dates. Certainly it is not easy to present a differentiated picture of a statesman still in office (as Kohl was at the time of publication). And certainly the lack of distance makes it difficult to trace the important intellectual trends within the society of the Federal Republic during the 1980s. However, it is still incomprehensible why Nicholls does not consider it necessary to probe in depth and analyse Kohl and his policies – he was, after all, a phenomenon, and not only because of his sixteen years in office. It is simply not enough to characterize Kohl as a typical Christian Democrat, whose main interest was German reunification. Why is hardly any attention paid to Kohl's predominant role in the European unification process? Is this, perhaps, evidence of the traditional British aloofness towards Europe? Equally incomprehensible is the fact that Nicholls takes hardly any notice of the significance of the new social movements and the rise of the Green Party. The Social Democrats, who after all were doing quite well in the *Länder* and took part in the country's legislature via the *Bundesrat*, are almost completely absent from the picture. Nicholls restricts his socio-political and politico-cultural observations to the undoubtedly important historical and commemorative debates (8 May, Bitburg, *Historikerstreit*). Were there really no other significant discourses? And if not, how is this to be explained?

The reunification of Germany could have formed a dramatic conclusion to the book. Unfortunately, however, Nicholls does without any precise analysis of the political constellation in Europe that made reunification possible. Also the high diplomatic art which the German Federal Government developed from November 1989 to 1990, and to which the Chancellor's Office files, just published in extracts, bear witness, is given only marginal appreciation. Nicholls has little to say about the high hopes and deep disappointments that stirred people in Germany at this time, and what became of them. This is regrettable. We were, after all, keen to know whether Nicholls would take over the business of navel-gazing from the Germans.

Despite these criticisms Nicholls has written a remarkable book. He does not bring any previously unknown historical facts to light, yet he

provides, as it were, a new pair of glasses that opens up an interesting, and constantly challenging view of the history of the Federal Republic. A view that is not afraid to observe and describe the obvious. Basically a very British view.

KARL ROHE is Professor of Politics at the University of Essen. His publications include *Vom Revier zum Ruhrgebiet. Wahlen, Parteien, politische Kultur* (1986); *Politik. Begriffe und Wirklichkeiten* (2nd edn., 1993); and *Wahlen und Wählertraditionen in Deutschland. Kulturelle Grundlagen deutscher Parteien und Parteiensysteme im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (1992). His main research interest at the moment is in the cultural foundation of politics.

GOTTFRIED NIEDHART, DETLEF JUNKER, and MICHAEL W. RICHTER (eds), *Deutschland in Europa. Nationale Interessen und internationale Ordnung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Mannheim: Palatium Verlag, 1997), xi + 402 pp. ISBN 3 920671 29 5. DM 98.00

The concept of 'national interest' plays an important role in the realist and neo-realist theory of international relations. It has, however, been much derided and dismissed as a uselessly elastic, even dangerous concept by theorists in fields such as postmodernism and critical security studies. It is claimed that the expression implies too state-centred an approach and therefore ignores many other, often hidden, factors of influence and 'power' in today's ever more interdependent, multilateral, and multicultural world. None the less, the controversial term is still used by policymakers and scholars interested in contemporary 'power political' debates to indicate what are perceived as the strategic, political, economic, and also ideological interests of the political unit they represent (see Christian Hacke's article in the book under review). In this sense 'national interest' refers both to certain long-lasting concepts as well as to merely temporary short-term aims. Despite the inherent vagueness and ambiguity of the term recognized by all the contributors to this interesting book, there is a certain consensus that the expression seems to suggest, in Geoffrey Stern's words, 'a set of stable, relatively unchanging foreign-policy goals which can be identified and recognized by enlightened statesmen and rational observers' (*The Structure of International Society*, 1995, p. 110). Since German reunification, the accompanying four-plus-two treaty, and the November 1990 treaty with Poland it appears to many in Germany that it has become easier to define the 'national interest'. Thus the collapse of the East-West divide and the establishment of a geographically larger, more populous, though not yet economically more dynamic Germany has given rise to a renewed discussion regarding what united Germany's 'national interests' actually consist of, and whether or not the realization of the country's 'national interest' should be more energetically pursued than hitherto.

Unification as well as to some degree the internal German debate have also greatly stimulated discussion outside Germany regarding potential German hegemony in an ever more united Europe. There has always been the perception that an 'equal Germany automatically meant a dominant Germany' (Niedhart, p. 383). Above all, since 1990

the 'balancing imbalance' ('ausgleichendes Ungleichgewicht', Urs Leimbacher, p. 192) of Franco-German relations has come to an end. Furthermore, Britain's role as European mediator on behalf of the United States, which had already been on the wane since *Ostpolitik*, was more or less terminated when, in 1990, President Bush spoke of 'partnership in leadership' with reference to Germany. During the Gulf War of 1990-1 and subsequently in the course of major ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and other regions, newly united Germany was actively encouraged to participate in UN peacekeeping activities. Simultaneously, a certain uneasiness regarding more direct military and political participation by Germany in world affairs has continued to exist both inside and outside Germany. In addition, a genuine apprehensiveness of united Germany's potential economic predominance still prevails among its neighbours. The current prolonged economic, financial, and social difficulties of the united nation, however, have contributed to alleviating fears regarding the development of an aggressive new German superstate as predicted, among others, by Mrs Thatcher.

The book edited by Gottfried Niedhart, Detlev Junker, and Michael Richter is a timely contribution to the current debate regarding Germany's international role, a debate which is taking place inside and outside the Federal Republic. It makes an important contribution to identifying and discussing the many different aspects of united Germany's real 'national interests'. The coherently structured, very well edited, and well produced volume is based on a conference held in Mannheim in 1995. It has been divided into four main parts, each except the second consisting of six contributions: Germany's role in Europe; Dutch and Polish perceptions of Germany as a factor in world politics (four articles); French and British perceptions of Germany's international role; and finally Germany and the superpowers before and after reunification. An engaging concluding section completes the book.

Above all, and this makes this volume particularly stimulating, it approaches its theme in a comparative way. Almost all contributions in the volume attempt to analyse the tension between the German 'national interest' and the maintenance of peace in Europe which has existed ever since Gustav Stresemann's endeavours peacefully to integrate Germany into the 'concert of nations' during the inter-war period. It is recognized, however, that this tension is largely based on differing

perceptions of what is viewed as 'national interest' inside and outside a particular country. The editors and the authors in this book agree that these contemporary perceptions – however inaccurate – should not merely be dismissed as unfounded and exaggerated. They need to be addressed and taken seriously (see, for example, Heinrich Vogel's persuasive contribution). Based on this insight, the book aims to analyse Germany's international role and the various attempts to integrate German 'national interests' into a peaceful European system by comparing three eras in twentieth-century German history. Political periods have been chosen during which attempts were made to expand German activities and independence while simultaneously reconciling German interests with the country's integration into an international economic and political system: the Locarno era, the period of *Ostpolitik*, and the post-reunification era. The articles in the book either attempt the methodologically difficult task of comparing one or more of the three periods with each other, or analyse in detail one of the three eras.

In a book containing twenty-four articles by twenty-three authors it is almost inevitable that the individual contributions will differ in quality. This book is no exception. While many of the articles are first-rate, a few are disappointing as they remain too general, or do not entirely address the subject of the book. However, the vast majority make a profound contribution to the theme under discussion. Naturally a review of this kind cannot do justice to all of them by discussing all findings in detail; instead a brief look at some of the particularly interesting ones will have to suffice. The first chapter (Gottfried Niedhart) compares Stresemann's 'Westorientierung' and the Federal Republic's 'Westbindung' with its emphasis on Brandt's *status quo* policy. It is exemplary and serves as an excellent introduction to the entire volume. The articles on Germany's relations with Poland and the Netherlands in Part II, and the contributions on Franco-German relations within a European framework in Part III are also of particular interest. Clemens Wurm and Georges-Henri Soutou write on the difficult Franco-German relationship during the Briand-Stresemann and the Pompidou-Brandt eras, while Urs Leimbacher and Axel Sauder deal with the topic during the 1980s and 1990s respectively. Unfortunately, Britain has not been given the same attention. Only two articles deal with Anglo-German relations, one looking at the Locarno era (Stephanie Salzmann) and the other at the post-1945 period (Christoph Bluth). In fact, the latter consists merely of a brief account

of British security and nuclear policy. Thus, only Salzmann's judicious article deals with Anglo-German relations in a European framework. It would have been beneficial if a contribution on the under-researched topic of 'Britain and *Ostpolitik*' and Anglo-German relations since reunification had been included within such a framework. While the book would also have benefited from an entire chapter dedicated to a critical analysis and comparison of more recent and more traditional theories of 'national interest', the introductions of several articles discuss the concept, often with respect to Germany's post-unification position in the world (see above all the contributions by Heinrich Vogel and Rudolf Adam).

In the penultimate part of the book, devoted to Germany's relations with the United States and the USSR/Russia, Ernest May's detailed account of the gradual development of a more favourable American attitude towards *Ostpolitik* between 1966 and 1972 deserves mention. May concludes that the quadripartite Berlin agreement of 1971-2 was decisive for the total overhaul of Washington's definition of the German Question which took place during the 1970s. Hannes Adomeit's long chapter on 'Russia and Germany: Perceptions, Paradigms and Political Relations' is methodologically intriguing and a stimulating re-interpretation of Russo-German relations since 1945. He arrives at new insights (for example, regarding Moscow's occupation policy, the Beria affair, and developments in the GDR during the 1970s and 1980s) by analysing the Russian view of Germany's political course. This complements the more frequently attempted traditional scholarly narratives which largely look at Moscow's policies from a Western perspective.

Most contributors agree that it is inevitable, and might even be desirable, for Germany to take a somewhat more prominent role on the world stage, albeit in a carefully managed way. Whether united Germany is already in a position to assume the role of an international 'conciliator' (above all in European affairs) as Michael Richter suggests in his article is, however, questionable. The author is probably too optimistic in his belief that countries such as Britain and France are prepared to ask the new Federal Republic to accept such a role. The position of 'conciliator' may well be regarded as too close to the traditional notion of international leadership, if not hegemony, to be acceptable to Germany's neighbours. Moreover, despite the challenging arguments put forward by Richter, Germany's political élite also still

needs convincing that the role of 'conciliator' would be appropriate. Perhaps because of the anticipated opposition to this scheme, and in view of the many unresolved domestic problems, currently there does not seem to be much inclination in Bonn to push for such a role.

Gottfried Niedhart and, more sweepingly, Klaus Hildebrand each provide a helpful conclusion. Hildebrand concludes that the Locarno system failed as neither American hegemony nor real progress towards European integration was able to tame and reconcile national interests, including the 'cognitive misunderstandings' and misperceptions (p. 393) in inter-war Europe. Niedhart emphasizes that a co-operative political approach and international interdependence did not become the guidelines of German foreign policy until after the Second World War. However, the West Germans had no choice in this matter. Above all Adenauer recognized that voluntary co-operation was the only possible way to develop a degree of political independence and sovereignty for the Bonn Republic. While fully recognizing the very different frameworks of the three eras compared in the book, Niedhart concludes convincingly that only since 1945 has German politics been characterized by a substantial increase in co-operative and integrative elements. The leading politicians in the old as well as the new, post-1990 Federal Republic quickly recognized that integration and multilateralism were Germany's real 'national interests' in an ever more integrated and interdependent world. This is also reflected in Urs Leimbacher's article. He argues persuasively that as far as security policy is concerned, but also with regard to other areas, it is hardly possible to differentiate between collective and national interests any longer. Thus the old realist framework for discussing a country's foreign policy predominantly with reference to its 'national interests' in a narrowly defined state-centred meaning, which was not always a satisfactory paradigm for interpreting the history of the old Federal Republic, is even less satisfactory as far as united Germany's role in the multilateral and interdependent post-Cold War world is concerned. In this respect the book under review takes the scholarly debate a considerable step further and therefore deserves a wide readership. Perhaps the publisher should consider bringing out an inexpensive paperback edition to make this interesting volume more widely available.

KLAUS LARRES is Reader in Politics at The Queen's University of Belfast. He is the author of *Politik der Illusionen. Churchill, Eisenhower*

und die deutsche Frage 1945-55 (1995), and has edited or co-edited *The Federal Republic since 1949: Politics, Society and Economy before and after Unification* (1996), *Deutschland und die USA im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen* (1997), and *Germany since Unification: The Domestic and External Consequences* (1998). Currently he is completing a monograph provisionally entitled *Churchill's Summit Diplomacy: Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union and the United States from the First World War to the Cold War* and an edited book, *Uneasy Partners: British-German Relations and European Integration since 1945*. He has also started a project on political and economic relations between Britain and the GDR.

CONFERENCE REPORT

The Treaty of Westphalia. War and Peace in a European Dimension. Symposium held at the German Historical Institute London on 4 December 1998.

The year 1998 was studded with historical commemorations, and amongst these, the 350th anniversary of the Treaties of Münster and Osnabrück featured prominently in a large number of publications, exhibitions, and conferences. The one-day symposium at the GHIL addressed the European dimension of the Thirty Years War and the ensuing peace treaty. It was concerned with war issues as well as the build-up to the Treaty of Westphalia, its consequences, and perceptions of it. At the time at least one eye-witness, the Venetian delegate Alvise Contarini, was so impressed that the peace congress had taken place at all that he referred to this as a 'world miracle'; politicians in France called it 'la plus grande affaire qui soit présentée depuis plusieurs siècles'.[1]

The symposium followed the successful pattern established by earlier events of this kind: the morning was dedicated to four specialized papers while the afternoon started off with a round table and concluded with a general discussion, involving the large and knowledgeable audience. After a brief welcome and introduction by Professor Peter Wende (GHIL), the morning's procedures were opened by Dr Robert Frost (London) who gave a paper on '"Worse than Turks or Tartars". The Rhetoric and Reality of Atrocities in the Thirty Years War'. Frost argued that although military discipline as a whole was improving, and commanders were learning that their troops must not destroy the countryside for then they could not live off it, contemporary propaganda still demonized the enemy, using ritualized *topoi* and clichés of depiction – the innocent baby on a pike was especially popular – and stressed military violence, which undoubtedly actually occurred on a considerable scale. Here Frost focused on the campaigns of the Polish Cossacks in 1619-20 and 1636. Looking at a memoir written by their Franciscan chaplain in the 1620s, Frost argued that there was an ambiguity between the self-perception of these troops – instrument of God,

[1] Konrad Repgen, 'Der Westfälische Friede: Ereignis und Erinnerung', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 267 (1998), pp. 615-47, at 615, n. 3.

idealized soldiers of Christ, yet subject to the articles of war – and how they were perceived by their opponents, and, indeed, by the ordinary people. 'Theoretical' expectations of how war should be conducted were confronted by an altogether different martial culture; the Polish Cossacks looked different, and, in fact, behaved differently.

In his paper, '"Marauders". The Typology of Military Society in the Thirty Years War', Professor Bernd Kroener (Potsdam) described the seventeenth century as a violent period in which suffering was elevated into heroic sacrifice. In spite of a general rise in military combat morale, there was a noted hierarchy of combatants which was reflected in the topography of the field camps. Kroener addressed the historical semantics and the social configurations of this military camp society. While Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen († 1676) undoubtedly shaped contemporary perceptions of the 'order of the maraud brothers', Kroener depicted the marauders as pitiable human wrecks on the fringes of military society, victims of military practice, and disabled former soldiers – voiceless because they were illiterate.

The second morning session looked at the preparation and perception of peace. Professor Ronald Asch (Osnabrück) spoke on 'A Road to Toleration? Religious Liberty and the Peace Negotiations in Osnabrück 1645-1648'. As Germany had been torn apart by religious conflict ever since the Edict of Worms (1521), the clauses of the peace which were intended to settle this conflict once and for all were considered to be of the utmost importance. Following a precedent set by the Peace of Prague, a key date – 1624, not 1627 as stipulated in 1635 – was to be regarded as the criterion for the demarcation between Lutheran and Catholic states. However, although religious minorities were now entitled to practise their religion freely if they had done so in 1624, no attempt was made to force the Emperor to grant toleration in the Habsburg lands, where the Counter-Reformation was already well under way by that date. Asch stressed the general awareness of a need for a compromise as the basis of religious negotiations. The resulting clause, namely, that in future all confessional disputes were to be solved in the Imperial Diet not by a majority decision, but by way of negotiations between the *Corpus Catholicorum* and the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, was, however, rarely resorted to in political practice after 1648.

Dr Claire Gantet (Paris) concluded the morning's sessions with a paper on 'The Maps of Peace. *Friedensfeste* 1648 to 1660'. By concentrating

on the chronology of a systematic and institutionalized form of 'collective memory' she demonstrated a remarkable concentration of festivities in the south of Germany and a notable absence in the north. Perhaps, most remarkably, the citizens neither of Münster nor of Osnabrück celebrated the signing of the treaty. Gantet focused on the public celebrations in Augsburg, first established in 1650, when 8 August was made a religious holiday. This date, rather than 24 October, was chosen by the Protestant church and citizens to commemorate the restitution of their faith by the Treaty of Westphalia.

The participants in the afternoon's round table – Dr Simon Adams (Strathclyde), Dr David Parrott (Oxford), Professor Bernd Roeck (Bonn / Loveno di Menaggio), and Professor Heinz Schilling (Berlin) – opened the discussion with brief statements responding to four pre-circulated general questions and considerations: the role of the Thirty Years war in German historiography as a *Jahrhundertphänomen*, its assumed role as 'the last war of religion in Europe', and the allegedly unusual amount of destruction it caused; the significance of England's non-involvement in the Thirty Years War and a brief excursion into counterfactual 'virtual history' as raised by Macauley's powerful rhetoric; the Treaty of Westphalia as a European settlement; and finally, the results of and prospects for the Treaty.

Roeck primarily addressed the economic, demographic, and psychological dimensions of the war. By emphasizing the decline of upper German high finance, he alluded to a north- south and east-west economic division before contrasting English *Realpolitik* with Sweden's and Denmark's political and economic interests in the Baltic. While dealing with the religious and denominational aspects Roeck urged greater consideration of the 'common people' and cautioned against underestimating public opinion. By focusing on relations between England and the Continent, Adams argued that there was a kind of historical continuity from the 1580s to the early eighteenth century: the English parliament survived because there was no English involvement in the Thirty Years War, the English Civil War was a 'private war' without continental involvement, and Macauley's 'flags of defeated German princes' may have been notably absent from Westminster, but they were on display at Blenheim. Schilling argued that the Thirty Years War must be seen within the framework of the rise of the early modern state and stressed the confessional element. He focused on the peace treaty as a *Jahrhundertphänomen*, emphasizing that it was not a

peace of exhaustion, but a deliberate attempt to shape Europe's religious, political, and legal profile with far-reaching consequences for the politics and order of European states. Parrott stressed the geographical scale and continuity of the military actions and described the distinctiveness of the Treaty as a consequence of these military issues and their resulting heavy financial and administrative burden. While assessing the Treaty of Westphalia as a premier European-wide religious and political settlement, he also stressed that it failed to stop Louis XIV and prevent the wars of French expansion.

BÄRBEL BRODT

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 and June. 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.

4 May	Jürgen Lillteicher Die politischen und juristischen Auseinandersetzungen um die Rückerstattung jüdischen Eigentums nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Westdeutschland 1949-1960
1 June	Christian Handschell Parteieliten im Vergleich: Kandidaten und Abgeordnete von SPD und Labour Party nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg
15 June	Thomas Rabehl Die Konfliktrolle Großbritanniens im sog. Malayan Emergency
29 June	Till Kössler Der Kommunismus als soziale Formation in schwerindustriell geprägten Regionen zwischen 1945 und 1960

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

9 February	Christoph Schröer To the King over the Water: Ideen und Lebenswelt der Jakobiten, 1688 bis ca. 1750
22 February	Frauke Geyken Empirische Befindlichkeiten: Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Publizistik, 1685-1765
9 March	Dr Michael Schaich 'Defenders of Faith'. Der orthodoxe anglikanische Klerus in Großbritannien zwischen 1688 und 1750
23 March	Stefanie Jansen Konfliktwahrnehmungen in England um 1200: Der Beckett-Konflikt
30 March	Dr Stephan Wendehorst British Jewry, Zionism, and the Jewish State 1936-1956
20 April	Markus Kirchhoff Die Vermessung Palästinas. Bibelwissenschaft, Archäologie und Geographie 1870-1917

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. 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 1999 the following scholarships have been awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Ph.D. Scholarships

David W. Alford (London): Drink and Disorder: the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Alcoholics in Hesse, 1900-1950

Bradshaw Crombie (Cambridge): Plans for a British Involvement in a Prussian Uprising against French Occupation 1807-1812

Christian Handschell (Bochum): Parteieliten im Vergleich: Kandidaten und Abgeordnete von SPD und Labour Party nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg

Stefanie Jansen (Frankfurt/Main): Konfliktwahrnehmungen in England um 1200: Der Beckett-Konflikt

Jessica Jürgens (Kiel): Die neue politische Elite in der britischen Besatzungszone, exemplarisch dargestellt anhand ausgewählter Persönlichkeiten aus dem norddeutschen Raum

Lorna Kals (Leeds): Confronting the 'Conspiracy'. German Diplomacy and anti-Bolshevism 1933-1945

Markus Kirchhoff (Essen): Die Vermessung Palästinas. Bibelwissenschaft, Archäologie und Geographie 1870-1917

Till Kössler (Bielefeld): Der Kommunismus als soziale Formation in schwerindustriell geprägten Regionen zwischen 1945 und 1960

Jürgen Lillteicher (Freiburg): Die politischen und juristischen Auseinandersetzungen um die Rückerstattung jüdischen Eigentums nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Westdeutschland 1949-1960

Paul Maddrell (Cambridge): Britain's Exploitation of Occupied Germany for Scientific and Technical Intelligence on the Soviet Union

Volker Nies (Bonn): Apaisement in Asien? Frankreich und die Fernost-Krise 1937-1939

Dan Parkinson (Cambridge): Drawing a Veil of Tradition over the Fragility of Urban Order. Invented Traditions as a Response to Modernity in Five Middle-Class Communities in Germany *c.* 1900-1925

Thomas Rabehl (Hamburg): Die Konfliktrolle Großbritanniens im sog. Malayan Emergency

Christoph Schröer (Munich): To the King over the Water: Ideen und Lebenswelt der Jakobiten, 1688 bis ca. 1750

Peter Speicher (Cambridge): Brandt, Berlin and *Ostpolitik* 1957-66

Donate Strathmann (Paderborn): Wiederaufbau jüdischer Gemeinden im Kontext der westdeutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft am Beispiel der Gemeinden Düsseldorf und Bremen 1945-1960

Merrilyn Thomas (London): GDR Politics and Church/State Relations in the First Half of the 1960s

Thomas Weber (Oxford): The Ore and the Foil: Oxford, Heidelberg and the First World War

Dr Stephan Wendehorst (Oxford): British Jewry, Zionism, and the Jewish State 1936-1956

Habilitation Scholarships

Dr Ulrike Jureit (Hamburg): Die Sozialgeschichte deutscher Auswanderer nach Südafrika 1850-1920

Dr Michael Schaich (Munich): 'Defenders of Faith'. Der orthodoxe anglikanische Klerus in Großbritannien zwischen 1688 und 1750

Postgraduate Students' Conference

The German Historical Institute London held its third postgraduate students' conference on 7-8 January 1999. 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. Sixteen projects in all were introduced in plenary sessions held over two days. Sessions were devoted to the Middle Ages, the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century, the Kaiserreich, 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 on 6-7 January 2000. 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 1998 the prize was awarded to Jörn Leonhard for his thesis on '"Sprachmengerei und Begriffsverwirrung" – Komparative Studien zur historischen Semantik von "Liberalismus" im 19. Jahrhundert: Frankreich, Deutschland, Italien und England im Vergleich', submitted to the University of Heidelberg.

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 1999:

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 1999. 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 was a Research Fellow at the GHIL from 1994 to 1999, 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). Now at the University of Münster, she will take up a post-doctoral Mellon Fellowship at the University of Toronto from September.

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. will be published in 2000 as *Citizens and Aliens: Foreigners and the Law in Britain and the German States, 1789-1870*. 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.

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. She is currently editing a multi-volume series, *Reports by British Ambassadors to Germany (1815-1870/71)*, which the GHIL is publishing in conjunction with the Royal Historical Society. At the same time she is working on a comparative history of criminal law, culture, and policy in England and Germany before, during, and after the First World War. 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. While she was at the Institute she worked 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). She joined the Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex in January 1999, and will be working on a comprehensive study of the cultural contributions made by refugees from Nazi oppression to British society and culture.

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 German unification for the Longmans series, Turning

Points in History. His most recent publication is *Germany since 1945* (1997).

REGINA PÖRTNER, who joined the GHIL in 1998, took an M.A. in History (Medieval, Modern, Economic) and German at the University of Bochum. She was a visiting student at Trinity College, Oxford in 1988-9, and took her D. Phil. (Oxford) as a Rhodes Scholar in 1998. Now a Research Fellow at the GHIL, she is editing the current issue of the Institute's bibliography, *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany*, and preparing her D. Phil. thesis on Counter-Reformation in Inner Austria for publication. While at the GHIL, she will be working on aspects of British intellectual history in the eighteenth century.

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), and has edited, with Peter Wende, *British and German Historiography, 1750-1950. Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers* (forthcoming, 2000). As well as editing the *Bulletin of the GHIL*, he is on the editorial committee of *European Review of History. Revue Européenne d'Histoire.*

Migration Controls in Nineteenth-Century Europe and North America. Conference to be held in Paris on 25-26 June 1999

The Centre d'Etude des Politiques d'Immigration, d'Intégration et de Citoyenneté, Paris, and the German Historical Institute, London, are organizing a conference, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund, on migration controls in nineteenth-century Europe and North America. This workshop is co-ordinated by Andreas Fahrmeir (GHIL), Olivier Faron (CNRS), and Patrick Weil (CEPIC).

In the mid-nineteenth century, European migrations were complex and varied; emerging European nations were countries of emigration to the USA, then the main destination of emigrants with the exception of France which was both a country of immigration and of transit. A scholarly consensus holds that immigration policies were nationalized only at the end of nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century. It is therefore crucial to understand the historical evolution of migration policies in the nineteenth century, that is, how migrants – within national boundaries or across them – were viewed in Europe and in North America, and how governments and administrations attempted to regulate their people's movements. One of the chief goals of this workshop will be to discuss whether it is right to assume that the nineteenth century was a 'golden age' for migrations and migrants, or if, in fact, migration controls at that time were already very restrictive, even if they operated in a more local perspective. Six questions are to be the focus of the conference: (1) How were legal frameworks concerning foreigners transformed at the end of the eighteenth century? (2) What was the influence of poor laws on the management of the migration flows? (3) How did emigration and immigration controls operate? (4) What was the demographic and economic background of the increase in migration flows? (5) How did social and political control of migrants develop in host countries? (6) How do we explain the progressive nationalization of immigration and emigration policies at the end of the nineteenth century? For further information please contact Dr Andreas Fahrmeir at the GHIL.

The Federal Republic at Fifty: Mature and Poised or in Mid-Life Crisis? Symposium to be held at the German Historical Institute London on 1 October 1999

To mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Historical Institute will host a one-day symposium comprising two sessions. In the morning, historians will discuss topics such as the Basic Law, foreign policy, the economy, and society. This will be followed in the afternoon by a panel discussion which will be a stock-taking of the main achievements of the Federal Republic. For further information please contact Dr Lothar Kettenacker.

Empire and Science (1850-1950): Britain, Germany, France, The Netherlands. Conference of the German Historical Institute to be held at the GHIL on 25-27 November 1999

The German Historical Institute London is planning an international conference on the relationship between European imperialism and a number of the sciences in a comparative perspective. Participants will come from the UK, Germany, France, Holland, USA, South Africa, and India. The conference will ask what influence science had on imperialism, and, vice versa, what impact imperialism had on the questions asked by the sciences in the period from high imperialism to decolonization. Topics addressed will include the internationalization and the institutionalization of science, and medicine and anthropology will be looked at in greater detail. In a final session the impact of science in the colonies and its significance for colonial rule will be investigated. For further information please contact Dr Benedikt Stuchtey at the GHIL.

Introduction to German Palaeography

The German Historical Institute London is offering a special course to be held at its premises in London from 6-10 March 2000. The introduction to German palaeography is designed for British postgraduate students working on German history, and will be taught by Dr Günter Hollenberg from the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg. It will include learning to read German handwriting from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, as well as providing information required to use German archives. There is no charge for the course, but a booking fee of £20.00 is payable, which will be refunded to participants. As numbers will be limited, please register early. The deadline for registration is 1 December 1999. For further information contact the Secretary of the GHIL.

Bequest by Francis L. Carsten

Francis L. Carsten (1911-1998), who was a long-standing member of the GHIL's Board and a regular visitor to the Institute's Seminars and the Library (see *Bulletin of the GHIL*, vol. XX, no. 2, Nov. 1998, pp. 124-6), bequeathed his entire scholarly library to the Institute. This is a generous gift for which the Institute is most grateful. One of the future issues of the *Bulletin* will contain more detailed information about the contents of this bequest.

LIBRARY NEWS

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

Adomeit, Hannes, *Imperial Overstretch. Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev. An Analysis Based on New Archival Evidence, Memoirs, and Interviews*, Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, 48 (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998)

Angenendt, Steffen (ed.), *Migration und Flucht. Aufgaben und Strategien für Deutschland, Europa und die internationale Gemeinschaft*, Schriften des Forschungsinstituts der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik. Reihe: Internationale Politik und Wirtschaft, 64 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997)

Bajohr, Frank, *'Arisierung' in Hamburg. Die Verdrängung der jüdischen Unternehmer 1933-1945*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte, 35 (Hamburg: Christians, 1997)

Bartelsheim, Ursula, *Bürgersinn und Parteiinteresse. Kommunalpolitik in Frankfurt am Main 1848-1914*, Campus Forschung, 758 (Frankfurt/M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1997)

Bartov, Omer, *Murder in Our Midst. The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Battenberg, Friedrich (ed.), *Die Bestände des Hessischen Staatsarchivs Darmstadt*, Darmstädter Archivschriften, 12 (Darmstadt: Hessisches Staatsarchiv, 1997)

Baur, Siegfried, *Versuch über die Historik des jungen Ranke*, Historische Forschungen, 62 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998)

Benz, Wolfgang, Hermann Graml, and Hermann Weiß (eds), *Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997)

Berghoff, Hartmut, *Zwischen Kleinstadt und Weltmarkt. Hohner und die Harmonika 1857-1961. Unternehmensgeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1997)

Berghoff, Hartmut and Robert von Friedeburg (eds), *Change and Inertia. Britain under the Impact of the Great War*, Veröffentlichungen Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 40 (Bodenheim: Philo Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998)

Bergmeier, Horst J. P. and Rainer E. Lotz, *Hitler's Airwaves. The Inside Story of Nazi Radio Broadcasting and Propaganda Swing* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1997)

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Best, Heinrich and Wilhelm Wege, *Biographisches Handbuch der Abgeordneten der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung 1848/49*, Handbücher zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 8 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1996)

Bickerich, Wolfram, *Die D-Mark. Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1998)

Bingen, Dieter, *Die Polenpolitik der Bonner Republik von Adenauer bis Kohl 1949-1991*, Schriftenreihe des Bundesinstituts für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien, 33 (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998)

Botzenhart, Manfred, *1848/49. Europa im Umbruch* (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1998)

Brenner, Michael, *After the Holocaust. Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, trans. from the German by Barbara Harshav (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997)

Brieler, Ulrich, *Die Unerbittlichkeit der Historizität. Foucault als Historiker*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur, 14 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1998)

Brustein, William, *The Logic of Evil. Social Origins of the Nazi Party, 1925-1933* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1996)

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Buffet, Cyril and Beatrice Heuser (eds), *Haunted by History. Myths in International Relations* (Providence, R.I. and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998)

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Crew, David F., *Germans on Welfare. From Weimar to Hitler* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Dabag, Mihran and Kristin Platt (eds), *Strukturen kollektiver Gewalt im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 of *Genozid und Moderne* (Opladen: Leske+ Budrich, 1998)

Dahlheimer, Manfred, *Carl Schmitt und der deutsche Katholizismus, 1888-1936*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 83 (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1998)

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Duchhardt, Heinz, *Das Feiern des Friedens. Der Westfälische Friede im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Friedensstadt Münster*, Kleine Schriften aus dem Stadtarchiv Münster, 1 (Münster: Regensberg, 1997)

Duchhardt, Heinz and Andreas Kunz (eds), *'Europäische Geschichte' als historiographisches Problem*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 42: Abt. Universalgeschichte (Mainz: von Zabern, 1997)

Duchhardt, Heinz and Andreas Kunz (eds), *Reich oder Nation? Mitteleuropa 1780-1815*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Beiheft 46: Abt. Universalgeschichte (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998)

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