German Historical Institute London

Bulletin

Volume XXII, No. 2 November 2000

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SEMINARS AT THE GHIL
AUTUMN 2000

21 Nov. **DR JILL STEPHENSON (Edinburgh)**
Germans, Non-Germans and the Burden of Work in Rural Württemberg in the Second World War

Jill Stephenson is an expert on contemporary German history. She is the author of *Women in Nazi Society* (1975) and *The Nazi Organisation of Women* (1981), and is at present preparing a book on *Women in Nazi Germany* for Longman. She is also engaged in a major research project on 'War and Society in Württemberg, 1939-45: the View from the Countryside'.

5 Dec. **PROFESSOR ANDREAS WIRSCHING (Augsburg)**
French and German Communists Facing National History: Cultural Differences in Political Extremism between the Wars

Andreas Wirsching's areas of particular expertise are nineteenth-century British history and European developments after 1900. His most recent publications are *Vom Weltkrieg zum Bürgerkrieg? Politischer Extremismus in Deutschland und Frankreich 1918-1933/39. Paris und Berlin im Vergleich* (1999) and the volume on *Die Weimarer Republik. Politik und Gesellschaft* (2000) in the series 'Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte'.

12 Dec. **PROFESSOR ANTON SCHINDLING (Tübingen)**
'The Judgement of God'—Experiences of War and Religion in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation during the Seventeenth Century—Thirty Years War, French Wars, Turkish Wars

Anton Schindling specializes in the political and intellectual history of early modern Germany and Europe. At present, he is the co-ordinator of a research project on 'Experiences of War: War and Society in the Early Modern Period' in Tübingen. His most recent books are *Bildung und Wissenschaft in der frühen Neuzeit 1650-1800* (1994; pb edn 1999) and *Die Anfänge des Immerwährenden Reichstags zu Regensburg* (1991).

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.

THE 2000 ANNUAL LECTURE

Fog in Channel
Anglo-German Perspectives in the Nineteenth Century

will be given by

Professor PETER PULZER (All Souls College, Oxford)

at the German Historical Institute
on Friday, 17 November, at 5 p.m.

SPECIAL LECTURE

The German Historical Institute London in co-operation with the Seminar in Modern German History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London

Dr DOROTHEE WIERLING (Berlin)

will give a paper on

Is Gender a Useful Category for the History of the GDR?

at the German Historical Institute
on Thursday, 2 November, at 5.30 p.m.

REVIEW ARTICLES

FROM THE GREAT EXHIBITION TO EXPO 2000 THE HISTORY OF DISPLAY

by John R. Davis

JEFFREY A. AUERBACH, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999) vii + 279 pp. ISBN 0 300 08007 7. £25.00
WINFRIED KRETSCHMER, *Geschichte der Weltausstellungen* (Frankfurt/M. and New York: Campus, 1999), 303 pp. ISBN 3 593 36273 2. DM 58.00
ERIK MATTIE, *Weltausstellungen 1851-2000* (Stuttgart and Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1998), 260 pp. ISBN 3 7630 2358 5. DM 49.80
BRANDON TAYLOR, *Art for the Nation,* The Barber Institute's Critical Perspectives in Art History (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 241 pp. ISBN 0 7190 5452 4. £50.00 (hardback) ISBN 0 7190 5453 2. £18.99 (paperback)
CARLA YANNI, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (London: The Athlone Press, 1999), xiv + 199 pp. ISBN 0 485 00405 4. £45.00

The ancient nostrum that all history is contemporary history appears to be adequately demonstrated by the welter of material recently produced—or about to appear—on the history of exhibitions. Inspired by the prospect of Expo 2000 in Hanover, the Millennium Dome and Tate Gallery of Modern Art in London, and the approaching 150th anniversary of the Great Exhibition, a variety of different treatments of the subject has appeared, of which the five volumes reviewed here are but a fraction. Yet judging by the results of at least the first two of these events, it might be assumed there have been no exhibitions in the past from which one may learn.

As the authors of these volumes show, ticket prices at exhibitions have been an explosive issue at least since the (Royal) Society of Arts and the Foundling Hospital fell out over the matter in the 1760s (the issue of this dispute being the Royal Academy). Local hostility to

invasive architecture is nothing new. It dogged the Royal Commission for the Great Exhibition of 1851, which notoriously proposed to flatten Hyde Park's greenery under a brick carbuncle, but was forced to back-track and build the removable 'Crystal Palace'. Publics have consistently refused to be educated, and disobediently demanded to be pampered. At the Paris exhibition of 1867, a maze-like display system encouraged all but the boffins out into the unofficial (and less salubrious) relief of the pleasure park.

Exhibitions suffer huge losses almost as often as they are successful. Few achieve the colossal profits of London in 1851 or Paris in 1900, even though organizers are lured by the pot of gold: Paris in 1855 and Vienna in 1873 drew staggering losses. The 1854 New York exhibition's deficit was so heavy municipal authorities waited till 1939 to hold another. Moreover, public relations gaffes abound: buildings perpetually leaking, workers underpaid or going on strike, lacklustre financial approval inevitably leading to the cap-in-hand to government, unsustainable crowds, faux pas in the face of religious sensitivities, foreign governments failing to jump at the chance of being present at massive cost to themselves. (Hanoverians may be heartened to know that it was uncertainty over the USA's presence in 1851 which encouraged the acceptance of the modular Crystal Palace structure, which could be expanded or contracted at will). All of these, the books jointly reveal, are the stock-in-trade of exhibitions.

The extent to which exhibition organizers have manufactured the same kinds of problems is, in fact, perturbing. Indeed, historians might be rather unsettled by the failure of exhibition organizers to see it coming. They could have pointed some time ago to the fact that much of the Great Exhibition of 1851's success lay in winning over the aristocratic and governing élite to the project, and then dangling the prospect before the eyes of a public hungry for social advancement. Top-notch restricted access on the basis of expensive tickets ensured that the privileged only could see the show first. The middle classes were then allowed in afterwards—and they came in their droves. The Great Exhibition also rested on a system of local committees from around the country, which chose what went in the building. These encouraged a sense of direct relation on the part of the masses with the exhibits, ensured that people could immediately identify with things shown there, and counteracted the tendency to construct an unaccountable and sprawling affair as manifested in the

Dome and Hanover. Meanwhile, the Great Exhibition, like many others, demonstrated again and again that, left to a committee, exhibitions frequently end up with an incomprehensible mish-mash of agendas, or else with a message which is out of date. At Parisian exhibitions in the nineteenth century, it repeatedly proved impossible to capture the latest artistic trends. Impressionists and expressionists always slipped the lasso and set up alternative venues, cherishing their status at the cutting-edge, and unwilling to come into the arms of the establishment.

Organizers of today's exhibitions (stuck, perhaps, between stations on London's Jubilee Line, or held up by Green protestors on the *Bundesbahn*) might ponder the past and draw some consolation from it. In 1939, the opening electric light display also failed to go on for Albert Einstein when he pulled the switch in the name of Progress. As a consequence of war in Italy, London's follow-up to the Crystal Palace was delayed by a year until 1862. Things were in such disarray at Chicago that its Columban Exhibition—to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's 'discovery' of America—had to be held in 1893. The same thing happened again when the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, intended to celebrate the centenary of Napoleon I's sale of the colony to the USA in 1803, took place in 1904. It is debatable, however, whether Millennium Experience / Expo 2000 GmbH should dwell on the rather perturbing frequency with which fire engulfs exhibition buildings (the above-mentioned Crystal Palace, the Munich Crystal Palace of 1854, Philadelphia, Sydney, San Francisco …).

Before looking at each of the five books separately, a few general comments will be made. First, it cannot often be truthfully said that reviewing is a treat, but this was certainly the case here: each of the volumes is heavily illustrated, and, as the subject matter by definition covers the art of display, turning the pages was a visual, if not always an intellectual, adventure. The outlandish, the futuristic, the inspiring, the surprising, the new, and the comical all have a place at exhibitions, and some of the illustrations are truly thought-provoking. Secondly, for a long time English-language historical writing on exhibitions—with one or two exceptions such as Asa Briggs, Paul Greenhalgh, and Yvonne Ffrench—has laboured under an irritating voyeurism regarding past displays, or else glorification. German authors, meanwhile, have produced some incisive and profound works—Walter Benjamin, Utz Haltern, and Ingeborg Cleve, to name

a few. French studies of *expositions* are also second to none, due partly to the sense of holding a national mortgage on the subject, and partly to a strong strand of culturally based research indebted to Foucault. Now, however, it appears Anglo-German roles are, if not reversing, then becoming more even. Mattie's and Kretschmer's volumes show the kind of generalizing, cherry-picking approach familiar to English readers, while Auerbach's, Yanni's, and Taylor's books are highly scholarly, if still geared towards the general reader. The fact that Germany, finally, and after several near-misses, has joined the exhibition club, appears to have allowed dubious populist tendencies to invade hitherto purely academic realms.

The third point about these five volumes is that, although they discuss different aspects of the exhibition tradition, there is a great deal of overlap between international exhibitions, art galleries, and museums: their histories are intertwined, and much research in these volumes is relevant to all of the areas, rather than to just one. Thinking about international exhibitions was influenced by discussions about art galleries and museums. There is a surprising degree of cross-over in terms of personnel involved in organizing committees, architectural projects, and critical commentary. In turn, however, international exhibitions literally spawned museum collections, and coloured thought on the best means of display as both inspiration and warning. Many of the issues facing international exhibitions—for example, the tension between display and education, and, latterly, the increasing tendency to Disneyfication—affect all three strands. In fact, it is often difficult to distinguish between them, for example, when an exhibition houses a section displaying art as in Paris in 1855, or when an art gallery arises within an exhibition complex, as on London's South Bank.

Jeffrey Auerbach's book focuses on the first, truly international exhibition: the Great Exhibition of 1851. Its main aim is to get beyond the received caricatured impression of the event, and explain its true importance as a defining moment in the cultural development of the British nation. Using a wide variety of sources, Auerbach shows that there were at the time many different interpretations of the Exhibition, on the part both of its organizers and the observing public. Rather than being a problem, however, this ambiguity gave rise to a wide public discussion which amounted to nothing less than a national debate on what Britain's identity as a country and society

should be in the wake of industrialization and concomitant political and economic reform. Though financial necessities prevented the Exhibition's organizers from openly allying themselves with the forces of modernization, they were, as Auerbach implies, acting as catalysts of change. Through the Exhibition they hoped a new social unity might be constructed, which would include all those in favour of the social *status quo* coupled with industrialization. The backdrop to the Exhibition was one of social polarization and a threat made quite plain during 1848.

This book has many strengths. The survey of the public discussion is wide-ranging and fresh. Auerbach is sensitive to the isolation of the Celtic fringe and the radical working classes from the Exhibition agenda, and to the homogenizing social picture emanating from the Exhibition which excluded Catholics and the racially different. He is aware of the complexities of the Victorian dilemma, and avoids the two-dimensional treatments so frequently met elsewhere. He explains for once the significance of the local committees to the Exhibition, and points out how they helped construct a new national political alliance that at a later date would emerge as Gladstonian liberalism. Crucially, he makes the important point that the Exhibition had enormous economic ramifications, not in regard to technology transfer—which is something, sadly, which has yet to be dealt with by anyone sufficiently—but because, as Auerbach puts it: 'The Great Exhibition was more than simply a sign of industrialisation. It was a vehicle through which the industrialisation of British society took place. This is not to say that the exhibition caused the industrialisation of British society in an economic sense; it did not. Rather, it was part of an attempt to transform Britain culturally, to forge a society that was receptive to a certain form of industrialisation' (p. 98).

The book has no really crucial faults. The central thesis, that the Exhibition was of much greater significance than hitherto portrayed, because of its role as an advertisement for, and facilitator of, modernization, is entirely convincing. There might have been more appreciation of foreign participation at the Exhibition: the book's title is interpreted between the covers to mean Britain's reflection on itself. However, half the building was officially occupied by foreign countries, while much of the British side consisted of its colonies. The Exhibition was visited by thousands of foreigners and received massive coverage in foreign newspapers. This was particularly so in the

German states, where it astonished and wrong-footed those who had been trying to gain access to British manufacturing secrets for years and jangled everyone's nerves in the wake of the revolution with its liberalizing message. And, after all, its official title was 'the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations'. There could have been more on the jury system and the jurors' reports and catalogue, which were acclaimed as definitions of God's universal laws, and are fascinating sources for those who care for the Victorian view of the world. Auerbach is also on rather shaky ground when he asserts that art was 'an anomaly' at the Exhibition, and that it was only placed there to educate manufacturers: one frequent mistake of historians, following in Pevsner's footsteps, is to see the artistic exhibits at the Exhibition as representative of Victorian art in general. However, art appeared at the Exhibition only in so far as it demonstrated the use of new techniques, materials, or processes. In purely aesthetic terms, the Exhibition was not a glowing success. But then, it never set out to be.

Winfried Kretschmer's volume is partly an effort to show 'what happened next', and partly an attempt to create a historical context for Expo 2000. Starting with 1851, Kretschmer describes how exhibitions became concerned less with technical innovation, and more with national competition and entertainment. The emphasis moved away from real technological use towards rhetoric in support of Progress. Trades fairs and other specialized gatherings made exhibitions less useful in scientific terms, even if companies continued to be involved for marketing reasons. Nationalist and ideological rivalry became most extreme at the Paris exhibition of 1937, where the Nazi and Soviet pavilion towers brazenly vied with each other in terms of height and symbolism. However, the Second World War and Hiroshima undermined such unmitigated nationalism and confidence in the benefits of technological achievement, even if they lingered on. The Brussels exhibition of 1958 struggled to emphasize the civil uses of nuclear power, even if its Atomium felt threatening to local residents. The internationalist aspect of exhibitions—which had been there since 1851—now came to the fore, and has latterly received a boost from rising concern about global environmental issues. The final section of Kretschmer's book is illuminating, where it reveals exhibition organizers moving towards an ever more explicitly environmentalist position. This is where he locates Hanover's exhibition.

For those looking for an explanation of Expo 2000's (or the Dome's) ailments, Kretschmer offers much insight. The decreasing interest of industry and the public in paying up front for exhibitions has led to them being hybrid affairs, with money coming from a variety of sources. Yet too many purse-holders has led to a lack of conceptual co-ordination; in short, to a lack of bite. Had Expo 2000 stuck to its environmentalist agenda it might have triggered a wider public response, and it might also have defined exhibitions of the twenty-first century *per se*. As it is, concessions to IBM, regional development bodies, central government, and to others have blurred the image. Also, Kretschmer taps into the subject of a long-standing German ambiguity towards exhibitions. One striking thing about the book, at least to the British reviewer, is its use of German primary sources in discussions of early exhibitions of the nineteenth century—*Zollverein* reports, the comments of Lothar Bucher, and so forth. However, these reveal exhibitions to be occasions for excoriating self-criticism for Germans hyper-sensitive about their national strengths / weaknesses. German dissatisfaction about their national showing at the Great Exhibition of 1851 spooked efforts to arrange an exhibition on German soil ever after. It eerily returned in the lukewarm prior planning arrangements for Expo 2000 and haunts current self-mortification regarding the exhibition's perceived weaknesses.

There are many other useful things about this book. It has a tabular appendix of exhibitions for easy cross-reference. It contains stimulating material on women's galleries, the recurring theme at exhibitions of man versus nature, and more than usual on the Vienna exhibition of 1873, and on the international organization which since 1931 has attempted to regulate Expos, the BIE (*Bureau International des Expositions*). In less academic terms, Kretschmer also tells us that exhibitions gave rise to the Hoochie Koochie, ice cream, the hot dog, and the Olympics. And he offers a multitude of gems of information, such as that the Eiffel Tower's girders were found so shocking when it was built for the exhibition of 1879 that it came close to being 'improved' by a neo-classical façade at the exhibition of 1900, or that Wagner composed a Centennial March for the Philadelphia exhibition of 1876.

Though useful as background to Hanover, and entertaining, there are some defects in this account of the history of exhibitions. First, it is not by any means the first such narrative traipse down the decades, and one wonders whether, apart from the fact that it is in German

and moves beyond 1990, it improves on John Findling's *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (1990). Towards the end of the book, also, its saunter becomes a bit of a mad dash to Hanover, perhaps reflecting the lack of historical work on post-war exhibitions in comparison with those of the nineteenth century. There appears to be no logical rationale for the selection of exhibitions covered by the book, apart from the author's rather arbitrary division of them into big and small ones. How reliable is the picture of the development of exhibitions thus created? Though Kretschmer begins by proposing to debunk various 'exhibition legends', he repeats uncritically many of them (for example Joseph Paxton's portrayal as *deus ex machina* of the Great Exhibition). There is also an inexcusable level of generalization in the book, for example, on the issue of art at exhibitions (already discussed in relation to Auerbach), or pacifism. And this reviewer groans at the continued use of the word 'England' instead of 'Britain', particularly given the complexities of the subject hinted at above.

Erik Mattie's book also takes 1851 as its starting date, but the work focuses this time on exhibition architecture, rather than trying to provide a general history. Starting with the Crystal Palace, the work traces the development away from unitary buildings to national pavilions corresponding to increasing national rivalry. It charts the efforts made to push architecture forward at exhibitions, and the countervailing tendencies towards 'national' architecture, neo-classicism, or nostalgia. The perpetual conflict between the engineer and the architect is exposed again and again. And a taxonomy of factors and themes which continually influence exhibition architecture is paraded before us: the need for temporary buildings and for good light (hence the omnipresence of modular glass and metal buildings); considerations of regional development and planning (the Paris Metro of 1900, the Jubilee Line); gigantism and the need for a *clou*—a single feature which will uniquely mark out the exhibition (the Crystal Palace Transept, the Eiffel Tower, the Atomium, New York's Trylon and Perisphere, Seattle's Space Needle, Ferris wheels, enormous domes); futurism (Sky Walks, Sky Rides, Space Rides, inflatable buildings, moving walkways).

One of the real strengths of this book is its pictures, which are often astonishing reminders of the incredible diversity and extremity of some exhibition architecture. Though it may seem inconsistent to admit it, where a lack of system in Kretschmer's book undermined it,

here it turns out to be an advantage. Mattie's lack of system, and apparent desire to focus on what takes his fancy leads to some amazing rediscoveries from outside the usual repertoire of exhibition history: there is some fascinating and unusual detail on Australian, Belgian, and particularly Dutch exhibitions (the author's area of expertise in Dutch art history shines through here). There is also a tantalizing look at the amazing Turin exhibition of 1902, which, judging by the illustrations, was in a league of its own, and owed almost everything to one prolific architect—Raimondo D'Aronco. Mattie rightly retrieves the Machine Hall of Paris 1879 from behind the prominent Eiffel Tower as a masterpiece of architecture. He reminds us of the Women's Pavilion at Philadelphia (and of the need for work on the involvement and depiction of women at exhibitions). When the book comes to art nouveau and art deco, its pictures come into their own. Mattie reminds the reader that, although exhibition architecture often seems out of date, it has frequently been influential. The white neo-classical style adopted in Chicago and Philadelphia in the nineteenth century was taken up by the American establishment despite the unwelcome appearance everywhere of that illegitimate child of the Crystal Palace, the skyscraper. Art nouveau and art deco received massive publicity via exhibitions. And many of the great German modernist architects were showcased at exhibitions—Behrens, Mies van der Rohe, Olbrich, and Frei, to name but a few. Mattie's book does not aim for great intellectual heights, in fact, its size and illustrations reveal it as destined perhaps more for the coffee-table. And, despite the author's protestations, in some ways it does repeat the work of Wolfgang Friebe (*Architektur der Weltausstellungen 1851 bis 1970*, 1983). Nevertheless, the visual material has an originality and force of its own. Interesting lines of historical inquiry are suggested—for instance regarding the Crystal Palace collaborator and ship-designer John Scott Russell's work on the Vienna Rotunda in 1873, or the fact that sections of the Amsterdam exhibition of 1883 were afterwards shipped for re-erection in Liverpool. There are also wonderful snippets of detail, such as the fact that in 1885 major chunks of old Antwerp were pulled down in order to make space for an exhibition, only to be re-erected in the same place in replica form at the 1895 exhibition as an example of 'old Belgium'.

Carla Yanni's book also deals with the architecture of exhibitions, though the focus is on the natural history museums set up in the

Victorian era, in particular, the Ashmolean Museum, the Hunterian Museum, the Cambridge Natural History Museum, the Museum of Practical Geology, the Edinburgh City Museum, and the Natural History Museum. Two main themes hold the book together. The first is natural theology, and the message that Victorians saw science and religion not as opposed to each other, but as mutually supportive. Yanni points out that much of the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for exhibitions, including the Crystal Palace, stemmed from a belief that, by finding out more about the natural world, one came closer to God's laws. The second is that museums and exhibitions serve as legitimators of truth, that displays are not neutral, but uphold and often propagandize a certain view of the world.

The book traces the development of the natural history museum from the *Wunderkammer* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (though, unfortunately, the author does not explain why German terminology is used). These collections sought merely to show the novel, weird, or shocking, and served to document the Enlightened collector's curiosity and eclecticism, as well as his or her wealth. In the nineteenth century, natural theology led to the development of universal collections such as Richard Owen's Natural History Museum, which showed the wealth of God's creation. Political reform simultaneously led to educational displays as epitomized by the Museum of Practical Geology and favoured by the likes of T. H. Huxley, 'Darwin's Bulldog'. Huxley opposed Owen's exhibition criteria on both religious and practical grounds—and Yanni uses the conflict over architectural plans for the museums effectively to illustrate the loaded nature of displays. Were museums to be housed in Gothic buildings or in Enlightened Classical temples? Such matters were of deep concern to contemporaries. The question of a 'suitable building', as Yanni points out, revolved not just round its functionality, but its appropriateness. For German historians, there is a fascinating discussion in the book of the appropriateness of Prince Albert-inspired, early German Romanesque arches of the Natural History Museum. Though Owen and Huxley differed over whether it was to be via religious or industrial instruction, both of them supported exhibitions as a means of improving the working classes. Exhibitions of all sorts were therefore promoted. Political and social concerns underpinned the whole issue.

Yanni's scholarly book is strong on both the ideological and the practical considerations behind museum design. It also underlines

clearly the connections which exist between museums and international exhibitions, and the enormous impact the Great Exhibition had on museum design. The pictures of the Museum of Practical Geology, also opened in 1851, and, even more, those of the Edinburgh Museum demonstrate clearly the influence of 'that prolific mother', the Crystal Palace, on museums trying to demonstrate their commercial and practical utility. Even the Oxford Museum, while it adopted Gothic arches instead of Paxton gutters, resembled a religious variation on a theme with its glass roof. Interestingly, the impact was perpetuated, both by the South Kensington legacy of the Great Exhibition, and its more down-market sister, the Sydenham project. And as Yanni points out, personnel swapped between museums, exhibitions, and pleasure parks. Francis Fowke designed the Edinburgh Museum, the 1862 Exhibition building, and began designs for the Natural History Museum. Richard Owen moved from the British Museum to the Natural History Museum in South Kensington, but also helped with the creation of Sydenham's dinosaur display. World fairs and museums have continued to peek over the fence to see what is going on in the other's domain—a competition for crowds which, as Yanni points out, has had a deleterious effect: robotic dinosaurs now seem ubiquitous wherever one goes.

Set against the backdrop of the Tate Gallery's opening, Brandon Taylor's book on art exhibitions deals with the question of the public, the discussion about whom exhibitions should be directed at, and the level of success or failure of such efforts to create an audience. Starting from a similar point to Auerbach, but heading in a different direction, Taylor shows how the Royal Academy evolved out of the (Royal) Society of Arts, and was later accompanied by the National Gallery, the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria & Albert Museum), the National Portrait Gallery, the Tate Gallery, and its Gallery of Modern Art, and finally also the Hayward Gallery.

Crucial to the book is its notion of 'overlapping discourses' on exhibitions; in other words, the debate, among politicians, newspapers, academics, and other interested parties, about what art exhibitions were supposed to do. This concept is implicit, to a lesser or greater extent, in all the five works reviewed. After the foundation of the Royal Academy, Taylor asserts, reformers increasingly argued for a less élitist display of art in the conviction that it would help to elevate the working classes, and discourage them from getting drunk or

going to disreputable dioramas. Such notions were opposed by the likes of Ruskin, who believed that the masses should be washed and fed before they were shown art, rather than the other way round. Nevertheless, they underpinned the expansion of access to art during the nineteenth century, and encouraged the donations of philanthropists such as sugar magnate Henry Tate to the cause.

Taylor uses a variety of ingenious routes to show that the public that actually came was not quite as edified or attentive as it ought to have been. Still, the discourse rolled on. Arguments arose regarding the best kind of art to show the public: should it consist of ancient masterpieces? Or should it be more practical? By the turn of the century, the discussion revolved around the need to exhibit specifically 'British', or 'foreign and modern' works. There is an interesting, and highly relevant, given the Turner Prize's current machinations, look at the discussion of what 'British' art was supposed to be. And 'foreign and modern' turned out to be almost interchangeable concepts. After the First World War there was strong support for displays of foreign works, which were increasingly felt to be superior to the home product with its continued emphasis on Victorian naturalism and anecdote. And as Taylor points out, 'foreign' works were now overwhelmingly of French origin. A strong German cultural influence during the nineteenth century had been displaced through the efforts of a small Francophile group operating in the art world's ruling circles. After the Second World War, the creation of an Arts Council denoted a more co-ordinated approach to the issue of art viewing, and the association of it with citizenship. But as Taylor points out, exhibition audiences have in the last half century become less and less homogenous, more international, and more critical. If anything, the development now is towards the viewer as discerning customer rather than object of philanthropic magnanimity.

This book underlines, on the one hand, just how deeply people believed in the social benefits of exhibitions in the nineteenth century, both artistic and otherwise. Sir Robert Peel is revealed, for example, as a main promoter of a National Gallery for this reason, and would also prove to be a central force behind the Great Exhibition. And despite the twists and turns, Taylor argues convincingly that preoccupations with the improvement of the masses have remained part of the thinking on exhibitions. There are fascinating discourses on subjects like the Victorian obsession with health, and the fear that

letting the masses in to exhibitions would allow their 'miasma' (unhealthy vapour) to destroy pictures. The reader is drawn to unconventional subjects such as John Wilkes, populist opponent of George III and the establishment, and mirror-image of Ken Livingstone, or to the Signboards Exhibition—a bawdy alternative to the Royal Academy's stuffy establishment exhibitions consisting of shop-signs from round London. A number of subjects could attract German historians, such as the influence of German models in Select Committees discussing the new National Gallery in the 1830s, the transition from German to French artistic influences in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century, and ex-Ambassador to Berlin Lord D'Abernon's role as promoter of French art in Britain in the inter-war period. Overall, the book is a highly readable, yet scholarly, demonstration of the way discourse about exhibitions has developed in Britain during the last two centuries.

Together, these books show the exhibition tradition to be a long, complicated, and colourful one. Judging by the fact that there have been many failures and successes on the way, it is unlikely that exhibitions will cease to exist now—no matter how bad the Dome and Hanover turn out to be. Ironically, while domestic interests feed on an exhibition's failure, and recriminations fly at home, by definition, the international public remains oblivious. At least since 1851, exhibitions have been an important method of conversing with ourselves about the way the world is and the way it could be. Though the participating speakers, the issues they deal with, and the techniques of display have changed, exhibitions remain a consequence of the human condition and, in particular, of our nature as communicating beings, involved in a process of change. And though *Ausstellungsmüdigkeit* was first detected in the late nineteenth century, it seems we may always be subject to the temptation of a good show.

JOHN R. DAVIS is Head of History and International Studies, Kingston University. He is the author of *Britain and the German Zollverein, 1848-66* (1997) and *The Great Exhibition of 1851* (1999), and is at present working on *The Victorian Encounter with Germany*.

ABSTRACTION, SPECIFICITY, AND THE HOLOCAUST: RECENT DISPUTES OVER MEMORY IN GERMANY

by Jeffrey Herf

PETER REICHEL, *Politik mit der Erinnerung: Gedächtnisorte im Streit um die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit* (Munich: Hanser Verlag, 1995), 387 pp. ISBN 3 446 18296 9. DM 49.80

SABINE MOLLER, *Die Entkonkretisierung der NS-Herrschaft in der Ära Kohl: Die Neue Wache, das Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, das Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Diskussionsbeiträge des Instituts für Politische Wissenschaft an der Universität Hannover, 24 (Hanover: Offizin, 1998), 155 pp. ISBN 3 930345 15 3. DM 16.80

BRIGITTE HAUSMANN, *Duell mit der Verdrängung? Denkmäler für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in der Bundesrepublik 1980-1990*, Theorie der Gegenwartskunst, 11 (Münster: Lit, 1998), 424 pp. ISBN 3 8258 3616 9. DM 68.80

MICHAEL S. CULLEN (ed.), *Das Holocaust-Mahnmal: Dokumentation einer Debatte* (Zurich and Munich: Pendo, 1999), 296 pp. ISBN 3 85842 519 2. DM 19.00

MICHAEL JEISMANN (ed.), *Mahnmal Mitte: Eine Kontroverse* (Cologne: DuMont, 1999), 330 pp. ISBN 3 7701 4820 7. DM 34.00

LEA ROSH (ed.), *'Die Juden, das sind doch die anderen': Der Streit um ein deutsches Denkmal* (Berlin: Philo, 1999), 276 pp. ISBN 3 8257 0127 1. DM 39.80

UTE HEIMROD, GÜNTER SCHLUSCHE, and HORST SEFERENS (eds), *Der Denkmalstreit–das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas': Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Philo, 1999), 1,298 pp. ISBN 3 8257 0099 2. DM 148.00

In June 1999 the German *Bundestag* voted in favour of constructing a memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe. It is to be located in the heart of Berlin, not far from the Brandenburg Gate and the major government buildings, and is expected to be completed within several years. It will be as central a physical presence in the new Berlin as the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Memorials are in Washing-

ton, DC and more difficult to avoid than the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Politicians, civil servants, military leaders, journalists, lobbyists, and citizens will walk and drive past it every day. Thousands of visitors from around the world will come to reflect on its sombre meaning. No government in modern history anywhere has decided to construct so central a memorial dedicated to the victims of a predecessor government's monstrous crimes. Not surprisingly, no memorial in post-war German history has been the subject of more controversy and debate.

The books under review document the decade long debate that preceded the *Bundestag* vote and point to continuity and change in the German public memory of the Holocaust since the first post-war decades. In those early years in West Germany, the memory of the Holocaust was a matter for articulate minorities—the surviving, tiny Jewish community, Social Democratic opposition leaders such as Kurt Schumacher and Ernst Reuter, the first President of the Federal Republic, Theodor Heuss, and liberal intellectuals, journalists, and prosecutors willing to indict and try war crimes at the state level. The West German majority opted either for silence about the Nazi era, for selective memory that focused on German victimization, or for a generalizing, vague and consoling recollection of 'all victims of war and rule by force' (*Gewaltherrschaft*). This formula, inscribed as the slogan of *Volkstrauertag* (the people's day of mourning), avoided distinctions between Germans and others, perpetrators and victims, and left the victims nameless. In East Germany, the official anti-fascist forms of memory, especially following the anti-cosmopolitan purges of 1950 to 1953, pushed the memory of the specifically Jewish catastrophe to the margins of ceremonies which extolled the martyrdom of the 'anti-fascist resistance fighters'. The resulting divided memory remained intact until the end of the Cold War and German unification.[1]

Throughout the history of divided memory, multiple memories and political pressures have influenced the kinds of narratives German politicians told and the kinds of memorials Germans built about the Nazi era. With some exceptions, conservatives advocated silence and worried that an all too vivid memory of the Nazi era

[1] I have examined this history in Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, MA, 1997).

crimes would damage national identity, while Social Democrats, Free Democrats in the tradition of Theodor Heuss, the small Jewish community in Germany, and Jewish survivors outside Germany sought to bring the memory of the Holocaust to the centre of West German national self-understanding. The Social-Liberal governments of Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt deepened this existing West German tradition of memory of the Holocaust and, in the process of justifying *neue Ostpolitik*, drew added attention to the memories of the crimes of Nazi Germany on the Eastern Front in the Second World War. In part as a reaction to what they perceived as a resulting paralysis of national will, politicians and intellectuals associated with Helmut Kohl and the conservative ascendancy to power in 1982 sought to shape a new politics towards the past, what the Germans called *Geschichtspolitik*. The result was Bitburg and the *Historikerstreit* along with plans for a new museum of West German history. Beginning with the speech by Richard von Weizsäcker, the West German President, in the *Bundestag* on 8 May 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, a reaction against the conservative politics of history of the early and mid-1980s gathered momentum. The works under review document the pre-history of the Berlin Memorial as part of this reaction as well as another chapter in the history of divided memory in post-Holocaust Germany.

In *Politik mit der Erinnerung*, Peter Reichel of the department of political science at the University of Hamburg, whose previous work has dealt with politics and aesthetics in Nazi Germany, offers the first overview of what he calls the 'culture of memory' (*Erinnerungskultur*) in post-war West and East Germany. It is based on published sources and constitutes a valuable starting point. Reichel examines the impact of the Cold War and the ideological and political battle between East and West Germany on public memory of the Nazi past as it was expressed in the design of memorials and the organization of annual days of commemoration. He examines 'the strategies of memory of different actors and of the political interests that guided them' from the 1950s to the 1990s, and the resulting decisions to focus on the suffering of the Germans or their victims, and if on the victims, then which among them to emphasize. He looks at the evolution of public myths, such as the view that the *Wehrmacht* was misused and victimized by the Nazis, or that the Germans were primarily victims of the Nazi regime to which they had given little support, as well as at the

collapse of these notions under the pressure of public debate and accumulating scholarship.

After a review of memorials in both Germanys in the 1950s and 1960s, Reichel concludes that the Western victors and survivors of concentration and death camps built memorials to Nazism's victims. On the other hand, 'the defeated West Germans thought above all of their fallen soldiers, victims of [Allied] bombing, and the murdered resistance fighters', while the East Germans linked commemoration to celebration of 'anti-fascist' victory in 1945 and thus of the superiority of socialism and communism. His juxtaposition of socialist realism in the East German monuments, and abstract modernism in the West German monuments in former Nazi concentration camps and other local and national sites of memory, though familiar to readers today, remains a useful overview. He argues that in both German states the Cold War confrontation blocked and deformed a confrontation with the Nazi past. In the early 1990s, many observers inside and outside Germany worried that the end of the Cold War and Germany's division would usher in a new era of forgetfulness in the midst of nationalist euphoria. Reichel presciently understands that just the reverse was also possible. 'Only now,' he writes, 'with the return of the national historical framework, will it be possible and necessary, to turn the focus in East and West to the whole "common history"'(p. 170). The work includes valuable discussions of the various commemorative days, 9 November 1938, 20 July 1944, 8 May 1945, and an excellent discussion in praise of the unfairly criticized speech given by the President of the *Bundestag*, Phillip Jenninger, on 9 November 1985. Reichel offers the apt heading 'denounced for the truth' to describe the reaction to Jenninger's misunderstood but accurate recollection of the depth and breadth of support for the Nazi regime in German society.

Reichel emphasizes 'how diverse, present-orientated and interest-dependent publicly displayed memory' (p. 325) of the Nazi era in post-war Germany has been. The 'burden of memory' (*Erinnerungslast*) and diverse strategies of avoidance have contended, especially in recent years, with a 'passion for memory' (*Erinnerungslust*). There has been no shortage of sheer ignorance, minimization of guilt, and relativization of suffering with myths of generalized and undifferentiated victimization. The trend in the confrontation between avoidance and honest reflection is, he argued, towards greater willingness

to make distinctions and to speak with specificity about those whom the Germans of the Nazi era persecuted.

In *Die Entkonkretisierung der NS-Herrschaft in der Ära Kohl* Sabine Moller examines the conservative politics of history in the 1980s. She draws on Hegel's dictum that 'all truth is concrete' to coin a new term, 'Entkonkretisierung' ('de-concretization'), an unnecessarily ponderous noun that refers to the process of abstracting events away from their historical context. Linguistic quibbles aside, Moller offers a valuable and interesting account of the Kohl government's *Geschichtspolitik* on Nazism. Her two examples of 'de-concretization' are the renovation of the memorial *Neue Wache* in Berlin and the design of the *Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Museum of the History of the Federal Republic of Germany) in Bonn. In the former, with its sculpture by Käthe Kollwitz of a mother and child, 'de-concretization' meant excluding specific mention of the identity of those whom the Nazis persecuted and murdered in favour of reliance on the slogan of Germany's *Volkstrauertag* that recalls 'victims of war and rule by force'. In the planning of the museum of the *Haus der Geschichte*, de-concretization meant neglecting the issue of 'the continuity of functional élites of the Third Reich into the Federal Republic'.

Moller quotes Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1983 to illustrate the link between conservative politics and abstraction away from specifics: 'It is an important undertaking, which finally must take shape, to create a common, worthy memorial to all of them, the victims of both world wars, the victims of rule by force and racial madness, the victims of the resistance, of expulsion and the division of our fatherland, and also the victims of terrorism' (p. 15). Moller gives centre stage to Kohl's critics, including the social and cultural historian of political language, Reinhart Koselleck, the recently deceased leader of the German Jewish community, Ignatz Bubis, and Social Democratic politicians such as Peter Conradi and Freimut Duve. They found fault with formulations such as the one above, and with the use of Kollwitz's *Pietà* in the *Neue Wache* for their level of abstraction, for their levelling of the variety of Nazi victims to a common denominator which obscured the distinction between perpetrators and victims, for the failure to mention victims by name, and for substituting the almost meaningless term *Gewaltherrschaft* for a specific reference to the Nazi regime. As Koselleck put it, such failures to dis-

tinguish victims from perpetrators led to the sentimental and hypocritical conclusion that 'everyone was a victim. No one did anything. Everyone only suffered' (p. 54). Despite such criticisms, Kohl succeeded in making the *Neue Wache* the central national memorial in 1991.

For Moller, Richard von Weizsäcker's famous speech of 8 May 1985 provided a greater degree of concreteness and historical specificity than Kohl did at Bitburg. Rather than blur distinctions between perpetrators and victims, Weizsäcker referred by name to the multiple groups of victims of the crimes of Nazi Germany and placed the mass murder of European Jewry at the centre of the Nazi regime's purpose and crimes. As those who recall West German leftist discussions of a 'nuclear Auschwitz' during the disputes over Euromissiles in the early 1980s will be aware, abstraction away from the specifics of the Holocaust was hardly a monopoly of right of centre politicians and intellectuals. Nevertheless, Moller's assumption that the West German government itself was promoting a politics of memory fostering 'de-concretization' in the 1980s is sound. Her work fills in the context, which is not well enough understood, of the Berlin memorial initiative, namely the determination to build a memorial that, in contrast to the *Neue Wache* or the generalities of *Volkstrauertag*, broke with tendencies which the historian Eberhard Jaeckel, one of the prime initiators of the Berlin memorial project, criticized as 'levelling' and 'relativizing' the persecution of the Jews during the Nazi era. As Moller puts it, the project for a Berlin memorial dedicated to the murdered Jews of Europe emerged at the end of the 1980s in part 'as a specific demarcation and break from' the idea of a memorial devoted to 'victims of war and rule by force'. Instead, it was intended to encourage 'concrete thinking on this central German crime' (p. 79). Its advocates argued that in light of the Kohl government's 'de-concretized' *Geschichtspolitik* the desirability of a memorial dedicated exclusively to the murdered Jews was, as the student of memory in history Aleida Assmann put it, 'more urgent than ever' (quoted by Moller, p. 79). A full history of 'de-concretization' from the 1960s to the 1990s ought to include examination of Holocaust memory on the West German left as well as the official discourse of then still existing East German official anti-fascism. Both contained generalizing discourses that deserve a significant place in a history of 'de-concretization.' Yet Moller is probably correct in assuming that the Kohl gov-

ernment's *Geschichtspolitik* was more on the minds of the founders of the West Berlin memorial than were the blind spots of the West German left and East Germany's official anti-fascist discourses and policies. In any case, *Die Entkonkretisierung der NS-Herrschaft in der Ära Kohl* enhances our understanding both of the Kohl era and the intellectual and political climate surrounding the beginnings of the Berlin *Mahnmal* initiative.

Brigitte Hausmann's *Duell mit der Verdrängung? Denkmäler für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in der Bundesrepublik 1980-1990*, a revision of her doctoral dissertation at the University of Regensburg, examines memorials to victims of Nazism built in West Germany in the 1980s. She, too, offers a most valuable and relatively unknown chapter in the history of West German public memory of Nazism's victims. While Moller examines *Entkonkretisierung* at the national level, Hausmann directs our attention to memory's growing specificity in this same era at the local and state level. She estimates that about half of the West German memorials built in the 1980s were dedicated to the memory of the Jews. Memorials reflected knowledge of and preoccupations with local sites, such as concentration camps, police headquarters, and former synagogue locations rather than the European dimensions of the Holocaust. She found that only about fifteen per cent of the memorials built in the 1980s followed the generalizing formulas of the 1950s and 1960s in offering undifferentiated dedications to all victims of Nazism. Only seven per cent included dedications to German soldiers who died in the Second World War. Most focused on local history and on specific victim groups.

In contrast to earlier memorials, written inscriptions became more informative, specific, and detailed about the people and events being commemorated. The word 'Jews' rather than unspecified 'victims' makes more frequent appearance. Seventy per cent refer to places where the Nazis committed crimes. About half were founded by private initiatives led by historians, citizens' initiatives, and societies of Christian-Jewish co-operation. About forty per cent stemmed from local city officials and councils, usually from the Social Democratic and Green parties. Christian Democrats, Bavaria's Christian Social Union, and the Free Democratic Party 'almost never' supported construction of these memorials to the Nazis' victims. Seven per cent came from initiatives of the Protestant Churches, while the Catholic Church appears not to have opposed but also not to have initiated

any. Eighty per cent were funded by local and state governments, and the rest by foundations, businesses, churches, or private individuals. All drew on the artistic traditions of abstract modernism rather than the heroic-romantic traditions of either socialist realism or conventional war memorials. The level of detail and specificity of form and inscription is quite striking. Memorials were built for the resistance group 'Weiße Rose', to the memory of the death march from the Dachau concentration camp, the Jewish community of Hamburg-Altona, and the destroyed synagogue and the murdered Jews of Aachen.

At the local and state levels, in contrast to national *Geschichtspolitik*, Hausmann sees growing specificity and painful yet sharp memory rooted in local knowledge and memories. She offers another valuable chapter in the pre-history of the Berlin *Mahnmal*, because the local history of Berlin during the Nazi era was also the history of the central decision-making institutions of the Holocaust and the Second World War. For Berliners, in contrast to other city residents in Germany, to reflect on their local history meant to reflect on the operation of the central decision-making institutions of the Holocaust in its European, not only local or domestic German, dimension. In Berlin, as elsewhere, with some exceptions, strongest support for the memorial to Jews came from the Social Democrats and the Greens while outright opposition came above all from Berlin's Christian Democratic mayor. The building of the memorial in Berlin was also a matter of the big city catching up with the initiatives of other German cities and towns where Social Democrats and Greens, not in power at national level, fostered a more critical memory of the Nazi era.

The other four books under review include the main documents of the Berlin *Mahnmal* debate from 1988 to June 1999. Michael Cullen has collected a predominance of the critics, albeit sympathetic ones, in *Das Holocaust-Mahnmal: Dokumentation einer Debatte.* Michael Jeismann's *Mahnmal Mitte: Eine Kontroverse* contains essays most of which were previously published in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Lea Rosh, a television journalist and the key figure who launched the initiative, combines her own recollections of the debate with essays by her colleagues in *'Die Juden, das sind doch die anderen': Der Streit um ein deutsches Denkmal.* Finally, Ute Heimrod, Günter Schlusche, and Horst Seferens, in *Der Denkmalstreit–das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas': Eine Doku-*

mentation have published a massive compilation which includes what must be all major documents preceding the *Bundestag* debate of June 1999.

The basic story is by now familiar. In August 1988 Lea Rosh called for the establishment of 'a clear sign ... in the land of the perpetrators' devoted to the memory of the murdered Jews of Europe. In November 1989 Rosh, with the former Chief Executive of Daimler-Benz, Edzard Reuter, the writer Siegfried Lenz, the director of the Leipzig symphony orchestra, Kurt Masur, a member of the German Supreme Court, Helmut Simon, and the historian of Hitler and Nazism, Eberhard Jaeckel, established a *Förderkreis zur Errichtung eines Denkmals für die ermordeten Juden Europas* (Initiative for the Establishment of a Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe). With the collapse of the East German regime and the end of Germany's division followed by the decision to move Germany's capital to Berlin, placement of such a memorial in Berlin took on even greater national significance. A local Berlin debate now became a national issue. In 1994 a competition for the design of the memorial was announced. In 1995 the jury decided in favour of a design which, following extensive criticism, was withdrawn and a second competition was announced. In 1998 a design by the sculptor Richard Serra and the architect Peter Eisenmann was declared the winner of the second competition. In June 1999 the *Bundestag*, still meeting in Bonn, voted to support construction of a Holocaust memorial in combination with a museum and 'information centre'. Construction of the memorial and affiliated information centre is supposed to be completed within several years.

With 1,298 pages and weighing ten pounds, the collection edited by Ute Heimrod, Günter Schlusche, and Horst Seferens, *Der Denkmalstreit–das Denkmal?* is literally the weightiest of the four collections. It is hard to imagine that an important essay or contribution about the memorial could have been left out. The collection has 632 documents in all, of which 154 were first published in the Berlin based *Der Tagesspiegel*; eighty-eight in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*; fifty-five in the *Berliner Zeitung* and *Die Tagesszeitung*; thirty-seven in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*; thirty-two in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and in *Die Zeit*; twenty in *Der Spiegel*; twelve in *Die Welt* and nine in *Die Woche*; and another 180 or so from other sources such as public interventions about the memorial. Unfortunately, the volume does not

contain the major speeches made in the final debate in the *Bundestag* in June 1999. This volume will be the starting point for future doctoral dissertations on the construction of the memorial. Those seeking collections that can be carried about like a normal book can consult the Cullen and Jeismann collections, or Rosh's collection essays by members of the initiative to build the memorial.

Modernism and a post-heroic mode are firmly established in German cultural life. Hence the aesthetic debate on the memorial was about whether physically to represent the memory of the murdered Jews, and if so, how best to commemorate them with dignity while encouraging present and future generations to reflect on the evil deeds of the Nazi era. Both the Eisenmann-Serra design, which in modified form (called 'Eisenmann II') was eventually selected, and the German architect Gesine Weinmiller's impressive second place proposal, brilliantly met these requirements. (Photos of both are in the Rosh collection.) The competition demonstrated that the artistic community and the architectural profession, both internationally and in Germany, had devoted heart, soul, and mind to the task with some very impressive results. The Berlin memorial based on the Eisenmann design will probably become world famous as the definitive counter-memorial of the Nazi era. The artistic problems in designing a Holocaust Memorial in Germany proved soluble. Although the final design was made by an American architect and sculptor, the jury found Weinmiller's moving design also very powerful.

Eberhard Diepgen, Christian Democratic Mayor of Berlin and the memorial's politically most powerful critic, worried that Berlin would become 'the capital city of remorse' (*Hauptstadt der Reue*). The historian Heinrich August Winkler saw it as an expression of 'negative nationalism'. Romani Rose, leader of the Sinti and Roma community in Germany, objected to a memorial that was devoted only to the Jews and did not mention the persecution and murder of the Gypsies. The writer Gyorgy Konrad, in one of the most bizarre interventions in the decade-long discussion, argued that a children's playground should be built in place of the memorial. Michael Naumann, named in summer 1998 by then Chancellor Candidate Gerhard Schröder as Culture Minister designate in a possible Social Democratic government, expressed his own, and presumably Schöder's, reservations when he compared the Eisenmann design to the monumentalism of Albert Speer. (Naumann later became a supporter of a modified design.) In his Frankfurt Book

Fair speech of October 1998, the author Martin Walser fanned the flames of nationalist resentment when, with the proposed memorial in mind, he denounced the 'continuous representation of our shame'. In particular in light of his government's *Geschichtspolitik* of the 1980s and his preference for the lack of specificity of Kollwitz's *Pietà* in the *Neue Wache*, Helmut Kohl surprised many in German public life when he made emphatic statements in support of the Holocaust memorial in the midst of his unsuccessful campaign for re-election in fall 1998. Gerhard Schröder's view of the project, ranging from lukewarm to apparently unenthusiastic, also served to complicate the conventional picture of a forgetful Right and a recollecting Left.

Three issues received most attention over the course of the decade. Discussion about each brought the centrality of the Holocaust Jewry ever more to the fore. First, given the existence of memorials to concentration camps elsewhere in Germany and other memorials referring to the Nazi era such as the museum of the *Haus der Wannsee Villa* and the *Stiftung Topographie des Terrors*, some asked whether a central memorial was necessary. Supporters of a central memorial argued that other sites in Germany, while important, either did not recall the central direction of the Holocaust from the Nazi government offices in Berlin, did not include reference to the extermination camps which were located in Poland, did not focus specifically on the persecution and mass murder of European Jewry, and were sufficiently out of the way as to be easy to avoid. Second, others asked if a mute memorial, in the absence of a museum, would fulfil the didactic task of informing future generations about what had happened. The intervention of Michael Naumann resulted in an information centre devoted to the Holocaust and the issue of genocide in general being added to the final design.

The third, most contentious, most interesting and most important issue raised in the *Mahnmal* debate concerned whether the memorial should be dedicated to the memory of the Jews alone or to other victims of the Nazi regime as well. The issue first came up in a series of bitter exchanges, reprinted in *Der Denkmalstreit—das Denkmal?* between Romani Rose and Heinz Galinski and then Ignatz Bubis, leaders of Germany's Jewish community in the early and mid 1990s. Several members of Germany's Jewish community active in public affairs, Salomon Korn and Micha Brumlik, also expressed concerns about a memorial focused only on the Jews. In 1997 Korn worried

that construction of such a memorial would be likely to preclude the possibility of constructing a central memorial to the memory of all of the victims of Nazi criminality.

Reinhart Koselleck emerged as the most important and thoughtful critic of a memorial devoted only to the memory of the murdered Jews of Europe. His major essays are in the collections by Cullen, Heimrod *et al*., and Jeismann. Koselleck asked how a central memorial to the victims of Nazism could fail to commemorate: the three and a half million Russian prisoners of war who died—of cold, exhaustion, disease, and bullets—in German captivity; between two and three million non-Jewish Poles; between fifteen and eighteen million civilian citizens in the Soviet Union; several hundred thousand civilians in the Balkans and Greece; thousands in the Western and northern countries of Europe, as well as the political and religious opponents and homosexuals whom the Nazis persecuted and killed. He asked: 'Does the political responsibility for the deeds which we [Germans] must recall make a specific memorial only for the Jews necessary to the exclusion of the others?' Once the decision was made to move away from the generalizations of the *Neue Wache*, he asked, should not the principle of specificity apply to all the victims of the Nazi regime? A memorial focused only on the Jews carried the danger of 'political opportunism' which recognizes past victims 'according to the strength of the pressure groups ... instead of keeping the system of terror as such and as a whole in memory'. Koselleck was particularly adamant about the need also to commemorate the millions of citizens of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union killed by the German armies and the SS in their race war against 'Slavic sub-humans'. He asserted that 'there are no political or moral grounds to keep out of our memorial these millions of dead who fell victim to the same terror system as the Jews'. His solution was to propose construction of a single memorial 'for all of the dead and those murdered by our former terror system'.

Jürgen Habermas, who had not played a central role in the ten-year *Mahnmal* debate, made the case for a memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe in an article in *Die Zeit*. It is reprinted in the Heimrod *et al*. collection. Habermas argued that the source of outright opposition to any memorial came from nationalists of the Right and of the Left. There was, to be sure, a tension between moral universalism and a particular focus on the Jews. A memorial only to the murdered

Jews of Europe should not imply a hierarchy among victims according to which some victims were more worthy of remembrance than others. Nevertheless, Habermas, a leading defender of Enlightenment universalism in German intellectual life, stressed that Germans should not abstract away from the specific significance of the Jews and of anti-Semitism for their own national history and for their national self-understanding. He hoped that written inscriptions on the monument could combine a focus on the Holocaust with recognition of the persecution of non-Jews.

Over the decade, Eberhard Jaeckel most persistently made the case that the memorial should be dedicated to the memory of the Jews alone. He argued that the murder of the Jews was the culmination of a two-thousand-year-old hatred, and, in particular, of a four-hundred-year history of especially virulent anti-Semitism in post-Reformation Germany. From the beginning to the end of Hitler's career, as Jaeckel had documented in his scholarly work, hatred of the Jews was Hitler's central obsession. As soon as Hitler was in a position to do so, he carried out his threat to implement a 'final solution to the Jewish question in Europe'. This murderous anti-Semitism was at the core of Hitler's and Nazism's beliefs and policies. All of the other episodes of persecution and murder would be inconceivable without it. For Jaeckel, the historical centrality of the Holocaust in the history of Europe, Germany, and Nazi Germany called for a national memorial devoted to the memory of the Jews and the Jews alone.

In her volume Lea Rosh prints selections from interventions by the President of the *Bundestag*, Wolfgang Thierse (SPD), Rita Süssmuth (CDU), Gregor Gysi (PDS), Wolfgang Gerhardt (FDP), Volker Beck (Greens), Eberhard Diepgen, and others in the penultimate *Bundestag* debate. The German theologian Richard Schröder had suggested that the memorial should have, as its inscription: 'Thou shalt not kill.' The *Bundestag* rejected this solution which recalled the generalization and vagueness of past memorials. The *Bundestag* interventions cited by Rosh demonstrate how central the memory of the Holocaust has become for at least a significant part of the German memory of the Nazi era. In a part of Thierse's comments to the *Bundestag* which Rosh does not cite, he insists that a German decision to build a memorial is not the result of outside pressures, as nationalists opponents implied. Rather, in the tradition established by Theodor Heuss in the 1950s, Thierse stressed that such a decision was

a free and voluntary decision by the *Bundestag.* (Though the full text of the *Bundestag* sessions is on the internet, one hopes that the instructions about how to find particular sessions will be more comprehensible and easy to use than is now the case.)

One of the most striking features of this decade-long debate is how marginal East German voices and the history of East German official anti-fascism were. Certainly one argument in favour of a monument devoted only to the Jews would be to serve as a counter to four decades of anti-fascist discourse and commemorations in which their memory was marginalized. In a sense, the proposed memorial is another chapter in the history of the divided memory of the Nazi era, the Second World War and the Holocaust. Whereas the Communists had extolled the memory of many victims and martyrs but refused to give a prominent place to Jewish suffering, the central memorial of a unified Germany devoted to the memory of European Jewry will not recall the millions of non-Jewish dead, especially on the Eastern Front. The proposed memorial remains very much in the West German tradition of public memory and, like so much else in unified Germany, represents the extension of West German traditions to the new unified Germany. The memorial represents an enormous moral and political accomplishment, one of which Germans can rightly be proud. Theodor Heuss, one of the founders of the West German tradition of public memory of the Holocaust, would certainly have welcomed its construction as an event inspired by Germany's oft-defeated traditions of humanism, cosmopolitanism, and democracy. Yet perhaps Nahum Goldmann, who did so much to spur the West German politicians of the post-war decades (Heuss and Adenauer in particular) to honour the memory of German and European Jewry, would have made another point. Perhaps he would have argued that in the best traditions of the blend of particularism and universalism, German-Jewish identity and Jewish moral and prophetic traditions, the most fitting memorial to the traditions of murdered Jews of Germany and Europe, and one that also accorded most closely to historical experience would be one that brought the history of divided memory to an end by giving centre stage to the memory of the Jews while also recalling the millions of non-Jews also murdered by Germans in the Nazi era.

Goldmann also understood that in this imperfect world the most likely alternative to divided memory was none at all, or memory so

vague and abstract as to degenerate into harmless sentimentality. The proposed memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe is neither of those. The initiative to establish the memorial and the *Bundestag*'s decision to support it demonstrate the depth and strength of the tradition of remembering the Holocaust which emerged in the 'Bonn Republic' and persists in the 'Berlin Republic'. With the defeat of orthodox communist anti-fascism, there emerged out of the former East Germany a political establishment eager to make up for lost time and to give the memory of Europe's Jews the attention it had not received in the GDR. The result was that unified Germany surprised itself and outsiders with the decision of June 1999.

The Nazi regime represented the limit point of evil in the century past, but it was not the twentieth century's only episode of radical evil. A monument cannot bring to justice those many murderers who successfully avoided it in the 1950s and 1960s. Nevertheless, the history of divided memory and of this, its most recent chapter, remains unusual in a global perspective. Many other nations have evil pasts which find no or little place in their contemporary self-consciousness. The material collected in these volumes documents a remarkable event, that is, the continuing incorporation of the memory of a criminal past into the national self-understanding of democratic and unified and European Germany. There is no guarantee that a new era of indifference and forgetfulness will not again emerge in unified Germany. The *Mahnmal* debate also brought out considerable echoes of the *Schlußstrichmentalität*. But those groups and tendencies within unified Germany who 'finally' want to put the past to rest and forget the Holocaust must contend with a tradition of memory which, as the decision to build the *Mahnmal* indicates, is more deeply entrenched and accepted within the German political, intellectual, and cultural establishment than the often lonely and unpopular post-war founders of this tradition would have imagined possible.

The analyses and documents in the works under review are important reading for observers of Germany since the Holocaust, but also for citizens and scholars everywhere who seek to place their own national self-understanding on a foundation of honest confrontation with immoral episodes of the past. Ironically those Germans who focused on the specificity of the Holocaust in their public memory may have done a great deal to foster universalist

respect for human rights. Perhaps this expression of local knowledge and specific memory and the accompanying willingness to focus on the crime and the victim most deeply embedded in the national history will set an example to be followed by other nations who have yet to give adequate public honour, reflection, and memory to the victims of their own country's past criminal episodes.

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DEBATE*

STEFAN BERGER, *The Search for Normality: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1800* (Providence, R. I. and Oxford: Berghahn, 1997), 307 pp. ISBN 1 57181 863 4. £40.00

This book treats an age-old theme: the impact of politics on history. The specific case which it takes is that of German historiography and its relationship with the nation: the part taken by German historians in the struggles and debates about the concept of the German nation, the German nation-state, the national identity of the Germans, the influence of their national-political commitment on their scholarly work, the connection between national consciousness and historical consciousness, the nationalization of history and the historicization of the nation. This account begins with the 'national tradition' in German historiography, which the author dates as lasting from 1800 to the 1960s. It then goes on to present the overcoming or at least relativizing of this tradition since the Fischer controversy, and, finally, takes aim at the historiographical renewal of national motives after reunification. The author leaves the reader in no doubt that he considers the national direction as unholy from the start, and that his intention is to prevent a 'renationalization' of German historiography. He warns German historians against 'the search for normality' that, after a national history which culminated in Auschwitz, is unattainable for them. Instead of pursuing the hermetic illusion of national identity, they should accept the universal values of a pluralist civic society, democracy, the welfare state, and international solidarity, and thus continue on the path already embarked upon before 1989. The key sentences about 'the national revival in German historiography' in a reunified Germany which contain the essence of the whole book, read: 'The very concept of "national identity" remains a fudged one, a construct with inherent homogenising tendencies which tends to exist in conflict with the values of tolerance and pluralism. Hence it cannot be the historians' task to propagate national identity, left or right wing. The danger is not an alleged lack of national identity, it is

* Stefan Berger's response will be published in the May 2001 issue of the *Bulletin*.

that democratisation may be replaced by renationalisation. It is not the "self-confident nation" that needs to be dug up—it is a self-confident democratic political culture which needs to be strengthened in the West and developed in the East' (p. 211). The author is a product of the old Federal Republic and his 'adopted home country' (p. 231) is Britain. Now Professor of German and European History at the University of Glamorgan (Wales), he may see himself as the embodiment of this transnational message.

The reviewer could be content simply to point out that this book has political intentions which fall outside the scope of scholarly criticism. For this is indeed the case. The warning against 'renationalisation' and the demand for ongoing 'democratisation' in German historiography do not simply allow us to conclude that the author takes a particular political view; they express this view, and come close to being a political statement. The author is on the side of the West German left which, long before 1989, had abandoned the Basic Law's call for unity. Having grown comfortable in a divided Germany, they accepted reunification only unwillingly, and are now working to eliminate all traces of national awareness from the new Germany. In this sense, this book offers political argument dressed up as history of historiography. Of course, it is perfectly legitimate to take a political view, and to present it in this way. But judging political positions is not the business of scholars; it is a political matter. Political decisions belong to the sphere of the political will, political debate, and political struggle. In essence this book, too, deserves a political assessment, and what it is will depend entirely on what premisses it starts from. As for me, I must confess that I do not share Stefan Berger's views. I have always affirmed the national dimension of the Federal Republic's political system, and I experienced the reunification of Germany as the fulfilment of a yearning that sometimes seemed unsatisfiable. I see the nation-state recently re-established on a democratic foundation as the basic framework for present and future German politics, and thus take for granted concepts such as national self-determination, national self-assertion, and national interest, and cannot imagine democratic awareness without national consciousness. And finally, I think that should the German nation-state ever be overcome or dissolved, whether in the European Union or in a world dimension, this must happen out of an inner impulse, as the product of our own will which must not bow to any

foreign will. This opinion is no less legitimate than the author's, and of course, it is no more susceptible of scholarly analysis. Both views are subject to the political marketplace, which follows its own rules.

However, the reviewer does not stop here because Berger makes not only a political, but also a scholarly claim which needs to be examined. He is acting politically by writing the history of historiography. Yet this is not simply a tendentious book; rather, it aspires to real knowledge. At the very least, it does not exclude it from the start.

It should be said from the outset that the author undoubtedly deserves a great deal of recognition. He has examined a large number of sources and many books, and presents the material gained from them to good effect. The way in which he grasps all the diverse facets of his subject, yet pares his account down to the bare minimum is impressive. The chapters on the historical debates since the Fischer controversy, and then again since reunification deserve special mention; they portray the whole spectrum of positions and directions, include the discussions on historiographical theory and methodology, extend as far as the historiography of the GDR and what became of it, and also take account of the historical-political journalism that grew up outside academic history. Anyone wanting to find out about particular authors or schools, or facts, in general finds reliable information here. No important name is missing; the overall picture is subtle and differentiated. The account also shows that many historians have judged the national problem differently at different times. It details, for example, the often remarkable changes in the wake of reunification. Conversely, the first chapter, on the 'national tradition' in German historiography between the turn of the nineteenth century and the second half of the twentieth century, no less convincingly demonstrates constancy and continuity; the author's summarizing method here permits and facilitates this approach.

However, this chapter in particular also contains some things that are incorrect. The author frequently repeats the view, which is also popular elsewhere, that historicism wrote the history of the victors in order to justify the political *status quo* (pp. 3, 21, 29 f.). Ranke appears as a typical representative of this victors' history (p. 30). Accordingly, he is said to have rejected political change (p. 27), and the author also ascribes to him a '"great men" theory' (p. 33). Anyone who knows Ranke's works, his dialectical view of history, his

dynamic concept of the state and politics, and his doctrine of historical trends and ideas cannot agree with Berger's account. The same applies to Berger's assessment of Gerhard Ritter. According to Berger, in his book on Frederick the Great (1936) Ritter drew 'the famous line from Frederick to Hindenburg to Hitler which the Nazis so longed to propagate' (p. 39). In fact, in order to illustrate the unbroken history of the reception of the king, Ritter did draw a line in the introduction from Frederick the Great via the wars of independence, Bismarck, the First World War and the Weimar Republic to Hindenburg and Hitler, who had evoked the memory of Frederick the Great on the 'day of Potsdam'. But immediately thereafter Ritter spoke of the 'duty' which arises out of an 'act of this sort', and expressly warned the reader against falsely applying this to the present: 'Historical tradition is not arbitrary, it is not something whose content changes in line with our wishes.' Thus far from simply placing Hitler in direct succession to the Prussian king, Ritter actually pointed to the differences between them; a few lines later he wrote unambiguously: 'Recognition of the endless distance which separates the tasks of our times from those of the past protects us against rashly referring to our distant ancestors in order to explain our achievements and our mistakes.' If we then read the whole book, we find that Ritter offered constant variations on this general theme; the chapter on Frederican administration of justice, for example, explicitly contrasts it with the Nazi state which abolished the rule of law. Berger seems to ignore this, as well as Ritter's great work *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk* (1954-68). Berger ascribes to Ritter the intention of refuting 'the critics of Prussian militarism' (p. 42 f.); but Ritter wanted to show 'how it came about that ultimately in Germany the natural relationship between the art of government and the techniques of war was inverted', and he did not even think of 'seeing the dangers of "militarist", that is, one-sided, aggressive politics as becoming active in German history only in the twentieth century and simply exonerating the "old Prussian tradition" since Frederick the Great'. In both cases, therefore, Berger in my view misrepresents the actual historiographical intention.

This is a rare occurence, but does not come about by chance. It points to a failing which places the scholarly claims of this work into question. There are theoretical or methodological omissions affecting a number of aspects treated in this book. Even where all the details

are correct, we still feel the effect of these omissions. To make my position clear, I should like to say that in detail, much, or even most of what is in this book is correct; overall, however, nothing convinces me.

Basically the author approaches his subject with inadequate conceptual premisses. Thus he asks about the impact of politics on history, but neglects to undertake a systematic clarification of this many-layered relationship, and thus to structure the problem area in which he is working. Instead, right at the start he announces a prejudice without any attempt at explanation or justification: 'Unlike Thomas Nipperdey ... I do not believe in the autonomy of history as an academic subject from politics' (p. 2). Nor is this the subject of the author's reflections later in the work. He thus subordinates history to politics, declaring that one is the function of the other. This view is not appropriate even for pre-modern history; a political historian such as Thucydides was by no means completely absorbed by his immediate political aspirations. In the context of the modern historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this approach loses its analytical value. Since historicism, historiography has moved up, both in its self-understanding and in public perceptions, into the status of a discipline which is autonomous *vis-à-vis* the political world. And one of the main reasons for this is that the political world itself needed an autonomous historiography. At times of permanent revolution and upheaval, such as the turn of the nineteenth century, there was a practical interest in a genuine historical orientation; academic autonomy and the political function of the science of history formed a dialectical relationship epitomized by the demand for historical objectivity. In any case, this is the paradigm or the regulating idea of modern historiography against which concrete phenomena are to be set, and from which deviations are to be measured.

In my view, Berger does not take note of this. For him, German historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at least within the framework of his approach, seems to be merely politics by other means. As far as he is concerned, its practitioners can be reduced to their political positions; their aim is not to acquire knowledge of the past, but to legitimize or criticize the present. To the extent that Berger encounters the demand for objectivity, he can only see it, according to his standards, as an instrument to justify particular political conditions or ideas (pp. 21 and 41). Thus he speaks of the

'illusion of a division of historical scholarship and political opinion' (p. 78). This 'illusion', however, is the basic law of modern historiography, without which nothing about it can be understood. The author's misjudgements concerning Ranke and Ritter ultimately stem from this lack of understanding. He seems to ignore that both combined their political interest with an original interest in knowledge, that they expected political benefit precisely from an objectivizing knowledge of history, and that an audience existed that had the same expectations. Naturally, neither of them (Ranke, Ritter) allowed any unclarity to arise about their political views: both were conservative, wrote history from this perspective, allowed their political convictions to flow directly into their historiographical work, and wanted to be read by people of a similar political persuasion. In the end, however, what is crucial is that they drew scholarly questions out of their political attitudes, and that these questions had their own orientating function; without this dimension they would be of no interest to us.

What was true of Ranke and Ritter, also applies more generally. The 'political historians', too, such as Droysen, Sybel, and Treitschke, who questioned the Rankean notion of objectivity, never relinquished the claim of historiography to seek the truth. Berger quotes Dietrich Schäfer, who called on the German historian to be devoted to 'the national idea without in the least betraying his duties to truthfulness' (p. 33), but does not develop his argument. The same is true when it comes to the critics of historicism since the 1960s. The significance of history for the present still depends on its specific scholarly status. To be sure, politics has made unreasonable demands of history at all times, demands going to the core of its scholarly substance. Many historians have committed themselves fully to the service of a political cause, and have thus become party political historians. Yet even in these cases, the regulating idea of scholarly historiography has stood its ground; at any rate, the prestige of historical science might have been speculated on in the fabrication of such tendentious elaborations. The author himself points out, for example, that the historiography of the GDR was by no means merely a legitimation of the official party line (p. 160). However, one cannot avoid the impression that this argument is again more political than scholarly in nature. In any case, it has no systematic significance, and alters nothing in his overall conclusions, which are that history and poli-

tics, a historical awareness and a political awareness, are directly congruent. There are direct correspondences between historicism and national ideology, as there are between the diverse forms of critical historiography and a universalist democratic thinking. But there are also scholarly and political positions of some complexity which, however, do not affect the merely functional basic relationship of history to politics.

Against the political intentions with which the author writes the history of historiography, we have come back to where we started. The author, who himself apparently instrumentalizes history, projects this subjective attitude on to the historiography that he studies, of which he similarly has only an instrumental concept. I believe that his prejudice about academic historiography's lack of autonomy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries corresponds to his own method.

Berger may really believe that there can be no such thing as history without a direct political intention or orientation. But I am convinced that there is no reason to consider this belief true, whereas there is much to suggest that it should be exposed for what it is: the pseudo-theoretical generalization of a political attitude. The immutable basic law of modern historiography referred to above excludes mere opinion from historiography, prescribing, rather, that it progresses from opinions to knowledge. The author describes the task of German historians as to serve not the nation, but a democratic political culture (see above). But history does not have to serve one, or the other, or any political authority for that matter; its task is exclusively to achieve a knowledge of the past. And through this, it makes available that orientating knowledge which we need in the present. In scholarly terms it is legitimate for the author to have political motives: politically to reject the nation and, from this position, to examine national consciousness and historical consciousness in the German historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And, of course, is is legitimate for Berger to hope that his study has a political impact. But the real scholarly legitimacy of such an enterprise depends on an ability or willingness to tackle the subject according to not political, but logical-analytical criteria, and to convey insights rather than instructions for how to act. Therefore I think that the author does not fulfil the historian's main task—in contrast to many of the writers whose work he examines in his book. This is

regrettable because we have thus missed out on an opportunity to make progress in knowledge, not only in respect of the state of historical research, but also regarding the 'relevance' of all this. Berger declares that it is his aim 'to remind the reader of the long and unhappy relationship between historiography and the politics of national identity' (p. 8); he calls the nation 'an unholy paradigm for historians' (p. 225). These are political judgements by which the author deprives himself not only of the chance to achieve a historical stock-taking which is worth taking seriously, but also of the specific benefit of looking at history: namely, to understand a previously uncomprehended past, and thus to prepare the ground for new action. Anyone who describes a historical phenomenon as 'unhappy' or 'unholy' demonstrates a lack of historical understanding, or a lack of interest in a historical knowledge worthy of the name. Historiography recognizes neither unhappiness nor unholiness, but merely phenomena which await the most consistent explanation or derivation possible. We could also say that it transforms what may at first sight appear to us unhappy or unholy into knowledge, and thus confers enlightenment that sets us free.

Stefan Berger considers it 'fashionable' to call traditional national feeling 'false consciousness' (p. 252). This term, I find, is unsuitable for characterizing political attitudes unless, as is the case here, it is used politically. On the other hand, there is hardly a better term to describe the author's scholarly self-understanding. To instrumentalize history for political ends, and to make others, or even oneself, believe that this is historical science: in my opinion that is 'false consciousness'.

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BOOK REVIEWS

FRANK REXROTH, *Das Milieu der Nacht: Obrigkeit und Randgruppen im spätmittelalterlichen London*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 153 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 450 pp. ISBN 3 525 35470 3. DM 89.00

This monograph deals with the patterns of thought developed by the late medieval London authorities regarding the 'milieu of the night', that is, the attitudes to marginal groups, to vagrants, beggars, prostitutes, and their clients. The author traces processes of marginalization, locating a significant change in attitudes in the first phase of the Hundred Years War. According to Frank Rexroth the ruling circles of the city created the image of an alternative society which was posing a threat to social order and indeed the safety of the city. This imagery was created through normative texts but can also be found in writings which were not readily available to a wider audience. More importantly, it was also used in public displays, for example, the symbolism of punishments and related rituals.

While Rexroth's approach—firstly tracing changes in attitudes in the fourteenth century, then dealing with the practices of urban and charitable institutions in the fifteenth century—may seem conventional, he has in fact produced a highly original book. Drawing largely on well-known, even published sources, he shows how immorality, begging, violent conduct, and other forms of behaviour regarded as suspicious were associated with each other and repeatedly used for proclamations and other purposes in varying permutations. They justified and guided measures taken by the urban authorities against marginal groups. These measures were often co-ordinated, being based on interaction between mayor, court of aldermen, and sheriffs on the one side, and the wards under their respective aldermen on the other, with the purpose of damaging the status of the accused, of shaming and intimidating them. Particular attention is given to John of Northampton's term of office. His popularity is traced back to his almost fanatical stand for law and order and his campaigns against immorality, falseness, and marginal groups in general. According to

the author, Northampton used these measures to generate support for his other objective—the fight against the urban oligarchy in the 1380s.

The discussion of these developments is skilfully connected with attitudes towards the poor as shown, for example, in statutes and the practices of almshouses which catered for the deserving poor but not for those who were regarded as responsible for their own misfortunes. In this context special attention is given to the prominent figure of Richard Whittington, whose numerous charitable foundations appear to indicate that he did not subscribe to the association made between certain forms of poverty, immorality, and violence outlined in previous chapters.

This is an important book, well written and mostly well argued. Nevertheless it has to be kept in mind that Rexroth does not intend to deal with social realities in late medieval London, a modern study of which is still not available (pp. 33-4). He is almost entirely concerned with changes in mentalities, the ways in which attitudes to the 'milieu of the night' were formed, and how they changed. It needs to be asked to what extent his sources lend themselves to the minute textual analysis skilfully employed by the author. Late medieval English normative texts can be highly formulaic, even repetitive, and a lack of precision in the terminology can certainly be found in administrative and legal records. Such aspects deserve attention. Furthermore, the fact that this society used two foreign languages in its administration needs to be considered because this may also have had repercussions on the reliability of the terminology used, especially when the author tries to pick up minute nuances, as, for example, on pp. 310-11, where the term and spelling 'dAugst' is explained as meaning not just the month of August, but a period of anguish and anxiety.

Another point which may merit consideration is the time at which the campaign against the real or imagined margins in London's society began. Rexroth states that the threat of a French invasion at the start of the Hundred Years War led to a panic reaction by the urban authorities. The momentum was maintained by two further crisis, the Black Death and internal political problems. There can be no doubt that the latter two played a role but the author cannot show why the war with France should have had such an effect. For a time there was, indeed, the threat of an invasion of the English south coast

but this ceased after the destruction of the French fleet in June 1340. Who at the time was aware that a major military confrontation was to follow? Why should the urban authorities have felt compelled to single out the 'nocturnal community' when the factor of the 'Hundred Years War' only emerges *ex eventu*? England—and London—had faced a similar situation in the previous decade (1324) when no threat to the city's security had materialized. There is even evidence to show that the urban authorities were slow to respond to the 'milieu of the night' at the time. Apparently prostitutes near the Carmelite convent were a nocturnal nuisance in the 1340s but the urban government remained inactive. The friars had to turn to the royal government for redress and the command issued to the urban authorities even had to be repeated (Calendar of Close Rolls 1343-46, 544; CCR 1346-49, 37).

The problem of finding a starting point could perhaps have been solved if greater use had been made of the extensive source material available for the study of late medieval London. Accusations of sexual deviancy already appear in the records of the London eyre of 1321 which were not used (Public Record Office JUST1/547A). Further material is available in the many Newgate gaol delivery rolls surviving from the period 1275 to 1334, and it would be useful to know whether there were any alterations, for example, in conviction rates, indicative of changing attitudes to crime and related activities. Rexroth shows that disorderly chantry priests were singled out and shamed, almost satirized, in the imagery he describes. This appears to coincide chronologically with an increasing number of accusations against just this group of the clergy, and it would be helpful to know whether there was a connection. The author argues that it would be wrong to interpret such attitudes as part of late-medieval anti-clericalism but does not say why (p.324).

The subtle changes in attitude towards vagrants, prostitutes, and deviants of any sort observed and analysed by Rexroth are shown to have affected especially the corporate founders of almshouses in the fifteenth century, but it is not clear whether the campaigns were sufficiently effective to bring about a change in attitude towards the poor. Did the symbolism of language and ritual have any impact on the executors of, say, alderman John Norman, who gave 20 shillings to prisoners in every London gaol 'to be distributed aftre the discrecions of myn executour'? A study of the charitable bequests in the

many thousands of surviving late medieval London wills might well have provided an answer. Instead, Rexroth traces and decodes patterns of thought which resulted in the creation of negative images: the violent drunkard who is responsible for his own ruin, the brothel keeper, the prostitute, and such like. One group which was certainly not welcome to the urban authorities hardly features here—the aliens, most of whom resided in the suburbs. This refers not to the rich Hanseatic merchants or Italian financiers who could afford royal protection (although severe criticism could also be levelled against them, p. 326), but to the much more humble craftsmen and their servants who stayed mostly in the suburbs, right in the middle of the nocturnal society, in their attempts to avoid guild control and other interference. If the urban authorities really had pursued a campaign of almost perpetual paranoia against marginal groups for more than a century in order to detract from other issues, why were the unpopular foreigners not included in the negative imagery of the night? Could there not be a much simpler and more straightforward explanation for the phenomenon described in the book—that the material which was so carefully analysed simply reflects the often inadequate measures taken by successive urban governments against very real problems in a period of severe crisis?

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THOMAS SCHOONOVER, *Germany in Central America: Competitive Imperialism 1821-1929* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1998), xiv + 317 pp. ISBN 0 8173 0886 5. $39.95

Thomas Schoonover (University of Southwestern Louisiana) is a recognized expert on the history of the Central American states. He has published several books on their multilateral relations with world society and on contacts between the region and the USA and France. This book deals with German economic, political, and to some degree also military expansion into the Caribbean and Central America, with the complex relationship between the German Reich and the USA constantly present in the background. Schoonover is able to draw on his extensive knowledge of Central America and on far-ranging and lengthy archival research which has brought to light some new and hitherto unknown material. Above all, he takes a long-term perspective (1821 to 1929) orientated more by economic caesuras than political ones. These economic developments are closely linked to political events in chronologically successive chapters.

The reader learns many previously unknown details about the activities of German-speaking emigrants and traders in the region. Businessmen had opened up the Central American markets since the early nineteenth century and encouraged exports to Central Europe, even though the number of German-speaking emigrants was initially very small. Before 1914 the German export/import trade built up a strong, at times dominant, market position in constant and tough competition with British, French and US firms, although the significance of the region for German foreign trade in general was marginal. What is particularly surprising and has not been analysed in this form before is that the German export trade based in Central America itself managed to survive the period between 1914 and 1917, almost without difficulty, despite extremely bad wider conditions. Schoonover provides plenty of evidence for this. After the war the German trading houses and those German emigrés firmly established in Central American societies regained their pre-war economic position within a decade despite numerous sequestrations and sporadic confiscations. These were imposed as a result of massive pressure from the USA, not the respective Central American states. The recovery was achieved despite the fact that the French and US governments applied considerable pressure to prevent further growth in German

imports and exports. Part of the reason for this success story was that German traders, with considerable verve and not a little skill in dealing with the printed media, restored their partially lost reputation and counteracted the after-effects of the intensive propaganda put out by the Entente. Some of the initiatives to rebuild contacts with the German Reich interrupted in 1914 and 1917 came from the Central American governments who were seeking a counterweight to the growing power of the USA and were also dissatisfied with the business practices of US firms. The book is supplemented by an extensive and detailed statistical appendix which provides excellent material for further research. The work also contains rich empirical material, some of it hitherto unknown, which illustrates trade connections, trends in the flow of goods, and developments in migration.

Where there is light, there are usually also shadows. Although the book is based on extraordinarily dense material, the theoretical framework into which it is inserted is not always convincing. When talking about the German states before 1870 and the German Reich after 1871 Schoonover argues within a strictly national context. He seems to believe that a German in Central America always acted in accordance with the policy of his fatherland, just as a US citizen almost always adhered to Washington's foreign policy. But this does not tie in with the sources Schoonover uses and I feel that greater differentiation is needed than is attempted here. The source material certainly does show that many German traders and emigrants felt like expatriates, and nurtured a nostalgic and somewhat exaggerated patriotic devotion to their former country in clubs, associations, cultural institutions, and, above all, churches. However, the sources also make it clear that the German citizens in Central America did not act as a unified national bloc. In short, how 'German' were the 'German' trading houses, plantations, and large landowners in Central America? Schoonover's account of the activities of native *compradores* shows that there were close links to the local economic and social structures, and that these *compradores* considered themselves as part of the firms they worked for, even if they remained citizens of Nicaragua, Guatemala, or Honduras. Essentially, German traders pursued their business interests without considering the German national economy, naturally used American or British banks to their mutual advantage, and acted as mediators in conflicts between various indigenous political groups; they rarely took sides. Not least,

chauvinistic German circles complained that young German men in the colonies were marrying local women without considering the supposed national interests of Germans expatriates. Racist undertones were unmistakable here. Schoonover also provides many examples of good co-operation between German and US firms on specific projects. At the economic level there do not appear to have been any disagreements between Germans and Americans in principle; it was more the typical mixture of conflict and co-operation characteristic of strong economic enterprises.

Moreover, in my view Schoonover overestimates the consistency of German imperialism. Based on his extensive source material he does, without doubt, demonstrate that many German consuls, consuls-general, diplomats, and, indeed, various German businessmen, constantly promoted far-reaching imperialist ideas: there were strong demands for naval stations and for German settlements to be politically strengthened, combined with attempts to exert influence over governments, for example, in the armaments industry. Latent conflicts with the USA, whose foreign policy strictly followed the Monroe Doctrine, especially with regard to building the Panama Canal, were pre-programmed. However, Schoonover interprets these numerous, and mostly unsuccessful, schemes as the official position of the German governments. This seems to me dubious, especially for the period before 1870. Schoonover uses hitherto unknown material to show that in the 1850s Prussian entrepreneurs also had a political interest in the Isthmus, and that at times the Prussian envoy Hugo Hesse defended grotesque social imperialist ideas. But from all the factors known so far there can be no question of this having had any lasting effect on Prussian foreign policy or that the establishment of Prussian naval bases in the Caribbean was ever seriously considered. From the Prussian perspective the region was far too unimportant and there can certainly be no question of Bismarck having seriously thought of acquiring Central American colonies or naval bases in 1868 or 1870-1, which is what Schoonover's argument at least suggests.

Before the First World War the diplomatic corps of all European great powers had a constant struggle against the *furor consularis*. The 'men on the spot' always behaved far more aggressively and were more expansionist than was approved by the European diplomatic centres and the managements of companies. Hermann Wallich, head

of the Deutsche Überseeische Bank, summed this up by saying that in Latin America every consul wanted to have a German cruiser and a German bank in his district. The sources in Schoonover's book show, contrary to his assessment, that many subordinate German employees were in an excellent position to promote German trade, but were not trained to cope with diplomatic issues. The fact that consuls and consuls-general were extremely independent, and that communications with the mother country were poor, tempted them constantly to overstep the limits of their authority, thereby provoking undesirable political conflicts. The exaggerated nationalist tirades of individual consuls were not identical with Prussian or German foreign policy. It was not until the 1890s that attempts were made to turn an independent, aggressive overseas policy into reality, and even then, despite some bungling, the Monroe Doctrine was generally respected. Schoonover's account also overestimates the ideas of the German navy. As is well known, around the turn of the century it developed a plan to attack the USA, one in which the Caribbean was supposed to play a central strategic role. However, both German and British naval historians (cf. the works of Rolf Hobson) are agreed that this was actually nothing more than 'occupational therapy', or 'winter work' for naval officers with not enough to do, that is, a chance for them to demonstrate their ability to draw up strategic concepts. Afterwards the idea of invading the USA disappeared into a drawer in the naval office and eventually ended up in the archives, where it was found by historians decades later.

Despite this criticism of details, Schoonover closes an important gap in the research. Previously very little was known about the Prussian and Hanseatic consular system, or that of the German Reich, even though researchers agree that it made a considerable contribution to the enormous success of German exports before 1914. Schoonover has now covered this topic in the case of Central America. He demonstrates precisely how consuls, consuls-general, and envoys were appointed, what sorts of career patterns emerged, how often they intrigued against one another, and how they sought to expand their spheres of influence with and against each other. The German consular service was by no means attractive to all German businessmen. Various influential German-speakers refused to be appointed consul because they were firmly entrenched in regional structures and could see no advantage in becoming the representative of the

Hanseatic towns, Prussia, or the German Reich. It is also clear that in some individual cases consular and personal business interests became intertwined in a problematic way. By claiming that certain projects would add to the national prestige in order to gain the support of the German diplomatic corps, they might also have been lining their own pockets.

The driving forces behind German economic and political expansion also seem to me to be presented too one-sidedly. The only theory put forward by Schoonover is that of social imperialism, and we must bear in mind that 'social imperialism' has slightly different connotations from the German term *Sozialimperialismus*. *Weltpolitik* is defined as the German form of social imperalism, and like Immanuel Wallerstein, Schoonover supports the thesis that during the nineteenth century Germany developed from a semi-peripheral to a metropolitan region by means of 'social imperialism'. This, he says, is how peripheral areas (amongst others, Guatemala, parts of eastern and south-eastern Europe, colonies in Africa and Asia) became dependent. This schematic account may do very well as a heuristic model, but it certainly does not reflect the reality of Germany's development in the nineteenth century since there can be no question of German imperialism until the 1880s at the earliest. Nor can German emigration before the founding of the Reich be said to be in any way imperalist, quite apart from the fact that hardly any Germans went to Central America anyway. It was not until the 1880s and 1890s that German foreign policy sought, with varying degrees of success, to instrumentalize the emigrant colonies for political purposes, which Schoonover also illustrates using the example of cultural policy. The theoretical model of social imperialism may explain individual aspects of German expansion before 1914, but it does not do justice to German imperialism as a whole.

Some reference to the extensive and complex theoretical debates about 'informal empire' would have been helpful here. This would have given the theoretical position put forward in this book a firmer grounding. For the period before 1870 in particular it is not really clear what political impact German informal imperialism had on the societies in question. Schoonover's material seems to permit contradictory and disparate interpretations here. Independent of all the various theoretical positions and premisses that emerged from the classical debates of the 1960s and 1970s about British informal impe-

rialism in Latin America, there is now consensus among scholars that a strong economic position by no means constituted an informal empire. In each case there had to be elements of political influence as well. Precisely what the political dimension was in the case of Central America, and via which formal and informal channels political and economic decisions in those countries were influenced or jointly reached, is not always clear from Schoonover's book, despite numerous individual examples. For instance, the German gun-boat policy *vis-à-vis* Nicaragua in 1878 is vividly described, yet it seems to be mainly attributable not to social imperialist intentions, but to a European Great Power trying to gain prestige when dealing with a debtor who was unwilling to pay up. Holger H. Herwig has already shown something similar in the case of the Venezuela project of 1902-3. German coffee barons and large landowners in Guatemala and elsewhere, who deliberately had themselves photographed in the style and pose of a colonial ruler, certainly did wield political power. But in this case the comparative studies which are needed for a comprehensive theoretical assessment do not exist. There is certainly a need for more research here.

Schoonover has written a book rich in material and knowledge. Although it lags behind the current historical discussion from a theoretical point of view, it is still essential reading for anyone interested in German expansion and the history of the Central American states.

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DONALD J. ROSS, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf: Catholicism and State Power in Imperial Germany, 1871-1887* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1998), xvi + 219 pp. ISBN 0 8132 0894 7. $66.95

Many books on German history devote one chapter or essay to the *Kulturkampf*. But for years we have lacked a monograph on this crucial conflict between state and church which lasted from 1871 to 1887. Thus Johannes B. Kissling's three-volume classic is still worth reading, even though it was published between 1911 and 1916 and takes a deeply Catholic position. So, too, does the most recent German book on this issue, edited by Rudolf Lill (*Der Kulturkampf*, 1997). This collection of sources ignores any document which shows the aggressive ambitions of the Roman Catholic Church (the *Syllabus* of 1864, condemning modern times, for instance, does not appear). In his introduction Lill lumps National Liberal and National Socialist attitudes to the church together, putting them on a par with critical contemporary historians. He blames them for calling the Catholic Church anti-modern, authoritarian, and anti-liberal. Thus for 130 years both the clergy and Catholic historians have presented Catholicism as the pitiful victim of evil, and of intolerant forces.

Donald J. Ross is not the first to break with this tradition. But he is the first to write a monograph which combines critical arguments and facts to demonstrate that the *Kulturkampf* was, ultimately, a failure. To be clear, Ross neither turns the tables, suggesting that Catholicism itself produced victims, among them infantile, fearful Catholics, nonconformist Catholics, non-Catholics, or Jews (anti-Semitism was especially widespread during the *Kulturkampf*), nor does he play down the suffering of many Catholics. But there has never before been such a sophisticated inquiry into oppressive laws and their inadequate implementation. Ross leaves the conventional path of examining Bismarck's motives, parliamentary debates, or legislation. Instead, he goes to the level of towns and villages, parishes and cloisters, and confronts the practical problems of everyday social life. As a result, political claims were 'evaded, resisted, reinterpreted, vitiated, and, on occasion, ignored' (p. 14). The obstacles state power faced ranged from financial and administrative problems to popular disobedience.

The inability to achieve governmental goals against the church—and this is the subject of the first chapter—can be seen in the tensions

between Prussia's policymakers. While Bismarck's tactics relied on flexible improvisation, his *Kultusminister*, Adalbert Falk, as a jurist, clung strictly to legal actions. Furthermore, Protestants could not be persuaded to support every step against Catholics. Anti-Catholic sentiment was strong, but the *Kulturkampf* also damaged Protestant institutions. Disagreements among Protestant churchmen about how to behave towards Catholics divided rather than united Protestantism. The opposite was the case in the Catholic camp: the separatist Old Catholic movement was too weak to fulfil Bismarck's hope of splitting Catholicism into two. On the contrary, Catholics appeared united as never before. Ross devotes an extended chapter to the often neglected Old Catholic Church. He discusses not just the famous Ignaz von Döllinger and Joseph Hubert Reinkens, the first Old Catholic bishop (1873-1895), but also their unorthodox community and its social background in the better-off classes.

'Ineffectiveness' proves to be the key-word for the chapter dealing with the imprisonment of clergymen. Many suffered from dreadful conditions, and many Catholics were deprived of spiritual succour. But even this weapon did not compel obedience. Ross's study of the Congregations Law of 1875 is convincing on the limited impact of governmental policies. In fact, even contemplative orders were given plenty of time to dissolve, but most religious communities were exempt because their members were indispensable to the running of hospitals and schools. To replace them with lay substitutes would have been expensive enough, without considering the cost of relocating thousands of displaced religious persons. In the end just one third of the total number of convents, monasteries, and other religious houses was actually dissolved. The sufferings of many monks, nuns and other Catholics deserve respect. None the less, as Ross concludes, 'Bismarck's legislation proved far less injurious to the Roman church than Catholics feared or its advocates confidently anticipated' (p. 77).

The observation that operations against the church were ineffective is confirmed in many other fields. There were not enough police to control Catholic assemblies. Police forces were understaffed and overstretched. Expelled priests could return undetected to their parishes and continue their work. A community of Franciscan nuns was established in Frankfurt am Main in 1875, and avoided discovery for at least two years (p. 102). Apart from the vast executive and

administrative problems, the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition to the *Kulturkampf* blocked its successful implementation. It was not merely Catholic resistance, as legend has it, but political constraints that made governmental policies fail.

We are left, though, with the question of whether the *Kulturkampf* was overdramatized both by Catholic contemporaries and by later generations. Ross avoids giving a clear answer. Instead, he points out the limits of state power. Moreover, he concentrates on Prussia and does not take into account the situation in other German states, such as Baden or Württemberg. Nevertheless, he claims that his observations are valid for 'the German Empire'. This certainly requires further research, yet it seems plausible so far. Ross concludes that 'Bismarck's inability to develop a comprehensive system of surveillance, his unwillingness to incur heavy financial outlays, his failure to close legal loopholes in ecclesiastical legislation, and his unwillingness to correct deficiencies in the system of Prussian justice itself seriously restricted the authoritarian reach of the Bismarckian state and made the Kulturkampf an ill-advised, ill-prepared, and inefficiently conducted campaign that he could not hope to win' (p. 190). This perspective makes the book, based on many hitherto neglected sources, an important and revealing contribution to research on Catholicism, a field which has gained ground in recent years. If the *Kulturkampf* was a failure, at least this book about it proves to be a striking success.

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ALON CONFINO, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), xiii + 280 pp. ISBN 0 8078 2359 7 (hardback) $55.00. ISBN 0 8078 4665 1 (paperback) $19.95

The history of the nation and national identification as a field of research in German historiography has boomed in recent years. As long ago as 1995, Dieter Langewiesche, writing a research report for the journal *Neue Politische Literatur,* pointed out that there were so many new publications on this subject that 'it is no longer possible to have an overview'. Inspired by Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm, many historians have focused on the cultural dimensions of nation and nationalism, with particular emphasis on the history of the nineteenth century and imperial Germany. Alon Confino's study of relations between national, regional, and local identity in Württemberg from 1871 to 1918 is thus part of a broader movement in research which examines the interplay and mutual relationship between national identity and other forms of identification. In two clearly separate sections Confino looks at how, after the founding of the first German national state in 1871, something like a broad national identity, reconciling regional with national memory, emerged in the previously independent state of Württemberg. In the first part he analyses the attempt by the National Liberals to establish the celebration of Sedan Day on 2 September as a national ritual to commemorate the war of 1870-1 in south German Württemberg. This memory emphasized Prussia's part in the unification of Germany and therefore, as Confino points out, excluded Catholics, Württemberg particularists, and Social Democrats from the idea of the nation. The attempts by Württemberg liberals to establish Sedan Day as the permanent centre-piece of a national memory had a strong party-political character, and ultimately failed. In the second part of his book, Confino contrasts their efforts with the *Heimat* movement that was emerging at the end of the nineteenth century. Combining local with national identification, it built up a comprehensive understanding of nation that transcended party politics. In contrast to a centralist and élitist image of the nation, the *Heimat* movement emphasized the uniqueness of local identity, but it always embedded it in the framework of a broader, 'German' feeling of home and thus reconciled it with the national idea.

Taking the example of Württemberg Confino, with a real feel for the change from a regional to a national perspective, graphically presents essential elements of a problem addressed by recent German research, namely that of establishing a national identity in the German Kaiserreich after 1871. This is true in particular of his analysis of the *Heimat* movement, which established itself in southern Germany from the 1890s through a dense network of local heritage and tourism associations and museums of local history. The detailed iconographic analysis of the world of images of the *Heimat* movement, which Confino explores in a lengthy chapter with 300 illustrations, is particularly instructive. The stereotyped pictures found in *Heimat* books, on postcards and tourist posters, in school books and in museums of local history, reflected an idealized image of a rural or small-town life that largely denied the industrial reality of modern Germany. The traditionalist visions of landscape and nature put about by the *Heimat* movement, however, were combined with a thoroughly modern commitment to developing a tourist industry directed primarily at 'discovering' the 'national *Heimat'*. Confino therefore concludes: 'Heimat thus both glorified the past and celebrated modernity' (p. 121).

These parts of Confino's book are especially convincing. They display a methodologically astute, differentiated argument which combines the regional peculiarities of Württemberg with national developments. Yet despite Confino's passionate plea for more attention to be paid to the history of everyday life, his account of the local basis of the *Heimat* movement is astonishingly lacking in specificity: 'The Heimat movement, in contrast [to the old history associations of the educated middle classes] was a wide civic movement of socially and professionally varied groups' (p. 105). Here, and in a few other places, the reader misses the vividness with which, in the first part of the book, for example, Confino describes the local rituals of Sedan Day celebrations, strongly modelled on the festive traditions of the nineteenth-century liberal national movement.

Less convincing, however, is the argument with which Confino identifies the development of Sedan Day celebrations with the political fate of the liberal Protestant notables. He sees them as crucial to the rise and fall of the Sedan cult in Württemberg (for example, pp. 73-93). In doing so Confino is, quite correctly, rejecting the image of a rather passive bourgeoisie which subscribed to conservative and

monarchist nationalism, as used to be put forward by some defenders of the *Sonderweg* thesis. Yet he himself has to admit that the defenders of Sedan Day in the 'small and medium-sized communities' of Württemberg included members of the Protestant petty bourgeoisie as well as the liberal bourgeoisie (p. 83). In his interpretation, however, they appear merely as 'fellow travellers' of the real bourgeois élite that set the tone, and they are not attributed with any independent input in shaping and keeping up Sedan Day festivities. Yet it was the ex-servicemen's associations, largely petty bourgeois in character, that, with the liberal city governments, kept the public celebrations of Sedan Day alive until the turn of the century. This is true at least for those regions of western, northern, and central Germany that the reviewer and other historians have investigated in their studies of the development of the Sedan cult (see, among others, Ute Schneider, *Politische Festkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Rheinprovinz von der französischen Zeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges (1806-1918)*, 1995, pp. 238-63; Jakob Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt: Der Kult der 'Nation in Waffen' in Deutschland und Frankreich*, 1997, pp. 144-62).

In the light of this research, the author's account of the decline of Sedan Day celebrations in the 1890s is very problematic. Confino ties it closely to the bourgeois liberal élite's loss of power in Württemberg in the 1890s. But in other parts of Germany that period, after the end of the *Kulturkampf* and the Anti-Socialist Laws, witnessed a reintegration of Catholics and workers in the national festive culture. Also particularist tendencies, for example in Bavaria, seem to have declined. In the case of Sedan Day, this development was expressed in the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of the battle which took place throughout Germany on 2 September 1895 and attracted genuine public interest. These 1895 celebrations, which Confino does not mention at all, can certainly be seen as evidence that popular interest in the Sedan cult had not waned at that time. It was foreign policy considerations *vis-à-vis* France in 1900 related to the joint military action in China that, combined with the change of generation in the ex-servicemen's associations, put an end to the celebrations of Sedan Day as a supra-regional, national festival around the turn of the century.

On the whole, one could have wished that Confino had taken the comment about the 'ambiguous and often contradictory meanings' of 'nationhood' at the beginning of his book (p. 3) more seriously in his

own interpretation. This weakness in an otherwise extremely stimulating, and in many respects methodologically innovative study may partly be attributable to the fact that he hardly takes account of the works that have been published in Germany since 1990. Thus this book illustrates the fundamental problem of keeping up with a constantly changing research landscape from a distance. Some of the older positions which Confino justifiably criticizes have already been overtaken by more recent work.

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THOMAS ROHKRÄMER, *Eine andere Moderne? Zivilisationskritik, Natur und Technik in Deutschland 1880-1933* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999), 404 pp. ISBN 3 506 77268 6. DM 98.00

Despite a large number of recent publications about 'cultural criticism' and the 'conservative revolution', Thomas Rohkrämer's work succeeds in putting forward an original and convincing thesis. In themselves, most of the principal characters of the book—Walther Rathenau, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, Oswald Spengler, and Ernst Jünger—have already been researched in considerable detail. Similarly, studies of modern technology, and intellectuals' reactions to it, are hardly new. Rohkrämer's claim to novelty lies both in the scope of his monograph and in the consistency and depth with which it investigates criticism of mechanization. By extending his study back into the nineteenth century, he provides a much fuller explanation of the ambivalent adoption of technology by 'reactionary modernists' such as Jünger. Furthermore, by translating questions about the reaction to technology, which are more usually posed by historians of the inter-war period, into an analysis of pre-war cultural criticism, which has been depicted by some historians as out-and-out anti-modernism, he demonstrates that much of the supposed rejection of industrialization and rationalization was, in fact, internal criticism by intellectuals who, for the most part, accepted the necessity of *Technik*.

According to Rohkrämer, it is possible to make an ideal-typical distinction between those who thought that they could control technology by subordinating it to civic ethics, those who attempted to reconcile technology with nature by adopting more natural forms of life, and those who strove to overcome the manifest problems of society and technology by perfecting technology itself. Broadly speaking, notwithstanding a significant degree of overlap and contradiction, there was an uneven and avoidable movement from critics like Rathenau, who continued to believe in ethical control, via proponents of nature and *Lebensreform* like Ludwig Klages, to enthusiasts of *Technik* like Jünger, who wished to use the power of technology to counteract the decadence of society. The implications of this thesis are extremely significant, effectively tying the Wilhelmine, Weimar, and Nazi periods more closely together and relativizing the cultural shift produced by the First World War. Like many other historians of

that war, of the conservative revolution, and of Nazism, Rohkrämer correctly recognizes the centrality of technology to German politics in the modern era, particularly to right-wing politics. His achievement is to have made German attitudes to technology during this period more easily comprehensible.

The starting-point of *Eine andere Moderne?* is the enthusiasm for technology which had developed during the latter half of the nineteenth century and remained 'the dominant attitude' (p. 38) during the imperial era. Rohkrämer draws heavily on an extensive, but often ignored, literature on *Technik* to show that this was the case even in the alleged bastions of anti-modernism. Thus, he points out that landowners, farmers, and farm labourers, who continued to comprise almost one third of the workforce before 1914, had come to rely on the utilization of technology and, in the words of the *Bund der Landwirte*, had come to deny the existence of a conflict of interest between agriculture and industry, claiming to support the 'maintenance of the independence of artisans and small businessmen, industry, solid commerce, manual labour and the agrarian sector' (pp. 43-4). Likewise, the *Mittelstand* and the *Bildungsbürgertum*, both of which suffered less in economic terms than farmers during the cycles of recession after 1873, continued to believe in the overall benefits of mechanization and rationalization. Such belief sustained the growing numbers of visitors to the world exhibitions and the overwhelming popularity of technical innovators like Graf Zeppelin. It was also reflected in William II's predilection for wireless telegraphy, modern battleships, and electricity, with the imperial palace becoming one of the first buildings in Germany to use electric lighting. Given this level of popular wonderment at the marvels of technology, the debate, contends Rohkrämer, had not come to rest on a stark choice between mechanization and a pre-industrial idyll, but rather had come to turn on the question of technology's cultural significance. Whereas many members of the landowning élites and of the educated middle classes were convinced that they must preserve the sacred domain of culture from the deleterious spiritual consequences of *Technik*, some engineers, technicians, and industrialists started to argue that technology had a cultural value of its own.

The limits of such thinking are examined by referring to the works and life of Walther Rathenau, president of the AEG and organizer of the War Ministry's Raw Materials Section during the First World

War. Rathenau is proof, writes Rohkrämer, 'that a critical attitude to civilization could be combined with an affirmation of economic and technical progress' (p. 83). Thus, the industrialist's first major publication, *Zur Kritik der Zeit*, which came out in 1912, evinced the necessity of a division of labour, mass production, scientific knowledge, and a technical exploitation of nature, on the one hand, and the spiritually damaging standardization of all areas of society and culture through the encroachment of mechanization, on the other. In *Zur Mechanik des Geistes*, which appeared one year later, Rathenau looked at these spiritual effects of *Mechanik*, by which he meant the universal imposition of rational forms of organization, and suggested ways of defending the 'realm of the soul', by which he understood the threatened but discrete sphere of culture and art. Mechanization, he claimed, had already begun to liberate parts of the upper stratum of society, and would eventually free the rest of society too, from the requirements of labour and ever-increasing consumption. What was needed, therefore, was an 'inner renascence, a transformation of human striving (*Wollen*)' (p. 94), rather than a restructuring of Germany's political institutions. During the First World War, in *Von kommenden Dingen*, Rathenau came to champion political change and state intervention, but still partly as a means of creating 'a new, less materialistic society' (p. 107). From the start, he had distinguished between an increasingly efficient organization of technology and a capitalist economy. After 1914, he came to look to the state, even at the expense of certain private economic interests, to combine organization and ethical regeneration.

The other main pre-war form of regeneration, which was also critical of civilization, was advocated by diverse, largely middle-class movements for *Lebensreform*, such as those for *Natur* and *Heimatschutz* and that of the *Jugendbewegung*. Such loosely connected sets of movements, which extended from large-membership organizations like the youth associations, with a total of 60,000 members, to small but influential communes of artists and bohemians is best characterized, according to Rohkrämer, by the ideas of the philosopher and doctor of chemistry, Ludwig Klages. Like Rathenau, Klages is held to represent, in extreme form, a much broader tendency within German society, particularly within the *Bürgertum* and within the right. Standing at the intersection between popular revulsion at the conditions of urban, industrial society and the post-Nietzschean, anti-

Enlightenment tradition of *Lebensphilosophie*, Klages was derided by socialist contemporaries like Ernst Bloch as a 'Tarzan philosopher', searching for a primordial way of life. Rohkrämer, however, shows how Klages 'saw the impossibility of withdrawing from the technical system' (p. 172). Rather, the philosopher was worried about the way in which the natural sciences and technology, which had permeated all spheres of society, effectively severed humans' links to nature and to a full life. Thus, dreams, visions, and ecstasies were the best means of re-establishing a sense of reality, since in this state 'we are … passive, without will, abandoned to our external situation' (p. 182). Certainly, the natural sciences only gave one narrow view of reality, and yet were believed to explain and encompass it in its entirety. Moreover, 'just as natural sciences wanted to establish the domination of the mind (*Geist*) over external nature, so ethical rules wanted to establish domination over the inner nature of humans' (p. 194). As a result, argued Klages, contemporaries should not trust in social ethics to control science and technology, but in nature in all its forms. This did not mean, however, as Rohkrämer rightly points out, that scientific method and technological advances should be given up completely, merely that their limitations and consequences should be recognized.

The First World War did not destroy pre-war perceptions of technology and civilization. The strands of thought which Klages and Rathenau represented—and the writers themselves—continued to be influential after 1918. Accordingly, the willingness of the conservative revolution to utilize technology did not constitute a fundamental break with the past, but rather extended the uses, especially on the right, to which technology would be put. Rohkrämer illustrates such differences of degree within the German right, culminating in the works of Ernst Jünger, by examining the ideas of a variety of conservative intellectuals, from the economist Werner Sombart and the historian Oswald Spengler to the sociologist Hans Freyer and the constitutional lawyer Carl Schmitt. Thus, the writings of Arthur Moeller van den Bruck are explored in order to show how the publicist advocated a strong new state—*Ein Drittes Reich*, in the words of his most famous book—which was to found its imperial mission on a meritocratic hierarchy, and on 'machines and factories' (p. 284). Spengler agreed with most parts of Moeller van den Bruck's project, but added that a technologically efficient dictatorship, which is what he pre-

dicted for Germany, was the last and irreversible stage of a dying European culture. This view of historical development allowed German conservatives to yearn for the past, since, to Spengler, the latter constituted a higher stage of German culture, yet, at the same time, it encouraged them to look to the future, since past glories could not be restored. Schmitt pointed out that such a future, although it seemed to be dominated by 'neutral' technology, in fact emphasized the necessity of politics and political enemies, for powerful ideologies alone would be able to control the technical instruments of state and society. Finally, Jünger combined all of these ideas by means of 'heroic' and 'magical realism' (p. 319). Through the human use of technology, he claimed to have reconciled military and civil society, individual heroism in war and the necessary use of rationalized industry at home, the need for frenzied, irrational intoxication and for a 'conservative-technocratic world of planning' (p. 323), and a renunciation of the *Kaiserreich* and contempt for the Weimar Republic. Like many other conservative revolutionaries, Jünger believed that the First World War had demonstrated the hollowness of backward-looking right-wing romanticism. Under the circumstances, he wrote, conservatives had to accept the harshness of reality, which had been evinced by trench warfare. The ruthless use of technology would allow the realization of a new conservative state and society, which were strong and hardened enough to cope with such harshness.

Nazism, of course, constituted the end-point of such right-wing attempts to harness technology *and* criticize civilization. Rohkrämer, like Jeffrey Herf, Stefan Breuer, and others, implicitly extends his study backwards from investigations into modern and old-fashioned aspects of the Nazi party, state and ideology. Occasionally, this seems to lead to an inadequate contextualization of both specific thinkers and broader movements of ideas. In particular, the left-liberal milieu in which Rathenau moved, the precise connections between Klages' *Lebensphilosophie* and the movements for *Lebensreform,* and the distinction between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* within circles of conservative revolutionaries are not examined in sufficient detail. More significantly, the reader is left without a clear sense of exactly how important technology was, when compared to other themes such as the economy or nation, within late nineteenth and early twentieth-century political, social, and philosophical theo-

ry. All the same, such minor weaknesses in no way undermine the impressive construction of the book as a whole. Rohkrämer presents an eloquent, coherent, and plausible thesis about the enduring significance of technology—often deliberately separated from capitalist industry and scientism—for German attempts between 1880 and 1933 to find 'eine andere Moderne'. His ideal types, and his account of the historical interplay between them, are likely to stimulate further research into the reflexive understanding of modernity during the imperial and Weimar eras.

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CHRISTIAN BERRINGER, *Sozialpolitik in der Weltwirtschaftskrise: Die Arbeitslosenversicherungspolitik in Deutschland und Großbritannien im Vergleich 1928-1934*, Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, 54 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 521 pp. ISBN 3 428 09145 0. DM 148.00

This comparative study of the impact of the Great Depression of 1929-33 on unemployment insurance policy in Germany and Britain is the work of a student of Gerhard A. Ritter, whose own pioneering study, *Sozialversicherung in Deutschland und England. Entstehung und Grundzüge im Vergleich* (1983), was published in Britain as *Social Welfare in Britain and Germany. Origins and Development* in 1986. Ritter's work, while not exactly the first comparative history of social policy in Britain and Germany (see G. V. Rimlinger, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America and Russia*, 1971), did much to put such comparative studies on the map. His book was limited to the period before the First World War; it is easy to understand why he encouraged one of his students to extend the Anglo-German comparison to unemployment insurance policy in the critical period of the Great Depression.

The subject indeed cries out for such treatment. By 1928 both countries possessed a system of unemployment insurance. Although there were other European countries to which the same applied, in none did it encompass so large a proportion of the employed population. In both countries the system was designed to deal with the normal cyclical fluctuations and no more. The mass unemployment caused by the Great Depression was far beyond its capacity and led to major crises not only for the insurance system, but for the financial stability of the state. In both countries this in turn provoked a political crisis, which swept away parliamentary government in Germany, and the practice of single-party government in Britain. When the Labour government was unable to resolve the problems of the spiralling cost of unemployment insurance and its repercussions for the country's gold reserve, it was replaced by a National Government on the precedent created in the First World War.

This study goes well beyond Ritter's own approach to comparative history. *Social Welfare in Britain and Germany* had consisted of two extended essays in national history rounded off by eight pages of comparison, in which a number of interesting points were briefly

enumerated. Berringer's approach is comparative throughout and one of its striking features is the persistence and ingenuity with which he pursues comparative questions at every level of analysis. The book begins with a description of unemployment relief policy up to 1927 and then looks at the crucial legislation passed in both countries in that year. For the first time Germany established unemployment insurance together with a national system of labour exchanges. The same year saw yet another British Unemployment Insurance Act, passed in response to but not entirely along the lines of the report of the Blanesburgh Committee. That committee had attempted to bring some coherence to the series of short term expedients that had characterized British unemployment insurance policy since the end of the war and had produced a situation far removed from the intentions of the original Act of 1911, with which Britain had pioneered national unemployment insurance. While these two systems differed in many ways, as Berringer explains, there were important similarities. Both had been intended to limit the heavy financial liabilities of the central state for the relief of the unemployed that had characterized the previous years. Since in both countries unemployment insurance was calculated to deal only with short-term cyclical unemployment, there had to be measures for relieving the long-term unemployed. In Britain the Treasury once more assumed responsibility for all these by the provision of 'extended benefit'; in Germany the state provided means-tested 'emergency relief' for contributors to unemployment insurance whose entitlement had expired, while the remaining unemployed were the responsibility of local authorities.

The second part of the book compares the two economies in crisis as well as the extent and characteristics of unemployment. As is to be expected, the statistics as collected in the two countries are not immediately comparable, and much ingenuity has gone into making them so. The most important fact to emerge is that whereas unemployment was greater in Britain on the eve of the depression than in Germany, the depression itself created significantly greater unemployment in Germany than Britain. The contrast was at its greatest in 1931-2, when German unemployment was still increasing sharply while it was already slowing down in Britain. Thus the unemployment crisis was significantly longer and more severe in Germany.

The third part of the book deals with unemployment insurance policy itself at government level, comparing the crisis of policy-making

that caused the break-up of the broad-based coalition government headed by the Social Democrat Hermann Müller in March 1930 with the fall of the British Labour government due to its inability to hammer out an agreed cut-back of unemployment relief entitlement in August 1931. The Müller government had been the last to command a majority in the *Reichstag*; its fall was followed by governments acting by presidential decree. In terms of unemployment insurance these months saw a succession of cut-backs of insurance entitlement that culminated in the emergency ordinance of 14 June 1932, which reduced insurance entitlement to a mere six weeks and once more reduced the level of benefits in an attempt to shore up the state finances. At a time of mounting opposition to the objectives of the Weimar welfare state, state financial policy took precedence over social policy considerations, and an increasing proportion of the unemployed became dependent for their maintenance on local authorities out of their ever shrinking budgets. This defence of state finances at the expense of the local authorities brought the tripartite nature of the German system into question, but despite all their attempts the local authority lobby (*Städtetag*) totally failed to obtain the structural reform of unemployment relief for which they pressed. In Britain the National Government had no difficulty in reducing benefits and restoring its creditworthiness. But unlike the succession of German governments it moved on to a consideration of structural reforms that found their expression in the Unemployment Act of 1934. This restored the actuarial and limited nature of the insurance system, and created means-tested, locally administered but centrally financed and controlled unemployment relief for the rest. An Unemployment Insurance Statutory Commission and an Unemployment Assistance Board were set up to oversee the two sides of this system. This contrast between the single-minded concentration in Germany on the cutting back of relief at the expense of the unemployed, and the ability of the National government in Britain to move on to a reform of the structure of relief is the principal contrast that emerges from the study.

But Berringer goes on to look at the political process in greater detail, comparing the respective roles of the Ministries of Labour, of the quasi-independent bodies within the two systems, the local authorities as political actors, and both the employer and trade union lobbies. Each of these studies produces illuminating points of com-

parison, for example, the more effective and creative role of the British Ministry of Labour as an agency of reform, and the greater helplessness of the local authorities in Britain in the face of pressure from the centre. But transcending all such differences, what emerges is the similarity of the political process in the two countries. In each case important decisions are taken within a small group of ministers and their civil servants clustered around the head of the government and the minister responsible for finance, what Berringer calls a process of centralization and bureaucratization, precisely because in both countries financial policy had taken priority over social policy.

This book is an impressive achievement. One cannot but admire its orderliness and its thorough and systematic exposition. That thoroughness owes much to its origin as a dissertation, yet Berringer is quite capable of cutting through the jungle of details to the fundamental points, not least to the fundamental points of comparison. This is a book that does not lose sight of the wood for all the abundance of trees. The eight pages of conclusions are particularly valuable, since they incorporate a careful résumé of the argument but also raise new issues drawn from a wider context than the necessarily limited one prescribed by the demands of a dissertation.

The tendency for established procedures and arrangements to dominate the way in which systems subsequently develop, often described as 'path-dependency', turns out to be useful for the explanation of differences in the way that the two systems adjusted to the challenges of the crisis, even if Germany's unemployment insurance was to survive in 1932 as little more than a hollow shell. It was a shell, Berringer insists, that after the stagnation of the Nazi years was once more to be given real content through the reforms of the Federal Republic.

This is one of the few places where the omission of the Nazi years finds explicit recognition. Mostly it is merely an organizing principle of the book. In spite of the date in the title and the fact that the British study culminates in the reforms of 1934, the treatment of German policy ends, to all intents and purposes, in 1932. There are no more than two brief references to 1933 and 1934. As far as Germany is concerned there is something surprisingly old-fashioned in the periodization. It owes more to Ludwig Preller's *Sozialpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* of 1949 than to the final two volumes of Christoph Sachsse's and Florian Tennstedt's *Geschichte der Armenfürsorge in*

Deutschland of 1988 and 1992. It is significant that Sachsse and Tennstedt chose to divide their volumes at 1929 and to include the years of economic crisis and presidential government with the early Hitler years under the title 'the rise of the authoritarian welfare state'. They see the next break as occurring in 1938 with what they call 'the transition from the authoritarian to the *völkisch* welfare state'.

Sachsse and Tennstedt were, of course, writing about far more than the history of unemployment insurance. It is certainly true that for Berringer's chosen subject the significance of the years after January 1933 is merely negative. The attempts at structural reform were brushed aside, as he points out, and more important still, with quite insignificant exceptions the drastic increases in contributions and of cuts in benefits were not reversed until 1937, in contrast to Britain and in spite of mounting surpluses in the insurance fund. The important changes that occurred were in employment policy, such matters as the provision of work, job counselling, and direction of labour. Employment and unemployment policy had, in fact, been closely linked to unemployment insurance in Germany ever since the legislation of 1927, but Berringer has explicitly excluded it. His book is intended as a study not of unemployment policy but of unemployment relief policy, so that the exclusion of these aspects is justified. This is a defence, however, that I have constructed on his behalf, not one that he puts forward himself. What one misses in his book is an awareness that his chosen periodization is not the only conceivable one, that it is nowadays not even the obvious one, and that it requires justification.

Nor is this the only element that one misses. Most surprising of all is the disregard of the foreign dimension to these policies. The May Committee, whose critical report contributed to the flight from the pound and whose recommendations focused public attention on the financial problems of unemployment insurance, figures only briefly in the story as told here. A passing reference to the need to speed up deliberations on account of the crisis development of the pound and of the British financial markets does little to alert the reader to the crucial role of the American banks, for which the recommendations of the committee became the irreducible conditions for the loan to support the country's essential gold reserves, and thereby effectively put a pistol to the head of the Cabinet. Having failed to note the importance of sterling convertibility in the rapid worsening of the

political crisis, he also makes no mention of the National Government's decision to abandon the gold standard, a decision which made it possible to regard the subsequent increase in insurance contributions and reduction in benefits as an adequate response to the financial crisis. Yet a greater emphasis on the relevance of Britain's international obligations for the course of the crisis and the necessary political response required would have prompted a valuable comparison with Germany. Much attention has been paid by historians to the rapid worsening of the German economy during the Brüning era, a development that accounts for the fact that unemployment continued to rise throughout 1931-2, when it was already stabilizing in Britain. How far the policy of deflation pursued by Brüning was freely chosen has been the subject of deep disagreement. But there is general agreement that the liberation of Germany from the burden of reparations was his first priority and that his domestic policy was subordinated to that end, which was achieved by the Lausanne conference but not until the summer of 1932. There is, therefore, a further aspect to Brüning's willingness to sacrifice considerations of social policy to the financial health of the state. Berringer himself provides no explanation for the worsening of the economic situation at this time. It is taken for granted as the context for the cutting back of unemployment relief. Nor does there seem to be any reference to reparations anywhere (it is hard to be absolutely certain since like far too many German books this book lacks an index) and certainly no suggestion that the obligation to make reparations payments might have impinged on domestic economic policy. A little less preoccupation with the finer institutional details of domestic policy would have allowed him to incorporate the international obligations of the two countries into his analysis. The result would have been a fuller explanation of policy and an additional element of comparison.

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PETER LONGERICH, *Politik der Vernichtung: Eine Gesamtdarstellung der nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1998), 772 pp. ISBN 3 492 03755 0. DM 78.00

Peter Longerich's *Politik der Vernichtung* is the first comprehensive overview of the decision- and policy-making process behind the Nazi persecution of the Jews to be written since the opening of the east European archives. Longerich has also made good use of a wealth of specialized studies that have appeared in recent years. The result is a milestone in Holocaust scholarship that both sums up the current state of research and contributes in important ways to the current debates over interpretation.

In the first part of the book, Longerich does not break with the general approach found in the pioneering work (now thirty years old but still impressive) of Karl Schleunes and Uwe Dietrich Adam in outlining the three stages or phases of Nazi persecution in the pre-war period. But Longerich's synthesis and interpretation adds three important elements. First, he integrates new documentation, especially that of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) found in the Moscow Special Archives relating to the 'Jewish desk' of Heydrich's Security Service (SD). Second, building on the work of Otto Dov Kulka, Ian Kershaw, and David Bankier, Longerich conducts his own exhaustive research on the documentary materials (both the police and Sopade reports) relating to mood and opinion of the German public. Longerich then carefully sets each stage of policy-making in the wider context of German popular opinion. In doing so, he recognizes the problematic nature of this evidence. He argues that merely pragmatic arguments and complaints must not be taken simply at face value but, within the context of a repressive dictatorship, should be seen at least in part as expressing deeper discontents with the morality of Nazi persecution as well. Thirdly, Longerich traces the brutal and violent behaviour, both spontaneous and instigated, of Nazi anti-Semitic activists in exerting continuous pressure for radicalization. With an apt selection of telling examples, Longerich skilfully portrays the frightening ethos and impact of Nazi fanaticism.

Longerich's overall conclusions about this period are similar in many ways to those reached by Saul Friedländer in his book *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution*, published just one year earlier. Anti-Semitism was a driving ideological priority for Hitler

and the Nazis, who could not consider their conquest of German society complete without imposing a racial revolution. Though Longerich does not place the same emphasis on the complicity of the German conservative élites and churches as does Friedländer, both conclude that Hitler and the Nazis pushed through their agenda in a society characterized more by 'indifference' and 'passive acceptance' than by rabid anti-Semitism.

For the crucial 1939 to 1942 period Longerich argues on the one hand for a periodization based on four 'stages of escalation' and on the other hand for a 'triangular' decision-making process. For Longerich the autumn of 1939 was the 'decisive caesura', when *Judenpolitik* was first transformed into *Vernichtungspolitik*. 'What the regime undertook from 1941 on was nothing more than the concretization and realization of the destruction already aimed for in 1939' (p. 579), he argues. The last of his 'stages of escalation' comes in the spring of 1942, when a cluster of decisions (to murder German Jews deported to Lodz, Lublin, and Minsk; to clear the Polish ghettos of all but a remnant of work Jews; and to deport whole families from Slovakia and western Europe, with the bulk of the deportees killed immediately upon arrival after selection on the ramp) cast Nazi Vernichtungspolitik in the form of the 'Final Solution' as we now understand it. The other two stages or turning points that receive considerable emphasis in the existing scholarly literature (summer and autumn 1941) are in turn somewhat downplayed by Longerich.

I welcome Longerich's emphasis on the destructive continuity of Nazi policies since 1939, though I think useful distinctions can still be made between 'ethnic cleansing', genocide, and the Final Solution. I also welcome his portrayal of the decision-making process as prolonged and incremental, and his extension of this decision-making process into 1942. In one respect, of course, I disagree with Longerich, in that I place greater emphasis on the autumn of 1941 as the point at which the Nazi leadership committed itself to a goal of total destruction. Longerich uses careful language, noting that at this point no decision had been taken for the 'immediate mass murder of all European Jews' and that there was as yet no 'programme or plan for systematic destruction' as opposed to the 'climate for the development of such a plan or programme' (p. 448). In my opinion, with these careful qualifications, Longerich avoids the key question, namely: when was it clear to Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich that

their ultimate goal was the mass murder of every last Jew in the German grasp? Indeed, many important decisions remained to be taken concerning how, when, where, at what rate, and with what temporary exceptions the task was to be accomplished, but I think the Nazi regime had effectively 'crossed the Rubicon' in the autumn of 1941.

In trying to articulate the dynamics of how Nazi Jewish policy developed, Longerich correctly rejects a simple, linear, 'top-down' model of decision-order-implementation in favour of a triangular model of vaguely worded orders or exhortations requiring intuitive comprehension according to the political climate, personal initiative of local authorities who possessed considerable latitude, and subsequent formulation into uniform policy by higher echelons. The result was a dialectical interaction between central and local authorities that produced mutual radicalization. Here I think Longerich has struck a reasonable balance between too great emphasis on decisions taken at and orders disseminated from the centre on the one hand, and too great emphasis on the improvisations and initiatives of go-getters on the periphery on the other. And Himmler, the peripatetic intermediary between centre and periphery, receives his due.

In sum, Longerich has written an important book characterized by deep research, important contributions to the scholarly debate, and reasoned conclusions that eschew sensationalism and exude commonsense. It is one of the essential books in the field.

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PATRICK MAJOR, *The Death of the KPD: Communism and anti-Communism in West Germany, 1945-1956*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), xiv + 335 pp. ISBN 0 19 8206933. £45.00

In the last few years the sudden and extensive opening of the archives that house the files of the SED has led to a distorted picture of German post-war history. Within a short time a veritable 'industry' of GDR history has developed which subjects the smaller of the two German states to a highly differentiated examination in terms of both concepts and topics. By contrast, a comprehensive historical examination of the Federal Republic is currently taking a back seat, an imbalance which, it is to be hoped, will be redressed in the near future by approaches which integrate the GDR and the FRG.

Patrick Major can rightly claim to be one of the first to have grasped this golden opportunity—that is, the sudden access to the SED party archives—to take a new look along these lines at a chapter in the first post-war decades of (West) Germany: the history of the German Communist Party (KPD) until it was banned in 1956. His work is divided into two sections as indicated by the sub-title: 'Communism' and 'anti-Communism'. The emphasis is clearly on the first part which deals with the development of the KPD in five thematic chapters. It starts with the failed attempts to unite the KPD and the SED in the Western zones, as happened in the Soviet zone of occupation with the support of the Soviet military authorities. This resulted in that unequal relationship between the 'brother parties' SED and KPD in which the latter was barely able to pursue an independent policy any longer—if indeed it wanted to. The following two chapters deal with the KPD's parliamentary and extra-parliamentary policies. Indeed, a close look at the parliaments and governing coalitions in the new German *Länder* in the Western zones reveals that in the first three years the KPD was not only a real mass party (with more members than at the time of the Weimar Republic). As part of the anti-fascist consensus it also played a positive role in reconstruction and was represented in several regional governments. As in the better-known cases of France and Italy the transition to a strictly oppositional stance occurred after the deterioration in international relations from 1947 and the formation of the Cominform. From 1948 onwards the KPD was nothing more than an outsider, excluded from

the actual business of politics. It therefore shifted the focus of its activities to attempts at mass mobilization outside parliament. The main objective, in line with the SED's policy on Germany, was to pursue the unity of the nation, or rather, to reunify Germany. However, it was precisely in this policy sphere that the party ended up completely unprotected between the millstones of two competing systems. Any serious attempt to present a credible alternative to western integration in West Germany was doomed to fail because of the simultaneous militarization and Sovietization of the SED state which could not be ignored.

Major looks at a similar transition from constructive co-operation to self-imposed isolation in the next chapter on KDP policy in factories and trade unions. While the Communists, as members of works councils, could rely on workers' recognition in the struggle against hunger and in industrial reconstruction until 1948, and also helped to strengthen the *Einheitsgewerkschaften* (industry-based unions), they rapidly lost support with the introduction of the currency reform and the promises of the social market economy. According to Major it was mainly their political denunciation of the economic policy of social partnership—and not the material effects of the economic miracle, which, as we know, did not reach the mass of the workers until the end of the decade—which led to the Communists being marginalized within the trade union movement. Their increasing exclusion from socio-political processes, be it in parliament, the political public, or, indeed, the real field of action of a workers' party, the factories, coincided with the transition from a mass party to a cadre party. This is dealt with in the final chapter in this section. Major talks of a *Gleichschaltung* to a new type of party which now entered a phase of Stalinist purges and splinter groups. By the end of it, all that remained was a decimated organization with a bureaucratic hydrocephalus in East Berlin.

Major's description of the total collapse of a Communist party in Germany does not contain any sensational new information or revelations. In fact, in many respects it confirms, or goes beyond, what was previously suspected about the restricted scope which the SED allowed the KPD. His concentrated style of presentation, spiced with sarcastic jokes and a dry sense of humour, frequently helps the reader over unavoidable redundancies in what, after all, seems like the story of a hopeless loser. The conceptional strength of Major's work,

however, lies in the fact that he consistently avoids attributing responsibility for the death of the KPD to one single factor. Admittedly it becomes more than clear from the copious empirical material just how much the KPD's material and ideological dependence on the SED gradually drove it into isolation at all levels of political activity. Above all, the part played by the West German Communists themselves in taking this dead-end road, caused by their dependence on the SED, becomes quite clear. At the same time, however, Major constantly stresses the measures taken by Western actors to further this process. Both the Anglo-American military authorities and the German actors—the Social Democratic trade union and SPD leaders, and, of course, the Federal government and the federal judiciary—all played a part in the development of fronts within society. Major therefore devotes the shorter, second section of his book to anti-Communism in West Germany. His brief discussion of 'popular anti-Communism' contains various references to the fact that anti-Communism was broadly based in the committees, associations, and pressure groups of civil society. This aspect still needs to be researched in depth.

Finally, in his concluding remarks Major introduces the neologism of the 'Cold Civil War' in order to characterize the specifically German combination of international and national conflict at that time. This is intended to illustrate the far-reaching and lasting effects which the formation of international fronts and their images of the enemy had on the social life of the FRG and the GDR. Just as in his remarks on the various individual aspects, Major's allusion to 'civil war' points up the—apparent?—inevitability of the binary friend-foe logic once the choice between East *or* West, or the impossibility of any 'third way' had become social and political realities. In future research on the social history of divided Germany this concept should definitely be taken up and further developed since it draws attention to the ordinary citizens in the two states and their actions, and stops the Cold War from being purely a part of diplomatic history. Major's book is therefore not only a successful contribution to the history of political parties, but also the first step towards a social history of the Cold War.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Writing World History, 1800-2000. Conference of the German Historical Institute London and the German Historical Institute Washington, held at the GHIL, 30 March-1 April 2000.

Practitioners and theoreticians of world historiography were invited to this conference to discuss, in international comparison, past traditions and the current as well as possible future directions that this discipline might take. This was a follow-up to the Washington meeting of October 1997, which looked at the professionalization of history and the opportunities for, and limitations on, intercultural historiographical exchange and transfer (cf. *Bulletin of the GHIL*, vol. XX, no. 1, May 1998, pp. 93-6; *Bulletin of the GHIW*, vol. XXI, Fall 1997, pp. 27-30). As in Washington, the intention in London was to examine the development of historiographical approaches in an international perspective, with particular value being placed on examples from outside Europe. Naturally the conference could lay no claim to comprehensiveness. Therefore a small but representative sample of European and non-European traditions was selected: France, Italy, Germany, Russia (especially important because of the usual restriction to Western Europe), Japan, China, India, Brazil, and the USA. The conference concluded with papers on the current debates and areas of research in world historiography, and a discussion of the central issue of whether world history could be written at all at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and if so, how.

After a welcome by the Director of the GHIL, Peter Wende, Benedikt Stuchtey (GHIL) introduced the concept of the conference and a few general trends in past as well as present world historiography. He pointed out the terminological differences between 'world history', 'global history', 'total history', and 'universal history', and discussed relations between world history on the one hand, and local, regional, and national history on the other. Is the historical discipline likely to fragment further, he asked, or will this danger be averted with the help of world history? As long ago as the 1980s William McNeill called for world historiography to use the same methods to achieve the same aims as other types of historiography.

By recognizing the arbitrary nature of the chronological and regional boundaries of traditional historiography, the French *Annales* school created important foundations for modern world historiography, without, of course, defining itself as such. The problem of unevenness in the state of knowledge remains. Can a balanced world history ever be written while the West is much better researched than the world outside Europe? What opportunities does a comparison offer? What are its limitations?

The conference was structured chronologically, with one half devoted to the period from 1800 to 1945, and the other from 1945 to the present. Geographically, it was divided into a comparison between Europe and the world outside Europe. In the nineteenth century universal history was still largely seen as the history of the development of European civilization, economic domination, and imperial expansion. Speaking about Italy, Mauro Moretti (Pisa) introduced the works and debates of leading Italian historians. He concentrated mainly on Cesare Cantù (1804-95) and his thirty-five volume *Storia Universale* (published between 1838 and 1846). Despite its great sympathy for the national question and the Italian nation-state, world historiography did not play a subordinate role in nineteenth-century Italy, and was influenced by German works in particular. Yet the conception of Cantù's *Storia* was conventional. He restricted his account to the European and Christian West, and saw universal history as the history only of Christianity.

Thomas Bohn (Jena), by contrast, concluded that world historiography in Tsarist Russia and in the Soviet Union provided a good example of the political function of historiography. He discussed Russia's place in Europe, the tensions between looking backwards and modernization, society and state, professional works and popular syntheses, traditional and modern interdisciplinary methods, and, finally, between Eurocentric models on the one hand and the construction of a patriotic Russian *Sonderweg* on the other. The concepts behind Russian and Soviet world historiography depended essentially on how the country defined its place between its colonial periphery and Europe, and how far it emancipated itself from the influence of German historicism and Hegelianism. Yet the official Marxist-Leninist world history in ten volumes (1955-65) was still based on the classic European perspective, even if it was structured by *motifs* such as the class struggle. Eckhardt Fuchs (Berlin) cast light

on the traditions of world historiography in Germany from the late eighteenth century. They can be subdivided into three groups: the universal and cosmopolitan perspective; a world history based on Europe; and an approach centred on the concept of nation. In the second part of his paper Fuchs spoke about the problems of writing a transcultural and transnational history of historiography. Starting from the current debates on Eurocentrism and post-colonialism, Fuchs looked at the theoretical and methodological problems confronting a universal history of historiography. He advocated a 'soft' Eurocentrism for epistemological purposes, as a way of exploring new paths in the history of historiography through transcultural comparison and transfer.

In her paper on 'Japanese World History as National Defence', Julia Thomas (Wisconsin) put up for discussion the thesis that the purpose of world historiography in Japan was not initially to understand others, or the non-Japanese world, but rather the self-discovery and self-definition of the Japanese nation. From the Tokugawa period (starting in 1600) to the post-Second World War period, Japanese world historiography was shaped by anxiety and uncertainty in dealing with the country's national identity. Dialogue with the world outside Japan had the primary function of a dialogue with the Japanese nation itself. As far as the Chinese intellectual model of the world outside Chinese civilization was concerned, Ricardo K. S. Mak (Hong Kong) commented that the time before and after the Opium War marked a turning point. Despite trade with south-east Asia and the influence of Western science, there was still a separation from the outside world in the first half of the nineteenth century. After 1842, however, Chinese intellectuals gradually became more open to the West and tried to redefine China's position in the world. Whereas the first generation still believed in the possibility of a Chinese *Sonderweg* which was independent of the rest of the world, the second generation recognized the shortcomings of Chinese civilization and aspired to at least partial integration into world society. In the age of high imperialism, finally, social Darwinism was a crucial factor in the perception of the country and its relations with other nations.

Vinay Lal (Los Angeles) explained in his paper that India experienced tension between Western colonialism and incipient political emancipation. A conception of world history, as created by India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, for example, grew out of this

experience. According to Lal, however, despite all multicultural and transnational co-operation within the scientific community, there is no question of modern world historiography having overcome the dominance of a Eurocentric, that is, Western European-American perspective. Few world historical studies have a genuinely comparative approach, and, he argued, the current globalization discourse still operates with a unitary concept of the world and does not perceive the variety of interpretative possibilities which it contains. In the same session, Jochen Meissner (Hamburg) demonstrated that the Eurocentric model of universal history is also being questioned in South America. Concentrating on the Brazilian historian Gilberto Freyre, Meissner discussed, among other things, Freyre's book *Casa grande e senzala (*1933). In it Freyre interpreted the deplorable state of affairs in Brazil and the country's apparent inability to match the development of other countries not in the usual racist terms, but with the help of social patterns of explanation. Fernand Braudel and Thomas Mann took note of this work, and it went through twenty-five editions. One of Freyre's teachers had been Franz Boas, and he took a particular interest in anthropological and trans-cultural approaches.

In the next session, Sebastian Conrad (Berlin), looking at the development of Japanese world historiography after 1945, discussed the efforts made in Japan to define the country's position between Asia and Europe, as well as between Asian and Western history. World history was popular, firmly anchored in school syllabuses, and had the function of placing Japan's past into a universal historical context. In the immediate post-war period, Japan tended to see itself as part of the West and its concepts of modernization. In the 1960s it sought its place more within the Asian world order, but since the 1990s Japan has rediscovered and given a positive value to the period of national isolation (1603-1853). In Japan, this was associated with pride in the nation and the vision of a peaceful, anti-expansionist society. The endorsement of an isolationist policy as a consequence of Japan's position in world history was also connected with this.

Lutz Raphael (Trier) then explained the theory and practice of the world historiography of the *Annales* school. Referring at first to Henri Berr's famous project 'L'evolution de l'humanité', he then discussed Lucien Febvre's and Marc Bloch's concepts of world history. Fernand Braudel, whose book *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque*

de Philippe II (1949) has become a classic of historiography, is a towering figure in this context. His programme, which covered immoveable geographical time, the *long durée* of social, demographic time, and the short time-span of events, was not, however, adopted by the *Annales* school. In practice, its institutional base in the sixth section of the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* was of great significance. Among the great names of the German tradition are those of Karl Marx and Max Weber, who were the key figures in Patrick O'Brien's (London) reflections on 'The Global History of Material Progress'. O'Brien introduced a number of parameters for research into the universal history of economic growth. In a historical-chronological outline he investigated systematic reflections on economic conditions from Adam Smith, Marx, and Weber to the World System School and Brenner. In the second part of his paper he compared European and Asian developments in technology, techniques, processes, and the management of economic production between 1368 and 1815.

The final session of the conference looked at the tasks and problems of current and future world historiography. Jerry H. Bentley (Hawaii) spoke on the connection between 'World History and Grand Narrative'. He proposed that world history should separate itself from Eurocentric models dating from the Enlightenment, and that it should pursue the integration of individual societies in a world context. He coined the term historical 'realities', and recommended three as a structure for this sort of history. They are common to all societies in the history of humankind, he argued, and their contextualization would create a world history different from existing teleological attempts orientated by dominance and hegemony. The three historical 'realities' he mentioned—population growth, constantly improving technical possibilities, and growing transcultural relations—have been of considerable significance for the development of the world as a whole. From a global perspective, of course, a Grand Narrative could hardly be written without taking account of the American past's special path, as Michael Adas (New Brunswick) emphasized in his paper. The experience of a settler society achieving global hegemony is essential, he suggested, for a better understanding of the problems of world history, and, in particular, of the twentieth century. But historical comparisons and the establishment of common experiences (for example, the frontier and the impact of scientific and technological change), have again proved to be impor-

tant preconditions. Adas also indicated that world history achieved academic respectability relatively late in the USA, having had first to distance itself from the dominance of the specialized disciplines. Finally Arif Dirlik (Duke), in the last paper of the conference, emphasized the problems of modern world historiography. He questioned its justification and its point so long as it essentially reflects 'world-making' and cannot separate itself from the continuing dominance of Eurocentrism. Dirlik warned against a trend which privileges world history over other forms of historiography, is too positivistic in its practice, and in effect does nothing but rehearse the triumph of Western globalization.

This tension between the arguments for and against 'writing world history' continued in the closing discussion. Jürgen Osterhammel (Constance) began by summing up five central problems: the development of criteria for relevant problems of world history; the issue of 'good' or 'bad' world history; intellectual and institutional preconditions for world history-writing; the question of whether comparative history is world history; and space and time as the units of world history. Contributors to the discussion repeatedly referred back to these criteria. Thus, for example, the astonishing lack of world history as a special feature of British historiography was controversially debated. The significance of the philosophy of history, and the differences between a professional body of historians orientated by the nation-state and amateur history-writing which includes world history as a subject were also discussed. Another topic debated was the problem of Eurocentrism in present-day world historiography. The social and political relevance of world history was underlined. This demands clear terminology—for example, 'culture' and 'cultural' need to be differentiated. Since Edward Said's comments on Orientalism in Western scholarship, the history of civilization has also been criticized. As a consequence, an academic market for it has been created. As Michael Geyer and Charles Bright wrote in their article for the *American Historical Review* (1995), modern world historiography has by no means freed itself from Western stereotypes. A reorientation of the subject would throw up many theoretical and practical questions, and confirm the potential of 'writing world history'. A publication of the conference proceedings is planned.

Eckhardt Fuchs (Berlin) Benedikt Stuchtey (London)

***Kulturgeschichte* in Practice**. Conference of the German Historical Institute London, held in Bad Homburg, 23-25 June 2000.

Kulturgeschichte has been the subject of heated debate in Germany for some time. Peter Wende and Andreas Fahrmeir (both GHIL) explained in their introduction that this conference was deliberately designed not to be a forum for another theoretical debate about the merits of *Kulturgeschichte* as a methodological paradigm. Rather, the intention was to introduce and discuss new, empirical research in the area of *Kulturgeschichte* from the point of view of what particular contribution it makes to the substantive development of historiography and what practical problems arise in empirical research.

In the most recent German debate, *Kulturgeschichte* has frequently been treated as an Anglo-American 'invention' which German historiography must take note of in order to catch up with what is happening across the Channel and the Atlantic. In his opening paper, 'Why is Germany Different? Notes on the Recent Discussion on *Kulturgeschichte*', Eckhart Hellmuth (Munich) drew attention to a number of problems and peculiarities of the German debate on *Kulturgeschichte*. The large number of publications and the numerous different theoretical approaches make it difficult to achieve a comprehensive overview of the subject. But it is clear, he argued, that German *Kulturgeschichte* focuses more on the history of everyday life than on high culture, and that the discussion is characterized by a theoretical top-heaviness. The most successful English and American cultural historians, such as Simon Schama and John Brewer (whose work Hellmuth presented in some detail), by contrast, tend to follow their personal inclinations. Also, they less consciously seek for overarching structures, producing instead descriptive history whose implications, none the less, make it critical history. Moreover, Hellmuth argued, German historiography dominated by Weberian social science has a particular problem with interdisciplinary approaches, whereas in the English-language area the methodology of the Cambridge School, which can be applied to a large number of semantic systems, enables boundaries between disciplines to be overcome.

The first session was on 'Cultural History and the Arts'. Speaking on 'Music and the Representation of Monarchy', T. C. W. Blanning (Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge) described different ways in which *opera seria* could be used to serve the purposes of Absolutism.

The examples he took were the Saxon court under Prince Elector Frederick August II and the Prussian court under Frederick II. The Saxon court tried to present and justify its claim to special status in the concert of the European powers by putting on an ostentatious display of artistic modernity in a theatre that was open only to the court and was governed by its rules. Frederick II, by contrast, integrated the court opera into that part of Berlin's architecture which was open to the public. According to Blanning, this shows that the public sphere described by Habermas could also be used for the purposes of Absolutism, and that at the end of the eighteenth century new forms of legitimating power through cultural artefacts were developed.

In another case study—the painting of the French Revolutionary period—Mark Ledbury (Manchester) also discussed the problem of the relationship between artistic developments and political events. In his paper, 'Art History and Cultural History: A Revolutionary Model?' he initially emphasized that it has become accepted among historians and art historians that the two areas are closely interrelated. At English universities courses are regularly taught on art and revolution. The advantage of this development, he suggested, is that historians take more detailed notice of the formal execution of works of art, while art historians go more precisely into the history of the events that form the background to paintings. In practical terms, however, this perspective has led to a dramatic narrowing of the spectrum of works examined. David, for example, has achieved a position which hardly reflects his real importance, while the examination of the genuineness of the works attributed to him has taken a back seat. Finally, Ledbury suggested that a systematic investigation of 'how people made meanings' on the basis of contemporary art critical pamphlets could be useful.

The second session looked at a number of topics which are not usually covered by traditional historiography. In his paper on 'Superstition in the Nineteenth Century' Nils Freytag (Munich) demonstrated ambivalences in the modernization process. His presentation and evaluation of various types of superstition (for example, religious superstition and medical superstition) made clear that the polemically loaded term was used to discredit various religious and medical practices. The choice between legitimate and illegitimate practices, however, especially in the area of medicine, was not made

solely on the basis of rational criteria. Perceptions of 'morality' and 'reliability' also played a part, but they could not be reconstructed by patients who consulted lay healers as well as scientifically trained doctors.

Martina Kessel (Bielefeld), speaking on the topic 'Out of Control: Problems in Writing the History of Emotions', outlined the difficulties which arise while working in such an important but also complex area. The findings of psychology prove to be, in principle, hardly usable, as this discipline does not recognize that its subject has a historical dimension. Using selected biographical texts dating from the nineteenth century, Kessel revealed the various contradictions and tensions which arise at a first stock-taking. Self-control was an important value for bourgeois men, but this rule could occasionally be ignored to allow relief-bringing choleric outbreaks. The literature affirms a culture of authenticity which not only permitted, but positively encouraged, the unrepressed expression of feeling and represented a clear contrast to the usual norms of bourgeois social life.

In a paper on *'Kulturgeschichte* and English Studies' Christoph Heyl (Frankfurt/Main) emphasized the significance of the subject canon for research. In modern English Studies, cultural studies, which includes *Kulturgeschichte* among other things, has considerable importance. Outlining the history of English Studies at German universities, Heyl described how the subject has been influenced by the prevailing political climate. After the Second World War the use of cultural studies for political purposes discredited it, which resulted in literary studies being separated from the study of national cultures. Only under the impact of English and American developments since the 1980s has cultural studies again become a popular component of English Studies as taught in German universities. The problem with this, he argued, is that there are fault lines within the subject (cultural history now co-exists with cultural studies), and that interdisciplinarity is largely unilateral. Whereas literary scholars often work on historical topics, the converse is rarely the case. Heyl warned against the dangers of amateurism, and suggested that the special competence of literary scholars, that is, the interpretation of texts, should be applied more widely to non-literary genres in order to reconstruct mentalities and patterns of thought.

The next speaker, Jane Caplan (Bryn Mawr), looked at a specific example—the description of tattooing in twentieth-century

Germany—in another neighbouring discipline to cultural history, namely, *Volkskunde*. Taking the work of Adolf Spamer, who in 1933-4 published a study of tattooing in German harbour towns, Caplan explained the differences between his approach and that of modern *Kulturgeschichte*. While Spamer distanced himself from the romanticizing of rural life that was widespread in his subject at the time, his psychological-anthropological concept of the primitive made him susceptible to the ideology of National Socialism. He was rehabilitated in the GDR because of his studies of the working classes. Thus the only relevance of Spamer's works for a future investigation of the relationship between mass culture and transgression in a German disciplinary context focusing on the widespread practice of tattooing, which has largely been ignored by academics, is their empirical content, not their methodology. The history of tattooing, which deserves attention for various reasons including a growing interest in the body, must therefore look for other sources of inspiration.

The third session of the conference was devoted to Political Culture. In the first contribution, entitled 'The Age of Theatre, or How to Write a Cultural History of the European State System before the First World War', Johannes Paulmann (Munich) described the significance of the cultural dimension of international relations, taking the example of state visits. He stressed, first, the importance that diplomats and ministers attributed to controlling the interpretation of such meetings. Only a programme that had been worked out down to the last detail could unambiguously convey the intended character of the visit and its function (relaxation, competition) to a wide public. In the second part of his paper Paulmann explained the implications of the large number of state visits during the age of imperialism as a form of international peripatetic rule, which offered opportunities for world dramas to be performed by real actors in order to decode political developments for the masses. In the third part of his paper he described the phenomena accompanying this international variety show. Images of the monarch and meetings between monarchs entered the public domain in a large number of publications, pamphlets, and advertisements, and they made clear the strong interaction between the commercial interests of butchers, for example, who sold their ham adorned with pictures of crowned heads, and the political ambitions of the monarchs themselves. This theatrical form of foreign policy came to an abrupt end with the outbreak of the First World War.

In her paper, entitled 'The Enlightenment and its Images', Maiken Umbach (Manchester) looked at the Wörlitzer landscape garden as another form of symbolic presentation of political meaning. After some general reflections on the difficulty of deciphering the artistic symbols of the eighteenth century in the face of the continuing influence of nineteenth-century theories of art, Umbach discussed a number of examples to show how contemporaries and later observers understood neither the intended significance of the layout of a garden, nor what political statements certain parts of the garden were designed by its planners to convey. She emphasized that the ideas of the Enlightenment were never meant to be transmitted only through texts. In the smaller German territories, in particular, other possible vehicles were the artistic forms of literature, painting, building, and garden design. Such works were often 'metatexts' which both used and undermined older styles. This made their significance deliberately vague and inherently pluralist.

This session was brought to a close by Chandra Mukerji (San Diego) who spoke on 'The Modern State as Material Accomplishment: Territorial Culture and the Canal du Midi'. She approached the nature of absolutist states through constructions of other sorts. Centrally planned, large-scale projects such as the Canal du Midi were intended to present monarchs' claims to power in visible form and, at the same time, to immortalize them. The deliberate remodelling of whole landscapes was a visible expression of membership of a power-state. Such centrally planned projects made clear how far centralization had progressed during the age of absolutism, but also how much further it could go. In the planning phase of the canal it was necessary to refute the notion, held by cartographers who were obviously not familiar with the geography of the area, that the canal had to be taken over a mountain range. Such projects demanded a combination of the financial resources of the absolutist state with local knowledge.

The final session of the conference was entitled 'Culture and Society'. In the first contribution, 'Waging a People's War: Popular Culture and the First World War', Martin Baumeister (Berlin) demonstrated the political implications of the cultural representation of war by looking at film. He distinguished two phases of the presentation of war in films: patriotic films and documentary films, which had dominated in the first years of the war, soon became less popu-

lar and gave way to at least semi-fictional films which embedded the events of the war in traditional narrative patterns and can be seen as precursors of modern Hollywood productions. What was crucial was not so much the dislocation between reality and fiction, as the attempt to present reality in such a way as to have the biggest impact on the public.

Andreas Fahrmeir discussed the problem of 'Culture and Class—the Case of the *Bürgertum*' taking as an example the annual Lord Mayor's Show of the Corporation of the City of London. He used this decidedly *bürgerlich* ritual, which has been observed since the Middle Ages, to describe how the way in which the City Corporation presented itself changed over the nineteenth century. He then asked whether this occasion served as the symbolic conjuring up of a group identity which had long since ceased to exist, or whether it was intended to express the continuing unity of a civic middle class. This example illustrated that such questions cannot be answered without taking recourse to the information provided by social history.

Patrick Bahners (Frankfurt / Main), speaking on 'Jan Assmann's Theory of Cultural Memory and the History of Historiography', brought both this session and the conference to a close. Starting with the introduction to Ranke's world history, Bahners explained the difficulties which Ranke had had in integrating the periods and cultures which had not produced their own historiography into his world history. Although Ranke counted their legacy among the treasury of great human achievements in history, in his opinion they could not be incorporated into a narrative world history which, he believed, required its own historical story. Bahners showed that Jan Assmann was ultimately unable to solve this problem either, but that he, too, postulated a difference between the 'memory cultures' of the Oriental high cultures and Antiquity.

Although the case studies presented at this conference were extremely diverse, a number of central problems in *Kulturgeschichte* repeatedly came up, and were sometimes controversially debated. Two areas in particular stand out. First, it was asked to what extent art can be interpreted for the purposes of history. Thus the place of music, for example, when looking at operas was discussed, and it was questioned whether it was legitimate to interpret it without any musicological expertise. A second complex of issues followed from this: the lack of a clear border between interdisciplinarity and 'ama-

teurishness'. A number of speakers pointed out that interdisciplinary courses could be necessary for the *Kulturgeschichte* of the future, and others suggested that the activities of 'amateurs' should not be seen in a negative light, but that the expansion of the perspective by new approaches should be welcomed.

A publication of the conference proceedings is under consideration.

Andreas Fahrmeir (London)

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 this term. Further meetings may also be arranged. Future dates will be announced on each occasion, and are available from the GHIL. For further information, contact Professor Lothar Kettenacker on 020 7404 5486. Please note that meetings begin promptly at 4 p.m.

3 Oct. Alexander C. T. Geppert
London versus Paris. Imperial Exhibitions, Urban Space and Metropolitan Identities 1886-1931

7 Nov. Anselm Heinrich
The Function of Theatre. Two Provincial Theatres in England and Germany and their Programmes during the Second World War. The Städtische Bühnen in Münster and the Theatre Royal in York between War Politics, Cultural Ambition and Public Taste

Postgraduate Students' Conference, 8-9 January 2001

The German Historical Institute London is organizing its fifth annual conference for postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history, Anglo-German relations, or comparative topics. The intention is to give PhD students an opportunity to present their work in progress and to discuss it with other students working in the same field. It is hoped that the exchange of ideas and methods will be fruitful for all participants.

The Institute will meet travel expenses up to a standard rail fare within the UK (special arrangements for students from Ireland), and also arrange and pay for student accommodation, when necessary, for those who live outside London.

For further information please contact the Secretary on 020 7309 2023.

***Residenzstädte* and 'Landowner Towns' in Germany and Britain in the Early Modern Period**

On 14-15 January 2000 a conference was held on this topic at the GHIL. It was organized by the GHIL in conjunction with the Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester, and the British Academy. Sixteen historians from Germany, Switzerland, and Britain gave papers. The purpose of the conference was to enable more systematic comparative discussion to take place on a major theme of European urban history.

National-Socialist Extermination Policy. Recent German Research on the Holocaust

On the initiative of, and in conjuction with, Dr Peter Longerich, Director of the Research Centre for Twentieth-Century History and Holocaust Studies at Royal Holloway College, University of London, the GHIL held a symposium on this topic on the afternoon of 28 January 2000. The focus of the conference was not the conception of

Nazi genocide policy, but its translation into the reality of mass murder. The motives of those in positions of responsibility in the occupied Eastern areas, and the instructions they issued, were also examined. Most of the speakers were young German scholars. Their papers were commented on by British colleagues and experts, thus fostering an Anglo-German dialogue.

Change of Director

Professor Peter Wende retired as Director of the GHIL on 31 August 2000. While at the Institute, his major publications were: ed., *Große Revolutionen der Geschichte: Von der Frühzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (2000); ed. with Benedikt Stuchtey, *British and German Historiography, 1750-1950* (2000); ed. with Gerhard A. Ritter, *Rivalität und Partnerschaft: Studien zu den deutsch-britischen Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (1999); ed. with T. C. W. Blanning, *Reform in Great Britain and Germany, 1750-1850* (1999); ed., *Englische Könige und Königinnen: Von Heinrich VII. bis Elizabeth II.* (1998).

Professor Hagen Schulze (Free University Berlin) took over as Director of the GHIL on 1 September 2000. Some of his more recent publications are: *Die Identität Europas und die Wiederkehr der Antike* (1999); *Kleine deutsche Geschichte: Mit Bildern aus dem Deutschen Historischen Museum* (1998); *Phönix Europa: Die Geschichte Europas* (1998); and *Staat und Nation in der europäischen Geschichte* (1995).

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.

Aichelburg, Wladimir, *Sarajevo, das Attentat 28. Juni 1914: Das Attentat auf Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand von Österreich-Este in Bilddokumenten* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 1999)

Akkerman, Fokke, Arie Johan Vanderjagt, and A. H. van der Laan (eds), *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469-1625: From the 'Adwert Academy' to Ubbo Emmius*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 94 (Leiden, Boston, Mass., and Cologne: Brill, 1999)

Aschmann, Birgit, *'Treue Freunde...'? Westdeutschland und Spanien 1945-1963*, Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 34 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999)

Assmann, Aleida, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: Beck, 1999)

Bankier, David (ed.), *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933-1941* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000)

Bar-On, Dan, Konrad Brendler, and A. Paul Hare (eds), *'Da ist etwas kaputtgegangen an den Wurzeln ...': Identitätsformation deutscher und israelischer Jugendlicher im Schatten des Holocaust* (Frankfurt/M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1997)

Bauer, Sonja-Maria *et al.*, *Ohne Gerechtigkeit keine Freiheit: Bauern und Adel in Oberschwaben. Bürger vereinigt euch! Pressfreiheit! Grenzenlose Bewegung am See 1848/49* (Stuttgart: Haus der Geschichte Baden-Württemberg, 1999)

Bauer, Thomas, *Im Bauch der Stadt: Kanalisation und Hygiene in Frankfurt am Main 16.-19. Jahrhundert*, Studien zur Frankfurter Geschichte, 41 (Frankfurt / M.: Kramer, 1998)

Becher, Matthias, *Karl der Grosse* (Munich: Beck, 1999)

Beer, Joachim, *Der Funktionswandel der deutschen Wertpapierbörsen in der Zwischenkriegszeit (1924-1939)*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 5: Volks- und Betriebswirtschaft, 2406 (Frankfurt / M. etc.: Lang, 1999)

Behrens, Beate, *Mit Hitler zur Macht: Aufstieg des Nationalsozialismus in Mecklenburg und Lübeck 1922-1933* (Rostock: Neuer Hochschulschriftenverlag, 1998)

Behringer, Wolfgang and Bernd Roeck (eds), *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit: 1400-1800* (Munich: Beck, 1999)

Benz, Wolfgang (ed.), *Deutschland unter alliierter Besatzung: 1945-1949/55* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999)

Benz, Wolfgang, Gerhard Otto and Anabella Weismann (eds), *Kultur, Propaganda, Öffentlichkeit: Intentionen deutscher Besatzungspolitik und Reaktionen auf die Okkupation*, Nationalsozialistische Besatzungspolitik in Europa 1939-1945, 5 (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1998)

Berger, Stefan, *Social Democracy and the Working Class in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany*, Themes in Modern German History (Harlow: Longman, 2000)

Berghoff, Hartmut (ed.), *Konsumpolitik: Die Regulierung des privaten Verbrauchs im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999)

Berndt, Roswitha, *Unternehmer in Sachsen-Anhalt: Grundlinien ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Gesellschaft, Geschichte, Gegenwart, 18 (Berlin: Trafo Verlag, 1999)

Berringer, Christian, *Sozialpolitik in der Weltwirtschaftskrise: Die Arbeitslosenversicherungspolitik in Deutschland und Großbritannien im Vergleich 1928-1934*, Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, 54 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999)

Blazek, Helmut, *Männerbünde: Eine Geschichte von Faszination und Macht* (Berlin: Links, 1999)

Blet, Pierre, *Pius XII and the Second World War: According to the archives of the Vatican*, transl. Lawrence J. Johnson (Leominster: Gracewing, 1999)

Blumenberg, Hans, *Begriffe in Geschichten* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1998)

Bödeker, Hans Erich and Ernst Hinrichs (eds), *Alphabetisierung und Literalisierung in Deutschland in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung, 26 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999)

Boemeke, Manfred F., Gerald D. Feldman, and Elisabeth Glaser (eds), *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years*, Publications of the German Historical Institute Washington, D.C. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Bollinger, Stefan, *1989, eine abgebrochene Revolution: Verbaute Wege nicht nur zu einer besseren DDR*? Gesellschaft, Geschichte, Gegenwart, 17 (Berlin: Trafo Verlag, 1999)

Borchert, Christian, Almut Giesecke, and Walter Nowojski (eds), *Victor Klemperer: Ein Leben in Bildern* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1999)

Bosbach, Franz, Hermann J. Hiery, and Christoph Kampmann (eds), *Imperium, Empire, Reich: Ein Konzept politischer Herrschaft im deutsch-britischen Vergleich. An Anglo-German Comparison of a Concept of Rule*, Prince Albert Studies, 16 (Munich: Saur, 1999)

Bourgeois, Daniel, *Das Geschäft mit Hitlerdeutschland: Schweizer Wirtschaft und Drittes Reich*, transl. Birgit Althaler (Zurich: Rotpunktverlag, 2000)

Braun, Bernd, *Hermann Molkenbuhr (1851-1927): Eine politische Biographie*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 118 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1999)

Breloer, Heinrich (ed.), *Geheime Welten: Deutsche Tagebücher aus den Jahren 1939 bis 1947* (Frankfurt / M.: Eichborn, 1999)

Breuer, Gisela, *Frauenbewegung im Katholizismus: Der Katholische Frauenbund 1903-1918*, Geschichte und Geschlechter, 22 (Frankfurt / M. and New York: Campus Verlag, 1998)

Brink, Cornelia, *Ikonen der Vernichtung: Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945*, Schriftenreihe des Fritz-Bauer-Instituts, 14 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1998)

Brunck, Helma, *Die Deutsche Burschenschaft in der Weimarer Republik und im Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Universitas Verlag, 1999)

Bukey, Evan Burr, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938-1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C. and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000)

Buomberger, Thomas, *Raubkunst, Kunstraub: Die Schweiz und der Handel mit gestohlenen Kulturgütern zur Zeit des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1998)

Burgdorf, Wolfgang, *'Chimäre Europa': Antieuropäische Diskurse in Deutschland (1648-1999)*, Herausforderungen, 7 (Bochum: Winkler, 1999)

Library News

Burghartz, Susanna, *Zeiten der Reinheit, Orte der Unzucht: Ehe und Sexualität in Basel während der Frühen Neuzeit* (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1999)

Caroli, Michael and Friedrich Teutsch, *Mannheim im Aufbruch: Die Stadt an der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Kleine Schriften des Stadtarchivs Mannheim, 13 (Mannheim: von Brandt, 1999)

Chadwick, Owen, *Acton and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Conrad, Sebastian, *Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Nation: Geschichtsschreibung in Westdeutschland und Japan, 1945-1960*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 134 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999)

Cosner, Shaaron and Victoria Cosner, *Women under the Third Reich: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1998)

Croy, Emmanuel de, *Erinnerungen meines Lebens: Eine Reise durch den Westen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, transl. and ed. Elisabeth Hergeth (Münster: agenda Verlag, 1999)

Czada, Roland and Hellmut Wollmann (eds), *Von der Bonner zur Berliner Republik: 10 Jahre Deutsche Einheit*, Leviathan. Sonderheft, 19 (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2000)

Dahl, Hans Fredrik, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery*, transl. Anne-Marie Stanton-Ife (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Demandt, Alexander (ed.), *Stätten des Geistes: Große Universitäten Europas von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1999)

Depkat, Volker, *Amerikabilder in politischen Diskursen: Deutsche Zeitschriften von 1789 bis 1830*, Sprache und Geschichte, 24 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998)

Dethlefs, Gerd (ed.), *Der Frieden von Münster 1648: Der Vertragstext nach einem zeitgenössischen Druck und die Beschreibungen der Ratifikationsfeiern* (Münster: Regensberg, 1998)

Dinges, Martin (ed.), *Hausväter, Priester, Kastraten: Zur Konstruktion von Männlichkeit in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998)

Dittberner, Jürgen, *Schwierigkeiten mit dem Gedenken: Auseinandersetzungen mit der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1999)

Doering-Manteuffel, Anselm, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999)

Dowe, Dieter, Jürgen Kocka, and Heinrich August Winkler (eds), *Parteien im Wandel: Vom Kaiserreich zur Weimarer Republik. Rekrutierung, Qualifizierung, Karrieren*, Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Reichspräsident-Friedrich-Ebert-Gedenkstätte, 7 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999)

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