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SUMMER 2001

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Günther Heydemann has published widely on European history of the nineteenth century and the twentieth-century German dictatorships. He has recently co-edited *Revolution und Transformation in der DDR 1989/90* (1999) and *Diktaturvergleich als Herausforderung* (1998). His book *Konstitution gegen Revolution: Die britische Deutschland- und Italienpolitik 1815-1848* (1995) is based on research he pursued as a Fellow of the GHIL.

29 May **DR MAIKEN UMBACH (Manchester)**
Remembering the Old Reich: The Politics and Culture of Federalism in Germany, 1871-1914
Maiken Umbach's research focuses on the interrelationship between cultural and political history in early modern and modern Germany. Her award-winning Cambridge dissertation is the basis of her book, *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740-1806* (2000). She has edited a volume on the history of German federalism from the Holy Roman Empire to the present (2001), and is currently working on a project called 'Regionalism and Modernism: Cultural Politics in Hamburg, Munich and Berlin, 1890-1926'.

5 June **DR BEN SHEPHERD (Birmingham)**
The Continuum of Brutality: The German Army and the Soviet Partisan War 1941-3
Ben Shepherd is a specialist in modern German history with a particular focus on the Third Reich. His Ph.D., entitled 'German Army Security Units in Russia 1941-3: A Case Study', was completed last year and is being prepared for publication.

12 June **PROFESSOR HANNA VOLLRATH (Bochum)**
Kissing the Pope: Friendship and Peace in Twelfth-Century Europe
Professor Vollrath is one of Germany's leading experts on English (and European) medieval history and has co-edited *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (1996) and *Köln—Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters* (1993). She has just completed a

contribution on *Die Zeit der Salier (1024-1125)* for the tenth edition of Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*. She also contributed the chapter on the Salians to the *New Cambridge Medieval History* and is preparing a biography of Thomas Becket for print.

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

REVIEW ARTICLE

RAIDING THE STOREHOUSE OF EUROPEAN ART
NATIONAL SOCIALIST ART PLUNDER DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

by Ines Schlenker

JONATHAN PETROPOULOS, *Kunstraub und Sammelwahn: Kunst und Politik im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1999), 510 pp. ISBN 3 549 05594 3. DM 58.00
GÜNTHER HAASE, *Die Kunstsammlung des Reichsmarschalls Hermann Göring: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Quintessenz Verlag, 2000), 311 pp. ISBN 3 86124 520 5. DM 48.00
ANJA HEUSS, *Kunst- und Kulturgutraub: Eine vergleichende Studie zur Besatzungspolitik der Nationalsozialisten in Frankreich und der Sowjetunion* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000), 385 pp. ISBN 3 8253 0994 0. DM 78.00

The legacy of the Second World War is still very much with us. This is especially true for the fine arts. Over the last few years the systematic art plunder organized by the National Socialist regime has become enormously topical: descendants of Jewish art collectors seek the return of stolen property, museums scan their depots for looted works of art, and governments pass legislation to create the legal framework for their restitution. In some cases, belated justice is being done. Pieces of furniture, paintings, and sculptures, formerly in the possession of the Austrian state, have been, or are being given back to their rightful owners. At the exhibition '1900. Art at the Crossroads', held at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 2000, a looted painting, the triptych *Three Stages of Life* (1898) by Leopold von Kalckreuth was unexpectedly identified and subsequently handed back to the family in whose possession it had originally been. Despite these singular successes, the lack of coherent legislation and knowledge about the looting of art still fosters uncertainty which is expressed, for example, in the reluctance of museums and private

collectors to lend works to exhibitions in countries in which they run the risk of being confiscated should doubts about their past arise.

Consequently there has in recent years been a dramatic increase in sources of information on the art theft of the National Socialists. An invaluable tool in the struggle for restitution of artworks is the Art Loss Register (www.artloss.com). Founded in 1991, it administers a database of stolen and missing art, especially Holocaust and Second World War losses, that is intended to become as comprehensive as possible. Registered claims are constantly checked against the latest exhibition catalogues. Slowly and steadily, it is to be hoped, looted artworks can be identified and perhaps even returned to their rightful owners. Individual countries also provide appropriate websites. The chance to search the Linzer Liste on the internet (www.lootedart.de) is a welcome step towards openness. Here one can learn about the artworks 'collected' by the Nazis for display in an enormous museum Hitler had planned for Linz and which are now in the possession of the German state. The fact that the UK's national museums, galleries, and libraries have recently finished checking the history of their collections and have now published a list of works whose provenance between 1933 and 1945 could not be fully clarified (www.nationalmuseums.org.uk) provides a further opportunity to set things right.

A substantial number of books and articles have also been written on the National Socialist looting campaigns. Sadly, however, not all of these publications are academically sound, or pursue an encompassing approach which allows the topic to be addressed in all its subtleties and ramifications. The authors of the three volumes reviewed here tackle the subject from a variety of different angles and—with varying degrees of success—go a long way towards rectifying this shortcoming. While Jonathan Petropoulos adopts a chronological method and follows the gradual radicalization of the spoliation, Günther Haase presents a case study of Hermann Göring's amassing of artworks. Anja Heuss gives an overview of the plundering organizations and compares their activities in France and the Soviet Union.

I

Jonathan Petropoulos's book was originally a doctoral thesis, published in English in 1996. His account of the Nazi art plunder opera-

tion is thoroughly researched, based on a multitude of different archives and documents, and presents an overview of the activities in all the Nazi-occupied countries. Petropoulos brings together a variety of related subjects, covering the fate of artworks from their initial seizure by Nazi authorities to their usage as presents to Nazi leaders, and their eventual incorporation in vast collections of purged art. As the title suggests, the organization of the book is based on both the official (*Kunstraub*) and private (*Sammelwahn*) spheres in the lives of the numerous top Nazis involved in the looting.

Following Hitler's example, many leaders and subleaders of the Third Reich 'dedicated an inordinate amount of time and energy to the visual arts' (p. 5).[1] Far from being simply art lovers, however, they used art instrumentally. It provided a means of achieving a larger and more important set of goals: its acquisition constituted 'an important symbol of their expanding empire' (p. 123). Manipulated accordingly, art could be employed to articulate the fundamentals of National Socialist ideology—for example, to represent the Aryan race as the pre-eminent promoter of culture and to place German culture above that of other nations or racial groups. Even more interestingly, art could promote political careers and bestow social status on the top Nazis who suffered from the constant problem of social parvenus, non-recognition by the established élites. The possession of works of art suggested power and taste. Only such reasoning, according to Petropoulos, explains the passion with which the Nazi leaders collected art and the elevated status art politics enjoyed in the National Socialist state.

The reconstruction of the cultural bureaucracy which developed the art politics of the Third Reich and later organized the plunder therefore constitutes the first part of the book. Petropoulos presents an account of the gradual radicalization of the Third Reich's cultural administration, divided into six phases. The first phase, 1933 to 1936, was marked by the 'never-ending battle to control the Reich's artistic policies' (p. 5). With Hitler constantly encouraging competition and ultimately deciding hotly disputed battles over issues, personalities,

[1] All quotations are from the original English publication: Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 464 pp. ISBN 0 8078 4809 3. £15.95.

and power, nearly all top-ranking leaders engaged in the formulation of aesthetic policy. From the rivalling administrative fiefdoms of Joseph Goebbels, Alfred Rosenberg, Bernhard Rust, Robert Ley, Albert Speer, and Heinrich Himmler, with further competition from the Gauleiters, shifting inter-ministerial alliances and feuds were made and broken. At stake was the place of modern art in the Third Reich. In the first years of Nazi rule, Goebbels in particular, a supporter of German Expressionism, and Rosenberg, at the forefront of the *völkisch* movement, represented two diametrically opposed camps. Since Hitler, as Petropoulos rightly states, lent his support to neither of the two parties, the debate over modernism and the bureaucratic power struggle in the realm of visual arts policy dragged on. Just as in so many other areas of Nazi administration, institutional confusion became the essential identity of the artistic policies of the Third Reich.

In 1936, when Hitler eventually decided against German Expressionism as the new National Socialist art, the 'battle for modern art' was lost. During the following phase, which lasted until 1938, state interventionism in matters of art grew, and the concept of 'degenerate art' was introduced and exploited on a massive scale. Petropoulos, however, slightly oversimplifies his point when he states that after 1936 the government no longer tolerated any modern art or any expression which deviated from that sanctioned by the state (p. 9). The gradual radicalization of policy certainly first culminated in the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, chiefly organized by Goebbels and held in Munich in 1937. Subsequently travelling through the Reich, it was designed to denounce modern, 'un-German' art. In the accompanying confiscation campaign over 16,000 modernist works were seized from German state museums and galleries. But even after 1936 the criteria for 'acceptable art' were never as clear-cut as might be expected. They also varied according to who applied the vaguely defined official dogma. As late as June 1937, an exhibition of contemporary French artists, including George Braque and Henri Matisse, was opened in Berlin in the presence of Hermann Göring. It was also possible for several officially denounced, 'degenerate' artists, for example, the sculptor Rudolf Belling and the painter Albert Birkle, to exhibit at the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (GDK), the official showcase of Nazi art at the House of German Art in Munich, and to be included in the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*.

The confiscations were legalized *post festum* in May 1938, general public acclaim of the *Entartete Kunst* campaign having been awaited, and they paved the way for the third phase (1938 to 1939). This saw the confiscations turning into a more general programme of Aryanization. After the *Anschluß*, Vienna became the testing ground for policies when the confiscation of state property escalated into the seizure of private property. The plundering of Jewish-owned art in Austria proved manageable and profitable, and was followed by the confiscation of Jewish property in the *Altreich* during 1938. The enormous potential for personal gain led to greater corruption among Nazi officials and in turn increased the severity of the persecution.

The advent of war saw avarice spread abroad in the fourth phase (1939 to 1940), when the Nazi plundering wreaked havoc in Poland, the Baltic States, and the South Tyrol. While earlier looting in the 'rump-state' Czecho-Slovakia had not been organized on a large scale, the 'first organized *Kunstraub* on foreign soil occurred with the German invasion of Poland in the autumn of 1939' (p. 100). Göring, Himmler, and Hans Frank developed an elaborate plundering bureaucracy, again involving a 'network of overlapping offices and spheres of authority where redundant orders and personnel with multiple positions were the norm' (p. 101). It is remarkable that respected professionals, above all art historians, art dealers, and museum directors, participated substantially in the art theft of the Third Reich. Whereas Poland faced a straightforward programme of subjugation and destruction, the Baltic States and the South Tyrol, intended to be incorporated into the Greater Germany, experienced art looting that was less brutal.

The penultimate phase in the gradual radicalization of Nazi art policy was characterized by 'occupation and exploitation' between 1940 and 1943. In the course of the war, the attachment of Jewish property and the 'return' of Germanic art to the German Reich became the major activities of National Socialist spoliation. Emphasizing a nation's right to control its cultural heritage, the Nazis 'repatriated' works created by German artists and which belonged, or had once belonged, to Germans. The National Socialist programme of cultural impoverishment also involved destroying the artistic legacy of the eastern peoples as part and parcel of the policy of subjugation. With the start of the military campaign in the west, the focus of art looting shifted to France, Belgium and The Nether-

lands. In September 1940 when Rosenberg's plundering agency (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg—ERR) won from Hitler the crucial commission to secure all ownerless cultural property in France, Rosenberg's power superseded even that of Himmler who so far had been the most successful plunderer, working chiefly in eastern and south-eastern Europe. As in the east, Hitler allowed a chaotic and redundant bureaucracy to develop in the west which, nevertheless, speedily secured Jewish-owned artworks. In subsequent years, the art plunderer followed hot on the heels of the advancing German army. Especially on the Eastern Front, where the bitter military conflict was underscored by even greater organizational chaos, lawless brutality prevailed and obscured the fate of the artworks seized. Only Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary were largely spared the looting because they had joined the Axis alliance. During the final phase (1943 to 1945), the cultural bureaucracy—and with it the scope of the plundering activities—was scaled down and concentrated in the hands of Martin Bormann and Goebbels as the nation mobilized for total war.

The second part of the book analyses the Nazi élite's strategies for amassing huge art collections. Petropoulos examines in detail the art collections of twelve Nazi leaders—Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Speer, and Bormann among others—and describes their wealth and often extravagant lifestyle. He argues that the main impetus to collect stemmed from 'individual or group narcissism' (p. 10), that is, the desire to advance their own careers or the National Socialist movement in general. Art collecting revealed the leaders' social aspirations. Art was used as a means of assimilation into the traditional élite, the aristocracy, and the size of an art collection conveyed a sense of relative power and social status. Only occasionally did an aesthetic appreciation of art prevail. While ever grander homes had to be filled with appropriate art, the official taste shifted from the more modest, folksy style of the nineteenth century to old masters. With the exception of Göring, however, most of the Nazi leaders also showed a vivid interest in the contemporary art of the Third Reich, following the example set by Hitler who bought excessively at the annual GDK. Nevertheless, the aim of creating a new National Socialist art was never realized. Petropoulos rightly argues that the Nazi leaders were 'more skilled at purchasing and seizing existing cultural artifacts than they were in promoting or furthering

creativity' (p. 15). Although art occupied a great deal of their time, both in the official and the private sphere, they did not necessarily have a profound understanding of the works, or the ability to shape governmental aesthetic policies in order to produce great artistic achievements.

The discussion is complemented by an extensive appendix including short biographies of the main protagonists of the book, which act as welcome *aides-mémoire*, and helpful charts of the complicated and often confusing organizational network of the National Socialist fine arts and plundering bureaucracy. The use of abbreviations and acronyms for many of these authorities throughout the book is a carefully employed tool which, on the whole, considerably facilitates understanding. Only in one or two instances, however, does the accumulation of acronyms render a sentence virtually incomprehensible. Unfortunately, the number of illustrations in the English original has been cut back in the German translation. A decided improvement on the English edition is the inclusion of the subchapters in the table of contents, helping readers to find their way around more easily. Minor mistakes in the translation of the original German source material, which occur occasionally in the English edition, are naturally avoided in the German edition (thus, for example, 'Amt Feierabend' is erroneously and rather humorously translated as festival office, p. 65). The book is so meticulously researched that only with difficulty does one find factual mistakes. For example, Paul Mathias Padua's painting *Leda and the Swan* hung in the GDK in 1939 and not in 1937, on the specific orders of Hitler (p. 238; p. 296 German edition), and the 1942 GDK did not finish at the end of summer but continued until the following spring (pp. 215 f.; p. 268 German edition).

Above all, Petropoulos manages to convey that the Nazis' radical and often illegal behaviour served two purposes: the pursuit of their ideological goals, including the elimination of all art in the Reich that conflicted with their conception of German art, and the leaders' personal gain, which increasingly became the motivating force after 1938. One is never allowed to forget that the looting programme must be seen as part of more general occupation policies, that 'organized plunderers worked alongside the perpetrators of the real terror' (p. 110) and, consequently, that interest in and possession of art does not necessarily denote cultivation but can, as in this case, lead to the most atrocious crimes.

Since the publication of the English version of this book, Petropoulos has enjoyed a highly successful academic career and is now Professor of History at Claremont McKenna College in California. His prestigious appointment as director of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets came in 1999 and acknowledges him as one of the leading international experts on Nazi art theft. This book clearly demonstrates his authority.

II

Whereas Petropoulos provides us with an overview of the Third Reich's art plunder, Günther Haase picks out one aspect of the whole story: he takes a close look at the art collection of Hermann Göring, to which Petropoulos, and Anja Heuss, devote only individual chapters. Haase asks how it was possible for Göring, an art collector, art plunderer, and even art dealer, to amass one of the largest private art collections in the twentieth century within the short period of twelve years of National Socialist rule.

Next to Hitler, Göring was the biggest art collector in the Third Reich. His collection of art treasures, which was housed at Carinhall, his estate near Berlin, included paintings, sculptures, tapestries, and arts-and-crafts objects whose value can be estimated at a staggering £60 million in contemporary prices and currency. Göring showed a special interest in German and Dutch old masters, the Italian Renaissance, and French paintings of the eighteenth century. Yet his relatively 'modest' personal income would not have been enough to finance his vast appetite for artworks. While it is estimated that he spent *c.* RM 3 million out of his own pocket, he could draw on virtually unlimited resources from a variety of funds financed by the state, various individuals, and institutions. First and foremost was the Kunstfonds, supported chiefly by German companies. In addition, wealthy industrialists such as Friedrich Flick and Philipp Reemtsma gave many valuable presents to Göring personally.

The Reichsmarschall, who fancied himself a successful art dealer, was always personally involved in compiling his art collection. Apparently a shrewd businessman, he was in the habit of haggling over prices. Although he prided himself on settling debts instantly, he often deferred payment—sometimes indefinitely. Conversely, dealers, aware of Göring's spending capacity, often increased the price dramatically when they learnt that Göring was interested in a

work of art. Despite his usual cunning, the Reichsmarschall was also deceived more than once. Göring was greedy and therefore sometimes careless, and numerous fakes entered his collection. He famously acquired a forged Vermeer painting *Christ and the Adulteress*, although he employed art experts to authenticate the artworks.

Indeed, Göring could rely on a large network of national and international art dealers and mediators to find and purchase artworks for him, headed by the well-known Berlin art dealer Walter Andreas Hofer. It acquired works for Göring from galleries as well as private collectors. Apart from these 'independent' agents Göring also made use of the bureaucracy under his command as Reichsmarschall. He further profited from a lucrative co-operation with the ERR, regularly travelling to Paris to view the selection of confiscated works of art which the ERR displayed for him in the Jeu de Paume. He selected the works he wanted and took them back to Berlin. In fact, Göring's appetite for ERR loot grew so large that Rosenberg attempted to restrict his access—the Reichsmarschall nevertheless acquired an estimated 700 works via the ERR. Nor was there a problem when it came to transporting his spoils back home. Four special trains were constantly at his disposal, and he occasionally also used planes. Furthermore, he made substantial—and often illegal—use of the 'diplomatic courier service' and was thus able to circumvent export/import or monetary restrictions in most cases.

Göring mainly collected art in the occupied western countries. A large proportion of works was acquired in France, where German buyers would enjoy the relatively modest prices, and especially in The Netherlands, which possessed a lively art market even bigger than France's. On a smaller scale, artworks were purchased in Belgium and Italy. The Swiss art market also profited from the persecution of the Jews, which enabled dealers to lay their hands on artworks that normally would not come on to the market. Many first-class pieces for Göring's collection came from Switzerland, in particular, some paintings by Cranach. Instead of personally acquiring works in Switzerland, Göring used Hofer as an intermediary. It is interesting to note that no objects from Swiss private collections ended up in Göring's hands—Swiss collectors were never forced to sell. In Germany, Göring purchased works from dealers and museums who would also occasionally lend him works.

Apart from purchases, objects occasionally entered or left Göring's collection via exchange deals. The main reason for swapping artworks was the limitations on foreign exchange, which even Göring did not always manage to circumvent. The additional export and import restrictions were simply ignored by declaring that 'valuable cultural goods were being taken back to the Reich' (p. 106). In March 1941, for example, Göring swapped French Impressionist paintings for a collection of works by Lucas Cranach the Elder with the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne. Göring also concluded exchange deals in Italy, The Netherlands, and France (for example, with the Louvre).

Towards the end of the war Göring, unlike Hitler, decided not to move his art collection to the safety of the salt mines in the Austrian Alps. Instead, he attempted to send his treasures to other properties in his possession, Burg Veldenstein near Nuremberg and his estate in Berchtesgaden. Trains carrying half to three-quarters of the collection departed in early 1945. Only a few works were left at Carinhall and subsequently destroyed or seized by the Russian army, civilians, or returning forced labourers. Apart from one train (containing most of Göring's library) that was plundered by French soldiers near Berchtesgaden, the evacuation saved the bulk of the collection which, after capture by American troops, was sent to the Collecting Point for looted art in Munich, from where the process of restitution to the former owners was begun. In 1960, the remaining artworks whose owners had not been located were distributed between Bavaria and the Federal Republic of Germany.

All in all, Haase's case study presents valuable details on one of the most intriguing art collections. Especially welcome are the detailed inventories of Carinhall (dated 1 February 1940) and of Göring's art collection as it was on 4 August 1945 reprinted in full in the appendix. Sadly, however, Haase often presents his findings in an uninspired manner which, in places, makes the reading tedious and fails to convey wider implications. Often the crucial interpretation or contextualization of the presented material is lacking. He sometimes reprints whole letters where a summary would suffice, and repeatedly quotes directly from the lists of artworks which guarantees bad grammar and makes for awkward reading. Another point of criticism is the virtual lack of footnotes (a mere 150 for the whole book), which thwarts any attempt to check his claims. In order to grasp the sheer megalomania of the acquisitions it would also have

been necessary to compare the enormous prices paid by Göring with contemporary market prices to give an indication of their inappropriateness.

A slightly more worrying criticism might be directed at Haase's irritating tendency to play down—if not excuse—the part Göring and his delegates played in the criminal activities of the plunder. It is vital to keep in mind that most private collectors did not sell 'voluntarily' but were forced to part with their possessions. In many cases the artworks were simply confiscated. Consequently, the huge supply on the market was somewhat 'unnatural', and anyone who participated in the buying and selling was automatically taking advantage of the desperate situation of former owners. Haase, however, repeatedly emphasizes Göring's principles of not accepting works formerly owned by Jews, of paying fair prices for the works, and of not forcing sales—none of which were adhered to. The close co-operation between Göring's organization and the ERR, the most important and ruthless plundering agency in the Third Reich, clearly demonstrates his willingness to profit from the atrocities. In the face of Göring's involvement in the art plunder, stories such as that he rejected two sculptures which the Louvre presented to him as a gift, and had them copied at his own expense instead, do nothing to disprove his greed or to redeem his guilt.

III

This tendency to exculpate is not noticeable in the study by Anja Heuss. On the contrary, she for the first time manages to convey the true extent of the looting campaigns. She takes up and further develops Petropoulos's distinction between the different quality of National Socialist spoliation in the west and the east by comparing the politics and practice of organized National Socialist plunder in France and the Soviet Union. Crucially, in order to illustrate the opposing ideological approaches which led to very different practices in these two countries, Heuss suggests a widening of the narrow concept that has so far been employed. Instead of focusing on the looting of art (*Kunstraub*), she suggests that the pillaging of all cultural goods (*Kulturgutraub*) should be investigated. While *Kunstraub* is concerned with 'high art', that is, paintings and sculptures, *Kulturgutraub* encompasses many categories of cultural goods such as books and archival material in addition to artworks. Only by expand-

ing the so far restricted view to the looting of all 'cultural goods', Heuss argues, is it possible fully to understand and demonstrate the immense scale of the campaigns in the two countries, and the true political intentions behind them. The spoliation of books and archival material, in particular, which cannot be justified by greed, love of art, or the expectation of monetary gain from high sales prices, reveals these different ideological motivations. While respect for the French culture and way of life put a stop to the most outrageous excesses, the Soviet Union suffered a vile crusade against Bolshevism in whose wake everything 'Soviet' was to be extinguished. *Kulturgutraub* in these countries denotes a veritable paradigm shift, from the temporary occupation of a country and the attempt to find a *modus vivendi* to the ultimate extinction of a whole people and its culture. Enormous quantities of cultural goods were plundered in each country. France mainly suffered the loss of works of art; the Soviet Union was robbed of its archival material, books, and prehistoric objects. A certain respect for public opinion meant that state-owned property was generally untouched in France and only private collections were subjected to expropriation, confiscation, Aryanization, or forced sales, whereas the main target of spoliation in the Soviet Union was public property. Looted objects from France generally quenched a thirst for beautiful artworks; booty from the Soviet Union, however, was utilized in the war against its population.

Heuss bases her analysis on a wide range of primary sources. The archive of the Treuhandverwaltung für Kulturgut, a post-war governmental institution which was responsible for the administration of unreturned looted cultural goods, is of special importance. Among these documents, so far unused, she also discovered the reconstructed inventories of Göring's collection, which she calls 'extremely reliable' (p. 21) – a source not used by Haase. On this basis, the main organizations and individuals that took part in the institutionalized looting of cultural goods are subjected to a systematic and detailed examination of their aims, hierarchies, and activities: Hitler's Führermuseum Linz, Göring's art collection, the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, Heinrich Himmler's Ahnenerbe, the Sonderkommando Künsberg of the German Foreign Office and the Abteilung VI G of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Main Security Office).

The museum Hitler planned for Linz was to contain artworks which, in his own judgement, belonged to the highest echelons of

European art. The *Führervorbehalt* guaranteed that Hitler had first choice among all looted objects. Thus, with the advancing German army, the hunting-grounds—as well as the funds—were virtually limitless. Consequently, the majority of the museum's collection was made up of plundered Jewish art collections, forced sales, and other looted art. Between 1940 and 1944, 2,293 objects were confiscated or purchased in France. The works came exclusively from private collections, while the French public collections stayed untouched. The agents for the Führermuseum could rely on co-operation with the ERR and Vichy France as well as a willing network of French dealers. No such connections existed in the Soviet Union, where only one painting was acquired for Hitler. The Russian Revolution had dispensed with virtually all private art collections and, as a result, the private art market as well. It would therefore have been extremely difficult to obtain information on Soviet collections. Furthermore, Hitler's agents were apparently not interested in learning about collections. They were presumably prepared to wait for the well-known art treasures of Moscow and St Petersburg.

A similar trend can be observed in Hermann Göring's art collection, for which at least 860 artworks were acquired in France and none in the Soviet Union. The exceptionally high proportion of confiscated Jewish-owned artworks that characterizes this collection is founded on Göring's close and fruitful co-operation with the ERR in France. This co-operation was not continued in the Soviet Union. The absence of an art market and the lack of interest in, and knowledge of, Soviet property further explains why no efforts were made to acquire Soviet artworks.

The divergent approaches can be discerned even more clearly in the case of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg. Since its looting staff in both countries was basically identical so that personal interests cannot account for different plundering strategies, the existing structures and the fundamentally opposing policies of occupation must explain the individual pillaging crusades. Besides, the ERR was 'the most important *Kulturraub* organization of the Third Reich' (p. 95) which managed to plunder a greater variety of goods on a larger scale than any of its rival institutions. Founded in 1940 by Alfred Rosenberg, the 'chief ideologue' of the NSDAP, the well-staffed and highly motivated ERR was at first used only to procure the books that were needed to fill the libraries of the *Hohe Schule*, a

sort of 'alternative university' (p. 98) which Rosenberg had established in 1938.

In the occupied western countries the ERR plundered from all libraries and archives, first concentrating on public institutions, as its brief specified. Then, when it met with resistance from the German military administration, it changed its field of activities to private collections and specialized in Jewish, Masonic, or 'Bolshevist' literature that could be used for the ideological struggle. The search for political material in private hands eventually led the ERR to private art collections. Rosenberg persuaded Hitler to extend his powers to all cultural goods by September 1940. From now on the confiscation of mainly Jewish art collections occurred on an extensive scale, facilitated by the anti-Jewish measures of the Vichy regime. Between 1940 and 1944 the ERR confiscated more than 20,000 objects in France, mainly paintings, watercolours, drawings, pastels, graphic works, and arts-and-crafts objects, but also furniture, sculptures, textiles, and East Asian art and antiquities. The expulsion of the Jewish population and the expropriation of their art collections were causally linked, yet the deportations took place after the dispossessions.

With his appointment as Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories on 17 June 1941, Rosenberg became the undisputed leader in the cultural sphere in the east. As part of the all-embracing policy of Germanization applied in the eastern territories, all traces of their peoples' cultural lives were to be extinguished. What was not destroyed was incorporated into one of Rosenberg's institutions in Germany, where it could be studied 'scientifically' and used in the ideological battle. In 1943, the removal of cultural goods on a massive scale began. Libraries and archives were plundered freely and with the support of all German agencies and the civil administration. In contrast to the military administration in France, which had protected cultural goods in the public sphere, its counterpart in the Soviet Union rejected any responsibility and co-operated closely with the ERR in the widespread spoliation. The overall number of objects plundered by Rosenberg can probably be estimated at more than 1 million. Crucially, the *Kulturgutraub* and the Holocaust in the Soviet Union took place simultaneously. 'The physical extermination and the extermination of the cultural memory were part of one single plan for the total extermination of the Jewish minority' (p. 203).

In contrast, Heinrich Himmler's involvement in the *Kulturgutraub* was motivated by his warped historical and ideological imagination. The 'scientific' organization Ahnenerbe, co-founded by Himmler to investigate his wild racial theories of Indo-Germanic superiority, invested the plundering with a certain 'academic' character. Their quest for artefacts to underpin Himmler's idea that Germanism in the occupied areas went back as far as the earliest prehistoric times made them concentrate especially on collecting prehistoric objects. Since research into the Germanic civilization was not specifically 'anti-Jewish' in character, Jewish cultural goods were generally not affected by the plunder. While the Ahnenerbe had little success in France, where it met with the official resistance of several German agencies—for example, it tried in vain to acquire the Bayeux tapestry—its competitor in the Soviet Union was the ERR. Therefore the extent of the looting executed by the Ahnenerbe amounted 'only' to several hundred prehistoric objects and was much more limited than its 'bad intentions' (p. 249) would suggest.

Whereas the Ahnenerbe piled up the remains of bygone millennia, the Sonderkommando Künsberg, an organization of the German Foreign Office, was commissioned by the Reich Foreign Minister to collect contemporary material relating to foreign affairs from the occupied countries. The *Kulturgutraub* of the Sonderkommando Künsberg was politically motivated to a high degree. It was therefore interested in documents, archival material, and books from which the German Foreign Office could gain political and propaganda information, and not in objects that possessed historical or material value. While the confiscations of documents in France lasted only until spring 1941, the Sonderkommando Künsberg was hot on the heels of the army invading the Baltic States, the Ukraine, and White Russia where it was one of the first plundering agencies—even before the ERR—to confiscate documents and books that were important for the political conduct of war. The loot would be taken to Berlin as speedily as possible where the German Foreign Office analysed it; *c.* 250,000 objects had been thus utilized by the end of 1942. With the lack of progress in the east, doubt was cast on the success of the Sonderkommando Künsberg and Rosenberg was able to increase his influence in the east. When, in September 1943, the Sonderkommando Künsberg was dissolved, its staff was taken over by the Abteilung VI G of the Reich Main Security Office. It concentrated on the confis-

cation of libraries and archives in the Soviet Union, with special attention being paid to maps. In France, the Abteilung VI G confiscated very little material.

The impressively thorough and detailed studies of these organizations fully justify Heuss's claim that there were different kinds of plunder and shifting ideological motivations in France and the Soviet Union. More importantly, however, the inclusion of the spoliation of archival materials and books shows the real dimension of the pillaging campaigns, and it also reveals new aims. The activities of the ERR in France and the Soviet Union in particular clearly demonstrate how *Kunstraub* turned into *Kulturgutraub* and was utilized for ideological warfare. Unfortunately, Heuss does not always strictly adhere to her own distinction. Sometimes one cannot help feeling that the wrong term has been accidentally used, or that the distinction has not been clearly applied (for example, on p. 200).

Nevertheless, the concept of *Kulturgutraub* opens up whole new avenues of research and is a useful corrective to the dominance of the fine arts in the discussion of the National Socialist plunder. Further studies on this topic should venture in this direction.

INES SCHLENKER is a researcher for the Marie-Louise von Motesiczky Charitable Trust, London. She is currently preparing her Ph.D. thesis on the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in Munich, 1937-1944, for publication.

DEBATE

Stefan Berger responds to Ulrich Muhlack*

Let me start by thanking Professor Muhlack for the good things he has to say about my book, even if they are neatly contained in a single paragraph on p. 38 of his review. Some of the comments are almost too generous to be true. Thus, for example, Muhlack writes: '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.' Yet, surely, in a brief book, I am bound to miss out some important names. After all, anyone consulting the index would soon find out that there is no entry under Muhlack. However, as the reviewer's generosity is clearly limited, my main task here will be to answer a variety of criticisms made by Muhlack which, for a historist (see note 5), show, at the very least, a lack of empathy.

A book like mine is meant to be controversial, and is therefore bound to attract criticism. In the British context Chris Clark and Richard Evans, among others, have raised more or less well-founded objections.[1] Some have been dismissive, none more so than Dieter Langewiesche who preferred to reject it in the *Historische Zeitschrift* without engaging in any kind of argument. But there have also been different voices: Georg Wiessala in the *Journal of Area Studies* wrote: 'The book leaves an impression of thorough scholarship and intense, systematic treatment of the subject.' For John Breuilly, writing in

*Stefan Berger's book, *The Search for Normality: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1800* (Providence, R.I. and Oxford, 1997), was reviewed by Ulrich Muhlack in the November 2000 issue of the *Bulletin*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 36-43.

[1] Chris Clark, 'Manifesto Against the Nation', *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 July 1998, p. 28, and my response, TLS, 17 July 1998, p. 17; Richard Evans, 'After Reunification', in id., *Rereading German History 1800-1996: From Unification to Reunification* (London, 1997), pp. 234-47, and my response in Stefan Berger, 'Nationalism and Historiography', *German History*, 18 (2000), pp. 239-59, esp. pp. 257-9.

German Politics, it is a 'complex and richly informed book. Berger achieves a great deal and his criticisms are persuasive and timely.' Geoff Eley in *Labour History Review* described it as 'an extremely valuable contribution'. The book also received positive responses from German scholars, for example, in reviews by Jörn Echternkamp in *German Studies Review* and Detlev Siegfried in *IWK*. Without spending too much time on the reception of my book, readers of the *Bulletin* who have not read it should know that a wide range of scholars have at least thought it worthy of serious consideration. Muhlack is not one of them; his review aims not to criticize but to discredit.

There are, first of all, a number of passages in Muhlack's review in which the argument(s) of my book are misconstrued. Thus, for example, its intention is not 'to prevent a "renationalization" of German historiography' (Muhlack, p. 36). I am under no illusion as to the limits of my small intervention. Instead, I analysed certain trends towards renationalization and pointed out that, in my opinion, it would be a mistake to encourage those trends. Others, such as Hans Mommsen, Helmut Böhme, and Wolfgang Wippermann have made related arguments over the last decade about the revival of national sentiment in German historiography since 1990.

In my opinion it also misses the point to state that I regard it as '"fashionable" to call traditional national feeling "false consciousness" (p. 252)' (Muhlack, p. 43) What I do say on this page is: 'critical historians never achieved what they themselves had at times declared to be their ultimate goal, namely to replace the apologetic national paradigm with a critical one aimed at the emancipation of the human being from, to use a fashionable phrase from the 1960s, "false consciousness".' This is clearly a historical reference to the neo-Marxist vocabulary of the 1960s and does not express any personal preference for a concept which, in fact, I regard as belonging to a rather primitive form of Marxism of a bygone age.

Furthermore, I do not argue that any 'normality' is simply unattainable because of Auschwitz (Muhlack, p. 36), although it is true that Auschwitz has been the main difficulty for those intent on developing a positive national identity for Germans. A more fundamental point, however, is simply that there is no such thing as normality in questions of national identity. National identity studies became a booming scholarly undertaking in the 1990s. As Lutz Niethammer has recently pointed out, the very concept of identity is

fraught with a number of difficulties.[2] Perhaps the main one is the ease with which one can make political capital out of identity. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the celebrations of the ten year anniversary of reunification. The German weekly *Die Zeit* opened on 28 September 2000 with the heading 'Praise to the Germans. Ten Years Since Reunification—a Totally Normal Country'; Manfred Görtemaker, a historian at the University of Potsdam, wrote in the *Berliner Zeitung* of 1 October 2000 of the differences between 1871 and 1989, but he also confirmed the theme of a 'return to normality'; and the *Berliner Tagesspiegel*, in its lead article of 2/3 October 2000, saw the country making the 'transition to a quieter rhythm. What next? Stabilization? Normalization?' At least there was still a question mark. But, without quoting more celebratory statements, the drift of the argument is obvious: normality is rapidly becoming the new German *Sonderweg*. After all, it would seem absurd to read an article in a leading British or French newspaper loudly proclaiming the country's normality.

Finally, Muhlack embarks on a bit of speculation about authorial intention: he describes me as 'a product of the old Federal Republic', and wonders whether I think of myself as 'the embodiment' of a 'transnational message' (Muhlack, p. 37). Although anyone living with a close familiarity of two different cultures cannot help noticing how ludicrously inadequate most national perceptions of self and other actually are, I am unwilling to play the role Muhlack casts me in: a kind of latter-day saint (or devil, as the case may be) of the old FRG. If anything, I have been quite critical in my book of the way in which parts of the left-liberal establishment, after 1989, suddenly found the FRG a wonderful success story which had to be transplanted wholesale to the GDR. Accepting that much progress has been made in the FRG on the road towards a more democratic political culture surely does not mean that one has to be silent on the remaining failures and weaknesses. I am perplexed by the loss of critical awareness of many West German intellectuals towards their own history, all the more so as it often goes hand in hand with the self-congratulatory tone of many people who today proudly proclaim themselves to be 1968ers, insisting that they have changed the face of the republic for

[2] L. Niethammer, *Kollektive Identität: Heimliche Quellen einer unheimlichen Konjunktur* (Reinbek, 2000).

good, when, in fact, many of these people would have been termed 'Scheißliberale' in 1968. Only subsequently, for a variety of reasons, have they found it useful to reclaim 1968 as part and parcel of their own history. On a different note, it is, of course, questionable what relevance Muhlack's speculation about authorial intention has anyway.

I could go on correcting rather loose readings of my text in Muhlack's review, but this becomes a bit tedious, and therefore I should like to come to a more substantial charge of his: the claim that I 'misrepresent the actual historiographical intention' of Leopold von Ranke and Gerhard Ritter (Muhlack, p. 39). To begin with, the first chapter of my book, in which I briefly discuss Ranke and Ritter as formative influences on the national tradition in German historiography between the 1800s and the 1950s, of course only sets out the background for the more central evaluation of German historiography after 1945 and in particular after 1989. But the readers of Muhlack's review do not even get as much as a summary of the main arguments of my book which are contained in the subsequent chapters. If the first chapter, as Muhlack writes, 'convincingly demonstrates constancy and continuity' (Muhlack, p. 38), I shall be satisfied. However, to return to Ranke and Ritter: both are surely complex historians whose work is suggestive and has therefore attracted a number of rival interpretations. On none of the pages quoted by Muhlack (pp. 3, 21, 29 f.) do I refer specifically to Ranke writing the history of the victors. What I do argue is that historism had a tendency to do just that and that 'such thinking ... is already present in Ranke, and his belief in historical development as God's will' (Berger, p. 30). Such a claim strikes me as one of the less original ones in my book, as it is one that many critics of historism have made.[3] Nor do I suggest that Ranke 'rejected political change' (Muhlack, p. 38). What I do say is that such change had to be gradual: '[His] attitude was conservative in the sense that it seemed to stabilise each existing state with reference to the divine will. Inherently it was directed against change. Only that which had evolved through a historical process was deemed to be politically desirable. Any radical breaks with the past had to be major catastrophies' (Berger, p. 27). When I talk about Ranke's 'great-men' theory

[3] The classic text here is Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (2nd rev. edn; Middletown, Ct., 1983).

(Berger, p. 33), what I am referring to is the simple fact that Ranke mostly wrote the history of states and its actors, most of whom were men. Again I do not think it is too controversial a statement that historism was, among other things, concerned with the history of great men.

Let us look at Ritter next. The point I make here is not contentious. Muhlack admits that Ritter did draw a line from Frederick II to Hindenburg and Hitler in the introduction to his book on Frederick II, first published in 1936. The Nazis certainly received the book very positively. Yet, according to Muhlack, a close reading of the text would reveal Ritter as a severe critic of the National Socialists. Now, my own paragraph on Ritter starts off by saying: 'Individual historians, like Gerhard Ritter ... played a part in the resistance against National Socialism.' I also mention that he did 'risk occasional cautious criticism of Nazi policies'. The only thing I go on to say is that 'Ritter's stance was characterised by a deep ambiguity'. Given that his biographer Michael Matthiesen emphasizes the instrumental influence of Lutheran religion, anti-Semitism, and nationalism on Ritter's early career, I cannot see how such a statement can possibly misrepresent Ritter's stance. Recent research on historiography under National Socialism has clearly revealed that there was a partial identification between the agendas and expectations of conservative nationalist German historians such as Ritter and the National Socialist agenda.[4] The point is not that Ritter was a committed Nazi (which, clearly, he was not), nor to dispute that there are several readings of his richly ambiguous book about Frederick, but that he, and many of his colleagues, at least partially identified with specific aims of the National Socialists. How do we, after all, interpret Ritter's speeches in occupied France during the Second World War? Is it not the case that many traditional Prusso-German conservatives, like Ritter, hoped that the Nazis would lead a revival of the German nation?

[4] Karen Schönwälder, *Historiker und Politik: Geschichtswissenschaft im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt / Main, 1992); Peter Schöttler (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung als Legitimationswissenschaft* (Frankfurt / Main, 1997); Winfried Schulze and Otto Gerhard Oexle (eds), *Deutsche Historiker im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt / Main, 1999); the only recent attempt to provide at least a partial apology for the German historical profession under National Socialism is Ursula Wolf, *Litteris et Patriae: Das Janusgesicht der Historie* (Stuttgart, 1996). Wolf's book has its origins in a Ph.D. thesis supervised by Muhlack. For a critique of Wolf see Berger, 'Nationalism and Historiography' (as in note 1).

Yet Muhlack claims that Ritter is doubly misrepresented: on Ritter's *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk* (1954-68) I find myself correctly quoted. I do indeed claim that it was a 'monumental effort to refute the critics of Prussian militarism'. Muhlack disagrees and quotes Ritter at me. It is, of course, easy to find quotes from such a voluminous work which indicate that Ritter himself was critical of militarism. The point is that Muhlack decontextualizes Ritter: the whole debate surrounding Ritter's *opus* was, after all, centred on the question of how militarism should be defined, as a societal phenomenon or as a narrowly political phenomenon, the latter being the definition preferred by Ritter. As he defined militarism in such a narrow way, he found it easier to refute the critics of Prussian militarism, and to preserve his notion of a positive national continuity. Hitler had to be a *Betriebsunfall* in German history; otherwise the whole *Geschichtsbild* for which Ritter stood would fall. This also explains the vehemence with which he and others responded to Fritz Fischer. And, incidentally, Ritter's book was, of course, also a justification of German rearmament which was so hotly debated in the mid-1950s.

On all accounts then, I really cannot see how I misrepresent the historiographical intention of Ranke and Ritter. However, *The Search for Normality* is neither a book on Ranke and Ritter nor on 'the age-old theme [of] the impact of politics on history' (Muhlack, p. 36). It might be helpful briefly to outline the main arguments of my book. Following a brief survey chapter on the long-term relationship between nationalism and historiography in Germany (pp. 21-55), the impact of the Fischer controversy is assessed (pp. 56-76). In the 1960s, a more critical perspective on modern German history was indeed developed and often went hand in hand with a pluralization of methodological and theoretical approaches. However, as I argue in the following chapter (pp. 77-108), the significance of this important change has often been overemphasized. In German historiographical discourse, the 1970s and 1980s were not decades in which the concepts of postnationalism and constitutional patriotism ruled supreme. For a start, the more critical national historiography which developed was still a form of history-writing orientated towards the history of the nation. More importantly, representatives of a more conservative national tradition continued to occupy important positions within the West German historical profession and, especially following the 'geistig-moralische Wende' of 1982, were not slow to go on the counter-attack. The *Histori-*

kerstreit was the most visible sign of the continued contested nature of the national paradigm throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

The main bulk of my book (pp. 111-229) is then concerned with the impact of the unexpected reunification of Germany on questions of historical consciousness and national identity. First, I discuss the signs of a more positive re-evaluation of the Bismarckian Reich in German historiography after 1990 (pp. 111-23). Secondly, I analyse attempts to (ab)use Martin Broszat's call for a historization of National Socialism in order to present various revisionist accounts of Germany's darkest years (pp. 124-48). Notions of a 'European civil war', 'value-free modernization', a 'preventive war' against the Soviet Union, the Germans as victims of the Second World War, and the centrality of the national opposition to Hitler all have their place within the attempts of a self-declared New Right to re-write the history of National Socialism in such a way as to allow for the renationalization of German historical consciousness. Thirdly, I argue that some, albeit by no means all, historians use the boom in GDR history to revive a version of totalitarianism theory which makes it increasingly difficult to differentiate the 'red' from the 'brown' dictatorship. I analyse the widespread vilification of GDR history and of the GDR's historical profession. Even those West German historians who had championed a far more positive view of Marxist-Leninist historiography before 1989 tended to be dismissive thereafter (pp. 149-175). Fourthly, if the renationalization of German historical consciousness has proceeded over the dead body of the GDR and of GDR historiography, it also progressed by portraying the history of the Federal Republic as the new *Sonderweg*. From being a success story, the history of the Federal Republic is now sometimes written as though it has become a mere *divertimento* in German national history. It is charged with having been overburdened by an excessive *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, and the thorough Westernization of its political culture is being questioned at the same time as one witnesses a revival of *Mittellage* ideology and calls on the reunified Germany to act self-confidently as a new major power in Europe and the world (pp. 176-97). Finally, I analyse the discourse of 'normality' and the search for new national symbols in the 'Berlin republic' (pp. 198-229). Throughout the book I stress the great diversity of opinions among German historians and I explicitly state that 'I do not wish to dramatise the situation which is still characterised fundamentally by a plu-

rality of viewpoints and methods' (pp. 111 f.). In my view, there has been no dramatic reorientation of German historiography after 1990, but 'a whole number of corrections to research paradigms, methodologies, and, more generally, to historical views on Germany, and these have, overall, strengthened tendencies towards a renationalisation of German historical consciousness' (p. 220). In the final substantive chapter of the book I analyse the reactions of British and American historians to reunification (pp. 230-50). Despite the impression created by Margaret Thatcher's famous Chequers meeting of historians, the overall perception was remarkably positive. The vast majority of Anglo-American historians held the view that the Federal Republic had successfully buried the demons of the past. At the same time, however, many were justly critical of tendencies to achieve a renationalization of German historical consciousness.

None of this, however, is mentioned because in Muhlack's view 'this book has political intentions which fall outside the scope of scholarly criticism' (Muhlack, p. 37). Instead of tackling the real arguments of the book, he prefers to be concerned about my approach to historiography which 'places the scholarly claims of this work into question' (Muhlack, p. 39). This leads me to the two crucial differences of opinion between Muhlack and myself. The first, more important one, concerns a methodological disagreement about the relationship between politics and history-writing. The second disagreement is genuinely political (in the narrower sense of the word to which Muhlack has reduced it). Let me start with the first: where Muhlack argues that my conceptual premisses are inadequate, I tend to be more modest: his are different. In the following remarks I will concentrate on some of his misrepresentations and distortions of the general approach of my book, and then proceed to outline the consequences of his variant of exclusive historism.[5] Muhlack accuses me of being prejudiced, because I state categorically that I do not believe in

[5] I deliberately use the term 'historism' (and 'historist') rather than 'historicism' (and 'historicist'). Whereas 'historism' (in German, *Historismus*), as represented by Leopold von Ranke, can be seen as an evolutionary, reformist concept which understands all political order as historically developed and grown, 'historicism' (*Historizismus*), as defined and rejected by Karl Popper, is based on the notion that history develops according to predetermined laws towards a particular end. The English language, by using only one term for those different concepts, tends to conflate the two. Hence I suggest using two

the autonomy of history as an academic subject from politics. However, if Muhlack then claims in the next sentence that I 'thus [sic!] subordinate history to politics, declaring that one is the function of the other' (Muhlack, p. 40) he performs a rather cheap trick. His two sentences are not connected logically: they state quite different things. To doubt the autonomy of history as a subject from politics, as I indeed do, is clearly not the same as to say that history is subordinate to, or a mere function of, politics. It is perfectly possible, and I certainly claim to do this in my book, to write an interpretation of historical events which follows the established practices of historical scholarliness, for example, the practices of source-criticism, of logical argument, and of allowing for the possibility of checking, criticizing, and revising its truth-claims. Method provides the intersubjective epistemological criteria for coherence and correctness, yet such 'objectivity' is restricted to respecting the rules of the game.

Muhlack's position claims something quite different. For him the strict division between historical scholarship and politics is 'the immutable [sic!] basic law of modern historiography' (Muhlack, p. 42). In his view, historians have political convictions which are based on values and norms, and they are allowed to state them publicly and campaign for them, if that is what they want to do. But what they must not do is to bring them into their scholarly work, which has to be detached from political intentions. Here I beg to differ. The political dimensions of historiography can be acknowledged without reducing history to politics by accepting the perspectival nature of all knowledge: all truth claims are interpretative, partial, and revisable within the boundaries of rational, scientific discourse. A fact is only ever a fact within a specific framework of description. This not only allows for a plurality of true statements, it also means that the realm of facts cannot neatly be separated from the realm of values and politics. Factual statements already presuppose normative choices. They can be hidden (as is usually the case with historists), or they can be brought out in the open. Whichever is the case, knowledge is only possible within particular political-normative-ideological 'horizons of expectation'.[6]

separate terms in analogy to the German language. The ambiguities inherent in the concept of historism are explored by Annette Wittkau, *Historismus: Zur Geschichte des Begriffs und des Problems* (2nd edn; Göttingen, 1994).

[6] There is not enough space here to explicate the complex relationship

While my book does not offer 'political argument dressed up as history of historiography' (Muhlack, p. 37), it does offer a historical argument which openly declares its social, cultural, and political investments and implications. My argument makes explicit its underlying cognitive interests (*Erkenntnisinteressen*), as far as that is possible for any author. *The Search for Normality* has no pretensions to being a neutral reading of the sources. Its arguments depend on moral norms and political dispositions which should not be kept artificially before the gates of historical enquiries. Otherwise, historist scientific method, as represented by Muhlack, becomes the embodiment of scientific rationality. Yet in his version of historism cognitive interests remain invisible. The links between knowledge and power disappear behind the wall neatly separating factual from normative judgements and scientific from political statements. The juxtaposition of 'pure science' and 'personal opinion' frames the problem in such a way as to allow only for inadequate answers. After all, what matters is how the personal is inscribed on all levels of historical work: the questions that historians ask, their choice of topics, their methodologies, units of investigation, measure of comparison, use of master narratives, institutional pressures, considerations of one's own career, and generational constellations. Hence all history-writing takes place within a social system of power relationships which is always also deeply political (in the broad meaning of the word which Muhlack does not seem to know). The idea of a neat separation between politics and scholarliness remains at best wishful thinking. It was not, as Muhlack asserts, the case that 'the political world itself needed an autonomous historiography' (Muhlack, p. 40); rather, it needed the illusion of autonomy which was indeed duly provided by historism.

between facts / science and values / politics. For a recent, up-to-date, and succinct introduction to these issues see Chris Lorenz, *Konstruktion der Vergangenheit: Eine Einführung in die Geschichtstheorie* (Cologne, 1997), esp. pp. 400-14, 422-36; id., 'The View from Anywhere (or: On Facts, Fiction, Football and an Indian). Some Reflections on the (Im)Possibility of the Writing of History', in Jan Denolf and Barbara Simons (eds), (*Re)Constructing the Past* (Brussels, 2000), pp. 411-41; id., 'Historical Knowledge and Historical Reality: A Plea for "Internal Realism"', *History and Theory*, 33 (1994), pp. 297-327. An English-language translation of Lorenz's seminal book is urgently needed.

Once the boundaries of scientific historical research were defined in late eighteenth-century Germany, they spread like wildfire throughout Europe and were adopted in various forms and to different extents everywhere.[7] Those who did not conform were written out of scientific history. Nineteenth-century German historians, for example, often criticised the methodological standards of British scholars such as Edward Gibbon. Political criticism was presented in the form of a methodological critique, as in the case of Adam Ferguson.[8] In Germany itself a long list of scholars was excommunicated because their scholarship did not fit the politics of German historians, but the official reason for excommunication was almost always methodological. After all, history was a science (*Wissenschaft*)! Muhlack's critique follows that well-trodden path: the worst he can say about my book is that it does not represent any 'progress in knowledge' and therefore 'does not fulfil the historian's main task' (Muhlack, pp. 42 f.). In fact, as far as he is concerned it is not *Wissenschaft*. It should, however, be understood that he can make this claim only on the very narrow basis of a historist definition of *Wissenschaft* which has served its purpose of excluding other types of history from academic history writing for a long time now—in fact, for far too long.

This leads me to the second disagreement: Muhlack and I clearly have different concerns in the present. It is to his credit that Muhlack admits this up front, but it is worthwhile dwelling for a moment on the way this difference is expressed: '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

[7] Bonnie G. Smith, 'Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: the Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century', *American Historical Review*, 100 (1995), pp. 1150-76.

[8] On German historians' critique of British historiography see the relevant chapters in Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende (eds), *British and German Historiography 1750-1950: Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers* (Oxford, 2000), and Stefan Berger, Peter Lambert, and Peter Schumann (eds), *Dialog zwischen Schwerhörigen: Geschichte, Mythos und Gedächtnis im deutsch-britischen kulturellen Austausch 1750-2000* (Göttingen, forthcoming 2001).

granted concepts such as national self-determination, national self-assertion, and national interest' (Muhlack, p. 37). Are we not faced with a renationalization of German identity if national unity has produced such responses? After all, it does seem to me worthwhile to ask what specific interests lie behind the claims of national self-determination and national interest. Is it not baffling to see Muhlack's use of the collective 'we'? '[O]ur own will ... must not bow to any foreign will' (Muhlack, p. 37 f.). Who is speaking here? Should the reader take for granted a national collective will? Ironically, Muhlack's review thus becomes a *de facto* endorsement of the major argument of *The Search for Normality*, that is, the renewed vigour with which the national paradigm is upheld among the liberal-conservative mainstream of German historiography after 1990.

I hope I have succeeded in pointing out that Ulrich Muhlack and I find ourselves on different archipelagos as far as our conceptual understanding and our politics of history are concerned. In his review Muhlack shows himself a good pupil of Schopenhauer. The latter was the author of a sharp little book in which he describes thirty-eight ways in which to win the upper hand in a scholarly controversy.[9] Muhlack employs a fair number of these tactics, but ultimately, all is rhetoric and, to quote Muhlack one more time, 'nothing convinces me' (Muhlack, p. 40).

[9]Arthur Schopenhauer, *The Art of Controversy and Other Posthumous Papers* (London, 1896).

STEFAN BERGER is Professor of Modern History at the University of Glamorgan, Wales. He has recently published *Social Democracy and the Working-Class in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Germany* (2000); 'In the Fangs of Social Patriotism: The Construction of Nation and Class in Autobiographies of British and German Social Democrats in the Inter-War Period', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 40 (2000), pp. 259-87; and 'William Harbutt Dawson: The Career and Politics of an Historian of Germany', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), pp. 76-113. He has also edited (with Kevin Passmore and Mark Donovan) *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800* (1999), as well as (with Angel Smith) *Nationalism, Labour and Ethnicity, 1870-1939* (1999), and he is series editor (with Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore) of a series of books on historiography and historical theory published by Edward Arnold under the title *Writing History*. He is currently working on the relations between the British left and the GDR between 1949 and 1973.

BOOK REVIEWS

I. S. ROBINSON, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 408 pp. ISBN 0 521 65113 1. £45.00. US $69.95

From the eleventh century general tendencies and developments began to change the structure as well as the perception of ecclesiastical and secular rule. Eventually they brought about new social and political setups with a changed understanding of 'just government' and of when a king was considered to have turned tyrant. These fundamental changes had announced themselves before the time of Henry IV but came to a peak during his reign. As virtually every aspect of social and political life eventually underwent considerable change, the late Karl Leyser, in agreement with Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy and Harold J. Berman, characterized the time as that of the first European revolution.

Of all the processes of change it was the re-emergence of the Roman Church and its claim to universal leadership that most interested contemporary writers. Up to then bishops had acted within a framework of loyalties to their noble kinfolk and their friends and often—not always—to their kings. By the 1070s this traditional framework was under challenge from the Roman Church with novel demands for allegiance, which meant open conflict when they clashed with traditional loyalties. It was therefore predominantly in the relationships between popes, kings, and bishops that dramatic events occurred. Since medieval historiographers were almost exclusively interested in highly placed persons and their sensational deeds, this is what we are best informed about. Also, writing was still very much the domain of monks and clerics who quite naturally wrote about what concerned them most. In the second half of the eleventh century they also left many learned tracts in which they argued the positions of their respective sides, a type of source hardly known in the early Middle Ages. All this led modern historians to speak of the period as the time of the investiture conflict, a term derived from the struggle between kings and popes about who was to invest the bishops with their episcopal office.

The investiture conflict as well as the underlying processes of change affected all the kingdoms in Latin Europe, although in quite different ways. Scholars agree unanimously that the kingdom most affected was that of the German king, Henry IV. Why was this so? Why did the conflicts in the German lands, unlike those in the kingdoms of England and France and also Italy, lead to civil war? Why was Henry IV the first medieval king to be excommunicated by the Pope? Why did some of the lay princes combine forces with Henry's episcopal adversaries to elect the first 'anti-king' in German history?

In view of these questions it is not surprising that ever since the nineteenth century, the time of the investiture conflict has received an extraordinary amount of attention in German historiography. It is surprising, however, that the two main actors in the struggle in relation to Germany, namely King Henry IV and his most formidable papal adversary, Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) have not found modern biographers. There are a number of reasons for this. Ruler biographies have not been very popular with German medievalists. It is only recently that scholarly biographies of some of the kings of the High Middle Ages have appeared. Have German historians been discouraged by the fact that until well into the twelfth century notions of personality and individuality, the quintessential basis of every truly biographical approach, are conspicuously lacking in the sources, and that contemporary historiographers hardly ever give motives or any other kind of background information other than biblical moralizing? Ian Robinson's opening sentence in his *Henry IV* is very much to the point. It is a quotation from the contemporary historiographer, Lampert of Hersfeld, who wrote about king Henry: 'Since he was a man born and brought up to rule, he always showed a royal spirit in adversity, as was fitting in one of such descent, whose ancestors held such high office and enjoyed such renown, and he preferred to die rather than be conquered.' This sounds like praise—but it really is not. Lampert hated Henry, and again and again he drives home that Henry was a wicked king. In the sentence quoted above he gives Henry the image of a 'good king', the king that Henry could and should have been had he not chosen to follow evil counsellors who made him a 'bad king'. 'Good kings' have typical ways of behaving, as do 'bad kings'. Both inevitably act according to their roles.

This, surely, is not our way of understanding people, and, as he shows in his conclusion, Robinson is well aware of the dilemma his

sources present. He solves it by writing the history not of Henry the king, but of Henry's kingship; he writes the history of royal politics at the time of Henry IV. Robinson has the best of qualifications for this task: he has himself researched many different aspects of the investiture conflict, and published a magisterial overview, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, in 1990. A new critical edition of Bernold's and Berthold's chronicles 1054-1100 for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica is announced as in print.

The first impression conveyed by the book under review is that its author knows his sources and the masses of secondary works, and that he knows them very well indeed. Robinson presents an impressive volume with an almost old-fashioned kind of erudition, and he leaves his readers with the feeling that he is able to lead them securely through the intricacies of biased narrative sources and a vast amount of modern scholarship. His study is divided into three major parts, each with several subdivisions: 'The Young King', 'The Conflict with Pope Gregory VII', and 'Emperor Henry IV, 1084-1106'. A concise conclusion, and an extensive bibliography of primary sources and secondary works complete the volume.

Robinson's focus on political history means that King Henry the minor is conspicuously absent in most of the first part, since the sources yield next to no information about his childhood and adolescence. Royal politics were in the hands of regents, first Henry's mother, Agnes, and then the archbishops Anno of Cologne and Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen, and it is their actions that the author deals with in the first chapter of the first part ('The minority, 1056-1065'). Both Agnes and the archbishops faced challenging problems in different parts of their world, in the German lands, their natural field of action, and in Italy in response to the troubles of the papacy. Robinson proceeds chronologically, changing focus whenever the chronological narrative demands.

This changes with the beginning of Henry's personal rule. The two scenes of conflict are treated separately up to 1075: the second chapter of Part I is devoted to 'Henry IV and Saxony, 1065-1075'; the first chapter of Part II to 'Henry IV, the imperial Church and the reform papacy, 1065-1075'. There is good reason for this. It is only from January 1076 onwards that the two conflicts definitely intermingle in that Henry's Saxon enemies combine forces with Gregory VII's followers. The separate treatment of the conflicts in Henry's earlier years

is nevertheless surprising. The title of the book indicates a biography. The point of reference in a biography is by definition the life of a person. It structures the events in relation to this person, puts his actions to the fore. Almost from the start Henry was challenged with problems that had been building up in two places at the same time. It was through opposition to him that the two fields of conflict finally converged, thus causing 'the crisis of medieval Germany' (K. Leyser).

Long-distance policy-making was difficult if not impossible in the earlier Middle Ages; the actions of lords were as yet linked to their physical presence and dependable information from other places was hard to come by. News travelled slowly and a situation might have changed radically by the time a message reached its addressee. This is just one of the reasons why 'all politics is local' in the Middle Ages and why the royal *iter*, the constant wanderings of the royal court, was 'the most essential institution of the kingdom because it gave the best cohesion possible to political society' (p. 8), as Robinson rightly sums up recent scholarship in his introduction. Henry was asked to attend to different problems in different places at the same time. This had proved to be too much for the regency of his mother and even more so for a king who had just turned fifteen in 1065. By keeping the two places of action apart Robinson is in concurrence with the perspective of the sources. In adhering to their focus, however, he dissociates human action from its structural framework and this seems not to be what a biography should do. From January 1076 onwards Robinson continues chronologically.

This is a narrative of political events, interspersed with numerous quotations from contemporary sources. It is this feature which characterizes the whole book: closeness to the sources, a step-by-step following of the lead they offer. This method imparts authenticity but has its dangers, too. Simony, for instance, and nicolaitism were the terms that encapsulated everything church reformers abhorred most. It was simony and nicolaitism they were fighting against to lead the church back to its pristine purity (without having a clear notion of what that would be). For a long time, to be a reformer was synonymous with fighting simony and nicolaitism. Both terms were ambiguous, however. They were never clearly defined, and could mean many different things, but were nevertheless used extensively in the polemics of the conflict, namely, to denounce the other side as acting against church reform and therefore as evil. Theoretically

Robinson knows that simony could stand for different things (pp. 121f.), but in practice he follows his sources and uses it as if it were an analytical term. Also, most of the narrative sources were written in the knowledge of the fierce struggle that filled Henry's later years. They are biased, either pro- or anti-Henrician, with the anti-Henricians predominating. This makes for many contradictions. Robinson sorts them out by a combination of sound *Quellenkritik* (source criticism) and common sense. But many details are known only from one single source, and in these instances quotations might be misleading. To give just one example, Robinson describes Henry's Christmas court in 1073 by quoting and paraphrasing Lampert of Hersfeld: 'The reluctant princes arrived without the customary entourage of servants and their following of knights and clerks, but with only a few followers and with little of the ceremonial apparel of their office. Nevertheless the king would not permit them to leave the court, calculating that, although they were of no practical help to him, their presence at the court would conceal his powerlessness' (p. 94). By quoting Lampert without analysing him Robinson makes the sentence appear to be a straightforward report of 'facts'. But this impression is wrong. Lampert here uses the specific language of ceremony, rank, and honour. The complete quotation makes this even more obvious. The king, Lampert says, 'celebrated Christmas in Worms but quite differently from what became royal dignity (*magnificentia*). There were neither supplies and services from the royal domains, nor did the bishops and abbots or the other public dignitaries make their usual offerings; therefore all everyday provisions had to be bought at a cheap price. There were only a few princes present who arrived without the customary entourage of servants.' Apparently Robinson considered this part of Lampert's report too biased, so he took just the part that seemed less so. But they are two sides of the same coin. What Lampert meant to convey was that Henry neither behaved like a king nor was treated like a king, and therefore, by rights, had ceased to be king. This is anything but an innocent description of a royal Christmas court. It is political polemics expressed in the language of images. Quotations without analyses tend not to grasp the full meaning of such language.

Nevertheless Robinson gives his readers a sound, down-to-earth narrative of events which reveals an impressive familiarity with the primary sources and with the scattered controversies about their

interpretation that have been going on for decades, even though, alas, erudition tends to take the drama out of any dramatic period. But dependable as it is, this volume will certainly be an invaluable work of reference for all scholars working on Henry IV's reign. These will be mostly German scholars, but it can be doubted whether Robinson had them in mind. His explanations of the ranks of count, count palatine, margrave, and duke in the introduction suggest that he had an English readership in mind. The wealth of detail, however, will make it hard going for anyone not familiar with at least the outlines of German medieval history. If Robinson had English readers in mind it is surprising that his bibliography does not draw their attention to English translations of German standard monographs on the period, such as those by Tellenbach, Fuhrmann, and Haverkamp. He gives references to the Latin source editions and to virtually nothing but German secondary works. It must be feared that this will discourage those who are not fluent in these two languages from reading this fine work of scholarly erudition.

HANNA VOLLRATH is Professor of Medieval History at the Ruhr University in Bochum. She has published on Anglo-Saxon history and is just finishing a book on Thomas Becket. She has contributed chapters on the Salians to the tenth edition of Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* and the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, and is co-editor (with Alfred Haverkamp) of *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (1996), a GHIL publication.

GERD ALTHOFF, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1997), ix + 360 pp. ISBN 3 89678 038 7. DM 68.00

Seven of the eleven articles plus introduction in this volume have previously been published elsewhere, six of them having appeared in the journal *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* between 1989 and 1996. What Gerd Althoff has to say in this collection is, therefore, hardly unknown. Nevertheless, the volume is an extremely important one. Until comparatively recently, medieval historians knew that they had to apply a great deal of technical knowledge in reconstructing the remote past, avoiding anachronism and respecting the alterity (to use a more recently fashionable word) of the Middle Ages. But in spite of this training they routinely assumed the existence of a state even when its existence was hardly self-evident.

They also routinely assumed that the practice of politics was, at least in its deepest substrata, timeless. Policy, rationality, and calculation could be presupposed for the tenth century as much as for the twentieth. They could be presupposed, moreover, in much the same way: medieval political leaders were viewed as first forming and then implementing (or failing to implement) policy. The considerable difficulties which such a view of political activity presents—modern historians might here recall the 'high-politics-as-game' school of British political historians, or the tensions in a rationalistic view of politics revealed in the debates between intentionalists and functionalists—were overlooked.

Policies were to be inferred, moreover, primarily from the study of objective data, such as could be found in the letters and charters issued in the names of rulers and prelates, and in what we know about their landholdings and buildings. What contemporary observers have to tell us about the major actors on the political stage—Widukind for Otto I, William of Poitiers for William the Conqueror, for example—was undoubtedly useful in supplying a chronological framework which it might have been difficult to reconstruct from other data, and in offering occasional touches of anecdotal colour which could be treated as corroborative detail, intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative. But the working assumption of earlier medievalists was that such writers, even when well-informed about the surface flow of

events, were not privy to the real intentions of the figures whose stories they narrated. Historians who allowed themselves to be distracted by the rhetoric and anecdotalism of medieval authors would find themselves in the same position as a modern historian trying to write political history from the gossip of journalists rather than the 'gold-standard truth' of archives and private papers.

Althoff's work is a significant contribution to the current attempts by medieval historians to reframe the conceptual apparatus with which they approach the study of medieval political activity. He is by no means alone in his interest both in medieval historiography and in the practices and rules of medieval political interaction. Among German historians, one might mention the work of Klaus Schreiner, recently retired from Bielefeld, and there are a number of Anglolexic historians currently working in this area: Patrick Geary, Geoffrey Koziol, and Phillippe Buc in the USA, Janet Nelson, Stuart Airlie, and the present writer in the UK, not to mention the late Karl Leyser, a pioneer here as in so much else. But Althoff's writings are among those most frequently cited by scholars working in this area, and they do indeed offer an unusually coherent and focused view of political interaction in the period between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. For those not yet familiar with them, it will be helpful to give a brief account of them as they are laid out in the volume, before turning more generally to the methodological progress they represent and the methodological problems they raise.

After setting out his stall in a thoughtful introduction, Althoff divides the work into two sections. The first, on conflict and conflict regulation, consists of five articles. The first of these is also the oldest: a groundbreaking study of conflict and conflict resolution in the Ottonian and early Salian era ('Königsherrschaft und Konfliktbewältigung im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert'). Althoff here examines the apparently rather strange fact that those who rebelled against rulers in this period rarely paid for it with their lives (unless they were unlucky in battle). Not only did they, it seems, feel justified in 'rebelling', but they behaved as if they were conducting a feud with the king (and he in turn with them). Such conflicts were generally resolved by a seemingly unconditional surrender to the ruler, but this would normally be followed by release from captivity after sometimes quite a short period of imprisonment, and not infrequently the 'rebel' was restored to office. Althoff concluded that the sense of right

and wrong on both sides was inconsistent with a view of kings as set above and quite apart from their 'subjects'.

This is followed by two case studies. The first investigates the feud between Count Hugh of Tübingen and Welf VI in the 1150s and 1160s ('Konfliktverhalten und Rechtsbewußtsein. Die Welfen im 12. Jahrhundert'). Like the conflicts in the first article, this ended with a formal submission by Hugh, mediated and supported, remarkably enough, by Frederick Barbarossa himself; equally, the Welfs' own conflicts with Conrad III were conducted more through feud and feud-resolution than through formal judgements by the royal court (there were some, but they were ineffectual). The second, previously unpublished, reconstructs the course of the fatal conflict between Rudolf of Habsburg and King Ottokar of Bohemia between 1273 and 1276. Here too we can perceive a much more 'private' kind of conflict than the one which has been conventionally depicted: Rudolf did not act like a ruler dealing with a 'treasonable' subject, and Ottokar's death was not a planned outcome of the conflict.

The following chapter (which has now appeared in its originally intended place of publication, the Festschrift for Karl Ferdinand Werner) is a study of the practice of *deditio*—(apparently) unconditional surrender—in the course of political conflict, and takes the insights of the opening chapter further. Althoff shows how this form of conflict resolution was open to certain groups (notably high aristocrats): unconditional surrender in public, but normally with a clear understanding that the punishment would be nominal. You could only do it once, however; renewed rebellion following a public *deditio* would rarely if ever be treated with the same clemency. In order to do it, moreover, you needed friends and intermediaries, who would clear the arrangements in advance and act as guarantors that they would be observed. To surrender without these precautions was a risky act indeed.

What has emerged from these chapters is a view of medieval politics which does not see rulers as occupying a qualitatively different role from that of their magnates. Conrad II treated Ernst of Suabia as a rebel, especially after he had gone back on the agreement implied in a *deditio* in 1027, but nevertheless even the final phase of the conflict, in which Ernst was killed, was conducted much like the aristocratic feud between Hugh of Tübingen and Welf VI; Rudolf of Habsburg's behaviour towards Ottokar was much the same. The

implication of all this is that the ruler and at least the greater magnates formed a *Führungskollektiv*, and it is this implication which is explored in the final chapter of the first section ('Staatsdiener oder Häupter des Staates: Fürstenverantwortung zwischen Reichsinteresse und Eigennütz'), which shows (using among other things the interesting history of how the princes forced Henry V to make peace with the papacy in 1120-22) how this *Führungskollektiv* operated as a collective, with a degree of responsibility for the common weal.

What also emerges from this section of Althoff's book is the importance of rules and norms of behaviour for the conduct and resolution of conflict, and it is these rules and norms which he explores in the second section. The chapter on the different kinds of colloquy in medieval politics ('Colloquium familiare—colloquium secretum—colloquium publicum: Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters'), deals with the dangers of publicly saying what you meant. In a world sensitive to questions of honour and injury, any public statement, unless carefully prepared and orchestrated, risked generating offence and feud. It was, nevertheless, often essential to be able to speak more clearly; the medieval equivalent of 'Chatham House rules' was to declare a meeting as 'secret' or 'familiar'. Here things could be said more openly and frankly, and the staged and stagey proceedings of public assemblies could be prepared for.

In the following chapter ('Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Klientel. Der schwierige Weg zum Ohr des Herrschers') Althoff takes up one of the themes of an important book, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: Zum Stellenwert der Gruppenverbindungen im früheren Mittelalter*, which he published in 1990. Rulers controlled access to their presence; favoured relatives (including queens), 'friends' (who might, but need not, be blood kin of the ruler) and followers could, provided they remained aware of their limitations, dispose over this deliberately restricted time, much as lobbyists in today's polities depend on private and informal forms of access. The next three chapters are the core of this section, examining as they do some of the key forms of political behaviour in the period under review.[1] The first ('Huld. Überlegungen zu einem Zentralbegriff der mittelalterlichen Herr-

[1]To these studies one should add two others by Althoff: 'Genugtuung (*satisfactio*). Zur Eigenart gütlicher Konfliktbeilegung im Mittelalter', in Joachim Heinzle (ed.), *Modernes Mittelalter* (Frankfurt, 1994), pp. 247-65 and

schaftsordnung') examines the nature of 'favour' or 'grace' as practised by rulers and others, which gives us a very different world from the modern one in which all who have not broken the law are equal before the state. *Huld* could be bestowed and withdrawn, and the ruler was not accountable in doing so (though to withdraw it might have the consequence of provoking an aristocratic feud directed against him). The second ('Demonstration und Inszenierung. Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit') sets out in full a paradigm which Althoff makes frequent use of in other chapters: the importance in the public conduct of medieval politics of careful stage-management, even, and indeed especially, of the apparently spontaneous—not least for the reasons given in his study of the differences between public and private colloquy. He uses, among others, the examples of Gregory VII and Henry IV at Canossa to show how even extremely dramatic public displays might be orchestrated by the participants and their helpers in advance. The third, ('Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: Emotionen in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters') takes up a theme of the previous chapter, and shows how amongst members of the political élite even the display of intense emotion—outrage, contrition, joy—was not a spontaneous matter of the individual psyche but carefully regulated as to both when and how, much as present-day managers receive a good deal of advice about how to conceal their anger or pleasure when it is inappropriate and how to 'stage' it, even when they do not privately feel it, should this be instrumentally useful.

The final chapter ('Ungeschriebene Gesetze. Wie funktioniert Herrschaft ohne schriftlich fixierte Normen?') in effect sums up not only the section but the book as a whole. Althoff's primary thesis is that the actors on the medieval political stage (a metaphor he would explicitly endorse) worked within a strict set of rules and expectations, of which those who observed them and recorded their actions were also perfectly well aware. They show their awareness by dwelling on what historians of a positivist or statist disposition have often dismissed as casual or irrelevant or uninteresting details. It is

'*Compositio*. Wiederherstellung verletzter Ehre im Rahmen gütlicher Konfliktbeendigung', in Klaus Schreiner and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds), *Verletzte Ehre: Ehrkonflikte in Gesellschaften des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 1995), pp. 63-76.

no accident that Althoff here and elsewhere in the work makes extensive use of the richer and juicier narrative sources for the period: it is here that the aristocratic clerics who were by and large the authors of these works reveal their understanding of what was really happening in an aristocratic world with which they were very familiar.

As always when considering a focused body of work by a single scholar one notices a certain repetition, and at times, especially in some of the later pieces, one even has a sense that earlier insights have become formulae which no longer need to be examined. But this is both inevitable and necessary: it is, alas, not enough to say something useful or valuable once only in today's scholarly climate, if one wishes it to be heard or taken note of. Overall, the richness of insight offered in these studies is undeniable. They have helped to bring about a paradigm shift in the way we approach medieval politics, and they are clear and sharp enough to provoke further thought. I will close by examining two issues which Althoff himself does not consider but which his work undoubtedly raises.

The first is that of regional specificity. Althoff's examples are almost all drawn from the history of the *Reich*. Those who work on other areas and other periods of European history will certainly find much that is familiar to them. Some of what Althoff analyses had already found a pre-echo, for example, in Jolliffe's remarkable and undervalued study of the political practice of Angevin rulers (*Angevin Kingship*, 2nd edn, 1963). Moreover, his paradigms clearly have applicability elsewhere: Knut Görich, for example, is currently engaged in re-examining the history of Barbarossa's relations with Italian cities, and more generally of the practice of politics in twelfth-century northern Italy, using Althoff's work. Nevertheless, it is not yet clear whether Althoff is describing a universal grammar of the language of medieval politics, or merely the dialect current in the *Reich*. There is room for a lot more work here, not least on the very rich narrative sources for English history between 1050 and 1250, which have been rather neglected by historians in this as in many other respects. A pan-European view of these matters in Althoff's chosen period may, however, be difficult to achieve, not least because there are large swathes of Europe which do not have the kind of detail-rich narratives which would allow an Althoffian approach. There is nothing, for example, which would now tell us whether the Rudolfing kingdom of Burgundy knew similar 'rules of the game' to

those analysed here, and even tenth- and early eleventh-century west Francia or England would offer relatively little support for such analysis. More promising might be an extension of the approach to the later Middle Ages, where detail-richness is more widespread. It would also be useful to know more about when and how the kinds of behaviour analysed here first emerged. Certainly the Francia of Gregory of Tours looks at first glance very different from Althoff's world—but if high politics were not always like that, when and how did they come to be so?

My second issue is that of the narrative sources on which Althoff relies so much. We need not worry overmuch about the question of how (and what) their authors knew; but we may be slightly more concerned by the possibility that they knew what ought to have happened and described that. More serious still is the problem presented by the nature of the recording. The set-pieces on which Althoff dwells in these studies were a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, drawing on gesture, costumes, theatrical props (swords, for example) and locations with specific associations. Any rendering of these by a historian or hagiographer is necessarily a rendering in 'indirect speech': nuances have gone, and so quite possibly have details which were important to the onlookers but have not been recorded, and would give the scene a quite different meaning were we to be informed about them. We can say this, because whereas for many of Althoff's examples we have only a single narrative account, from the mid-twelfth century onwards we often have two or more accounts of the same assembly. It is striking to find how often the accounts diverge, not so much in their general tendency as in the details related. When we are dealing with Wipo or Widukind we do not have the same advantage; yet it would be wrong to suppose that they have always told us everything we need to know. Nevertheless, that is all we now have or are ever likely to have: the methodology developed in these pages allows us to decode medieval narratives of political interaction in a new and much more interesting way than was previously possible.

TIMOTHY REUTER is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Southampton and Director of the Wessex Medieval Centre.

His publications include *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c.800-1056* (1991), *The Annals of Fulda* (1992), and the *New Cambridge Medieval History III. c.900-c.1024* (1999; ed.), as well as numerous articles and a two-volume edition of the posthumous papers of Karl Leyser (1994).

WILLIAM GERVASE CLARENCE-SMITH, *Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765-1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), xiv + 319 pp. ISBN 0 415 21576 5. £ 55.00

In 1998 Germany imported 268 000 tons of raw cocoa worth 784 million Deutschmarks. In the same year Germans consumed 8.16 kilos of chocolate per capita. However, probably few Germans are aware that each chocolate bar they enjoy contains a world of history. Cocoa has for centuries been party to the linkage of peoples of different countries and continents, through trade, investment, migration, conquest, and cultural and religious diffusion. As the volume under review convincingly demonstrates, the history of cocoa before the First World War indicates that 'globalization' is far from being a recent phenomenon. Reading *Cocoa and Chocolate* one even gains the impression that, in many ways, the world was more globalized before 1914 than it is today.

While the topic of cocoa in the twentieth century has already been explored in considerable detail, this study concentrates on the hitherto widely neglected period between the Seven Years War and the First World War. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, a well-known and widely published economic historian of Africa and Asia has set himself a formidable task. Archival material is sparse and spread all over the world; to read the documents and consult the relevant literature requires a knowledge of many languages. Moreover, statistics on world cocoa exports do not exist in any systematic form before 1894. I can think of no historian better equipped than Clarence-Smith to cope with this Herculean task. Still, the limits of this one-man historiographical enterprise are obvious. A great deal of information does not seem to have been fully digested. The author (and the reader with him) at times become lost in the maze of details. The text is somewhat repetitive; moreover it occasionally seems like a patchwork of paragraphs, each consisting of highly condensed statements gathered together from various sources.

Nevertheless, Clarence-Smith provides an extremely valuable account of the world history of cocoa and chocolate in the long nineteenth century which sheds new light on a number of aspects. The author's main concern is to understand the wealth and poverty of nations, 'using the cocoa-to-chocolate commodity chain in the liberal era as a litmus test for theories of economic development' (p. 1). This

commodity chain is conceptualized as a life cycle which leads from sowing a cocoa seed to the final enjoyment of a cup of hot chocolate, which before 1914 was the most common form of consumption. The period under consideration, the age of liberalism, was characterized by the gradual freeing of commodity markets, the growing mobility of labour and capital, and an ever more stable single currency in the form of gold. It offered cocoa producers a chance to benefit from rising consumption of chocolate in the West, itself driven by the impact of free trade. A fundamental—and surely controversial—premiss of this book is that to export primary agricultural commodities is not, as numerous authors see it, an economic dead end, but may be the only possible route to development for certain countries or regions. Thus, according to Clarence-Smith, the successes and failures of the liberal era examined in his study may provide some useful lessons for today's 'cocoa actors'.

The book begins at the end of the commodity chain, the consumption of chocolate. This decision makes sense, since the demand for chocolate can be seen as the prime mover of the whole chain. There was a favourable long-term trend in demand for chocolate up to the First World War, embedded in cultural preferences, and occasionally affected by shifts in taste, production, availability, or cost. The great chocolate boom took place between the 1880s and 1914, when this commodity progressed more rapidly than either coffee or tea in the West, and prices held up better. As Clarence-Smith shows, this success was based on a number of factors. One of them was product diversification. Sales expanded as lighter and more digestible powders came on to the market, alkalized to improve taste, colour, and ease of mixing with liquids. At the same time, Swiss technical breakthroughs in the 1870s revolutionized the quality of eating chocolate and created milk chocolate. The spread of chocolate consumption to the industrial working class was also crucial. However, while our knowledge about the 'chocolate obsessions' of upper-class Westerners and the changing tastes of the emerging industrial proletariat is rapidly expanding, much less can be said about poor people in the tropics.

The rise of new food products after 1880 tied the fortunes of chocolate more closely to allied inputs, notably sugar, nuts, milk, and wheat, prices of which were generally low and declining in this period. The rise of the modern chocolate industry during this period was

underpinned by the development of new machines and sources of energy. A labourer could produce 500 kilos of chocolate paste a day in a factory in the 1890s, compared to 10 kilos a day in pre-industrial workshops. However, even the most modern factory was far from being fully automated, and there was thus a marked rise in the number of chocolate workers. Clarence-Smith observes that all over Europe and in the United States, the workforce became increasingly female and juvenile. Employers stressed the need for manual dexterity in delicate operations, though compressing wage costs was probably a more important consideration. The author could not find substantial evidence to support allegations that Western firms manipulated prices by forming cartels. Companies occasionally entered into agreements to fix prices, but such agreements were limited in scope and time, and usually collapsed quickly under competitive pressure. As with consumption, very little is known about chocolate manufacturing, about entrepreneurs, their strategies, and their workers 'on the periphery'. The most basic data are lacking in almost all cases. But also as far as the West is concerned, there is remarkably little published work on the chocolate industry outside England.

However, according to Clarence-Smith, the aspect of commercialization and credit is the link in the commodity chain about which least is known. Surprisingly enough, there is only scanty evidence about the commercial diasporas around the cocoa producing countries or about the Hanseatic, Swiss, Corsican, and Genoese cocoa merchants who emerged in the early nineteenth century. At the level of brokers and dealers in Western cities, the fog is even denser. More information is available about questions of land and labour in the cocoa producing areas. The need for supplies of virgin forest engendered complex struggles over rights to land between local people, immigrant smallholders, and owners of large estates. The state attempted to arbitrate, but was usually weak in remote forested areas, and many land disputes have simmered on to the present day. Large landowners, often absentees, mostly obtained official concessions on 'waste lands', while immigrant smallholders sought accommodation with local inhabitants. The fate of the original forest-dwellers was mixed. Some suffered from 'ethnic cleansing', others were outnumbered by immigrant strangers, while yet others became the major local cocoa producers. A very interesting chapter of the book deals with the resurgence of large estates during the great cocoa

boom from the 1880s. Two processes underlay this comeback: the ability of élites to manipulate the allocation of land rights, and the rise of pseudo-scientific and racist ideas about tropical agriculture, namely, a conviction that science would transform tropical agriculture, and that biologically inferior tropical people would merely provide unskilled labour.

Equally instructive are the sections concerning the other basic factor of production: labour. During the 'liberal era', coerced labour proved remarkably durable, and the resurgence of estates at the end of the nineteenth century even led to a new wave of slavery and forced labour. The advantage of coerced labour was not that it was cheap, but that it was readily available. This was particularly important for estate owners, who usually found it difficult to recruit. There was thus an intimate relationship between the survival of estates and the persistence of coerced labour. From the middle of the nineteenth century on, however, the world's cocoa was mainly produced by free workers. This was partly because of labour reforms, and partly because of the spread of smallholdings. In general, smallholders employed members of their (extended) families, but they had to draw workers from outside the family whenever a major cocoa boom developed. Smallholders sometimes also coerced labour, especially in Africa, but they generally had recourse to cheap and flexible arrangements, such as sharecropping.

In his discussion of modes of cultivation, Clarence-Smith convincingly argues that smallholder production of cocoa held efficiency advantages over production on plantations, which could be inefficiently large in scale. Methods of cultivation and primary processing, especially those of small farmers, were often denounced as 'primitive'. In reality, they reflected a quest for maximum output at minimum cost. Large estates that adopted 'scientific' methods were sometimes successful at a purely technical level, but they failed to make sufficient returns. Again, the author does an excellent job in pointing out the lacunae in existing research. One of the problems still unsolved is the interplay between economic and ideological factors in the producers' decision-making on how to grow cocoa. Explanations relating to the availability of labour or ecological reasons usually put forward by economic historians are not entirely satisfying.

Incidentally Clarence-Smith provides interesting evidence concerning the important role of Germany and Germans in the world of

cocoa and chocolate prior to 1914. For instance, the world's first specialized cocoa journal, *Der Gordian*, was written in German (and thus remains a source neglected by many historians working on this commodity). During the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany's most striking niche in the cocoa industry was as a manufacturer of machinery. The Dresden firm of Lehmann became the word's foremost supplier of machines to process cocoa beans. The Cologne chocolate firm of Stollwerck also branched out into the manufacture of machinery in 1866, exporting to France, Britain and the USA. Anton Reiche, founded in Dresden in 1870, was the largest producer of moulds in the world by 1910, employing some 500 workers and pioneering the use of nickel-plating. In 1907 the chocolate and confectionery labour force in Germany numbered 27 200. Finally, Germans played an important part in the international cocoa trade, for example, in Latin America, where German traders, often from Hamburg, built up successful import-export houses. For anyone embarking on this field of research, as for many other topics related to cocoa and chocolate, Clarence-Smith's study is an excellent starting point.

ANDREAS ECKERT is *wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter* at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin. He is the author of *Die Duala und die Kolonialmächte* (1991) and *Grundbesitz, Landkonflikte und kolonialer Wandel: Douala 1880 bis 1960* (1999), and is currently completing a study of African bureaucrats and decolonization in Tanzania.

L. G. MITCHELL, *Lord Melbourne 1779-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), xviii + 349 pp. ISBN 0 19 820592 9. £25.00

Any one wanting to criticize the Whig interpretation of history could start with the interpretation, or with the Whigs. He could uncover the hidden philosophical premisses of the history of the unstoppable progress of liberty, or think about the strange circumstance that the main role in this epic of democratization was taken by an aristocratic party. The Oxford historian Leslie Mitchell has written a number of monographs about these unlikely heroes of popular memory. In them, he seeks out the Whigs in places which the people were kept out of—clubs, salons, and bedrooms. Cards games, intellectual conversation, and love affairs kept the party alive when its members were prevented from seeking risks, principles, and adventure in the business of state. Mitchell looks at the fifty years from 1782 to 1832 when the party was led by Charles James Fox, or by his memory. The Whigs were mostly in opposition during these years. At times the party was so small that it could hardly present itself as a credible alternative party of government. In retrospect, however, the long winter of discontent became a golden age. Fox and his small band of loyal followers seemed to liberal historians to be pioneers in the struggle against a self-satisfied majority in thrall to the present. The Whig interpretation of history, the belief that history is a process with a goal, requires such precursors, prophets who are not recognized in their own times, but who make the connections between periods. Did not the Foxites, who supported the American and the French revolutionaries, anticipate the judgement of posterity on these two world-historical movements?

Mitchell doubts whether they should be credited with such farsightedness. He investigates what the Whigs really saw: what they wanted to know about the world, and what they took no notice of; what they took into consideration and what they ignored; their hopes and their fears. The psychologist of perception has his own perspective—a pathological one. He sees how ideas can obstruct things. The party of opposition, condemned to idleness, was forced to develop theories to explain its lack of power. Every new event that did not change the situation was interpreted as confirming the old scheme of things. According to Mitchell, the fact that the cosmopolitan Foxites advocated acknowledging the achievements of the French Revol-

ution says nothing about the breadth of their intellectual horizons. Their goodwill towards the new regime in France can be explained by the fact that they perceived the whole world in the categories of British domestic politics. Fox underestimated the dynamic of revolution because he thought that what he was seeing across the Channel in 1789 was something that he was already familiar with from home: a despotic king and a patriotic opposition. A hundred years earlier the Whigs had toppled a despot who had been able to find asylum only in France. History repeated itself. This was what historians, with the exception of David Hume, taught so that they could tell instructive tales, but Fox and his friends believed that they had experienced personally the uncanny cycle of things.

In his Oxford dissertation, published in 1971 as *Charles James Fox and the Disintegration of the Whig Party*, Mitchell had pointed to the traumatic significance of the constitutional crisis of 1783-4. By dismissing ministers who knew that they had the support of the majority in Parliament, George III seemed to be confirming the sinister intentions which Whig circles had attributed to him since his accession. Suspicions gave way to certainty: George III was accused of wanting to govern in opposition to Parliament in what seemed to be a rerun of the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts. From this time on, Fox connected everything that was objectionable about politics with the invisible hand of the tyrant. Thus Mitchell shows how a Whig interpretation of history developed a scheme which anyone who claimed to be a Whig had to accept. History that had been personally experienced was poured into a canonical version and henceforth provided the model for understanding the more distant past as well as for dealing with future crises. This Whig interpretation, however, had not yet embarked upon the *via triumphalis* of irreversible liberalization; rather, it anticipated an attack by the enemies of liberty from behind every corner.

In the final chapter of his 1971 study Mitchell points out that in describing the Foxite Whigs' image of the world, religious terms such as 'canonical' seem to creep in of their own accord. Even in his own lifetime Fox was honoured as a martyr who had sacrificed his career to his principles. His supporters were a minority within the political nation not only in numerical terms; they actually lived the life of a sect. In his thesis, supervised by John B. Owen, Mitchell analysed the inner life of the party using all the arts of the Namier school. Voting

lists document the fragility and stability of an association held together only by personal loyalty. This devotion is not presented as a means to the end of achieving material advantage; after 1784 Fox had no more sinecures to distribute. Thus by the end of the period, the Foxites appear as the pure type of an eighteenth-century party focused not on an issue, but on a person. The connection transcends its function. On the other hand, the principles denigrated by Namier return to the game of party history. Those who did not have to put policies into practice were free to preach about abstract principles; lofty goals compensated for constant failure. Mitchell remains a Namierite in that he does not confuse justifications with motives. The Foxites might have sought comfort in philosophy, but they were not philosophers who had entered politics in order to change the world according to their principles. Asked to express their political creed, there was no more precise definition than 'devotion to Mr Fox'. The generality of political slogans proves to be code for the intensity of personal ties. The historian of the Foxites has to become a biographer because the one and only reason for the party's existence was Fox, that genius of friendship.

'To be out of Parliament is to be out of the world.' This basic law of the Namierite universe, expressed by Admiral Sir George Rodney and quoted on the first page of *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, is both confirmed and modified by Mitchell's Foxites. The miscalculations that put an end to Fox's career can be explained by pointing out that it was quite natural for him to elevate the internal perspective of the political system into an absolute value. One had to be an MP in order to take the king's treatment of his ministers as the measure of all things. After 1789 it came as a nasty surprise to find that a large majority of Britons feared the external foe more than the internal one. The model parliamentarians had sidelined themselves. Formally not outside Parliament, they were in fact outcasts. As they had forfeited the world of influence and patronage, they constructed another world for themselves, one which included principles, a luxury which ministers could not afford. Similarly, the emotional investment in friendship reveals a generosity for which everyday politics probably left no space. Above all, however, the Foxites had more time than government politicians for such scholarly pursuits as Fox's history of James II, and for a social life which gave asylum to the freedom of speech and association that had been banished from politics.

From the obituaries of the fifty-five members of Fox's party whom Mitchell was able to trace for 1794, he concluded that 'political and social activities were, for the Whigs, barely differentiated' (p. 257). The word 'liberal' probably entered political discourse from the praise of hospitality. It was Namier's methodological intuition to regard politics as a social activity. Sociological realism was to replace the philosophical idealizations of the Whig interpretation. Mitchell writes the social history of politics almost like a reporter writing for the social pages: the ideals which Foxite circles set against a sad reality provided themes for charades and fancy-dress parties. Better politics were tried out in the rituals of friendship, while there was secret satisfaction at having found a substitute for politics. In his 1980 monograph Mitchell presented Holland House, the main temple of Foxite memory, as a utopian island kingdom, where Fox's nephew, the 3rd Lord Holland, and his brilliant wife hosted exclusive dinners for friends of liberty from all over the world. At them, historians of the party such as Hallam and Mackintosh were regaled with anecdotes and supplied with documents, and young talents, such as Macaulay, who was to become the greatest of these historians, received the encouragement that, in a meritocracy, would have been their birthright.

In 1992 Mitchell published a biography of Charles James Fox which removed the halo from the patron saint of Holland House without demonizing him. Mitchell makes Fox more human by seeing his whole life, not just the years of withdrawal from the House of Commons after 1794, as dominated by the private life. Filial duty explains why he went into politics; he remained as a service to his friends. While he had sympathy for the French revolutionaries, he did not understand the idea of human rights. He can be claimed as a precursor of the Liberals only to the extent that he was inclined to grant everyone the moral and religious freedoms that he enjoyed in his own private life, as a gambler, drinker, and lover who did not attend church on Sundays.

According to John Prest (*Historical Journal*, 37, 1994, pp. 705-6), Mitchell takes the depoliticization of Fox too far. He suggests that Mitchell overestimates the importance of a feeling of personal offence on Fox's part in his criticism of George III's system. Prest takes exception to Mitchell's ironic tone. Fox's lone objection to unnecessary emergency powers, he feels, deserves more credit. Prest's *Lord John*

Russell (1972) can be seen as a classic example of the genre of political biography generally so beloved of historians. Prest, for example, largely excludes from consideration Russell's historiographical work in the spirit of Holland House. Mitchell, on the other hand, cannot do much with the clear Victorian separation between public and private spheres, which political biography as a form promises to maintain. The Whigs with whom he is on familiar terms regarded concern for the state as a family duty. At the beginning of politics was not a plan pointing to the future, but coincidence, the inheritance that one cannot refuse, the memory that lingers. In Lord Melbourne, Mitchell has found an ideal subject for his biographical method.

Just as Mitchell has spent a scholarly life occupied with the Whigs without being able to take their obsessions entirely seriously, so Melbourne amused himself as an observer of his Whiggish world without ever leaving it. Mitchell's first chapter is entitled 'A Whig Inheritance', and it is followed by 'The Whig Context' and 'A Whig Education'. Mitchell begins by noting of the Whigs in general and the Lambs in particular that 'real belief, commitment, or feeling' were so securely hidden 'under a carapace of irony that the biographer is presented with a grave problem of distinguishing the true from the affected' (p. 14). Irony was the refuge of the late born, whose roles in life were dictated by family memory. William Lamb and his siblings were 'enthusiastic advocates of amateur theatricals'. The biographer takes these amusements as seriously as did their authors, who involved their visitors in role-play with almost tyrannical high-handedness. 'Spending time with the Lambs was a demanding business' (p. 15). The creation of the family fortune dated back only to their grandfather. They demonstrated their membership of good society by taking the liberty of openly despising convention. Provoking the uninitiated was the obverse of the piety they showed towards the family gods. William Lamb, thirty years Fox's junior, represented the generation that was already growing into the Foxite tradition.

As an old man, Melbourne claimed to remember having campaigned for Fox as a five-year-old with his mother. As a student at Cambridge, he adopted the Republican style of wearing his hair unpowdered and cut short in honour of Fox. Fox for his part paid the young man the compliment of quoting from his prize essay 'On the Progressive Improvement of Mankind' in the House of Commons in 1798. And when the twenty-one-year-old identified kings as the ene-

mies of mankind in his lecture notes, this academic radicalism was the product of more than the study. Nor did Lamb simply repeat what he might have heard at home since 1784. He literally spoke from his own experience. In the family circle, he had not only listened, but also watched. The sons of George III, arch enemy of the Foxites, were among his relatives, members of extended family trees containing the illegitimate connections that Whig society accepted in silence. William's favourite brother George was, to all appearances, the son of the Prince of Wales whose name he bore. If the Lambs expected nothing good of kings, they did take note of bad uncles and foolish cousins. Similarly, Mitchell sees Fox, who was descended from the Stuarts through his mother and had received their names, as a lost son of the royal house. The king who appointed Melbourne prime minister in 1834 was also a relative: the natural son of William IV had married the natural daughter of Lord Egremont, the natural father of William Lamb.

Mitchell describes how Lamb gradually cast off the Foxite dogma, condemning as troublemakers both Napoleon and the rebels from the lower classes. 'In terms of society and habits of thought, he was true to his upbringing. In politics, he had become more distinctive' (p. 106). Of course, he did not abandon anti-royalism: 'As a minister of the Crown in due course, he was always acutely aware that kings had to be kept within bounds' (p. 100). Thus he remained loyal to precisely that article of Fox's credo that was to become an embarrassment to later Whig historians because it smacked of a conspiracy theory. But Melbourne's experience confirmed the principle of personal attribution of guilt, which no longer satisfied the more ambitious concepts of social progress. The history of his family showed how much unhappiness can be caused by one individual.

Melbourne, who had an unjustified reputation for laziness, had not ignored the more advanced theories. Indeed, he had studied modern social philosophy in its country of origin. For two years, from 1799 to 1801, he was taught in Glasgow by John Millar, whose *Historical View of the English Government* (1787) drew the consequences for constitutional history of the Scottish doctrine of increasing social differentiation. Here Lamb learned how he could academically justify the opinions he put forward in his essay on the progressive improvement of mankind. He also learned to think in a rigorous way which these enthusiastic opinions later would no longer

satisfy. Whig historiography owes the modern concept of history as an unstoppable movement to the Scottish Enlightenment. Trust in the profound forward-moving powers of society carried the Whigs over the disappointments in the everyday business of politics. The separation between theory and practice, the autonomy of scholarship and politics lay in the logic of the progressive social division of labour which the Scottish classics had deciphered. The Whig intellectual circle based around the *Edinburgh Review* hoped to be able to bridge this gap with philosophical politics and a political philosophy. This unprecedented social movement created scope for political action by a statesman who was able to pick its direction.

The heroes of Antiquity who combined the active with the contemplative life were already held up as models to the sons of politicians at school. Thus by 1796, when he went from Eton to Cambridge, seventeen-year-old William Lamb had been convinced that he was 'endowed with a practical genius far superior to any of the writers of the present day and likely to become equal to the most admired Authors of former times' (p. 45). The ironic tone of the autobiography, written down in 1812, reveals that the author had long since given up any belief that he was destined brilliantly to synthesize theory and practice, modern reflection and ancient vitality. He had not forgotten Millar's lessons. But whereas his contemporaries found their youthful optimism confirmed in the doctrine of civilization as a process, Lamb with time assimilated it to the fatalism that was the quintessence of his private and his public experience of life. With the economy of expression that characterizes the biographer and his subject, Mitchell writes: 'Scotland cast a long shadow. It left him with the firm idea that change could not be fought. History was in movement. It might be a matter of joy or regret, but it was a fact of life' (p. 50). From the transience of things Melbourne drew the lesson not of how much, but how little the politician could do. He became home secretary and prime minister in reform cabinets because he was prepared to accept the inevitable.

In the 1830s, the table talk at Holland House was still chasing the lost harmony of intellect and power. Melbourne's cabinet colleague, Lord Hatherton, expressed his surprise in 1837 that the prime minister was *au fait* with the most recent international literature in all subject areas. 'Deep readers are seldom practical men—few men can find leisure for contemplation and practical pursuits. But it so happens at

the moment that the two best read men in high life in England are the leaders of the two Houses of Parliament' (p. 50). (The other was Lord John Russell, who had also studied in Scotland.) Melbourne, however, was not looking for information about the course of events in scholarly literature. He read to take his mind off politics. Its lack of purpose was what made intellectual activity satisfying. He astonished nominee bishops by entangling them in debates about the church fathers. This undogmatic interest in dogma was one of the few qualities which Melbourne shared with his cabinet colleague Macaulay.

Whig historiography took from Adam Smith's sociology the positive view of unintended consequences: the tyrant, for example, involuntarily promoted progress by provoking resistance among advocates of freedom. If he read that every action has more unintended than intended consequences, a politician such as Melbourne was likely to interpret it as a call for caution. Mitchell discerns a pattern of passivity born of scepticism in the Irish policy for which Melbourne was responsible as chief secretary in Canning's government, and as home secretary under Grey. Far-sightedness and inactivity belonged together. Melbourne was well aware that any change in the artificial Anglican regime in Ireland would have incalculable consequences. In the eyes of the men on the spot, this distrust of theories, schemes, and plans was not really practical: 'They wished to be told what government could do, not what it might be prudent to avoid' (p. 138).

Melbourne's conviction that a single wrong step could have destructive potential was not, however, the result of a moral philosophical intellectual game. Rather, it was a fact which he could do nothing to alter, the moral of the story of his life. 'Marriage and Catastrophe', and 'Marriage and Nemesis' are the two chapters in which Mitchell explains this moral. In 1805 Lamb married Lady Caroline Ponsonby in order to escape from the solicitude of his family. With this declaration of independence, he sold himself into slavery. His wife's eccentric behaviour exposed him in front of the whole world. Lady Caroline's affairs were scandalous because they broke the tacit agreement among the upper classes to keep up appearances at all costs. Mitchell shows that as far as Melbourne was concerned, this understanding was part of the unwritten British constitution. He did not share the high hopes that some Whigs had for the imminent rule of public opin-

ion. It served no purpose to discuss everything. Kings misbehaved. This was unpleasant and sometimes dangerous. But if every mistake was illuminated by the glare of publicity, the whole social order was subjected to a curiosity that it might not be able to withstand.

If the *raison d'état*, or rather, *raison de société* is reduced to this, it sounds machiavellian. William Lamb maintained the appearance of the institution which he himself had established even when nobody, not even he himself, believed in it any more. Mitchell speaks of the 'theatricality of the Lamb marriage' (p. 62), which was already apparent in the style of their courtship. The drama of marriage was the final play in the cycle of the amateur theatricals once enjoyed by the whole family, and when the curtain had been raised, William Lamb did not want to think of a premature end. He accepted the fact that in the eyes of his friends and relations, he was making a fool of himself. 'Neither man nor woman can be worth any thing', he wrote in his Commonplace Book, 'until they have discovered that they are fools.' This praise of folly declared the Whiggish ideal of the philosopher king to be an idle dream. As the heir to the family title and custodian of the Foxite tradition, William Lamb should have taken an active role on the national stage. But as long as Lady Caroline lived, he was condemned to reacting only. 'From 1805 to 1828, he could do nothing but respond to the behaviour of a most remarkable wife' (p. 91).

While Fox found the happiness among friends that was denied to him in the House of Commons, Melbourne conversely fled from marital unhappiness to politics. When his wife was dead and he could embark seriously on his career at the age of forty-nine, the demons still pursued him. 'William Lamb had been so injured that he could not believe that political action could heal. The role of government was limited to regulating the worst excesses of men and women who could never ultimately trust each other. It was a distinctive stance for someone who was to become prime minister' (p. 93). However, it was not a bad stance, at least at his time. The philosophically ambitious spokesmen of the Whig party announced in the reform debates of the 1830s that the highest certainties and ultimate decisions were at stake. Behind the curtains, by contrast, compromises had to be reached and postponements agreed. Melbourne, who apparently lacked political experience, was prepared for this task. 'He brought to it the flexibility and the rootlessness of someone who had been taught to

trust in, and believe, little or nothing' (ibid.). From 1834 to 1841 the prime minister whose appointment had caused general surprise had to be an umpire and a mediator.

His authority was not political in the narrow sense, not based on particular abilities or knowledge. Rather, it was of a social nature. He owed it to the life styles and the intellectual character of his class. In 1840 the French ambassador Guizot admired Melbourne's manners because 'ce mélange de laisser-aller et de gravité, d'insouciance et d'autorité qui indique une conviction libre et personelle plutôt qu'une intention prémeditée' (p. 201). The Whig aristocracy cultivated an aura of self-confidence which made it possible to be vague about their actual intentions. This elegant ambivalence meant that the Radicals and even the Tories could put up with Melbourne's prime ministership. The Foxites had always kept their distance from the masses, and this allowed them to see themselves as friends of the people even after 1792. They had learned to keep their official attitudes separate from their private ones. Thus Melbourne was not betraying his principles by supporting reforms in Parliament which, in private, he regretted because they threatened the dominance of the landed aristocracy. 'Newspapers, lobbying, and even the extension of the franchise were unpleasing in an almost aesthetic sense' (p. 39). Mitchell points out that Melbourne was not fond of the country life; indeed, he hardly knew it. The existence of the Whigs was both artificial and artistic.

And an artist—a painter or a novelist—could have dreamed up the last big scene from Melbourne's life: the old cynic as the fatherly adviser of the young queen. Mitchell, who otherwise avoids all pathos, allows himself to tarry over the romantic side of the situation. Once again Melbourne believed he had been sent a woman who deserved his trust, and once again he was betrayed as Victoria became engaged without seeking his advice. Fox had been right after all—monarchs were not to be trusted. None the less, even after his retirement, Melbourne sought out Victoria's company. Instead of playing no role at all, he assumed that of the minor villain of Whig historiography, the courtier who insinuates himself between the monarch and his ministers.

Even in the final act, Mitchell's biography maintains its wonderful succinctness. Every detail is significant because it is meant to convey something about the strange customs of the Whig tribe. One indi-

cation of the Whig talent for friendship is the fact that Melbourne selected Lord Brougham, whom he had not wanted as lord chancellor in his cabinet, as the executor of his estate. Brougham and his sometime protégé, Macaulay, were the architects of the Whig Interpretation of History, the cheerful message of progress directed by an enlightened élite. 'I wish I was as cocksure about anything', said Melbourne, 'as Macaulay is about everything.' The intellectual certainty of the star speaker and celebrated journalist compensated for his lack of social certainty. The Whig interpretation was not a philosophy of Whigs, but of parvenus. Brougham and Macaulay might have believed in the omnipotence of the understanding to which they owed their status; Melbourne's secure social position, on the other hand, allowed him to experiment with intellectual doubts. He could even afford to doubt himself. 'Even as Prime Minister', Mitchell sums up, 'Melbourne felt an enduring lack of confidence in himself and his views' (p. 275). Just as Fox was supported by his friends, Melbourne was caught by his family when he let himself fall.

In his social persona, Melbourne, who owed everything to his family, seems to belong to the eighteenth century. If his political loyalty needs a label, 'it must be Lambite' (p. 117). Given the structure of politics at the accession of Victoria, this was an anachronism. But as Melbourne did not succumb to the intellectual enthusiasms of the nineteenth century, his views can seem modern again today. Whereas Brougham wanted to improve the people by disseminating useful knowledge, Melbourne insisted on the moral neutrality of knowledge, which could be put to use for good or for evil (p. 26). And while Macaulay was able to fool the British into believing that in their history things had always improved, in 1840 Melbourne drew a more realistic picture of the historical process in a letter: 'Human affairs never stand still. They are always moving, forward, backward, laterally, up, down, straight, crooked, in some direction or another' (p. 30).

PATRICK BAHNERS is chief editor of the *Feuilleton* for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. He has published articles on Tacitus,

Gibbon, Mark Pattison, Heinrich von Sybel, Rudolf Borchardt, Franz Schnabel, Siegfried August Koehler, and Hayden White and is currently working on a Ph.D. thesis on Macaulay and Ranke. With Gerd Roellecke he has edited *1848: Die Erfahrung der Freiheit* (1998) and *Preußische Stile: Ein Staat als Kunststück* (2001).

WOLFGANG PIERETH, *Bayerns Pressepolitik und die Neuordnung Deutschlands nach den Befreiungskriegen,* Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte, 119 (Munich: Beck, 1999), 330 pp. ISBN 3 406 10700 1. DM 58.00

Wolfgang Piereth's book on Bavaria's press policies at the time of the Congress of Vienna adds to a rapidly expanding corpus of literature devoted to the German press of the early-nineteenth century. Piereth employs the resources of a range of archives—Munich, Berlin, Speyer, Vienna—in an account that demonstrates the close connection between state formation and propaganda. Whilst recognizing that the rise of the political press can be dated to at least the 1770s, this book nevertheless highlights the importance of the Napoleonic era in Germany. It was this period that witnessed the emergence of a public sphere of a different quality: one that was more structured, unified, and focused on the reference points of 'people' and 'nation'.

Metternich once observed that propaganda was not only dangerous, but a tool of the weak. Weakness, or more specifically, a profound sense of vulnerability, certainly distinguished Bavaria in the revolutionary / Napoleonic era. The liquidation of Poland in the 1790s provided an awful example of the possible fate of Europe's smaller states. The imminent collapse of the *Reich* brought with it the prize of sovereignty and the danger of partition. The prize was eventually won, but then challenged in turn by Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, Prussian plans for the partition of Germany in 1814-15, Stein's schemes for greater unity, and Metternich's *Bund.* Hence the constant need for Munich to reassert its internal and external sovereignty in this period. Hence the need for a political press. Yet, despite its potential usefulness, the emergence of a sophisticated *Pressepolitik* came relatively late to Bavaria. Both Metternich's Austria and Hardenberg's Prussia were ahead in this field, Piereth argues. During the Napoleonic period, Munich simply relied upon crude censorship, which was increasingly tightened under French pressure. Berlin, in contrast, abandoned a defensive propaganda policy in 1813-14 and went on the offensive, directing, guiding, and enlisting the press. Elements within the Prussian military leadership in particular appreciated the importance of *Öffentlichkeitsarbeit.* In this account, which stresses the importance of public opinion and its management during the Wars of Liberation, Piereth by implication challenges recent his-

toriography (itself a reaction against crude Borussian triumphalism) that has pooh-poohed any notion of popular engagement during the Wars of Liberation. Certainly, the Prussian military was not so dismissive. Nor was Metternich and nor, eventually, the Bavarians. Napoleon's defeat in 1814 represented *Stunde Null* for many Germans who planned their nation's future as if it were possible to start afresh, with a clean slate. A mass of plans and schemes of a constitutional and territorial nature appeared, such as decorates the front cover of this paperback edition. Most were consigned to the deep as hopelessly unrealistic. None the less, the discussions conducted at the highest levels at the Congress of Vienna (and Piereth provides a good account of this wider diplomatic context) were deadly serious and threatened Bavarian sovereignty. There were various agendas, but the most menacing from Munich's perspective were the various schemes for Austro-Prussian partition and / or greater German unity pushed especially by Hardenberg and Stein. Worse still, Stein and Hardenberg employed the press to put pressure on Bavaria during negotiations over the German question. Stein's propaganda, peddled by Görres's *Rheinischer Merkur*, for example, was overtly anti-Bavarian and especially worrying in the autumn of 1814 in encouraging secessionism within newly acquired territories such as the former Hohenzollern (and Protestant) territories of Ansbach and Bayreuth.

Piereth demonstrates how Montgelas's government confronted the challenge to Bavaria's sovereignty through the development of a modern press policy designed to influence German public opinion. The propaganda activities of Stein's Central Administration, with which the writers Arndt and Görres were especially associated, provided both a spur and model. Initially, the Bavarians viewed the press attack against them as the result of Prussian attempts to revolutionize Germany. Munich responded with predictable paranoia, imposing greater repression and control. This essentially defensive reaction changed in December 1814, when its ineffectiveness was recognized. Instead, awareness grew of the need for a more sophisticated, ambitious policy. The turning point came with the Saxony / Poland crisis of late 1814, which presented Bavaria with the opportunity to place itself at the head of the 'third Germany' against Prussocentric German nationalism. Prussia, through its actions over Saxony, had forfeited the moral high ground. It appeared again as the greedy, expansionist state feared throughout the eighteenth cen-

tury. Significantly, the Bavarian propaganda initiative was taken not so much in Munich, but by individual officials, especially in the Rhineland. In 1814, the northern part of this region was occupied by the Prussians, and the southern part by a joint Austro-Bavarian administration. Both sides engaged in a *Federkrieg*, an account of which is already provided in an excellent study by Karl Georg Faber.[1] Rhinelanders, like the former radical Andreas Rebmann who had served Napoleon, felt threatened by Prussian-backed nationalist propaganda and supported the Bavarian initiative. Eventually, Montgelas took a keener interest in managing this propaganda effort. The periodical publication, *Allemania*, was one consequence of this desire for direction. Piereth, through painstaking research, has identified the majority of contributors to this journal, which was edited by an official from the foreign ministry. Civil servants, including a high proportion of 'new Bavarians' (natives of territories incorporated into Bavaria in the Napoleonic period, out to prove their loyalty to their new state), co-operated with *Allemania.* Much of the biographical minutiae supplied on some of them will be of limited interest other than to the specialist, as are details such as the expense of the paper on which *Allemania* was printed. A broader and more significant conclusion that Piereth draws from his research is the political tension in this period between proponents of what one might label late enlightened absolutism and those tending towards early constitutional liberalism.

Jacques Ellul (whom Piereth cites), in his pioneering theoretical study of propaganda,[2] stresses the ineffectiveness of propaganda that appears obvious. This was so with *Allemania*, which was so overtly an organ of the Bavarian government—despite elaborate cloak-and-dagger manœuvrings to disguise the connection—that no publisher could be found to produce it for fear of alienating its customers in other parts of Germany. Eventually, the Bavarian government had to publish it itself. Not surprisingly, demand proved low. To circumvent this problem, Munich formulated an alternative strategy. This

[1] *Die Rheinlande zwischen Restauration und Revolution: Probleme der rheinischen Geschichte von 1814 bis 1848 im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Publizistik* (Wiesbaden, 1966)

[2] *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, trans. from the French by Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York, 1968).

involved taking over, or at least influencing, existing publications with an established readership. Amongst the most important targets was the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, published by Johann Friedrich Cotta in Augsburg, the most influential paper of early nineteenth-century Germany. Munich's ultimately fruitless machinations with respect to this publication in 1815 are described in considerable detail by Piereth. In addition, Munich attempted to take over various other independent journals on the sly, or at least to manipulate their editorial policies, planned to set up a Bavarian government press agency, and to design a range of different official publications targeted at various social groups. Ultimately, these initiatives proved unsuccessful, and several factors account for this failure. Firstly, Munich misunderstood the nature of the press attack against itself. It believed that the hostile press must be directed by one (presumably Prussian) conspiratorial group, and failed to consider that figures such as Görres were acting spontaneously, as independent agents. This misunderstanding accounted for a rather clumsy attempt to entice Görres into Bavarian service following the Prussian ban on the *Rheinischer Merkur* imposed in early 1816, as if he were motivated simply by pecuniary gain. More fundamentally, Piereth demonstrates that the development of a modern propaganda apparatus in Bavaria was fatally undermined by the bureaucracy's Olympian self-perception as a kind of Hegelian universal estate, floating well above grubby party conflict. Finally, the bureaucratic-absolutist determination of Munich to maintain tight control over its propaganda stifled initiative and prevented engagement of really talented writers who required autonomy to flourish. In this context, it was no accident that the most active and successful propaganda campaign launched on behalf of Bavaria came from the periphery, the newly acquired Rhineland-Palatinate, where local officials enjoyed greater scope for initiative. Closer to Munich, bureaucratic control put off the kind of independent-minded men of stature who might have contributed most to Bavaria's cause.

Piereth also devotes space to the content of Bavarian propaganda. This went beyond denouncing Prussian aggrandizement and defending the sovereignty of the smaller German states. More positively, it attempted to forge a new Bavarian or even south German identity. Especially pressing was the need to 'Bavarianize' the periphery of the new state. Ridicule of German nationalists, with their silly symbols

and funny hats, was certainly part of this. More constructively, Munich also sponsored what might be termed *Heimatforschung*, though the results were quite mediocre. True 'Germaness' came through a strong regional identity, not through sterile uniformity or partition by the 'half-Slav' Prussians and multinational Habsburgs. According to the spin, Bavarian statehood was not the product of Napoleonic intervention, as Görres and co. argued, but the natural culmination of a millennium of German history. As for the effectiveness of this message, Piereth expresses scepticism. Significantly, the propaganda was not consumed by the 'new Bavarian' target audience, but by bureaucrats in administrative centres concentrated in 'old Bavaria'. This failure is not surprising bearing in mind Ellul's observation that propaganda is effective only when it plays on existing prejudices. Most Bavarians were not interested in the German debate; nor were they especially anti-Prussian. More deeply ingrained in 'old Bavaria' was Austrophobia, and this was successfully whipped up in late 1815 during a diplomatic crisis over the future of Salzburg. This territory had been acquired by Bavaria during the Napoleonic wars and Vienna wanted it back. Munich launched an anti-Austrian press campaign in support of its claims. Ironically, this campaign proved too successful: domestic popular sentiment was worked up to such an extent that the Bavarian government was badly humiliated when it subsequently had to cave in to Habsburg military threats and cede Salzburg to Vienna. This episode revealed that appealing to public opinion was playing with fire. Ironically, it was this 'successful' propaganda campaign as much as previous failure that brought to a close this chapter in Bavaria's *Pressepolitik*. Ultimately, Piereth demonstrates in possibly the most important conclusion of this book, a political system based upon bureaucratic state absolutism proved fundamentally incapable of sustaining such a policy, irrespective of whether it was successful or unsuccessful in its immediate objective of mobilizing popular sentiment.

Overall, this is a commendable work. Piereth might be criticized for being a little dismissive of some of the existing literature when establishing a niche for his own book; in particular, Karl-Georg Faber, in a number of publications (which Piereth cites), has already contributed to our knowledge of the press-war between Bavaria and Prussia in the Rhineland. More positively, Piereth has engaged in

painstaking research to go beyond the actual propaganda itself to explore who produced it, and how. He also confronts the problem of reception of the press, though here the inevitable scarcity of sources imposes tight limits. None the less, through the use of police reports, Piereth provides much information on the state of public opinion within Bavaria, especially its recently acquired possessions. Significantly, this study undermines the old textbook notion that the Congress of Vienna and Restoration was all about a return to the old politics in defiance of public opinion. In reality, public opinion was taken extremely seriously, even if it ultimately had little influence in shaping the contours of the final settlement. In demonstrating this, Piereth adds substantially to our understanding of the relationship between early nineteenth-century reform bureaucrats and the rest of society.

MICHAEL ROWE is Lecturer in Modern European History at Queen's University Belfast. He has published a number of articles on various aspects of Napoleonic rule in Germany, and is writing a book on the history of the Rhineland during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic age.

MARGIT SZÖLLÖSI-JANZE, *Fritz Haber 1868-1934: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 1998), 928 pp. ISBN 3 406 43548 3. DM 98.00

Fritz Haber, who won the 1918 Nobel Prize for chemistry retrospectively in 1920 based on his work on ammonia synthesis, is one of the key figures in the history of German science and technology in the twentieth century. That his life and work are central to understanding more mainstream German history in the latter part of the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth centuries is something that Margit Szöllösi-Janze argues convincingly and in great detail in this fine book. Szöllösi-Janze's biography of Haber is based on a wide array of archival evidence and a thorough—and critical—canvassing of secondary literature on her subject and on the context in which he operated. Her treatment is as well written as it is exhaustive, and hers will serve as the definitive account of this man's fascinating life for the foreseeable future.

Widely regarded for his scientific work from a fairly early age, Haber realized that the science he wished to pursue could only be done in conjunction with resources drawn from industry and government. The former could provide not only funding for financially strapped university researchers, but also specialized preparations and equipment. Government bodies at the state level were important sources of funds, although the German federal government had less cash at its disposal. Still, political backing at all levels was essential for implementing large-scale projects and (not incidentally for Haber and many of his cohorts) could also provide symbols of status and prestige. Operating with this knowledge from the beginning of his career, Haber quickly came to occupy a central position of power and influence at the intersection of science, the economy, and government. His Nobel Prize-winning work on ammonia synthesis formed the basis for massive, and eventually very lucrative, industrial investment and production. The ammonia itself was essential to Germany's ability to fight for four years in the First World War: it was the basis for production not just of desperately needed fertilizers, but also of ammunition. Haber also was instrumental in shaping the Kaiser Wilhelm Society and its associated institutes in the first decade and a half of the new century. The Society and its institutes symbolized the extent of German scientific achievement on the eve of the First World War and, as Alan Beyerchen has argued convincingly ('On the stim-

ulation of excellence in Wilhelmine science', in Jack R. Dukes and Joachim Remak, eds, *Another Germany: A Reconsideration of the Imperial Era*, 1988, pp. 139-68), also functioned as part of an effective and very modern national system of innovation. Haber took up the post of director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry in Dahlem, typically parlaying state backing and industrial funding into a reasonably independent and highly prestigious position for himself.

This effective and modern national system of innovation was called upon very heavily during the First World War, not just for production of various ersatz materials, but also for development of weapons of mass destruction. Again, Haber occupied a central position. Ever the patriot, he placed his Institute at the disposal of the war effort, liaising with both industry and the military authorities to coordinate research, translate the results quickly into large-scale production, and then to deploy the products effectively on the Front. His Institute worked most prominently on development of poison gas, gas masks, and pest-control agents.

Szöllösi-Janze's extensive description of the Haber Institute's activities with regard to gas masks and pesticides is a much-needed corrective to the usual tendency to focus solely on poison gas in analysis of Haber's career. Pest-control agents were essential not just to the war effort, but also in peacetime, and industry was particularly interested in developing them for commercial purposes. Again, Haber's direct and indirect influence on German business and economic history was substantial. But, again, the influence—in this case mostly indirect—went far beyond that: he was instrumental in the establishment of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingsbekämpfungsmittel (Degesch) in the early 1920s, whose main product, Zyklon B, played a notorious role in the implementation of the 'Final Solution'.

Still, Szöllösi-Janze would agree with most historians that Haber's role in the development and deployment of poison gas was of particular importance. Under Haber's leadership, the Germans pioneered its application as a weapon of mass destruction. The poison gas effort, she contends convincingly, represented a prototypical Manhattan project (pp. 336-7): funded by the state, scientists and technicians from a variety of disciplines worked closely with the military and with large-scale industry on highly directed, militarily cru-

cial research. Like the Manhattan project, Haber's poison gas project was eventually placed under direct military control, in this case in November 1916.

Poison gas development was vital for other reasons as well, again like the Manhattan project. It brought into high relief ethical questions associated with the use of science and technology to develop horrendous weapons of mass destruction. During and immediately after the First World War, such questions centred on the person of Haber. He himself apparently never regretted his role in this development. He believed that deployment of poison gas had 'humane' aspects that might shorten war, and in the latter stages of the conflict he even planned to continue gas research at his Institute in the post-war period. But others disagreed with his assessment. Szöllösi-Janze argues effectively that the suicide of Haber's first wife not long after the first major deployment of poison gas at Ypres in 1915 was the result of a number of factors, but doubts about the morality of the gas attack and her husband's culpability in it may have been one of them. Towards the end of the war, Haber had good reason to believe that he would be identified and tried as a war criminal on this basis. He and many others were astounded by the decision of the Swedish Academy to award him a Nobel Prize so soon after the end of the conflict; his acceptance of it caused some other laureates to boycott the award ceremony.

Although he clearly enjoyed the professional and financial rewards associated with the Nobel Prize (the latter were particularly critical during the inflation period), Haber's attention and energies were absorbed for the most part with trying to reconstruct German science both at home and abroad. Besides arranging for alternative financing of his own Institute, he played a vital role in reorganizing funding of research in Germany during the early Weimar period. Through his work in assisting to establish the Notgemeinschaft (later the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), Haber helped construct a system that moved control of research and its funding away from the individual states and towards the central government, and away from state ministries of culture and towards self-administered organizations of scientists. This trend has continued to the present day.

The end of the war brought other changes as well, however. Haber had always worked extremely hard (this was apparently one of the factors that contributed to his first wife's depression and sui-

cide and was clearly important in his eventual estrangement and divorce from his second wife as well), but he had exhausted himself thoroughly during the war. His health was affected adversely, and he does not seem ever to have recovered fully. He had also—paradoxically since his significance to his profession had just been recognized with the Nobel Prize—begun to lose influence, as, for instance, in the case of the decision at the beginning of the 1920s on the successor to Emil Fischer's chair at the University of Berlin.

Why did this happen? Szöllösi-Janze sees this as an example of 'how Haber's life and scientific career veered between triumph and defeat' (p. 438), which may well be the case. Certainly, there were later triumphs in his career during the Weimar period, too. Still, an argument might be made that the combination of the widespread questioning of Haber's behaviour during the First World War and the physical and mental exhaustion that resulted from his efforts may well have undermined his influence both nationally and internationally and over the long term. The exhaustion, too, might explain some of the otherwise mystifying decisions about research organization and direction at the end of the First World War and the beginning of the Weimar period. Planning for continuation of poison-gas research after the war—which Haber did well into its late stages and even as it became clear that Germany would be defeated—seems indicative of a misjudgement of what might be politically possible, something distinctly out of character for Haber. His later idea of extracting from sea water gold with which to pay German reparations, which became a major research project for his Institute, bordered on the bizarre. Perhaps, too, such decisions began to undermine Haber's influence over the German system of innovation, an influence that had clearly waned considerably by the late 1920s. It took the National Socialist seizure of power, however, to deal the final blow to Haber's position and influence. A Jew who had converted to Christianity, Haber felt forced as a result of Nazi policy to give up his Institute and leave his beloved country. His family and professional life shattered, and in poor financial shape despite many years of security and some affluence as a professor and despite holding a number of lucrative patents, Haber died in Basle at the end of January 1934.

Szöllösi-Janze tells Haber's story extremely well, and she is especially effective in linking the personal and the political, in highlighting the significance of Haber's scientific work for industry and pub-

lic policy, and in separating the legends that surround the man from some of the facts through critical and thorough scrutiny of documents and secondary sources. Still, there is at least one big question that she might have addressed at greater length. If, as she concludes, 'Fritz Haber was in every respect an extremely modern scientist' (p. 705)—and most would agree with her in this assessment—it still needs to be explained why Germany was the first country to be able to produce such a man and the modern system of science within which he functioned. It is perhaps unfair to ask still more from a book that does so much, but the 'why Germany?' question remains a central issue not just in general German historiography, but also in the historiography of German science.

RAYMOND STOKES is Reader in the Department of Economic and Social History at the University of Glasgow. He is the author of *Divide and Prosper* (1988), *Opting for Oil* (1994), and *Constructing Socialism* (2000). A history of the privatization of Buna Sow Leuna GmbH between 1900 and 2000 (written with Rainer Karlsch) has recently been published in German and English. He is currently working on a chapter in a company history of BASF AG and, with Rainer Karlsch, on a history of the German oil industry, 1870-1973/74.

GESINE KRÜGER, *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewußtsein: Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des deutschen Kolonialkriegs in Namibia 1904 bis 1907*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 133 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 344 pp. ISBN 3 525 35796 6. DM 69.00

The history of the Herero in colonial Namibia has recently been examined by a younger generation of scholars. Gesine Krüger's book on the influence of the German-Herero war (1904-1907) on the indigenous and European historical memory and consciousness supplements other important studies, such as Jan-Bart Gewald's *Herero Heroes*. Modern scholarship has emphasized that this war, which saw the extermination of large parts of the Herero population, should not obfuscate the view of other important events in the history of indigenous Namibians. Until a short time ago, most studies focused on this tragic chapter in Herero history rather than on the period of South African occupation. Krüger concentrates on the way in which the Herero and the Germans made sense of the war instead of giving another account of the military aspects. This is an important book because the author succeeds in restoring the link between the traumatic experience of the war and the impact it made on the post-war community.

In her discussion of the reasons for the war and the strategic aims of the Herero, the author examines the various explanations which have previously been suggested, ranging from colonial denunciations of the Herero's 'betrayal' to empathizing scholarly accounts of a proto-nationalist struggle against colonial subjugation. She suggests that the decision to risk a war against the Germans was not so much based on millenarian expectations of a military victory, but that it reflected the hope of improving the deteriorating position of the Herero *vis-à-vis* the colonial power at the political level. These expectations proved to be unrealistic. The subsequent annihilation of the Herero at the hands of the German colonial soldiers resulted in a heated debate among scholars about whether or not the mass killings amounted to genocide. Krüger does not leave any doubt about the genocidal intentions of the supreme commander, Lothar von Trotha, but she explores the nuances of this debate in a subtle manner. She emphasizes that both the denial of the organized mass murder of the Herero and the allegation of a murderous continuity in German his-

tory should be understood within the context of the *Sonderweg* debate and Holocaust historiography.

The colonial soldiers did not come to Namibia without a preconceived image of 'true' Africa. Thankfully, Krüger's examination of the ideological genesis of war diaries and memoirs does not meander through fashionable references to the literary canon of 'otherness' which seems to have atrophied into a new orthodoxy in too many scholarly contributions. She argues that previous studies may have acknowledged some inconsistencies in the Eurocentric descriptions of Africa in the colonial literature, but that they still conveyed too homogeneous an image of the racist colonial soldier. While colonial diaries were certainly influenced by the tendency to re-invent the identity of the European warrior in Africa, they convey a sense of self-doubt and irritation which has been left out of most of the published literature. In their unpublished diaries, many soldiers sketched Africans as marginal figures in an empty landscape instead of giving elaborate justifications for colonial expansion, which is more typical of published texts. Some of this amateur writing exerted a greater influence on public perceptions of Africa and colonial history than academic studies.

Krüger suggests that the publicly announced German plan to transform the indigenous Africans into a faceless colonial proletariat after the war has been taken too literally by many scholars. After the war ended, Africans undermined the colonial 'fantasy of omnipotence' (*Allmachtsphantasie)* by fleeing from exploitative labour relations and restrictive pass laws. The German authorities faced enormous difficulties in controlling those Africans who had avoided the registration and classification processes by assuming false identities. Many Herero continued to roam the vast expanses of Namibia. Despite the paranoia and fear which characterized the behaviour of the Germans in the post-war period, many farmers tried to secure a supply of cheap and reliable labour by giving their Herero workers an incentive through payments in kind, that is, livestock. By 1913, Herero farmers had accumulated considerable numbers of stock and thus bypassed the plans of the Germans to rob them of their land and cattle for good. Many of the scattered survivors managed to re-establish contacts among each other. The author has discovered a number of letters which demonstrate how literate Herero were concerned to keep track of friends and relatives. She shows that the colonial dis-

course, and some of the scholarly literature, mainly described the emergence of a disempowered African underclass after the war and thus ignored the fact that individual and collective resilience created niches for the socio-economic and cultural reconstruction of Herero society.

The South Africans found it difficult to stop indigenous mobility and the attempt to reclaim land and cattle. Pre-occupied by their effort in the First World War, they controlled the Herero communities rather ineffectively, at least during the early period of occupation, despite the nominal *rapprochement* between the old and the new colonizers. The exiled and displaced Herero continued to move back into their old settlement areas. Almost under the noses of the settlers, Herero groups reorganized themselves on white farms. Confirming previous studies, the author describes the 1923 funeral of Samuel Maharero, the paramount Herero chief who fled Namibia during the war, as an important event in the reconstruction of Herero identity. The appearance of the *Truppenspieler*, who wore German-style uniforms and exercised in military fashion, was observed with particular concern by the colonial authorities. Their activities gave rise to rumours of a renewed African rebellion. The *otrupa* or *otjiserandu* created a platform for the expression of a group identity in the aftermath of the devastating experience of German colonialism and also played an important role in presenting a united front to the South African authorities. In 1919, a Herero petition asked for the dispossessed land to be returned to the Herero 'nation'.

The author carefully explores the ambiguity of Herero symbols and ceremonies. While 'the wearing of uniforms alluded to the role played by both the Herero and the Germans in the colonial war' (p. 237), the activities of the *otjiserandu* were a complex play on the many facets of African identity in the face of colonial power *per se*. Ironically, the obsession of many Herero with military drill, which had worried the whites, facilitated the incorporation of Herero volunteers into the South African Native Military Corps which was established at the beginning of the Second World War. Equally fascinating are Krüger's comments on the 'symbolic re-occupation' of Herero land through the construction of memorials and graves on white farms. The Herero dotted the political and cultural landscape with commemorative places in order to imagine the unity of the people.

In her discussion of the activities of Herero women in the 1930s, the author is less convincing in establishing a link between the colonial war and post-war Herero society. The conflict which emerged between some influential Herero women and the colonial authorities revolved around gender and generational antagonism among the Herero, rather than around specific problems related to the experience of the German-Herero war. This does not prove that the memory of the war had faded among the Herero, as has been claimed by some scholars, but it does not emerge clearly from Krüger's account to what extent the indigenous discourse about witchcraft, tradition, and female power could have been influenced by other factors related to social change under the South African occupation.

This well-written book makes an important contribution to Namibian historiography and beyond, because Gesine Krüger has presented a sophisticated examination of historical consciousness and memory in a changing African community. She argues against the dichotomous view of an African society as trapped somewhere between tradition and modernity, between collaboration and anti-colonial resistance. Instead, she shows that the internal forces of change which are expressed by men and women in contradictory ways, and which are not always clear to the outside observer, must be examined carefully.

TILMAN DEDERING is a Lecturer in History at the University of South Africa, Pretoria. He is the author of *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia* (1997), and has published several articles on pre-colonial and colonial Namibian history.

KURT FLASCH, *Die geistige Mobilmachung: Die deutschen Intellektuellen und der Erste Weltkrieg. Ein Versuch* (Berlin: Alexander Fest Verlag, 2000), 447 pp. ISBN 3 8286 0117 0. DM 68.00

Kurt Flasch is a philosopher and historian of medieval philosophy. His volume on the mobilization of German intellectuals during the First World War appears to represent a significant departure from a distinguished corpus of scholarship that has featured studies of St Augustine and Nicholas of Cusa. In fact, the new book grows out of the author's longstanding interest in the history of his own discipline. Flasch's analysis of 'German intellectual work with the Great War' (p. 9) is calculated to serve several functions. It is to redress, in the first place, a 'collective amnesia' (p. 370), a general ignorance of the place of this great catastrophe in the history of German academic philosophy. In the second place, the book is to document the appalling failure of German philosophy during the war, the discipline's betrayal of its own integrity and most cherished traditions at a critical historical moment. The author's hope is, he writes, to hone the discipline's understanding of itself by means of 'concrete irritation' (p. 11). In this sense, he surely succeeds. The product of his work is a blistering, quirky, and altogether engaging series of reflections on some of Germany's greatest thinkers as they enthusiastically rationalized the slaughter.

The book entails a retreat from recent studies of the 'ideas of 1914', which have focused on the reception of these ideas in several different public fora. Flasch's work resembles Klaus Schwabe's more than Jeffrey Verhey's or Thomas Raithel's. It begins with an examination of the early paeans to the war that were trumpeted by Rudolf Eucken, Ernst Troeltsch, and Friedrich Meinecke. Flasch portrays these as canonical statements, which registered the principal motifs, topoi, and intellectual fallacies that informed German philosophical commentary on the war generally. Impassioned incantations to German 'Kultur', 'Innerlichkeit', 'Freiheit', and 'Geist' signalled the abandonment of critical reason, the flight into an intellectual and moral realm where the 'problem of understanding dissolved in the immediate common experience' (p. 22) of war. This problem Flasch labels, in connection with Eucken's speeches, 'moralistic intentionalism'—the systematic repudiation of the other side's moral legitimacy, the abandonment to base prejudice of all epistemological rigour,

'as if there had never been any philosophical difficulties in knowing the intellectual processes of others' ('Erkenntnis des Fremdseelischen') (p. 22). In the end, despite all the erudition that embellished it, the German philosophical analysis of the war thus distilled into a learned rhapsody on Emanuel Geibel's loathsome line, 'Es mag am deutschen Wesen einmal noch die Welt genesen' (pp. 169-70).

The bulk of the volume extends the indictment to the work of other German intellectuals, including Kurt Riezler, Rudolf Borchardt, and above all Max Scheler, whom Flasch flays in a long portrait as 'the most consequential philosopher of the war', whose argumentation provided a method 'that permitted him to evade broader objections of ethics and fact' (p. 128). The list of the figures whom Flasch selects for review poses, however, one of the principal difficulties in the book. The commentaries by German intellectuals on the First World War constituted a 'sea of texts'—over thirteen thousand by Flasch's own calculations (pp. 227-8). This proliferation makes the problem of selection acute. The author never resolves it, even in restricting his analysis to figures who can be called, more or less loosely, 'philosophers'. The selection serves primarily to gauge his own interests and the intensity of his distaste. The inclusion of Annette Kolb and the Dadaist writer Hugo Ball makes for fascinating reading; but no less than the exclusion of historians like Johannes Haller or Georg von Below, who were as prominent (and arguably as philosophical) as Meinecke in the propaganda of war, it invites the charge of caprice. A section entitled 'Adressaten' purports to consider the broader resonance of philosophical argumentation in favour of the war. It comprises, however, little more than another series of critical reflections on individual thinkers, whom Flasch analyses here under the rubrics of women, Catholics, and Jews. The chapter on women features a sympathetic portrait of Kolb, who, perhaps because she lacked the credentials of an academic philosopher, was largely immune to the intellectual temptations of the males who possessed them. The chapter on Jews provides Flasch with an opportunity to deal critically with Gustav Landauer, Fritz Mauthner, and Georg Simmel, as well as with the Marburg Neo-Kantians, Paul Natorp and particularly Hermann Cohen, whose 'contorted argumentation' (p. 315) struggled to identify the Jewish sources of German *Kultur*.

Because it so betrays a sense of moral and professional offence, Flasch's impassioned criticism of his intellectual forebears is both

relentless and itself weak in empathy for its objects. Nor does it do justice to the evolution of attitudes over the course of the war. As a result, it will doubtless irritate philosophers. Historians will raise similar objections, for the volume makes little effort to frame moral failure in specific institutional or cultural circumstances. For this reason, and despite a brief coda that seeks to characterize Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* as a meditation on the war, Flasch's essay also fails in its objective to situate the First World War in the broader history of the German philosophical profession. Finally, as is clear in occasional references in the book to attacks by French philosophers on the 'Prussian' Kant, the national mobilization of philosophy during the Great War was not unique to Germany; and it would reward comparative analysis. These caveats notwithstanding, Flasch's volume is a compelling and fascinating document, a welcome reminder of the power and responsibility that reside in articulate human thought.

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

NOTKER HAMMERSTEIN, *Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich: Wissenschaftspolitik in Republik und Diktatur* (Munich: Beck, 1999), 582 pp. ISBN 3 406 44826 7. DM 98.00

MICHAEL FAHLBUSCH, *Wissenschaft im Dienst der nationalsozialistischen Politik? Die 'Volksdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaften' von 1931-1945* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 887 pp. ISBN 3 7890 5770 3. DM 138.00

There is renewed historical interest in the fate of *Wissenschaft* under National Socialism, and in Nazi attempts to regenerate the universities. A range of academic disciplines and institutions once seen as resisting Nazism have been shown to have been compliant and supportive of racial policy. At the same time there is increasing awareness of how the Nazi state proliferated new structures challenging the pre-eminence of universities. The two studies under review both deal with non-university institutions, which challenged the Humboldtian paradigm of 'teaching and research'. But they represent different poles of interpretation: Hammerstein argues that the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft (NDW) sustained its identity, and his study has already provoked a storm of criticism. Fahlbusch uncovers a sprawling conglomerate of non-university institutions focused on issues of German ethnic identity and expanding *Lebensraum*.

The question arises whether Hammerstein's interpretation is tenable in suggesting the resistance and durability of academic structures. The NDW can claim to be pioneering of the modern type of peer-review academic funding agency. His outline of the foundation and development of the NDW in the Weimar Republic serves to establish a mentality that was by and large nostalgic for the patronage and prosperity of the Kaiserreich. The NDW's first secretary, the administrator Schmidt-Ott, having been Althoff's successor as ministerial director in the Prussian Kultusministerium, personified such continuities. Fritz Haber well illustrates the blend of modernity with patriotism, as he spun a complex web of academic research groups, some with covert military funding. The eventual dismissal of Haber was to facilitate military technical and strategic operations. But Hammerstein stresses the defence of science as a value, and its independence, as manifested in a memorial meeting for Haber. Overall, impe-

rial values of science and patriotism are portrayed as lingering forces, still shaping the management of scientific institutions in the Third Reich. Hammerstein does not deny that there were Nazi enthusiasts in the academic sphere, but they are shown to have been incompetent, ineffectual, and unable fundamentally to damage the resilient structures of science. That over 50 per cent of academics joined the NSDAP after 1933 is explained as more to do with such extraneous factors as careerism and a desire to conform than with enthusiasm for Nazism. The young are seen as avoiding universities because of onerous Party duties. Thus the Nazi onslaught on research and university institutions had only very partial success.

Schmidt-Ott resigned in October 1934, although he retained such offices as chair of the Stifterverband. His successor as president of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) was Johannes Stark, who is characterized as a dedicated scientist despite longstanding Nazi sympathies evident in his campaign for 'deutsche Physik'. Hammerstein sees the Third Reich as a period of continuity for by now well established scientific institutions. Rudolf Mentzel was the major political organizer in the new Amt W (Wissenschaft) of the Reichserziehungsministerium and from December 1936 was President of the DFG. A member of the SS, he was a chemist who had been unable to have his *Habilitation* thesis accepted during the Weimar Republic, but in the Third Reich it was kept from the faculty as a state secret (a shame that Hammerstein did not locate it). He is characterized as able, energetic, and highly talented. In contrast the portrait of the crystallographer Peter Thiessen is acid in tone, mainly because of his accommodation in the GDR as Stasi informer; and Robert Havemann, another Soviet protégé known for taking on the role of President of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft in the Soviet sector, is condemned as having supported the dismissal of Haber. The critique bites harder against the left than against the right, for whom there are invariably extenuating circumstances.

While Stark began by confidently applying the *Führerprinzip,* his efforts were constantly undermined by Mentzel and his protégés: Stark attempted to move from passively disbursing monies to taking an active directing role. He gave increased support to relevant science, such as crop breeding, but he also supported a spectrum of the sciences as before. The ministry, however, was concerned that research should not become an autonomous enclave. Stark made

strategic errors in veering towards Rosenberg rather than Himmler, and was overall too much of an independent-minded autocrat. As a consequence he was moved to the Physikalisch-technische Reichsanstalt. This opened the way for the younger Mentzel, who was a more orthodox Nazi, to become president in 1936.

More effort is expended on characterization than on the politics of administrative structures. Whether finance came to academics because they were Nazis or because they were scientists is a constant issue. Structural measures such as *Fachsparten* (academic divisions under leading scientists) guarded against Nazi excesses. But in practice, massive concessions were made to Nazism. Mentzel built up links to a range of SS initiatives like the SS expedition to Tibet and to the SS-Ahnenerbe Research Foundation, which drew two thirds of its budget from the DFG. Prehistory and archaeology were supported when they dealt with periods of exemplary racial purity. Hammerstein points out that often these organizations included people of the ultra right who disdained the populism of the NSDAP. Further pressures came with the four year rearmament plan in 1936, and in 1941 from the Nazi leadership, concerned about a lack of research innovation in German war industries. The latter issue suggests that even when viable academics were funded, the expectations were that they should contribute to a Nazi victory. Hammerstein simply does not appreciate that new academic disciplines like virology were funded because of the strategic requirements of the Barbarossa campaign and the *Generalplan Ost.* This was a macabre world of esoteric nationalism, Nazi bullying and power politics, and strategic plans: to accept all this as sustaining normal academic life is to take a grim view of academic behaviour.

Overall a view is presented of an academic community which remained liberal and objective in outlook, and continued to have a robust sense of the autonomy of science. Hammerstein's measured, flowing prose assists him in giving his materials this distinctive spin. We have a rounded academic study, and yet one that is highly tendentious. However, the book has blemishes. There are minor inaccuracies: Hammerstein is hazy as to the date of the Nuremberg Medical Trial, and certainly it did not stretch to 1948; there are inaccuracies in the citation of foreign names (for example, R.V. Johns for Jones) and non-German secondary literature is drawn on sparingly. More serious is that the book lacks a sense of science—or any other academic

discipline—as ideology (here the classic studies of Paul Forman might have been considered), and no use is made of the riches of the DFG *Forscher-Akten* in this context. Hammerstein does not pause to reflect on what constitutes science, which to him is a self-evident, and intrinsically laudable, enterprise. Despite the new wave of interest in the social history of academic disciplines, there is often reluctance to analyse papers and research materials historically.

By way of contrast, Fahlbusch invokes Horkheimer's concept of 'instrumentalized reason' as his starting point. He sees a network of academics acting as advisers to the state and NSDAP. Indeed, this view of a politically engaged science contrasts fundamentally with Hammerstein's stress on neutrality. Fahlbusch's study bristles with ideas, notably that of a quest for a new type of German science. By analysing the Volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft as ideology, bureaucracy, and organizational structure, he casts light on a shadowy world of research into ethnicity. Too long has the paradigm of a homogeneous racial underworld of semi literate fanatics held sway. Fahlbusch shows the research structures to be extensive and evolving.

The academic discipline under Fahlbusch's scrutiny—*Volkstumforschung*—is by no means self-evident: what exactly is the English-language equivalent? The term covers studies of German ethnic identity, culture, racial biology, and living conditions. Folklore in English does not have the breadth of the German concept of *Volkstum* as both a discipline in its own right and an interdisciplinary area of study, intersecting for example with geography and history. Its broad compass included art history, and it corresponded to what might be termed 'cultural studies'. Fahlbusch engages with research on demography but not anthropology and eugenics, even though a number of advisers came out of medicine, notably Otto Reche, Eugen Fischer, and the tropical medicine professor, Otto Fischer, whose papers we learn were seized by the British after the war but now cannot be traced.

Fahlbusch argues that applied areas such as racial and migration studies, or linguistics were recognized as meriting special support. In turn, this meant that the academic disciplines such as history, geography, and folklore studies became a politically supportive *Herrschaftsinstrument*. For its part, Nazi Germany emerges as an academically favourable environment. In peacetime it justified expansion of German borders and in the war it assisted the massive German plans

for population policy. The organization dealt with selection of German groups for settlement in the east, and the Germanization of 2-3 million people; it also dealt with such non-German 'problems' as the excess of eastern European peasants. Here, the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle took a key role from its inception in 1936. Himmler, Goebbels, and Ribbentrop recognized its value as an agency reconciling Nazi politics with the at times aberrant demands of ethnic German groups.

As with Hammerstein, the approach is mainly organizational. Fahlbusch reconstructs a complex and sprawling structure, showing how scattered local offices, magazines, cartographic units, and a range of surveys were interlinked. He delves into the origins of *volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaften* in 1931 to cover Germanic studies in three regional groupings: Alpine, Rhenish, and the south-east, and here the Foreign Ministry was closely involved. The direction of these offices lay mainly in the hands of historians and geographers, and some, like Albert Brackmann and Hermann Aubin, will be familiar from Michael Burleigh's writings on *Ostforschung*, and Mechthild Rössler's publications on the geographers. Fahlbusch exposes a series of military, ideological, and economic aims. The SS increasingly imposed centralization, for example, of cartography from 1943.

Finally, Fahlbusch shows how the collections were evaluated by Allied intelligence. His account should be supplemented by the British intelligence reports on evacuation of the 'Vomi' organization from the Ukraine (in the Public Record Office files on decoded German messages in HW/16/61). The post-war FIAT field intelligence organization should be referred to as an Anglo-American and French organization. The collections were then used as the basis for East European institutes. But collections seized by the British have not re-surfaced, and he rightly points out that it is puzzling that interrogation transcripts of academic internees at the Schloß Kransberg interrogation centre, code-named 'Dustbin', are also not available. It would not be unreasonable to assume that in analogy with the Farm Hall Interrogations of nuclear scientists (released as a result of pressure from historically minded physicists), these have been retained by governmental agencies, which all too often are prone to hoarding documentation. The release of all as yet inaccessible materials in British government hands concerning science under National Socialism is now long overdue.

PAUL WEINDLING is a professor at the Humanities Research Centre, Oxford Brookes University. His most recent publication is *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe 1890-1945* (2000).

PETER STRUNK, *Zensur und Zensoren: Medienkontrolle und Propagandapolitik unter sowjetischer Besatzungsherrschaft in Deutschland*, Edition Bildung und Wissenschaft, 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 183 pp. ISBN 3 05 002850 5. DM 84.00

This careful study, based on a Ph.D. thesis, deals with the press policies of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) between 1945 and 1949. *All* of the press under Allied occupation was subject to censorship, but the Soviet Zone suffered especially intrusive controls, as one would expect in a Stalinist system. The SMAD's Information Division grew out of the Red Army's wartime work with the National Committee for a Free Germany, recruited from anti-fascist prisoners-of-war, where some German Communists had already collaborated with Russian colleagues, including Rudolf Herrnstadt, later editor of *Neues Deutschland*. Nevertheless, a number of journalists were also recruited from among Nazi-vintage editors for the Soviets' showcase, *Tägliche Rundschau*, demonstrating a pragmatism on the part of the SMAD which belied denazification rhetoric. There was also an awareness of the need to win well-known literary names for the bylines, including Hans Fallada, Theodor Plivier, Alexander Abusch, Willi Bredel, as well as the actor Gustaf Gründgens, who were given considerable artistic freedom in order to attract an educated readership.

Much space is devoted early on to the political views of the bullet-headed Soviet hardliner, Sergei Tyulpanov, head of the SMAD's Information Division, and protégé of Zhdanov. Given this prominence, he only appears intermittently in the body of the book, leading to a conclusion by default that his influence has been overrated by historians. (He also appears at great length in Norman Naimark's *The Russians in Germany*, amid much circumstantial but inconclusive evidence as to his importance.) This revised position may be justified, but the other general political background given by Strunk on the SMAD does not substantially illuminate the day-to-day printroom politics discussed in later sections of the book. Those more directly responsible for censorship, such as Filippov, a former TASS representative in interwar Berlin, and Kirsanov, unheard-of until now, emerge from the shadows, but usually as pen-portraits gleaned from the Americans or overenthusiastic GDR *Festschriften*.

What does emerge is the haphazard nature of Soviet censorship—the Christian Democrats' *Neue Zeit* was for a while censored by three

Komsomol girls with little grasp of German, who would occasionally break down at the enormity of the responsibility facing them (p. 93). Even the German Communist press was subject to restrictions, with *Neues Deutschland* suffering cuts in circulation at various points. The Russians clearly reserved resources for their own publications, remaining deaf to protests from even supposed allies. Nor did the Soviets appear to realize the self-defeating nature of their propaganda tactics. The news reaching *Tägliche Rundschau* was designed for a Russian readership, rehashed from TASS stories, but offputting to German readers in its style and themes. Nor was the image conveyed of the Soviet Union an altogether attractive one. Moreover, the Stalinist apparat was prone to relieve its own staff at regular intervals, sending talent back to the USSR, including even Tyulpanov. Although aware of competition from the West Berlin press, only the *Berliner Zeitung* and the *Nacht-Express* were permitted to experiment in tabloid journalism, prompting American observers to comment enviously on the latter as 'gossipy, racy and on the surface unpolitical' so that 'the majority of its readers are not aware of the fact that it is a Russian-sponsored newspaper' (p. 89). Yet these experiments in a non-party press were mainly abandoned in 1948 in favour of more party-political newspapers which the SMAD found easier to control indirectly through leverage on individual leaders. 'Difficult' editors such as Emil Dovifat were made liabilities with the bloc parties and dropped in the interests of a harmonious relationship with the occupying power. It is significant, however, that a number of journalists were prepared to stand up for their principles in a post-fascist society.

Strunk assiduously covers the pre-censorship in which the SMAD engaged until November 1946, including even the Communist press. Night-time proof-readings would take place, often delaying appearances on the newsstands, as Russian censors conferred with their superiors and pages were set and reset. It is estimated that 35-40 per cent of each edition of the Christian Democratic press was not allowed through, with the censor sensitive to any reporting on foreign policy issues, military information, food shortages, or industrial dismantling. Moreover, the amount of information on developments in the Western occupation zones was minimal. Some German editors with experience of National Socialist censorship managed to walk the fine line required; others transgressed it and paid with their jobs.

Three successive editors of the CDU's *Neue Zeit* were forced to resign by the Russians. Even after pre-censorship was lifted in favour of post-censorship, editors were very careful what they wrote. At the same time, the SMAD was not averse to ordering mischievous articles aimed at the Western Allies, conscious of the trouble this would cause on the Allied Control Council. By October 1946 the zonal press was under increasing pressure to attack American foreign policy, prompting General Clay's own Operation Talkback, from which point on the Allies began to ignore their own rules not to attack each other in public. Local SMAD contingents on occasion used licences as a bait for 'positive' reporting on government policy. Another weapon in the SMAD's arsenal was newsprint allocation, with certain newspapers starved of their agreed circulation. The Soviets also choked off the Western information supply, banning German journalists from using Associated Press or Reuters in favour of its own Soviet News Bureau, despite the attempts of some Germans to set up primitive newsgathering services by listening to Western radio and typing up shorthand notes. The only resort in the end was for the German media to engage in self-censorship in the shape of the ADN news agency, founded in 1946, and which survived until the end of the GDR. Strunk also pays some attention to radio-broadcasting and publishing policy, although the bulk of research is devoted to newspaper journalism. In all cases, however, German readers and listeners turned off by overpolitical coverage could find alternatives in the West Berlin press and radio. The SMAD never achieved total media control.

This is a pioneering piece which, as Strunk himself is aware, is constrained somewhat by lack of access to important archives, notably the SMAD's own files in Moscow. Many of the blanks are filled in with memoir literature, or East German holdings in the Bundesarchiv Berlin. Yet, since most of the latter are semi-official *Erinnerungsberichte*, we learn little of the internal dynamics and unwitting humour of the censors' reports themselves, as evidenced for instance by Barck, Langermann and Lokatis's *'Jedes Buch ein Abenteuer'* (1997). Consequently, large sections, for example, the case-study of the Soviets' *Tägliche Rundschau*, are dominated by details of personnel changes or rises and falls in circulation figures which are rather hard-going at times. As with a number of post-1989 studies of East Germany, institutional history is favoured over other, arguably

more illuminating, approaches. Thus, the otherwise promising section on the style of reporting is not really long enough to do more than give a flavour. Given the slimness of the volume, there was undoubtedly room for more. Moreover, many of the sources are Western—either American analyses of the time or records kept by sacked editors who ended up in the West, mainly Christian Democrats, and tend to reflect Cold War mentalities. The experience of reading such a heavily-controlled press, partially recoverable through readers' letters and interviews, is another potentially interesting, but unexplored avenue. The desire for paper often fulfilled practical rather than ideological functions. East German listeners regularly tuned in to Western broadcasters such as RIAS and SFB, and were exposed to American dance music as well as anti-Communist commentary. Without this aspect of popular reception—or indeed, non-reception—propaganda initiatives necessarily appear in somewhat of a vacuum.

PATRICK MAJOR is Lecturer in History at the University of Warwick. He is the author of *The Death of the KPD: Communism and anti-Communism in West Germany, 1945-1956* (1997), and is currently working on a social history of the Berlin Wall.

PAUL NOLTE, *Die Ordnung der deutschen Gesellschaft: Selbstentwurf und Selbstbeschreibung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 520 pp. ISBN 3 406 46191 3. DM 88.00

Overcoming the division, indeed antagonism, between social classes within society by creating a harmonious *Volksgemeinschaft* (community of the people) was by no means an idea novel to the National Socialists. The social question was of central concern throughout the nineteenth century in Germany, whilst the idea of a national socialism began to emerge towards the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to Marxism, it aimed to achieve social harmony within one country. The ideal was not true equality, but 'organic' hierarchies, that is, harmonious structures in which differences remain, but everybody gets 'their due'. Capitalist competition and inequality were to be reduced to such an extent that every social group would get what it deserved and needed to maintain a satisfactory life.

These ideas, and the break with them in the 1950s, are the central focus of Paul Nolte's book which originated as a *Habilitation* thesis supervised by Hans-Ulrich Wehler. It examines what is undoubtedly a central issue of political culture in Germany from the turn of the century to the 1960s. The book's theoretical approach is interesting, as Nolte wants to enlarge a *Begriffsgeschichte* à la Reinhart Koselleck to write a history of discourses about the social question in order to reconstruct both how society perceived its contemporary reality and how it envisaged a better future.

With such a broad topic, there is practically an endless number of sources one could look at. Thus it is quite legitimate that Nolte mainly concentrates on one area. Though he aims to write a general cultural history of society's 'language' (J.G.A. Pocock) of social thought, his primary focus is the history of sociology. His justification for this choice is that he believes sociology to be the prime medium in which society reflects upon itself. While it is certainly true that it is the job of sociology to reflect on current social conditions, it is nevertheless methodologically problematic to assume that its reflections are characteristic for the whole of society, even if Nolte frequently brings in other voices as complementary evidence. The problem is not only that the book frequently turns from a cultural history into a history of sociology, but that Nolte does not reflect on the question of how sociologists might have differed from, say, philosophers or writers of

fiction, who also reflect on contemporary society (for example, when he talks about the move towards empiricism in the 1950s), and how an intellectual discourse might have differed from 'everyday consciousness' (p. 176). Nolte's argument would have been much more convincing if he had selected diverse intellectuals with a high public profile to reconstruct the intellectual debate, and looked more systematically at some popular newspapers, party programmes, or social movements to get a sense of wider public opinion.

The selective choice of sources as well as the concentration on domestic politics and the social question leads, to mention just the most important omission, to Nolte largely ignoring one crucial root of the idea of *Volksgemeinschaft*: military considerations. Friedrich Naumann had already argued in 1900 that a successful imperialist policy demanded the social integration of the workers; in the First World War Walther Rathenau had stressed the need for an end to unjustified privileges to achieve total mobilization; and in the wake of the stab-in-the-back-legend the whole extreme right of the Weimar Republic, including the National Socialists, was convinced that social harmony was necessary for achieving success in any major future war. Furthermore, the directed economy of the First World War and the concept of *Gemeinwirtschaft* became central reference points for visions of a future *Volksgemeinschaft* in the Weimar Republic.

The Bielefeld tradition shows clearly in Nolte's treatment of the subject matter. While the controversial term *Sonderweg* is not employed, the book presents a sharp critique of what Nolte sees as a particularly dangerous concept in German thought. The ideal of a harmonious society is regarded as the result of a German inability to cope with the plurality of modern society, as a 'defence and flight reaction' (p. 12) to modern, capitalist, and democratic conditions. Until 1945, Nolte argues, plurality and social heterogeneity were never seen in a positive light. Domestic political divisions and diversity were not accepted, let alone welcomed, but seen as a sign of an intolerable crisis. As society did not learn to understand and live with these realities, there was a tendency, on the right as well as on the left, to develop unrealistic and politically destabilizing 'utopias of social harmony and stability', which could only be realized by anti-democratic force and violence. Thus the option for National Socialism, which promoted the idea of *Volksgemeinschaft* as a core component of its worldview, was by no means accidental, as the vast

majority of Germans were prepared to accept violence and repression rather than to give up their ideal and settle for the inevitable modern condition of plurality and political conflict. Only after the war did the German way of thinking change, at least in the West (Nolte does not deal with the GDR). As a consequence of realizing the disastrous results of the dream of *Volksgemeinschaft,* and in drawing on more sober Western traditions, West Germans gradually broke with their utopian aspirations, becoming more pragmatic and realistic instead. Thus in the 1950s, a period of important modernization, the foundations for the acceptance of pluralism, democracy, and political conflict were laid.

This is, of course, a very crude summary of an argument that Nolte develops with much more subtlety and sophistication. The whole argument is presented in a very impressive manner as Nolte has a detailed knowledge of the secondary literature, draws on an immense amount of primary material without losing the main line of argument, and has the ability to summarize complex arguments concisely. I, personally, learnt a great deal even about areas with which I feel well-acquainted. However, his ability to draw out the main strands of multi-faceted developments and encapsulate complex concepts and constellations in snappy, plausible, and suggestive phrases also leads to over-simplifications. Despite a wealth of important and original points, which make the book well worth reading, I find the overall argument unconvincing. Is it really plausible to expect a society like Imperial Germany with all its deep class divisions to accept this kind of plurality? Was the acceptance of social inequality and fragmentation a realistic option before the general rise in the standard of living and the emergence of a consumer society after 1945 appeased much discontent? Is it not fully understandable that a deeply divided society like the Weimar Republic aimed for more social harmony? Indeed, would not many historians today argue that the Weimar Republic failed because it lacked the general consensus necessary for democracy to work? And, while the ideal of social harmony might be unrealistic, is it really always dangerous? Nolte uses the similarities between right-wing, democratic, and left-wing ideals of social harmony as evidence that they were all dangerous, but can they really be lumped together? Firstly, in contrast to left-wing utopias, right-wing ideas of social harmony were always hierarchical and often involved the idea of excluding groups within society.

Secondly, one would have to be careful to establish whether violent or non-violent means were intended and used to realize the ideal. And thirdly, political words and phrases are frequently contested; they can be filled with different meanings by different political camps. While Nolte is surprised that 'defenders of the Republic held on to the idea of a "good", democratic-egalitarian *Volksgemeinschaft*, when the term was adopted by the extreme right and the National Socialists into their vocabulary and given anti-democratic connotations' (p. 171), one could also argue that it would have been wrong to leave a term with positive connotations to the political opponent.

More generally, several points are at issue here. The question is, first of all, whether it is productive to identify so closely with present opinion when judging the past. While it is certainly an important part of history to strive to destroy dangerous traditions, a balanced account (which should be possible about a topic which has frequently been dealt with, and mainly critically) should also pay attention to the motivation for, and possible merits of, these ideas. After all, the dream of social harmony seems quite plausible and legitimate, and one would thus have to show under what further conditions it became perverted to the Nazi idea of *Volksgemeinschaft*. Otherwise historians end up taking the values of the present rather naïvely as the measure for all things. As it is, Nolte is highly critical of the German past, but simultaneously uncritically affirmative of the whole period after the 1960s, as if all major problems had disappeared after West Germany, especially the conservative school of thought, had learnt to accept modern conditions. While it is clearly of continuing importance to study the causes of National Socialism, after half a century historians should also show a critical awareness of the problems connected with bureaucratization, consumerism, and the global industrial and capitalist world. Or is the present really so ideal that we should abandon all thought about a truly different and better future?

Paul Nolte would certainly object to being classified a conservative, but his strong attack on any utopian thought in favour of the anti-utopianism and new realism of the 1950s (see, for example, pp. 29 and 403) does lead him in that direction. This position, which has many similarities with Karl Popper's critique of all utopianism as a danger for open societies, is not only questionable as an explanation for the rise of National Socialism, but also seems at odds with devel-

opments after the 1960s. While Nolte seems right to argue that the break of the 1950s was too deep to allow a naïve harking back to the idea of *Volksgemeinschaft* (at least in academic discourse), the new left and the new social movements since the end of the 1960s have still tried to develop and realize ideals of a more harmonious society (as did Habermas, for example, in the realm of sociology). The important distinction is that these discourses largely accept democracy, diversity, and non-violence, but this only goes to show that not all efforts to overcome the problems of modern society are dangerous. The wish for more social harmony seems a very 'natural' and widespread reaction to the problems of capitalist society, and the crucial historical question, it seems to me, is how such perfectly acceptable ideas could turn into the dangerous right-wing and fascist ideal of *Volksgemeinschaft*. Despite all the undoubted merits of his book, Nolte's attack on all kinds of critiques of modern society is too sweeping to give an adequate answer to this question.

THOMAS ROHRKRÄMER is Senior Lecturer in Modern European History at the University of Lancaster. He is the author of *Der Militarismus der 'kleinen Leute': Die Kriegervereine im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871-1914* (1990) and *Eine andere Moderne? Zivilisationskritik, Natur und Technik in Deutschland 1880-1933* (1999), as well as many articles in related areas. He is currently working on a second volume to his latest book which will deal with the Third Reich and the Federal Republic of Germany.

NOTICEBOARD

Research Seminar

The GHIL regularly organizes a research seminar at which recipients of grants from the Institute, Fellows of the GHIL, 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.

1 May Christiane Wolf
Königin Viktoria, Kaiser Franz Joseph und Kaiser Wilhelm II.—Eine Untersuchung zum nationalen Symbolgehalt von Monarchen

8 May Sybille Schröder
Materielle Kultur am Hof Heinrichs II. von England

22 May Cornelius Torp
Deutsche Außenhandelspolitik von 1890-1914

26 June Silke Strickrodt
Afro-Europäische Handelsbeziehungen an der westlichen 'Sklavenküste', 1600-1900

3 July Ulrich Fischer
Pontifex et Opifex. Studien zu Großbauten und Stadtgestaltung in den englischen Kathedralstädten der normannischen Zeit (1066-1135)

10 July Thorsten Dörting
Die sozialpolitische Programmatik der britischen Labour Party und der SPD, 1964-1979

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

6 Feb. Christian Gerlach
Die Welternährungskrise 1972-1975 und die internationale Politik gegenüber den ländlichen Unterschichten in nichtindustrialisierten Ländern

13 Feb. Kristin Semmens
'Travel in Merry Germany': Tourism in the Third Reich

27 Feb. Andreas Fahrmeir
Stadtbürgertum und Finanzwelt: Die Corporation of the City of London, 1688-1900

13 Mar. Benedikt Stuchtey
Ideenwelt und Politik der Kritiker des Imperialismus im 20. Jahrhundert

Scholarships awarded by the GHIL

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

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

For the year 2001 the following scholarships have been awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Ph.D. Scholarships

Thorsten Dörting (Hamburg): Die sozialpolitische Programmatik der britischen Labour Party und der SPD, 1964-1979

Ulrich Fischer (Münster): Pontifex et Opifex. Studien zu Großbauten und Stadtgestaltung in den englischen Kathedralstädten der normannischen Zeit (1066-1135)

Nicole Immler (Graz): Gedächtnisorte in Transiträumen: Zu transnationalen Codes im soziokulturellen Milieu des liberalen Bürgertums. Zentraleuropa—Engand. Ein Vergleich

Mark Peggs (Birmingham): The Historical Context of German-Slovene Relations

Sybille Schröder (Berlin): Materielle Kultur am Hof Heinrichs II. von England

Kristin Semmens (Cambridge): Tourist Culture in the Third Reich
Silke Strickrodt (Stirling): Afro-Europäische Handelsbeziehungen an der westlichen 'Sklavenküste', 1600-1900
Edmund Toby Thacker (Cardiff): Music and Politics in Germany 1945-1955
Cornelius Torp (Bielefeld): Deutsche Außenhandelspolitik von 1890-1914
Denise Tscharntke (Durham): Die Politik der britischen Militärregierung gegenüber Frauen 1945 bis 1951 in der britischen Besatzungszone
Elizabeth Ann Louisa Vlossak (Cambridge): The Nationalisation of Women in Alsace, 1871-1940
Thomas Wittek (Augsburg): Vom Feind zum Partner? Der Wandel des Deutschlandbildes in den britischen Medien vom Waffenstillstand 1918 bis zum Locarno-Vertrag 1925
Christiane Wolf (Tübingen): Königin Viktoria, Kaiser Franz Joseph und Kaiser Wilhelm II.—Eine Untersuchung zum nationalen Symbolgehalt von Monarchen

Habilitation Scholarships
Dr Christian Gerlach (Berlin): Die Welternährungskrise 1972-1975 und die internationale Politik gegenüber den ländlichen Unterschichten in nichtindustrialisierten Ländern
Dr Christoph Heyl (Frankfurt): Things Worthy of Observation: Der Umgang mit im Wandel begriffenen Wissenscorpora in englischen Wunderkammern (Cabinets of Curiosities) und der Dichtung der Metaphysical Poets, ca. 1500-1700
Dr Heike Schmidt (Berlin): Das Alltägliche der Hohen Politik. Geschlecht und Macht im ländlichen Afrika im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert

Postgraduate Students' Conference

The German Historical Institute London held its fifth postgraduate students' conference on 8-9 January 2001. Its intention was to give postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history an opportunity to present their work-in-progress, and to discuss it with other students working in the same field. The Institute also aimed to present itself as a research centre for German history in London, and to introduce postgraduates to the facilities it offers as well as to the Institute's Research Fellows.

In selecting students to give a presentation, preference was given to those in their second or third year who had possibly already spent a period of research in Germany. Students in their first year were invited to attend as discussants. Eighteen projects in all were introduced in plenary sessions held over two days. Sessions were devoted to the Renaissance, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the early twentieth century, the inter-war period, the Third Reich, and the post-1945 period in both East and West Germany.

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

The GHIL is planning to hold the next postgraduate students' conference early in 2002. For further information, including how to apply, please contact the Secretary, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ.

Prize of the German Historical Institute London

The German Historical Institute London awards an annual prize of DM 6,000, known as the Prize of the German Historical Institute London, for an outstanding work of historical scholarship. The prize is sponsored by Veba Oil and Gas UK Limited, and was initiated in 1996 to mark the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the GHIL. In 2000 the prize was awarded to Nikolaus Braun for his thesis on 'Brüdermord, Rebellion, Freiheitskrieg? Legitimation und Handeln im irischen Bürgerkrieg 1922-23', submitted to the University of Munich.

To be eligible a work must be:

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

An entry which has been submitted to a UK university must be in English and on German history or UK-German relations or a comparative topic; an entry which has been submitted to a German university must be in German and on British history or UK-German relations or a comparative topic.

To apply, please send the following to reach the Director of the German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, by 1 September 2001:

1 the complete text
2 all relevant reports from the university to which it is being submitted
3 a declaration that, if a work in German is awarded the prize, the author is prepared to allow the work to be considered for publication in the series *Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen In-*

stituts London, and that the work will not be published elsewhere until the judges have reached their final decision

4 the applicant's current *curriculum vitae*.

The Prize will be presented on the occasion of the Institute's Annual Lecture in November 2001. Future awards will be advertised in the *Bulletin* of the GHIL.

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

Staff News

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

ANDREAS FAHRMEIR joined the GHIL as a Research Fellow in 1997. He studied medieval and modern history, English, and history of science at the University of Frankfurt / Main, obtaining an M.A. in 1994, and was a visiting student at McGill University, Montreal in 1991 / 92. His Cambridge Ph.D. was published in 2000 as *Citizens and Aliens: Foreigners and the Law in Britain and the German States, 1789-1870*. He is currently working on the history of the Corporation of London from 1688 to 1900 as a case study in the relationship between municipal constitution, the formation of the middle class and its self-

representation. He has edited, with Sabine Freitag, *Mord und andere Kleinigkeiten: Ungewöhnliche Kriminalfälle aus sechs Jahrhunderten* (2001).

SABINE FREITAG joined the GHIL as a Research Fellow in 1997. She studied history, philosophy, and German literature in Frankfurt/Main and Rome. Her main fields of interest are nineteenth and early twentieth-century German, British, and American history. She is co-editer of *British Envoys to Germany, 1816-1866*, vol. 1: *1816-1829* (2000). She is currently working on a comparative history of criminal law, culture, and policy in England and Germany, 1890-1930. She is the author of *Friedrich Hecker: Biographie eines Republikaners* (1998), and has edited, with Andreas Fahrmeir, *Mord und andere Kleinigkeiten: Ungewöhnliche Kriminalfälle aus sechs Jahrhunderten* (2001).

DOMINIK GEPPERT, who joined the GHIL in 2000, studied history, philosophy, and law in Freiburg and Berlin, where he also worked as a research assistant for four years. His main fields of interest are British and German contemporary history and international history. He is currently preparing the publication of his Ph.D. thesis on Margaret Thatcher and the development of Thatcherism. In addition, he is working on British public opinion and European integration, 1950-75. He is the author of *Störmanöver: Das 'Manifest der Opposition' und die Schließung des Spiegel-Büros in Ost-Berlin im Januar 1978* (1996).

LOTHAR KETTENACKER is Deputy Director of the Institute. From 1973 he ran the London office of the Deutsch-Britischer Historikerkreis, which was later to develop into the GHIL. His Ph.D. (Frankfurt, 1986) was on Nazi occupation policies in Alsace (1940-44), and he also completed a B.Litt. at Oxford in 1971 on Lord Acton and Döllinger. He has written a major study of British post-war planning for Germany during the Second World War, as well as various articles on National Socialism and on British history in the 1930s and 1940s. He is currently working on a study of German unification for the Longmans series, Turning Points in History. His most recent publication is *Germany since 1945* (1997).

MARKUS MÖSSLANG, who came to the GHIL in 1999, studied modern and social history at the University of Munich. After completing

his M.A. in 1995 he was a research assistant in the history department. His Ph.D. thesis on the integration of refugee scholars and teachers in West German universities and schools (1945-61) will be published in 2001. He is currently co-editing *British Envoys to Germany, 1816-1866,* vol. 2: *1830-1847.*

REGINA PÖRTNER, who joined the GHIL in 1998, took an M.A. in history (medieval, modern, economic) and German at the University of Bochum. She was a visiting student at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1988-89, and took her D.Phil. (Oxford) as a Rhodes Scholar in 1998. Her thesis will be published as *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580-1630.* As a Research Fellow at the GHIL, she is editing the current issue of the Institute's bibliography, *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany.* She is also working on aspects of British legal and intellectual history in the eighteenth century.

MICHAEL SCHAICH, who joined the GHIL in 1999, was a student of history and media studies at the University of Munich. After completing his M.A. he became a research assistant in the history department. His Ph.D. thesis on Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment in Bavaria will be published this year. During his time at the Institute he will be working on a comparative history of the Anglican clergy in England and the Protestant clergy in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

BENEDIKT STUCHTEY joined the GHIL in 1995 after studying in Münster, Freiburg, and Trinity College Dublin. His main research interests are the history of historiography and of European imperialism. He is currently working on anti-colonialism in the twentieth century in a comparative perspective. He is the author of *W.E.H. Lecky (1838-1903): Historisches Denken und politisches Urteilen eines anglo-irischen Gelehrten* (1997), and has edited, with Peter Wende, *British and German Historiography, 1750-1950: Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers* (2000). As well as editing the *Bulletin of the GHIL,* he is on the editorial committee of *European Review of History. Revue Européene d'Histoire.*

Anglo-German Relations and German Unification

The Institute of Contemporary British History and the German Historical Institute jointly organized a witness seminar on the above topic. It was held on 18 October 2000 at the GHIL.

Principal participants included Lord Wright of Richmond, in the Chair, Sir Michael Alexander, Ambassador and UK Permanent Representative on the North Atlantic Council, Sir Rodric Braithwaite, HM Ambassador to Russia, Sir Michael Burton, Minister and Head of Embassy Office in Berlin, Sir Christopher Mallaby, HM Ambassador to Germany, Marcus Meckel, Foreign Secretary of the former German Democratic Republic, and Dr Hermann Frhr von Richthofen, German Ambassador to Britain.

The participants were asked to consider such questions as the state of British preparedness for German reunification, Mrs Thatcher's fears of a resurgent Germany, a concomitant destabilization of global security and President Gorbachev's position. They also discussed the German view of Britain's foreign policy and events in the former Soviet bloc, together with the NATO high command's eagerness to avert the potential demilitarization of East Germany.

A consensus was reached that Anglo-German relations were excellent, contrary to the impression often given in the British press. The participants agreed that Mrs Thatcher's ambivalence towards German reunification was rooted in her fear that it would disturb the global balance of power, especially if the decommunization of Eastern Europe led to the destabilization of the Soviet Union. Mr Meckel explained the decisive contribution of the East German people who sought reunification to achieve liberalization of politics and economics but feared that Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe might result in bloodshed.

It is expected that a full transcript of the witness seminar will be made available on the ICBH website in August 2001.

European Immigrants to Britain 1933-1950

This conference, which was held at the German Historical Institute London on 8-9 December 2000, was organized by Inge Weber-Newth (University of North London) and Johannes-Dieter Steinert (University of Wolverhampton) in collaboration with the German Historical Institute London. It concentrated on Britain's experience of a large-scale inward migration of around one million people between 1933 and 1950. This was the result of both European refugee movements and of targeted government and individual recruitment efforts. The particular policies and the motives that guided the British government in receiving different groups of migrants—refugees from Nazi Germany as well as the other European groups—formed one strand of the conference. The second strand focused mainly on the reaction of the receiving communities in Britain, but also on the political, economic, and social situation of the migrants in their countries of origin and their motives for leaving. The following papers were given: Albert Friedlander, keynote speech; Andreas Fahrmeir, 'Immigration and Immigration Policy: Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries'; Wolfgang Benz, 'German Policy of Exclusion, Persecution and Expulsion'; Louise London, 'British Policy and Refugees from Nazism'; Marion Berghahn, 'Perception and Reaction: Jewish Refugees in Britain'; Lothar Kettenacker, 'British Politics of Remigration'; Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, 'Displaced Persons in Europe: Repatriation and Emigration'; Diana Kay, '"Westward Ho": European Volunteer Workers in Britain'; Peter Stachura, 'The Polish Resettlement'; Lucio Sponza, 'Italians in War and Post-War Britain'; Inge Weber-Newth and Johannes-Dieter Steinert, 'Germans in Post-War Britain'.

Restructuring Europe after 1945: Social, National, and Cultural Change during the Cold War

To mark its twenty-fifth anniversary, the GHIL is holding a major international conference at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, from 6-8 July 2001. Approximately thirty experts from Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and the United States will take part. The aim of the conference is to compare developments in the post-war societies of Britain, France, Italy, and Western Germany, and to explore the ways in which key developmental processes occurred in these four countries.

The first session of the conference will concentrate on the different experiences of the war and attitudes towards collaboration and resistance. How did people cope with their different experiences of the Second World War? How did they come to terms with their own involvement with Nazi crimes? What role was played by resistance to the Nazi regime and the nation's collective memory? The second session will analyse the debates about a new social and economic order. What models were discussed? Which solutions were eventually implemented? What arguments were used to legitimate them? The third session will focus on the discussion about Europe and the future of the nation-state. What effect did experience of the Second World War have on the discussions about the future of the nation-state? What were the various views of the concept of European integration? Which factors influenced these opinions? What hopes and fears were involved here? The final session will examine the cultural, political, and economic impact of the United States. Can one speak of an 'Americanization' of Europe? If so, what was its content? What role did the Marshall Plan play in post-war recovery? What impact did Hollywood films on the one hand, and the cultural policy of US Administrations on the other, have on Western European nations?

The main purpose of the conference will be to stimulate a more intensive comparative discussion and a more unified approach to the joint post-war history of Western European states.

For further information please contact the Secretary of the GHIL.

Noticeboard

German History Society

The German History Society's AGM will take place on 1 December 2001 at the German Historical Institute London. The topic is 'Property in German History'. For further information please contact: Dr Mark Allison, Dept. of German, University of Bristol, 14 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1TE.

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.

Albrecht, Wolfgang and Hans-Joachim Kertscher (eds), *Wanderzwang, Wanderlust: Formen der Raum- und Sozialerfahrung zwischen Aufklärung und Frühindustrialisierung*, Hallesche Beiträge zur Europäischen Aufklärung, 11 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999)

Allinson, Mark, *Politics and Popular Opinion in East Germany 1945-68* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000)

Alter, Peter, *The German Question and Europe: A History* (London: Arnold, 2000)

Anderson, Christopher J. and Carsten Zelle (eds), *Stability and Change in German Elections: How Electorates Merge, Converge, or Collide* (Westport, Conn., and London: Praeger, 1998)

Angenendt, Steffen, *Gibt es ein europäisches Asyl- und Migrationsproblem? Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten der asyl- und migrationspolitischen Probleme und der politischen Strategien in den Staaten der Europäischen Union*, Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Arbeitspapiere zur internationalen Politik, 102 (Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, 1999)

Angerer, Thomas, Brigitta Bader-Zaar, and Margarete Grandner (eds), *Geschichte und Recht: Festschrift für Gerhard Stourzh zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1999)

Apel, Friedmar, *Deutscher Geist und deutsche Landschaft: Eine Topographie* (Berlin: Siedler, 2000)

Archiv der Erinnerung: Interviews mit Überlebenden der Shoah, Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum für europäische Studien, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen und Thüringen, 4; 2 vols (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1998)

Arnold, Claus, *Katholizismus als Kulturmacht: Der Freiburger Theologe Joseph Sauer (1872-1949) und das Erbe des Franz Xaver Kraus*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 86 (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1999)

Bader, Karl S. and Gerhard Dilcher, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte: Land und Stadt, Bürger und Bauer im Alten Europa*, Enzyklopädie der Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft. Abt. Rechtswissenschaft (Berlin etc.: Springer, 1999)

Bahlcke, Joachim and Arno Strohmeyer (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa, 7 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999)

Barck, Simone, Martina Langermann, and Siegfried Lokatis (eds), *Zwischen 'Mosaik' und 'Einheit': Zeitschriften in der DDR* (Berlin: Links, 1999)

Barnett, Victoria J., *Bystanders: Conscience and Complicity During the Holocaust*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, 59; Christianity and the Holocaust: Core Issues (Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1999)

Bärsch, Claus-Ekkehard, *Die politische Religion des Nationalsozialismus: Die religiöse Dimension der NS-Ideologie in den Schriften von Dietrich Eckart, Joseph Goebbels, Alfred Rosenberg und Adolf Hitler* (Munich: Fink, 1998)

Bartlett, Roger and Karen Schönwälder (eds), *The German Lands and Eastern Europe: Essays on the History of their Social, Cultural and Political Relations*, Studies in Russia and East Europe (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999)

Bartov, Omer (ed.), *The Holocaust: Origins, Implementation, Aftermath*, Rewriting Histories (London and New York: Routledge, 2000)

Becker, Arnold, *Jugendweihe: Ein unüberwindbarer Graben zwischen Ost und West*? (Frankfurt / M.: Haag + Herchen, 1999)

Beer, Mathias and Dittmar Dahlmann (eds), *Migration nach Ost- und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ursachen, Formen, Verlauf, Ergebnis*, Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, 4 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 1999)

Belzyt, Leszek, *Sprachliche Minderheiten im preußischen Staat 1815-1914: Die preußische Sprachenstatistik in Bearbeitung und Kommentar*, Quellen zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ostmitteleuropas, 3 (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 1998)

Bendick, Rainer, *Kriegserwartung und Kriegserfahrung: Der Erste Weltkrieg in deutschen und französischen Schulgeschichtsbüchern (1900-1939/45)*, Reihe Geschichtswissenschaft, 46 (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999)

Benz, Wolfgang and Marion Neiss (eds), *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente*, Dokumente, Texte, Materialien / Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung der Technischen Universität Berlin, 33 (Berlin: Metropol-Verlag, 1999)

Bergdolt, Klaus, *Leib und Seele: Eine Kulturgeschichte des gesunden Lebens* (Munich: Beck, 1999)

Berghoff, Hartmut and Cornelia Rauh-Kühne, *Fritz K.: Ein deutsches Leben im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart and Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2000)

Beuke, Arnold, *Werbung und Warnung: Australien als Ziel deutscher Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert*, German-Australian Studies, 14 (Berne etc.: Lang, 1999)

Blees, Thomas, *90 Minuten Klassenkampf: Das Fußball-Länderspiel BRD-DDR am 22. Juni 1974* (Frankfurt / M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999)

Blet, Pierre, *Papst Pius XII. und der Zweite Weltkrieg: Aus den Akten des Vatikans*, trans. from the French by Birgit Martens-Schöne (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 2000)

Blomeyer, Peter, *Der Notstand in den letzten Jahren von Weimar: Die Bedeutung von Recht, Lehre und Praxis der Notstandsgewalt für den Untergang der Weimarer Republik und die Machtübernahme durch die Nationalsozialisten. Eine Studie zum Verhältnis von Macht und Recht*, Schriften zur Verfassungsgeschichte, 57 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999)

Boberach, Heinz (ed.), *Exilpolitiker zur staatlichen Neuordnung nach Hitler: Texte aus den Jahren 1940 bis 1949*, Schriften der Herbert- und Elsbeth-Weichmann-Stiftung (Hamburg: Herbert und Elsbeth Weichmann Stiftung, *c*. 1999)

Bock, Gisela, *Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 2000)

Bödeker, Hans Erich, Peter Hanns Reill, and Jürgen Schlumbohm (eds), *Wissenschaft als kulturelle Praxis: 1750-1900*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999)

Böhme, Hartmut, Peter Matussek, and Lothar Müller, *Orientierung Kulturwissenschaft: Was sie kann, was sie will* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000)

Böhme-Dürr, Karin, *Perspektivensuche: Das Ende des Kalten Krieges und der Wandel des Deutschlandbildes in der amerikanischen Presse (1976-1998)*, Forschungsfeld Kommunikation, 8 (Constance: UVK Medien, 2000)

Bollenbeck, Georg, *Tradition, Avantgarde, Reaktion: Deutsche Kontroversen um die kulturelle Moderne 1880-1945* (Frankfurt / M.: Fischer, 1999)

Boockmann, Hartmut, *Wissen und Widerstand: Geschichte der deutschen Universität* (Berlin: Siedler, 1999)

Borodziej, Wlodzimierz, *Terror und Politik: Die deutsche Polizei und die polnische Widerstandsbewegung im Generalgouvernement 1939-1944*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 28: Abt. Universalgeschichte (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999)

Brocke, Michael, Margret Heitmann and Harald Lordick (eds), *Zur Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Ost- und Westpreußen*, Netiva, 2 (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Olms, 2000)

Brooks, Chris (ed.), *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial: its History, Contexts, and Conservation* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2000)

Bruhns, Hinnerk und Wilfried Nippel (eds), *Max Weber und die Stadt im Kulturvergleich*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 140 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000)

Buchheim, Christoph and Redvers Garside (eds), *After the Slump: Industry and Politics in 1930s Britain and Germany* (Frankfurt / M. etc.: Lang, 2000)

Burgard, Friedhelm, Alfred Haverkamp, and Gerd Mentgen (eds), *Judenvertreibungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden. Abt. A: Abhandlungen, 9 (Hanover: Hahn, 1999)

Burmann, Henriette, *Die kalkulierte Emotion der Geschlechterinszenierung: Galanterierituale nach deutschen Etikette-Büchern in soziohistorischer Perspektive, Analyse und Forschung* (Constance: UVK UniversitätsVerlag Konstanz, 2000)

Camphausen, Gabriele and Christian Bahr, *Eine Stadt wächst zusammen: 10 Jahre Deutsche Einheit. Was aus der Berliner Mauer wurde*, photos by Günter Schneider (Berlin: Jaron Verlag, 1999)

Carmel, Axel, *Der Kaiser reist ins Heilige Land: Die Palästinareise Wilhelms II. 1898. Eine illustrierte Dokumentation*, Abhandlungen des Gottlieb-Schumacher-Instituts, Universität Haifa (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999)

Classen, Christoph, *Bilder der Vergangenheit: Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus im Fernsehen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1955-1965*, Medien in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 13 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1999)

Clemens, Gabriele, *'Erziehung zu anständiger Unterhaltung'. Das Theaterspiel in den katholischen Gesellen- und Arbeitervereinen im deutschen Kaiserreich: Eine Dokumentation*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe A: Quellen, 46 (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 2000)

Condrau, Flurin, *Lungenheilanstalt und Patientenschicksal: Sozialgeschichte der Tuberkulose in Deutschland und England im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 137 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000)

Coppa, Frank J. (ed.), *Controversial Concordats: The Vatican's Relations with Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999)

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General Editor Hagen Schulze

Editors Angela Davies
Jane Rafferty
Benedikt Stuchtey

German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square,
London WC1A 2NJ

Tel: 020 7404 5486
Fax: 020 7404 5573

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