German Historical Institute London

Bulletin

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AUTUMN 2001

2 Oct. **PROFESSOR HANS-ULRICH WEHLER (Bielefeld/ Berlin)**
Nationalism: A Political Religion?
Professor emeritus at the University of Bielefeld, Hans-Ulrich Wehler is well known as one of Germany's most prolific and innovative historians, with particular specializations in the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and a keen interest in methodological questions. His recent publications include *Die Herausforderung der Kulturgeschichte* (1998) and *Nationalismus* (2001).

30 Oct. **PROFESSOR JAMES J. SHEEHAN (Stanford)**
What it Means to be a State: States and Violence in Twentieth-Century Europe
Dickason Professor in the Humanities at Stanford University, James J. Sheehan teaches modern European history. He is well known for a wide range of publications on German history. His most recent book is *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (2000).

27 Nov. **PROFESSOR WERNER BUSCH (Berlin)**
The Reproach of Mysticism: British Problems with German Romantic Art
Werner Busch is Director of the Department of Art History at Berlin's Free University and a specialist on seventeenth-century Dutch, eighteenth-century English, and nineteenth-century German art. His most recent publications include *Das sentimentalische Bild: Die Krise der Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert und die Geburt der Moderne* (1993) and *Landschaftsmalerei* (ed., 1997).

4 Dec. **PROFESSOR NICHOLAS BOYLE (Cambridge)**
The Shadow of Goethe? Death of a Family, Birth of a Subject

Nicholas Boyle teaches German at the University of Cambridge and is a Fellow of Magdalene College. The first two volumes of his Goethe biography, *Goethe: The Poet and the Age*, were published in 1991 and 2000. He is also the author of *Who Are We Now? Christian Humanism and the Global Market from Hegel to Heaney* (1998).

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

THE 2001 ANNUAL LECTURE

on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the
German Historical Institute London

The Long Shadow of the Reich. Weighing-Up German History

will be given by

Professor HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER

at 5 p.m. on Friday 16 November 2001

in the Chancellor's Hall, Senate House, University of London

followed by a reception in the foyer.

Addresses by

Professor Hagen Schulze
Director of the German Historical Institute London

Dr Uwe Thomas
State Secretary,
Federal Ministry for Education and Research

SPECIAL LECTURE

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

Privatdozent Dr WILLIBALD STEINMETZ

will give a paper on

The Thalidomide Affair
Five Thousand Children Unsettle West German Ideas of Normality, Authority, and Progress (1957-1972)

at the German Historical Institute
on Thursday 6 December 2001 at 5.30 p.m.

REVIEW ARTICLES

ON LOCALNESS AND NATIONHOOD

by Alon Confino

GEORG KUNZ, *Verortete Geschichte: Regionales Geschichtsbewußtsein in den deutschen Historischen Vereinen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 138 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 413 pp. ISBN 3 525 35729 X. DM 78.00
JAMES RETALLACK (ed.), *Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933*, Social History, Popular Culture and Politics in Germany (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), xxi + 392 pp. ISBN 0 472 11104 3. $59.50
German History: The Journal of the German History Society, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1999). ISSN 0266 3554. *Special Issue*: Saxon Signposts. *Guest Editor*: James Retallack

The historiography of nationalism has been organized in the last two decades or so along a three-tiered explanatory model: from the global—often expressed in terms of modernity—via the national, down to the local. How has the local been treated, as an explanatory device of nationalism, in these three levels? The first level is that of theoretical studies, such as the path-breaking studies of Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, that attempt to explain nationalism as a global historical phenomenon, as a social and cultural result of modernity.[1] For Gellner, nationalism is a result of industrial social organization; for Anderson, of print capitalism and widespread literacy. As modernity spreads around the globe, it spreads nationalism as well, though how this is exactly done we are never told. For these and other theoretical studies are interested, understandably, in the macro. They mention individual national cases only by way of example and by focusing on official and élite nationalism. As a result, they are unin-

[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983; revised and extended ed., 1991). Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY, 1983).

terested in the ways modernity shaped, as well as was shaped by, the local. In short, for them the local can never be explanatory in any significant way: it is only the background, the context, for the national idea.

The second level is that of research on nationalism in specific nations. Scholars have explored the symbolism and social engineering of nationalism and the relations between old and new pasts in the making of nations. They have analysed how people invented the nation through monuments, celebrations, museums, images, and other artifacts. But the dominant approach in these studies has viewed the locality only as a test case of a given territory where the nation fulfills itself. How the locality and the concept of localness altered, even forged, national belonging—this has been left largely unexplored. In short, in terms of the scale of explanation, these studies are not fundamentally different from the perspective of Anderson and Gellner: they are simply doing on the local level what Anderson and Gellner had done on a global level.

Studies of the third, local level only took the invention of the nation on to a narrower spatial category, namely the locality and the region. The aim has been to show the nationalization of the locality and the region, and how the nation penetrated the local level. In the most extreme interpretation, influenced by modernization theory, local identity was seen as obliterated by national identity. Thus, in the 1970s and 1980s, two distinguished historians, Jürgen Kocka and Eugen Weber, made this argument for Germany and for France respectively.[2] But also more sophisticated treatments of the relations between national and regional identities, influenced by cultural history, view regional identity as ultimately subordinate to national identity. The key word to express this idea is 'mediation'. Studies that view the relations between nationhood and localness in terms of mediation often reflect the important shift from functional and struc-

[2] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford, 1976). Jürgen Kocka, 'Probleme der politischen Integration der Deutschen 1867 bis 1945', in O. Büsch and J. J. Sheehan (eds), *Die Rolle der Nation in der deutschen Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 118-36. A similar approach is also evident in the multi-volume history of the Italian regions published by Einaudi. See Carl Levi, 'Introduction: Italian Regionalism in Context', in id. (ed.), *Italian Regionalism: History, Identity and Politics* (Oxford, 1996), p. 5.

tural analysis of nationalism toward analysis in terms of negotiations and memory, with an emphasis on agency. These are important studies, but they none the less assume a hierarchy: the nation acts as a context within which the region can be intelligibly understood.[3] An additional approach has attempted a different conceptualization. Instead of understanding local identity as part of national identity, and localness against the background of nationhood, it views local identity as a constituent of national identity and localness as a shaper of nationhood. Thus, local borderland between Spain and France in the Pyrenees shaped the making of these nations, while Germans created the idea and image of *Heimat*, or homeland, that could simultaneously represent the locality, region, and nation. In contrast to the view of local, regional, and national sentiments as overlapping, it viewed these sentiments as interchangeable.[4]

The studies under review offer new research and findings on the relation of the local to the national in modern German history. They present an opportunity to place recent research on Germany within the interpretative framework described above, as well as to reflect upon how is it good to think about the relations of the local to the national and also to the global.

I

In *Verortete Geschichte*, George Kunz, setting out to explore regional sensibilities of Historical Associations (*Historische Vereine*) in nineteenth-century Germany, explores the 'historical memory and "identity spaces" of non-academic bourgeois historical culture' between conservative-romantic and liberal-progressive attitudes (p. 12). Mainly a phenomenon of towns and cities, 260 associations were founded by 1918. Kunz explores five cases of historical associations: in Bayreuth (covering Upper Franconia), Bamberg, Jena (covering Thuringia), Mark Brandenburg, Barmen-Elberfeld, and Kiel (covering Schleswig-Holstein). Each association is described in a chapter, based on a range of printed sources, that focuses mainly on institutional history, publications, and membership.

[3] See the pioneering study by Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, 1990).

[4] Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, 1989); Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill, 1997).

By paying attention to the changing context of each association, Kunz is able to describe different kinds of regional identity. In the case of Bayreuth and Bamberg, for example, local identities resisted the Bavarian monarchy's effort in the first half of the century to integrate new regions into the Bavarian state and identity. But the motivations of the two associations were different. Protestant Bayreuth, which was annexed to Bavaria in the Napoleonic wars, opposed the pressure mounting from Catholic Munich by linking with an idea of Prussian, national, Hohenzollern identity. Catholic Bamberg, in contrast, resented Munich's centralizing policies from a Catholic-conservative position that lamented the loss of sovereignty of the old princely diocese (*Fürstbistum*). In this case, regional identity was cultivated against the territorial state in the name of the locality's autonomy in the old German Reich. If in Franconia the associations defended themselves against the integrative forces of the territorial state, Mark Brandenburg's association, whose seat was in Berlin, wholly identified with Prussia. As the century progressed, the purported essence of the region—agrarian, conservative, and anti-urban—was equated with that of Prussia and Germany. Kunz's discussion of the test cases is illuminating. Local historical identity, argues Kunz persuasively, was determined by the relations between centre and periphery both among and within regions; a primary factor in the making of local identity was the relative centrality of a region within the post-1815 German Confederation and later the nation state. In this respect, Kunz correctly emphasizes the relations between associations and the state.

In the conclusion, Kunz attempts to organize the findings of the descriptive chapters along three 'analytic dimensions' (p. 323). The 'spatial dimension' considers the position of the local with respect to centre-periphery relations in the region and in the nation. The 'content-structural' dimension discusses an important finding, namely the change in historical interests and research during the nineteenth century from topics of church and dynastic history to topics covering culture, ethnicity, and folklore. After 1871, shows Kunz, there was a tendency to view the past in terms of Germanhood (*Deutschtum*). This change was closely linked to the transformation in social composition from clergy, civil servants, and aristocrats to the academically educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*), especially teachers.

Finally, the 'historical-political' dimension argues for three currents of local 'historical memory' (p. 336). The conservative current

fell back on remembering the old political territories of the Holy Roman Empire, while resisting the modernization policies of the nineteenth-century German states. This vision was carried by the conservative bourgeoisie who suffered from a 'mental lag' because the modernizing policies of the states 'could not develop fully in [their] world view' (p. 337). The governmental current focused on the political territory of the nineteenth century. Carried by civil servants and left-conservative bourgeoisie, this memory was not anti-modern but aimed at achieving legitimization of the actual political conditions. Finally, there was a liberal-progressive memory that cultivated the historical culture, ethnicity, and economy of the region. By 'progressive' Kunz does not mean an overall liberal, pluralistic worldview; rather, the term should be understood in relation to the conservative tendencies in German society (p. 339).

What was the meaning of the historical associations? Why did upper-class Germans cultivate regional historical interests at all? Kunz correctly views the associations as a manifestation of progress and conservatism; they reflected the accelerated social and political changes as well as the era of historicism and a search for traditions. But throughout the book Kunz emphasizes conservatism over progress. 'The cultivation of identity-produced regional and local memory resources in the historical associations is also a mental reaction to the crisis of orientation and norms that accompanied the *Bürgertum* with the loss of the security provided by the pre-industrial' world (p. 13). In Kunz's narrative, members of the associations experienced modern change—*Modernisierung* is the concept he uses—as unsettling and dislocating. The associations thus served a 'mental compensation function', whereby 'the social organization form of the association bridged an identity vacuum' created by the modern world (p. 13).

In 1998 James Retallack organized a conference on Saxony in German history. The impressive result is two edited collections that include 26 contributions, covering the period from 1830 to the Third Reich. This is a distinguished project that will be fundamental for Saxon history as well as worthwhile for German history. Retallack himself has generously contributed two essays and two introductions. The introductions engage many ideas and concepts. *Saxony in German History*, writes Retallack, presents three central themes. The first is the ways 'regions are discovered, constructed, forgotten, and

remade in history'. Part one of the book explores this theme most directly; it will be discussed further below. The second theme 'can be reduced to an interpretative couplet that is as provocative as it is untenable: the SID thesis—"Saxony is different"—and its obvious antithesis, SIS: "Saxony is the same"' (p. 3). Retallack correctly views these two sides not as alternative polarities, but as relationships in tension. There was not something unique about modern Saxon history, but in certain respects it stood out as a pioneering state in modern German history. On the one hand, Saxony was Germany's first socialist state in 1903 (the SPD winning almost 60 per cent of the vote in the Reichstag election), its first anti-socialist state in 1930 (the Nazi party winning its first major electoral victory in the state elections), and its first post-socialist state in 1989. On the other hand, the essays in the volume show how any of these roles was determined by local Saxon peculiarities. The third theme rejects a Prusso-centric approach to German history. The essays 'deviate substantially from a view of Bismarck's national state as the sole, inevitable, or actual outcome of German unification' (p. 6). Moreover, not only was the unification of 1870-1 not inevitable, but 'a Prussianized Germany wasn't *in fact* the way things turned out either … more attention to German histories (in the plural) is called for' (p. 6). Themes two and three are successfully explored in the volume, while the first theme proves, as we shall see, more problematic.

The book is organized into clearly defined sections. Part two, 'Emancipation, the Public Sphere, and the German Bourgeoisie', discusses the interplay between the state (government, parliament) and bourgeois political forces in their struggle to shape the expanding public space and to determine questions of national unity and identity. In Part three, 'Authoritarianism, Democracy, and the "Dangerous Classes"', 'a common red thread … is the sustained effort to join questions about the changing nature of politics—the relationships between parties and parliaments, between popular discontent and its organized articulation, and between state and society—with questions concerning regional and local identity' (p. 26-7). The overall topics here are coalition building, practices of civil liberties, and the deep divisions between socialists and non-socialists in Saxon's political culture in the German Empire. Part four, 'The New Left, the New Right, and Germany's Dying Middle', take the story to the First World War and its aftermath. The emphasis is on the attempts of the

liberal bourgeoisie to hold power during the war, the dissolution of the bourgeois party system in Weimar, and the rise of the Nazi movement. Finally, the special issue of *German History*, 'Saxon Signposts', attempts to introduce a more cultural approach to the project by exploring the 'self-fashioning' of Saxons, as more attention is directed 'to the intersection of political and cultural themes in a cosmopolitan-urban nexus' (pp. 458-9). Retallack's aim, citing Michel Foucault, is to capture the circulation of power by conducting an ascending analysis of power from the bottom up: from local *Bürgerstolz* to *Landespatriotismus* to the nationalist consensus (pp. 455, 463-4).

Overall, the main contribution of the project is to illuminate the links between national trends and Saxon politics and society. It provides solid and knowledgeable discussions of liberal, bourgeois, Social Democratic, and Nazi political cultures and social milieux. It is especially strong on the place of bourgeois liberals between an authoritarian state and a growing Social Democratic movement before 1918, and between left and new right thereafter. The picture that emerges is of liberals '"on the move"—seizing unprecedented and often unanticipated opportunities as wealth is redistributed, cultural artifacts dispensed, and distant authorities challenged. But they are not always in the driver's seat' (*German History*, p. 461). While this is not a wholly new picture, the project does broaden our knowledge on the construction of the public sphere in Leipzig and Dresden, on the important role of the state, and on the relations among antagonistic political cultures. All the essays are of high quality. Retallack has assembled a very good group of young and senior scholars who show an excellent familiarity with Saxon archives, thus making available original work based on archives opened for sustained academic work only after 1990. Another strong point is the long historical period covered in the project, as well as the attention paid to the pre-1871 years, a period that has understandably lost some of its aura since the fall of the Wall.

One blue thread that runs through the volume is the issue of modernization. The weakness of the modernization theory, observes Retallack, has always been especially clear for scholars of local and regional histories, where the overarching, abstract narratives of industrialization, liberalism, democracy, and the bourgeoisie ignored the local conditions that were messy, spasmodic, and unpredictable—just like life itself. Several essays in the project demonstrate this very well. While rejecting the *telos* of modernization, Retallack

still proposes to keep 'the more convincing and heuristically useful *elements* of the modernization concept and dispense only with the prideful claim to explain how modernity—as a whole—"happened"?'. These *elements* are the attempt to write a *histoire totale*, and the study of, among others, class formation, political renewal, and the failure of liberal democracy in Germany before 1945 (p. 19).

II

These are fine studies, each in its own focused domain. But what contributions do these studies make to articulating the relations between the local, regional, and national? While these works go so far in illuminating elements of local history, they are less successful in getting us the rest of the way by providing an original statement on localness and nationhood.

There is, first of all, an obvious discrepancy between the promises of the introductions and what is actually delivered in the books. Kunz's introduction aims to place the work, with various degrees of success, within current work on the making of regional identity, collective memory, and notions of space. Yet there is little connection between these theoretical discussions and the six chapters describing the historical associations. These offer a straightforward discussion of the associations' activities, publications, social composition, and historical topics. Like many a German dissertation, the study is based on an enormous amount of laudable archival research. However, the text is overburdened with details, facts, names of essays, statistics, and association members, while short on analysis, generalizations, and innovation that come from linking methods and theory with the sources.

In the Saxony project, Retallack points out that 'juxtaposing region and nation uncovers a complex, shifting, malleable relationship that has waited too long to be problematized and rethought by scholars' (p. 7). But this remains mostly unfulfilled. By placing Saxony's liberalism, political culture, state policies, and party configuration within the course of German history, the project is illuminating in many significant ways. Yet it does not uncover a complex, shifting relationship between region and nation, and most of the essays are about Saxony *per se*. Retallack's introductions include concepts and terms that certainly belong to the *Zeitgeist* of historical writings. He is attentive to culture, *the* leading interpretative term in the

last generation: 'Culture, indeed, may provide the best key to explain why scholarly attention has recently shifted away from the kind of regional history that privileged structure and typology, toward one that increasingly emphasizes agency, perception, experience, mentalities, and language' (p. 22). But there is, in fact, very little of these new approaches and methods in the Saxony project. It remains fundamentally a project in political culture, rather than a project emphasizing culture along Retallack's own description.

In a sense, the two studies point to a bigger problem in the humanities, namely, the dissonance between a rhetoric that emphasizes experience, agency, and shifting relationships, which is hegemonic among professionals and the wider public, and the actual execution of a historical study based on linking the concepts of this rhetoric with methods and sources. At times, this hegemonic rhetoric is reiterated more than practised; at times, it is now repeated with little critical thought. In making the point about culture, agency, and experience, Retallack is, of course, well within the mainstream of much academic research. And yet, the methodological choice is not between determinism and contingency, but between degrees of contingency. It is not between complex shifting relations and simple fixed relations, but between degrees of complexity and possibilities of action. It is not between using language and mentalities as analytical tools or denouncing them, but between the useful ways of applying them. And it is not between descending or ascending analysis of power, but between the ways local, regional, national, and global powers interact. In all these questions the problem of the studies under review stem from their conceptualization of the relationship between the local, regional, and national.

III

For studies that deal with the local, this is a fundamental issue. What are the relationships between the local, regional, and national proposed in these projects? Both works offer a fruitful, viable approach, which is, within its limitations, a productive one. But they remain within the current categories and concepts (and at times behind them), and do not attempt to problematize these categories, to experiment, or go beyond them.

Kunz, as we have seen, views local and regional identities as compatible with, not opposed to, the nation. And he is sensitive to the dif-

ferent placements of the local and the regional within the territorial as well as within the nation-state. But the limits of his approach is expressed in the idea that the region should be understood as '"a nation in miniature" (*Nation im kleinen*) or as an integrative component part' of the greater, national, or territorial state. The region renders their abstract level 'understandable and physically comprehensible through the transmission of their identity to the "small space"' (p. 23). This is certainly true, but does not go far enough. Viewing the relations between localness and nationhood in these terms means, in theoretical terms, positing a distinction whereby the meaning of localness is subordinated to nationhood. Kunz in fact uses the term subnational to describe the region (p. 330, for example). The local is not so much a shaper of nationalism, as a repository of national belonging created elsewhere. It can only 'transmit' and make 'understandable' the bigger, more important identity, created on the state or national level. Consequently, Kunz is not so much interested in the meeting point between nationhood and localness, but rather in the influence of the first on the second. One analytical result of this approach is that local identity becomes important for the national plot only once the nation penetrates the locality, and only once local identity becomes a vehicle to mediate the national idea. The narrative results of this approach are clear in the book. We have descriptions of various regionalisms in six cases, but they are separated from each other. We do not get an idea of a whole, of a set of relationships and mutual influences among the regionalisms and between them and German nationhood.

In *Saxony in German History*, the section 'Writing Local and Regional History Today' is the best in the book. What emerges from these essays is a rejection of the dichotomy between the region as a 'lost world', parochial and provincial, and the nation as progressive and modern. As Thomas Kuhne points out, 'the current predicament of regional studies lies in the fact that they rarely reflect on the constructed quality of the region itself' (pp. 53, 58). Celia Applegate illuminatingly reminds us of the 'experience below, beyond, and outside whatever we construe to be national experience' (p. 33). Her imaginative essay shows how the literary works of Gustav Freytag and Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl 'mediated' the nation to readers in Germany. A new frontier for local and regional study is articulated by Helmut Smith. In an excellent, erudite essay, drawing on anthropology, and on

works in American, Italian, and German history, Smith shows the elasticity of local and regional boundaries by focusing on local histories of the working classes and on analysis of ethnic and political boundaries that shape regional identities. Smith not only rejects teleological narratives that view the national as superseding the local, or acknowledges that lines of differentations between the local and national (and also the ethnic, religious, and other identities) are commingled and hybrid, but he also shows how to do it. Ultimately he sees the fundamental problem in 'how to pose questions, and at what level of scale' (p. 76).

These insights are not followed in the project. The problem of scale is not posed, and the challenge of destabilizing identities is not taken. It is a question of methodology. Retallack argues that 'demonstrating the way in which [national social, political, and economic] trends were accelerated, retarded, or redirected by regional factors is arguably where Saxon historians are contributing most to a rethinking of general explanations based on national patterns' (p. 11). But this relation always views the local within the context of the national instead of viewing it as a shaper of nationhood. An important exception is Siegfried Weichlein's illuminating essay on the interplay of political cultures in Saxony and Germany. The general point can be illustrated by using the analogy in which the relations between nationhood and localness are viewed in terms of the relations between text and context. Nationalism (and regionalism of the territorial state, as in the case of Bavaria and Bamberg) often functions much like a necessary context which describes and analyses the general conditions within which a particular local reality evolves. The national plot functions as a foundation story that, while complex and multifaceted, still provides a single context within which, and in relation to which, people make choices about local identity. But a whole set of possibilities is opened up when we reject this separation between localness and nationhood, and with it the historian's common approach to place and explain the text in relation to a context. To reject the separation of localness and nationhood assumes that historical actors participate in various processes at the same time, that localness and nationhood simultaneously and reciprocally interact. This serves as a reminder of what is declared more often than practised, namely, the multiplicity of social experiences and representations, in part contradictory and ambiguous, in terms of which people construct the world and their actions.

Consequently, one result of the local-national relations posed by Kunz and Retallack is that the identities described in their books become, in spite of best intentions, quite homogenous and predictable. Smith warns in his essay against 'narratives that are principally concerned with the making of unified social identities' and that subordinate 'the history of conflict and coexistence among groups in a region to the study of the social bases of high politics' (pp. 69, 73). This observation seems to characterize well many of the identities in the books under review: for Kunz memories are divided into conservative, governmental, and liberal, while in the Saxony project most of the identities are defined by a political party, a class, or an ideology (such as Liberalism). All these identities certainly existed, but they do seem to fit too neatly into pre-existing social and political formations. Identities—indeed, culture—thus become prisoners of political and social reductionism and functionalism.

What do we learn from the books under review, then, about local identities? We get a clear sense of how associations' members wrote about the history of the region, or of the political and social battlefronts in Saxony, but there is very little sense of the emotions and sentiments that made localness. One often forgets in these studies the sense of tenderness and (often pathetic, though genuine) self-importance with which we all consider our identities. Let me give an example that links, following the topics prevalent in the Saxony project, the state, the *Landtag* (local parliament), and politics. In December 1875 Bismarck proposed to transfer local railroads to the Reich's authority. According to the 1871 constitution of the German Reich, as is well known, several states, such as Württemberg, kept an autonomous railroad administration. Now Bismarck wished the Reich to absorb this important transport sector. The suggestion was starkly opposed in Württemberg, and in 1876 the *Landtag* debated the issue. Now, trains are not the first objects that come to mind when we think of identity, and while they are no doubt important, we do not often associate them with a sense of belonging either. But in the debate, grown-up men, who valued practicality and derided frivolity, men who took themselves very seriously, spoke in the Württemberg *Landtag* about trains in precisely such a language of possession. On the face of it, this was an economic debate over an attempt to rationalize a fragmented railroad system into a single, more efficient agency. But in reality it was about localness and nationhood.

Member of the *Landtag*, Schmid, articulated in these words the stakes of the debate: 'A pain will pierce the heart of the land when it has to cede its railways, this child of attentive care, like the pain that pierces the chest of a father who must forever bid farewell to his child. Gentlemen, I do not need to explain myself further.'[5] Schmid's proposal to the *Landtag* to support the general Reich railway legislation (*Reichseisenbahngesetz*), but to reject Bismarck's proposal, was approved by a majority of eighty votes to six. His words expressed a widely shared sentiment among members of the *Landtag*, namely that while the national idea and the nation-state were a necessary political reality, local identity remained a mainstay of German identity. Reading the proceedings of the *Landtag* debate in March 1876, one is struck by the ways in which a rather technical discussion on a legal and economic transport issue was transformed into a defence of the integrity of local identity in the age of the nation-state. While Kunz and Retallack are well aware, as I have pointed out, of the profoundness of local identity, their studies rarely capture it beyond the realm of the political or of the published essay.

How did Saxons become Saxon? What was Saxonness for Saxons? Retallack interestingly remarks that by 1900 radical nationalism was more entrenched than any 'distinguishing sense of "Saxonness"' (p. 10). One would like to know how Saxonness declined, if it ever existed. And if it did not exist, than why did Saxons (and historians) talk so much about it? Moreover, more often than not Saxony—its identities, borders, and spaces—appears, in effect, as a given. This is, in many respects, the history of a region enclosed within a fixed territory whose cleavages are political and social, but not cultural, or cross-regional. More fundamentally, if we talk of Saxon identity, or of any identity for that matter, we by definition assume that people believe they share common denominators that prevail over the existing gender, class, political, and other divisions in society. In sharing an identity (Saxon or German) people displace their inner conflicts into an imagined space, beyond the recognizable here and now, into the past and the future. What, then, were the common denominators that united liberals, Social Democrats, and the authoritarian state in sharing a sense of Saxon belonging?

[5] *Verhandlungen der Württembergischen Kammer der Abgeordneten*, vol. 117, 30 Mar. 1876, p. 1,060.

Different kinds of topics and methods may yield other results, for example, exploring landscape, geography, and travelling. Members of historical associations did not only write essays, they also walked the region in order to experience it at first hand. 'Lernt Sachsen [or Württemberg or Germany] kennen!' was a familiar slogan that encouraged locals to search for their historical roots and essential group characteristics in the physical traits of their region. How was Saxon nature linked to emotions and a sense of belonging? Thinking of Saxony in terms of scale of observation is also important to place it spatially and geographically. It comes naturally to us these days to consider Saxony along a west-east dichotomy as 'belonging' in eastern Germany. But this is a recent development determined by post-1945 history. A leading geographical imagination in the nineteenth century placed Saxony along a German north-south division, or within the more amorphous idea of *Mitteleuropa.* How did a Saxon spatial imagination evolve in a period when Saxony's territory changed often (as when the northern part of the kingdom was transferred to Prussia at the Congress of Vienna)? Borders are privileged sites for the making of identities, and they suggest ways to define concepts of collective identity, of culture and ethnicity.[6] This topic is especially pertinent given that Saxony was a developed industrial state, which meant an intense pace of migration, mobility, and communication within the region and across regions. Focusing on everyday life, the family, and the workplace can tell us how people, some new to the region, came to embrace a sense of Saxonness as their own. In this fast changing, modern world, how was the local and regional spatially constructed?[7] How was a sense of Saxonness inscribed on to, for example, certain material objects and consumer goods?[8] How, in other words, was the local linked to the modern? It is this topic, therefore, to which we now have to turn.

[6] See the excellent study by Daphne Berdahl, *Where the World Ended: Re-unification and Identity in the German Borderland* (Berkeley, 1999).

[7] Arjun Appadurai, 'The Production of Locality', in id., *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996), pp. 178-99 raises some interesting ideas.

[8] Caitlin Murdock, 'Böhmisches Bier und Sächsisches Textil. Die sächsisch-böhmische Grenze als Konsumregion, 1900-1933', *Comparativ*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2001), pp. 66-76.

IV

Both projects are preoccupied with the issue of modernization. Kunz begins his study by rejecting the teleology of modernization theory that subsumes the region under the hegemony of the nation. This is certainly a good point, but reading through the book one wonders how successful Kunz has been in avoiding this teleology. The narrative that emerges from the book is that of a development from premodern to modern society that is not fixed, for Kunz allows for the commingling of conservative and progressive ideas. But it does have a certain pre-ordained movement, whose fundamental characteristic is that people experience the modern only as a crisis. The meaning of the historical association is ultimately reduced to filling an 'identity vacuum' (p. 13) created in the process of modernization. A subtle hierarchy thus emerges of modernization as an overarching process that begets nationhood and localness. This hierarchy assumes a level of analysis and explanation: local identity, and by extension nationhood, is a reaction to modernization. From this point, the teleology of modernization is not far away.

Kunz seems to be working within the interpretative framework set by Hans-Ulrich Wehler. In his *magnum opus, Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, Wehler presents a comprehensive argument about nationalism as arising from, and as a response to, Europe's modernization processes and crises.[9] Among them are the decline of traditional political authority and the rise of the secular state, as well as the end of the society of orders, and the rise of the bourgeoisie.[10] Elsewhere he articulated his view with great clarity: nationalism arose as a result of 'a kind of social-psychic vacuum' which existed in Europe following the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. This historical void emerged among intellectuals who felt 'a marked need for a new orientation and a new identity'.[11] Kunz's argument is basically the

[9] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 3 vols (Munich, 1987-95).

[10] Ibid. i. pp. 506-7. See Jonathan Sperber, 'Master Narratives of Nineteenth Century German History', *Central European History*, vol. 24, no. 1 (Spring, 1991), pp. 69-91.

[11] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, 'Der deutsche Nationalismus bis 1871', in id. (ed.), *Scheidewege der deutschen Geschichte: Von der Reformation bis zur Wende, 1517-1989* (Munich, 1995), p. 121. See also the illuminating essay by Heinz-

same. I do not know what is meant by 'social-psychic vacuum' (Wehler) and 'identity vacuum' (Kunz), but history is not a natural science. The absence of matter, which is one definition of 'vacuum', is never an option in history because people always think, act, and communicate with the world around them. And to view vacuum, following the *American Heritage Dictionary*, as the 'state of being sealed off from external or environmental influences' is not helpful either. An atom may be sealed in such a way, and continue to act like an atom, but not people. If people are sealed in such a way, they cease to form a society; and when this is the case, then the term human history also loses its meaning.

The result of viewing vacuum in history is that the most common explanatory method in Kunz's book is to deduce mental beliefs of presumed crisis from abstract terms of the social sciences (modernization, urbanization, and the like). At times this argument is stated without proof, as a higher truth that needs no elaboration. But the terms are not connected to the actual material on the life and actions of the members of the associations; it is simply assumed that modernization is experienced as crisis. Indeed, one can argue that the material presented by Kunz—of dedicated Germans hard at work to make sense of their local, regional, and national identity—does not support his interpretation of an identity vacuum and of a perennial crisis. It is in this context that Kunz provides an interpretation of the *Heimat* idea as predominantly imbued with anti-modern, anti-urban, and *völkisch* ideas. This is certainly a viable and respectable argument, but it would have helped had Kunz provided some evidence for this interpretation, and had he engaged with the studies that have revised this interpretation in the last decade.[12] Be that as it may, to

Gerhard Haupt and Charlotte Tacke, 'Die Kultur des Nationalen. Sozial- und Kulturgeschichtliche Ansätze bei der Erforschung des europäischen Nationalismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler (eds), *Kulturgeschichte Heute* (Göttingen, 1996), pp. 255-83, esp. 261.

[12] For some recent interpretations of the *Heimat* idea that reject a simple correlation between *Heimat* and anti-modernism see: Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*; Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, 1998); William Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement, 1904-1918* (Ann Arbor, 1997). Siegfried

explain the basic motivations of nationalism (by Wehler) and localism (by Kunz) in terms of identity vacuum and anti-modernism makes nationalism and localism epiphenomena of modernization and its presumed mental crisis. This seems to me a step in the direction of teleology.

Moreover, Kunz's view of modernization assumes a developmental model of historical time and explanation. According to this model, as the scale of observation grows larger, so does the explanatory significance; modernization can explain localness, but localness can never shape modernization, only reflect it. The model imposes a fundamental structural unity of historical process, space, and time that makes it possible to identify as anachronistic, or as having a compensatory function, certain elements that presumably do not fit. But historical time is not a totality; it is comprised rather of a multitude of social times and identities, which converge as well as contradict each other. One kind of interpretative problem in Wehler and in Kunz is to view the nation and the region not simply as new, but as springing out of nowhere, out of a vacuum. It thus can be described only in negative terms of disorientation and crisis. I wonder how *Landtag* member Schmid fits into this context? Far from being disoriented, he seems to me to have a clear idea of who he is, where he comes from, and how his local roots fit within the national.

Retallack, as we have seen, also criticizes the *telos* embedded in modernization theory. To my mind, Christop Nonn is on the mark when he views the debate about whether Saxony became more modern as 'rather moot when one takes into account the renowned slipperiness of the term "modern"' (p. 320). I should add that I find the active interest in modernization unhelpful and somewhat outdated. It has very little to tell us about the making of Saxon identity and its links to the nation. And we do not necessarily need a modernization model in order to explore, as Retallack suggests, class formation and political renewal. The contributions of these studies are independent of this concept.

Weichlein, 'Das Spannungsfeld von nationaler und regionaler Identität', in Werner Bramke (ed.), *Politische Kultur in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa* (Leipzig, 1999), pp. 241-52; Katharina Weigand (ed.), *Heimat: Konstanten und Wandel im 19./20. Jahrhundert. Vorstellungen und Wirklichkeiten* (Munich, 1997); Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*; and the thoughtful overview by Rolf Petri, 'Deutsche Heimat 1850-1950', *Comparativ*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2001), 77-127.

But the idea of the modern, however slippery, may be useful in locating the local within the global. I now move to discuss the modern. ('Modernization' and 'modern' are at times used interchangeably in the Saxony project, although they are not the same thing.) The perception of being Saxon was, of course, relational; it depended on the observation point, at what level of scale people positioned themselves not only in the region, or in Germany, but in Europe, and indeed the world. The era of nationhood, which figures so prominently in these books, was also the era of imperialism, of European hegemony in a shrinking world. And what has been one of the founding beliefs in enabling European global domination? The *telos* of the modern, of course: the idea that human history moves along a developmental model of unitary historical time and explanation, in which Europe is the first occurrence of capitalism, modernity, and the Enlightenment.[13] Historicism, so important to the historical associations, was fundamental to this belief. It is therefore not enough to criticize the *telos* of modernization theory. One needs to go beyond this point by showing how the belief in historicism and modernity shaped local-global relations in which small Saxony, by virtue of being in Europe, became the centre, while huge Asia and Africa turned provincial.

A step in the right direction is the essay by Glenn Penny on the Leipzig *Museum für Völkerkunde* (Museum of Ethnology), founded in 1868, and collecting artifacts from around the world. Even if Penny's argument is not entirely convincing, his approach is salutary, for he looks at the interplay between local, national, and cosmopolitan identities in the motivation for founding and running the museum. He argues that in making the museum promoters ignored national identity, while 'fashioning the local and regional self remained the [promoters'] central preoccupation', as well as contributing to Leipzig's international prestige (*German History*, p. 504). Only once imperialism had started in earnest, did the quest of ethnology become a reflection of national identity (pp. 499-500). Perhaps. But it seems to me that Penny's desire to criticize historians who argued for a national context to the making of local identities caused him to miss an opportunity to articulate a more helpful relationship. Our point of

[13] See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ, 2000) pp. 7-12.

departure should be that the local, regional, national, and global are linked, that they co-exist, but with tension, instead of viewing them as separate entities. Drawing a separation between the national on the one hand, and the local and regional on the other, reproduces the hierarchy of the old historiography that saw the local and national as overlapping but unconnected. Assuming a local/regional phase of ethnography succeeded by a national/colonial one is akin to reproducing a local space autonomous of, or prior to, the nation. Arguably, such spaces or identities do not exist in the modern era; the question is not whether the local and national are connected, but how.

Any attempt to describe or recover such local autonomous spaces would reinscribe those practices of the cultural and the historical that constitute nationalism by nineteenth-century nationals. The very idea of ethnography was based on the notion of a developmental model of history, where Western, and by extension German, culture epitomized the modern. This model changed the scale of observation: in the German national context, Berlin was the centre and Saxony the periphery; but in a global context Saxony and its cosmopolitan ethnographers in the museum were in the centre of world history. How did the belief in the modern influence the local sense of belonging of the academically educated bourgeoisie, who carried the national idea and the ethnographic practice? How was the local a shaper of the national, and indeed, by way of imperialism, of the global?

V

The idea of a region and its relation to the centre has recently been analysed by associating it with Edward Said's notion of Orientalism. This has been the case in the historiographies of Italy with respect to the south and of Russia with respect to the regions of Central Asia and Siberia, while Maria Todorova has written a book on Balkanism.[14] In Germany, this approach will not be successful. Saxony was

[14] On the influence of Orientalism on Russian historiogrpahy see the special issue of *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Fall, 2000) and Robert Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca and London, 2001). On Italian historiography, see John Dickie, *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860-1900* (London, 1999) and Jane Schneider (ed.), *Italy's 'Southern Question': Orientalism in One Country* (Oxford, 1998). On Balkanism, see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, 1997).

not an Other in the same way that Khazan was to Moscow or Sicily to Rome. And Saxonism does not really carry the meaning of Balkanism or the Italian south. But perhaps this association will help us to concieve of a new history of regionalism in modern German history. I do not know exactly what to call it, but *Heimatism* may be a good suggestion. This history should explore the dialectical process of local, regional, national, and global identities. These identities did not contradict each other, as they corroborated one another in relations of tension. They did not set in motion relations of opposition but of ambiguity. They complemented, defined, as well as set the limits of one another. Each defined itself in terms of the others, but, since ours is the era of nationalism, the national was the standard against which all others were defined. *Heimatism* as discourse and practice (in associations, nature, and architecture preservation, travelling, museums, but also as used by the state and as a political and economic force) in the last 200 years should tell us about the qualities of each identity and also about the spaces in between, about the boundaries beyond which one discourse was percieved as transgressing the other.

About localism, regionalism, and nationalism we can know only one thing for certain: they will continue to surprise and turn our prognostications to foolhardy prophecies. The recent history of unified Germany is a case in point, when a new regional identity has been added to traditional ones: eastern Germany as defined by the borders of East Germany. East Germans' attraction to the West was so undeniable in 1989 that many thought they would shed their past and traditions as they adopt Western democracy and consumption. This, I believe, will not happen, or at least not exactly as this swift narrative has it. A comparison with the first unification may be helpful. In 1871, a multitude of sovereign regional states (Bavaria, Baden, etc.) dissolved willingly (with some misgivings) into the nation-state dominated by Prussia, just as in 1990 a sovereign state, East Germany, dissolved willingly (with some misgivings) into the nation-state dominated by West Germany. In a sense, there was more reason to expect a strong regional identity in East Germany after 1990 than in, say, Baden after 1871. Before 1871 Baden and Prussia shared similar social, economic, and political systems; yet regional identity flourished in Baden after 1871. West and East Germany were divided by diametrically opposed systems. Why, then, have so many been

surprised by the transformation of an eastern German regional identity that seeks to flourish, oppose, and shape national identity in post-1990 Germany, but always within the framework of a united German nation-state. Contemporaries put it best. In 1886 King Charles I of Württemberg instructed the Prussian ambassador to Stuttgart that the conduct expected from the new Prussian Commander of the Württemberg Army was to respect the identity of the land and its people 'since we are Swabians and we want to remain Swabians'. One hundred and ten years later, in 1996, a villager in Kella stated proudly: 'We *are* Ossis, and we want to remain Ossis!'[15] This, I believe, is one new frontier of German regional history, although I readily submit that my prognostication may turn into a foolish prophecy.

[15] George Kleine, *Der württembergische Minister-Präsident Frhr. Hermann von Mittnacht (1825-1909)* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 17. Berdahl, *Where the World Ended*, p. 232 (italics in the original).

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HUMANS AND NATURE
RECENT TRENDS IN ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

by Thomas Rohkrämer

HANSJÖRG KÜSTER, *Geschichte der Landschaft in Mitteleuropa: Von der Eiszeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 424 pp. ISBN 3 406 39525 2. DM 78.00
ROLF PETER SIEFERLE, *Rückblick auf die Natur: Eine Geschichte des Menschen und seiner Umwelt* (Munich: Luchterhand, 1997), 233 pp. ISBN 3 630 87993 4. DM 38.00
FRANZ-JOSEF BRÜGGEMEIER, *Tschernobyl, 26. April 1986: Die ökologische Herausforderung*, 20 Tage im 20. Jahrhundert (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998), 311 pp. ISBN 3 423 30617 3. DM 19.90
JOACHIM RADKAU, *Natur und Macht: eine Weltgeschichte der Umwelt* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 438 pp. ISBN 3 406 46044 5. DM 58.00
KLAUS MICHAEL MEYER-ABICH, *Praktische Naturphilosophie: Erinnerungen an einen vergessenen Traum* (Munich: Beck, 1997), 520 pp. ISBN 3 406 41990 9. DM 78.00
GERNOT BÖHME and HARTMUT BÖHME, *Feuer, Wasser, Erde, Luft: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Elemente* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 344 pp. ISBN 3 406 41292 0. DM 78.00

Following the rise of public concern in the 1970s about the dangers of pollution and industrially produced risks, especially connected with the use of nuclear power, there has been a growing interest in the history of human relationships with nature. While environmental history never gained the same prominence as, for example, women's history, it has certainly become an accepted part of the discipline. After an initial emphasis on fairly general texts about former attitudes towards nature, the majority of studies has become increasingly empirical and specialized, often dealing less with ideas than with the concrete interactions between humans and their environment. This trend has not only led to an enormous increase in our historical knowledge, it has also produced a different understanding of environmentalism: the search for a better past, which was supposed to

guide us into re-discovering an attitude in harmony with nature, was largely replaced by a growing awareness that human changes to the environment have a long history. The need to use natural resources to maintain human existence has always had the capacity to cause environmental damage or even destruction, and the difficulties in finding a sustainable way of life mark the whole of history. Relations between humans and the nature around them obviously change over time. However, the differences between different epochs are not black and white, but, to use Thomas Nipperdey's famous image, a whole range of greys.

The growing number of specialized studies has made it increasingly difficult to remain up to date, especially as work relevant to environmental history is, I shall argue, done in many different academic disciplines. Fortunately, over recent years there has been a wave of more general studies, largely by old practitioners, trying to offer a synthesis in their areas of expertise. This review article looks at these major attempts to summarize the results of many years of research in their respective fields, as they give a good indication of the range of issues, perspectives and interpretations connected with the history of the relationship between humans and nature.

As environmental history deals with human beings and their habitats, studies can put their emphasis on either of the two. At one end of the spectrum is the history of the landscape in Central Europe by the biologist Hansjörg Küster. As historians tend to concentrate on human activities, this book is a good reminder that nature has never been stable or passive. It evolved, frequently in dramatic or even 'catastrophic' forms, before human beings appeared on the scene, and it has continued to have a strong influence on our lives to the present day. On the other hand, the book also shows very forcefully the influence humans have had on the landscape since the last ice age. While hunters and gatherers still largely adapted to their environment, having no more impact on nature than large animals, even the early agriculturists made an important difference by clearing land and planting their crops, by letting their domestic animals find food in the forests, by promoting a larger variety of biotopes and species, by influencing river beds, by causing soil erosion etc. The influence of changing human activities on the landscape—for example, developments in agriculture, the extension of human settlement into initially unsuitable areas such as moors, road building, the regulation of

rivers, the growth of cities, and the different stages of industrialization—had an impact on the landscape at all the different stages of history.

Küster's account makes it abundantly clear that we can find no wilderness untouched by human beings in Central Europe, and no 'natural state' one might want to rediscover—only landscapes which arise from a combination of geographical, biological, and human influences. However, Küster also pays a price for his attempt to show human beings as just one factor in an ever-evolving landscape. In this broad picture, human activities are almost as depersonalized as natural forces, because one does not get a sense of human choice. While it is true that human beings, like other animals, have to use and thus influence their environment, their activities are quite varied according to cultural belief systems, social practices, and political orientation. Küster's largely geographical and biological history of the landscape offers very useful background knowledge for the historian, but the range of human activities he considers (mainly economic ones) is rather limited. Especially developments in the modern period, when the human factor increased vastly in importance, are thus inadequately explained in this book. Furthermore, the emphasis on historical change at all stages in natural and human history is simultaneously strangely ahistorical, as this 'change' seems to acquire the status of an unchanging universal. There is, for instance, no argument about possible distinctions between substantially different epochs, although it seems obvious that the gradual increase in the range and number of human activities with a corresponding growth of their impact on the environment eventually accumulate to make qualitative differences.

Hansjörg Küster's book is very visual. Not only is it beautifully illustrated, but Küster also frequently points out that the evidence for the story he tells is still visible in today's landscape. This ability to explain the shape and appearance of today's landscape is a great strength of this book. For me it was a real eye-opener. Since reading it, I have recognized many more consequences of past human activities on the landscape around me. In contrast to Küster, Rolf Peter Sieferle puts forward a far more abstract functional argument: a universal model for the whole of environmental history. In reaction to visions of an idyllic past, Sieferle also stresses the historicity of our surroundings, but his main aim is to distinguish three epochs of envi-

ronmental history: hunter and gatherer societies, agricultural societies, and industrial societies. There are, of course, many ways to distinguish between these three types of societies, but Sieferle regards their respective energy systems as the most fundamental difference: Hunter and gatherers adapt to the natural environment as it is and live off the food which grows as a result of unmodified solar energy. Agricultural societies alter their environment and thus use solar energy to produce plants in a culturally shaped landscape. Industrial societies use fossil energy, which allows for unprecedented growth in a 'total' (that is, wholly artificial) landscape. Sieferle accepts that energy systems do not determine societies, but he suggests that they set clearly definable limits to their structure and activities.

As all energy on earth ultimately derives from the sun, it seems compelling to conceptualize material production and consumption in societies as energy systems, which use solar energy in very different forms. Given the frequently moralistic tone of early works in environmental history, it is also understandable that Sieferle tries to break with normative judgements. To him, history is a process of challenges, especially Malthusian population growth, and more or less successful responses to them. If society fails to find an adequate response to the challenges, it remains at the same structural level and sections of the population starve to death. If it develops, the population grows to a new limit and is faced with new challenges. This approach has the advantage of clarity: it is a simple framework which succeeds in explaining important elemental features of the types of societies Sieferle distinguishes. On the other hand, it obviously excludes a great deal. All the variations between different societies of the same type, especially marked in agricultural and modern societies, are no longer important. In 1984, Sieferle wrote the fascinating book *Fortschrittsfeinde?* (Enemies of Progress?) on environmental thought, but within the framework he employs here, culture and politics are mere surface phenomena.

The explanatory scope of Sieferle's approach, which follows the same logic as the Club of Rome study on 'The Limits of Growth' (1972), is restricted. Energy systems might set ultimate limits to a society, but in reality there are so many more or less efficient or sustainable ways of using energy that the ultimate limit does not seem to play a decisive role in determining human behaviour, at least in complex societies. Pollution or humanly induced climate changes do

not come into central focus with this emphasis on energy consumption, although they are a more immediate problem than a possible exhaustion of energy. Nor is the change from one system to another as simple as the challenge-response model suggests. Many pre-modern societies restricted the birth rate and developed a relationship with their environment which was sustainable at least for very long periods of time; innovations in agriculture, such as the change from the three-field to the two-field system, could dramatically increase the production of food; and, for example, it is unlikely that there was a dramatic lack of timber at the end of the nineteenth century which made the change to fossil energy necessary (see for example Radkau, pp. 168 ff., 235 ff., and 245 ff.). On the other hand, Sieferle is clearly right in stating that the enormous economic growth of the last 200 years has only been possible because of an abundance of fossil energy. But how can he explain the dramatic changes since the 1950s, whose importance he clearly recognizes, when economic development continues to be based largely on fossil energy?

Rolf Peter Sieferle's account is fatalistic. As the industrial system is in the process of using up all fossil energy, it is bound to collapse eventually. If not even the wars of the first half of the twentieth century could significantly influence the dynamics of this process, he argues, it seems unlikely that humans will gain control over this process just because they have become increasingly aware of the negative consequences. However, changes are always difficult to predict because by definition they break with the past, and Sieferle's opinion is largely determined by his own approach. If one ignores human agency, the story one gets is bound to be deterministic.

While Sieferle believes that the ability of humans to make a difference to their historical development is extremely limited, he simultaneously holds the opinion that we have moved into a world where nature is replaced by a purely artificial environment. The 'total landscape' he regards as typical of the mature industrial age is not only an ever-changing, dynamic landscape, it is also completely determined by human activities. According to Sieferle, even a decision to preserve nature does not alter this state of affairs. 'However, if we define nature as opposite to culture', he asks, 'does it not, then, follow that the protection of nature by culture turns it into culture? The demand for the protection of nature is thus a sign of the complete victory of culture, which will complete the destruction of nature' (p. 24).

This argument, which explains the title *Rückblick auf die Natur* (Looking back at Nature), might appear plausible at first sight, but is, in my opinion, flawed. It is true that in the nuclear age humankind has acquired the ability to destroy nature, but our existence and the landscape around us still depend on many natural processes. The fact that we can destroy something does not mean that we can understand, control, or create it. While the creation of a nature reserve is the outcome of a human decision, developments in the nature reserve (or in other parts of the landscape), though they might be managed by humans, are to a large extent not in human hands. Nor is it necessarily inevitable that we are moving into a total, completely artificial landscape. Humankind has gained the ability to interfere with everything on this planet, but one can still hope that we will also learn the wisdom of, as Heidegger and the Beatles put it, 'letting it be' and allowing things to develop according to their own nature. It is increasingly hard to identify something completely natural in the civilized world, yet there are still obvious differences of degree in naturalness between, say, a nature reserve, a corn field, and a building. Instead of denying all human agency without compelling reason, it seems more important to concentrate on studying the variety of more or less successful human interactions with the environment.

While Sieferle employs an explicitly theoretical approach, which is strong in highlighting important points but also produces black spots, Franz-Josef Brüggemeier produces a more traditional historical narrative. The title, *Tschernobyl, 26. April 1986: Die ökologische Herausforderung*, might lead one to expect a global environmental history, or a history of nuclear power, but the book is on environmental history in Germany since the beginning of industrialization. However, the book is extremely useful and provides an excellent overview. It gives fairly even weight to the different epochs and is always well-informed. Despite being quite dense, the text is highly readable. The wealth of information never overwhelms the main argument, and Brüggemeier displays an admirable ability to make clear and well-considered judgements. The book is not merely a reliable text book, it also offers the expert new insights.

The author describes the environmental problems of the last 200 years as well as the whole range of responses to them, ranging from legal battles and legislation to expert opinions and social protest movements. If the history of environmental thought is dealt with

comparatively briefly, this corresponds to a general tendency among current environmental historians to give preference to the concrete and practical. Brüggemeier accepts the value of aesthetic or emotional arguments in the context of the nineteenth century, but his sympathies clearly lie more with scientific analysis and technical solutions. In that sense, he seems to regard the development of environmentalism as a story of progress: as knowledge grew, emotional arguments could gradually be replaced by hard facts, scientific analysis, and rational strategies to overcome environmental problems. Brüggemeier acknowledges that social movements have been important in popularizing issues and exerting pressure on politicians, but he also warns of the dangers of sensationalism and over-reactions. He dismisses calls from extreme environmentalists for an eco-dictatorship, but stresses the importance of professional experts. There seems to be an implicit assumption in this book that environmental damage is a technical problem, which can be solved if the sole emphasis on economic growth increasingly becomes a thing of the past. In contrast to the majority of environmental historians, Brüggemeier thus finishes his book on an optimistic note. The continued concern with green issues, the many environmental non-government organizations, the growing number of scientists working in the field, and the many institutions involved with the issue guarantee, he argues, that the topic will not go away. Furthermore, successes over the last decades in achieving a cleaner environment are taken as proof that policies can make a positive difference.

While the strength of Franz-Josef Brüggemeier's book lies in the strong and clear lines of argument it presents, Joachim Radkau's text, *Natur und Macht*, is impressive because of its richness and multifaceted nature. The former tends towards a scientific and technological ideal of environmentalism; the latter is strongly in favour of local practices. Radkau's book is truly global in scope. It roams in time and space while dealing with a wealth of topics ranging from hunters and gatherers to globalization, from subsistence farming to colonialism, from forestry in Germany to water culture in Venice and Holland, and intensive farming in Asia. Radkau is clearly up to date with current international research, and his discussions are always knowledgeable, full of detail and thought-provoking. In contrast to most general readings, this book is a real treasure box containing a wealth of little known, but highly revealing facts and details.

Radkau's convictions and ideals guide his selection of material and arguments. He believes that attitudes towards nature are always intertwined with questions of power and interest; thus environmentalism is always political. He argues against the ideal of 'wilderness', so strong in North American environmentalism, putting forward instead the ideal of a well-managed garden, that is, a sustainable, careful, even intimate human management of nature. He rejects demands for a non-anthropocentric environmentalism and is sceptical about all normative judgements apart from today's most widely accepted one: for him environmentalism is ultimately founded on the human wish for survival which, he argues, is at the basis of the struggle for sustainability. Radkau is deeply distrustful of central forces from the top. Instead of national or international authorities, scientific plans or grand technical projects, philosophical ideals or religious convictions, he favours the regional, the multitude, and the concrete interest. To put it briefly: his ideal is a world full of regional variety, where all different human interests in the use of natural resources are recognized and balanced. Environmentalists, he argues, should not pretend to care for the environment as such, but should aim for a usage of, say, the river which gives all the interests of fishermen, farmers, electricity consumers, people drinking the water, bathers etc. their due. The idea of breaking with anthropocentrism is nothing but an illusion for Radkau, as humans are always led by their own interests. He is not in favour of using nature to the maximum, but only because humanity needs reserves in order to be prepared for the unexpected. For Radkau, then, environmentalism is in conflict with the wish for short-term profits or the exploitation of regional resources by outside forces, but is essentially identical with sensible, long-term, largely materialistic human interests.

With these convictions, which will concern us later, as a foundation, Radkau discusses different cultures' relationships to their environments. He does not explain why he chooses particular examples from what is, in principle, an endless number of regional variants, thus side-stepping the question of representativeness. However, it has to be acknowledged that the book covers a wide and interesting variety of cases. The case studies reveal Radkau's love of the multitude and the concrete. While the text is organized around major theories and debates in environmental history, at least this reader was frequently overwhelmed by the wealth of detail. For every fact there

seems to be an opposing fact, for every plausible interpretation, a contrasting but equally plausible one. This method can rightly show the complexity of issues and the danger of simplistic answers, but working with juxtapositions is often also the expression of a failure to search for a common logic behind different phenomena, or a belated statement of this logic. Furthermore, after a few case studies, the final conclusion becomes rather predictable. If sustainability is the major normative criterion, all societies which have survived for any length of time must have got the running of things right, even if they were unable to react successfully when circumstances eventually changed.

Radkau rightly criticizes environmental histories in which human beings are always the villains, but he also tells a story of decline, at least with regard to modern history. With the growing interference of central powers in the regions, growing specialization and trade relations, increasing imports from colonies to overcome shortages at home, industrialization and its exploitation of fossil energy, and consumerism starting in the 1950s, humankind has clearly moved away from sustainability and self-reliant regions. Following the logic of globalization theories, Rolf Peter Sieferle even argues that the fascination with variety is a short-lived phenomenon. In traditional societies large sections of humanity did not know about regional differences because they were largely stationary, and with growing mobility these differences are bound to disappear. Sieferle's opinion is, of course, not uncontested, as critics of one-dimensional globalization theories have made a good case for the continued importance of regional differences even in a global world. Radkau, however, takes a dismissive view of globalization without really showing how his ideals of regionalism, grass-roots democracy, or the power of lay people in (often highly technical) environmental debates can be realized in today's world. Nor are the difficult aspects of his ideals adequately addressed. How is regionalism supposed to deal with global problems like climate change? If private property and limits on migration are strengthened, what happens to poorer regions? If self-interest is the most reliable motivation, how can we ensure that the interests of other regions and of future generations (which is, after all, the fundamental principle of sustainability) are recognized? And is the focus on sustainability not too narrow, as humans do not live by bread alone? Radkau's wide-ranging book is immensely knowledge-

able, useful, and thought-provoking, but his rather unsystematic approach leaves many questions open.

The books discussed so far have largely concentrated on the material aspects of environmentalism. However, the ecological movement has not only been concerned with avoiding disaster by moving towards a sustainable way of existence. It has also hoped that a life in harmony with nature would be qualitatively better. Many green dreams were unrealistic and naive in presenting highly personal ideals as having the alleged authority of 'nature', and the attempt among contemporary environmental historians in Germany to abandon all 'romanticism' is an understandable reaction to this. However, should we limit ourselves merely to describing different human relationships with the environment as Sieferle suggests, instead of openly stating that we prefer a less violent and exploitative relationship with the environment, in the same way as contemporary political historians should prefer a democracy to a dictatorship? Do we have to limit ourselves to the ideal of sustainability, as if human beings were concerned only about bread and butter issues? Radkau vigorously denies the possibility of breaking with anthropocentrism because, he argues, nature has no voice, and humans will always think and act from their own perspective. However, even the concept of sustainability demands a break with individual egotism and the collective egotism of all human beings living now, although future generations, whose rights we are supposed to consider, do not have a voice and a different perspective from ours. Also, the rejection of cruelty to animals is based on the assumption that we can identify and fight for the interests of non-human forms of life. While one can well argue that self-interest is the most powerful motivation for environmentalism, the attempt to avoid normative judgements or limit oneself to the demand for human survival is based on a narrow understanding of what human existence is about and a denial that some agreement can be reached over normative issues. Radkau advocates development towards a more sustainable lifestyle; but this cannot happen without the power of normative ideas or cultural belief systems to control the immediate interests of the present generation.

The last two books under review, which are not environmental histories in a narrow sense, but nevertheless highly relevant to the question of different historical attitudes towards nature, address these wider issues. The philosopher Klaus Michael Meyer-Abich,

who is not only an extremely productive scholar but was also, in the 1980s, an advisor to the Social Democratic shadow cabinet and a Senator in Hamburg, argues that the environmental problems we face today are the result of a faulty understanding of ourselves and the world around us. Instead of realizing that we are sons and daughters of this world, he argues, we behave like invaders from outer space. Instead of recognizing that we realize our own potential in aiming for a life in harmony with nature, we try to establish omnipotence over nature. While Meyer-Abich draws an extremely negative picture of present conditions, he is careful to avoid a story of historical decline or presenting humans as eternal villains. Rather, he sees the current environmental problems as a necessary challenge. For him it is positive that humanity gained awareness, power, and some freedom to choose its form of existence, because he regards this as nature's will to gain self-consciousness. However, freedom implies responsibility and the possibility of failure. As modern human beings are no longer in a state of childhood, they have to accept responsibility by trying to find an appropriate space for themselves on this earth and organizing their lives sensibly.

For Meyer-Abich the wrong attitude towards the world around us has a long history. While he does not condemn all forms of Christianity, he attacks the idea of an omniscient God dominating over nature and favours a pantheistic religion instead. Like many writers before him, he is equally critical of science and technology which seeks to gain for humanity the omniscience and omnipotence which has previously been attributed to God. He thus argues that since the scientific revolution of the Renaissance period, humans have gradually developed the wrong attitude towards the natural world. As this attitude has come to threaten human existence, he wants to remind his readers of, as the title states, a 'forgotten dream': that of feeling at home in this world by living in harmony with our fellow human beings and the nature around us. As long as humanity was in a child-like state of weakness and dependency, it could afford to be egoistical, but now it has to break with individual and species egotism, that is, anthropocentrism, and develop a feeling of solidarity with the whole of nature. This attitude would not only ensure human survival, but would also allow humans to realize their best potential and make an important contribution towards creating a better world. Like Radkau, Meyer-Abich envisages the ideal human

being as a gardener, but his vision is much more far-reaching. He believes that the caring hands of the gardener can improve the world not only in line with humanity's interests, but also in the interests of nature as a whole.

Many of Meyer-Abich's ideas are rather too speculative to appeal to historians (and I suspect also to many philosophers). However, the book has strong points. It serves as a reminder that it is quite legitimate to have a clear purpose in studying a subject; it argues philosophically that the idea of breaking with anthropocentrism and accepting the rights of nature around us is not as absurd as many contemporary environmental historians seem to think; and it contains many interesting passages on the ways in which nature has been perceived in philosophical and religious thought, primarily since the Renaissance. However, I was not convinced by Meyer-Abich's claim that he is reminding us of a largely 'forgotten dream'. First, the dream he outlines is not foreign to our times, but has been put forward frequently since the 1970s. The book does not engage in an open dialogue with unfamiliar ideas of the past; rather, the past is read selectively in the light of Meyer-Abich's present interests and concerns. Thus it is less a forgotten dream that we find in this book than a dream shared by the author and quite a few metaphysically minded deep green ecologists. Secondly, Meyer-Abich does not show when the dream of a life in harmony with nature was ever forgotten. Even if we accept the argument that history took a dangerous turn with the scientific revolution in the early modern period, we must not overlook that there have always been critical voices arguing for a different relationship with nature.

After all, Meyer-Abich himself builds on modern thinkers such as Kant, Goethe, Herder, and Heidegger to develop his ideas, and over the last thirty years a whole tradition of voices critical of modernity's growing domination over nature has been re-discovered. As the son of the well-known natural philosopher, Adolf Meyer-Abich, as a student of Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, and as a major contributor to the journal *Scheidewege*, which maintains the tradition of cultural criticism in the present, Meyer-Abich obviously not only knows about this tradition, but is deeply connected with it. Why, then, speak of a forgotten dream? While modern science and technology have clearly dominated public discourse, it is important to reflect on the fact that they have always been accompanied by critical voices. Klaus Michael

Meyer-Abich separates completely the beliefs in domination over nature, and co-operation with nature, but in reality they have always been connected in many ways. The idealization of a harmonious relationship with nature is largely a modern idea, a response to the growing domination over nature and the growing alienation from nature. The ideas of domination and co-operation did not develop separately from each other; each continuously used the other to define itself, they reacted to each other, and even learned from each other. Their development cannot be described adequately without a realization of this dynamic interrelationship, and it must even be asked whether one can exist without the other.

In their cultural history of the four elements, the brothers Gernot and Hartmut Böhme have, in parts, a similar agenda to that of Meyer-Abich, but they are much more cautious in their approach. The theory of elements was first formulated by Empedocles, was most influentially expressed by Plato and Aristotle, and was largely accepted until the analytical sciences started to erode its foundations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It served as the most general explanation of nature for more than 2000 years. The elements of fire, water, earth, and air were regarded as the most elemental building blocks. All natural phenomena were explained as a combination of these four elements: they had evolved from these four elements and developed in line with their character. The four elements were thus instruments to explain natural phenomena, and served as a unifying principle within the multitude of the sensory world. The scheme of four elements could build on basic sensory experiences, but was then developed by analogy into schemes encompassing four winds, four seasons, four kinds of animals, four humours, four temperaments etc. to explain both the macrocosm and microcosms.

The philosopher Gernot and the literary critic Hartmut Böhme give three main reasons for writing this book. First, they are fascinated by the challenge of writing the history of a doctrine which is influenced both by nature and culture. They accept that all nature of which we speak or develop a concept is shaped by culture. On the other hand, however, they are convinced that the element theory is also shaped by very fundamental human experiences with nature. As nature and culture are supposed to intermingle in this doctrine, they regard this subject as ‘particularly appropriate for risking the endeavour of a cultural history of nature—and simultaneously for

showing the ineradicable traces of nature even in the most spiritual terms' (p. 13). Secondly, they are fascinated by the doctrine itself, because it is based on sensory experiences. Whereas the vision of nature in modern science is highly abstract, the element theory was closely connected with everybody's sensual experiences. And thirdly, like Meyer-Abich, they hope to reconstruct a very different attitude towards nature. Whereas modern thought assumes a fundamental difference and distance between human beings and the natural world, the element theory was less alienating, as it assumed a correspondence between human beings and the cosmos or even argued that humans were completely open to outside influences. The authors see a correspondence between undermining the theory of the four elements and an environmental destruction caused by modern techno-science, and they hope that their cultural history can point to a less manipulative, exploitative, and potentially suicidal attitude towards nature. While they accept that there is no going back, they believe that a 'return of the elements' in the present might contribute towards a necessary change in attitude towards accepting 'the intrinsic value and the intrinsic activities of nature as well as the naturalness of humans, that is their corporal existence (*Leiblichkeit*)' (p. 311).

Even for readers not sharing these ideals, the book is highly recommended. Its range is wide, covering not only the history of the elements in European natural philosophy, but also the role of the elements in myths about the genesis and the end of the world, discussions of a possible fifth element (usually ether), the role of the elements in the understanding of human nature, and the relation of the elements to natural catastrophes. Finally, the last chapter talks about a possible renaissance of the elements in contemporary arts, in the science of ecology, and esoteric thought. The choice of sources, ranging from religious and philosophical texts to literature and pictures, is not always as comprehensive as historians might wish, as they are largely picked for their quality of content, but the interpretations are consistently good and frequently superb. The authors clearly have stupendous knowledge, a real feeling for the subject, and the imagination for far reaching associations without losing themselves in speculation.

To what extent, however, do the authors live up to the high goals they have set for themselves? It is quite convincing that the element theory is based much more on sensory experiences of nature than

most modern scientific theories and models, but in terms of the details of the theory and the variations within it, their case is much weaker. Do the senses suggest a belief in four elements (rather than fewer or more), or is it the wish for symmetry? Does the idea of four humours and four temperaments derive from sensory experience? While it makes sense to distinguish between animals of the earth, the water, and the air, the association of reptiles with fire seems to be based on a desire for consistency at the price of trusting the senses. Many other examples could be listed, and they all suggest that the large framework of the doctrine was plausible because it did not clash with everyday experiences of nature, but it seems doubtful that its elaboration and development were really deeply connected with sensory experiences. It would probably take a considerable amount of knowledge about the everyday experiences of the element theorists to have any chance of demonstrating a closer connection between sensory experiences and theoretical concepts, but this is generally not available.

The book's attempt to show that premodern humans were less distanced from nature is more successful. The fact that human beings were supposed to be built of the same material as the world around them, the assumed correspondence between the cosmos and human beings, and the many theories, especially that of Lucretius and some mystics, concerning a fluid world in which human beings are just temporary manifestations like waves in the ever-changing stream of elements, do point to a very different understanding of the relationship between humans and nature. Medical theories which relate the condition of the human body less to endogenous illnesses than to the whole of the environment, or the understanding of feelings as a way in which nature reveals itself in human beings also suggest an understanding of human body and identity in which the boundaries to the outside are porous and open, and in which nature passes through the human body, constantly leaving its mark. In these examples Gernot and Hartmut Böhme reveal their talent for conveying to their readers the sense of very different and often fascinating ways of thinking and experiencing, in which the nature within and around us was seen to have a much greater affinity, and to be in much closer communication, with our feelings and consciousness. The selection of the topic and the texts are, as the authors readily admit, very much shaped by their own interests, and they evade the important question of how

and to what extent these systems of thought actually shaped practical dealings with nature. However, they achieve their goal of showing less alienated attitudes towards nature not by forcing the past into present-day moulds, but by mobilizing largely forgotten traditions to relativize opinions and emotions currently largely taken for granted. While these past traditions cannot have a renaissance, they might be revived to the extent that they could offer impulses and suggestions for a change in attitude towards our own nature and the nature around us. If we accept, for example, that humans (and thus also their culture) are not opposites to, but parts of nature, then the whole discussion about a 'death of nature', which Sieferle and many American environmentalists have put forward, would become meaningless. Their idea of humans as independent of nature, or (as long as humankind continues to exist) of nature as independent of humans, would appear absurd.

Environmental history has come a long way in the last two decades. Initially often shaped by a rather naive search for villains and fundamental alternatives to modern society, the picture has become not only fuller, but also more differentiated and sophisticated. While early studies often focused solely on grand ideas, the importance of daily practices is rightly stressed today (although it should not be forgotten that humankind is rightly called *animal rationale*; ideas are part of reality and have their practical effects). However, one can still wish that the critical impulse and the desire to promote changes in our lifestyle will not be lost with the establishment of this area of research within the historical discipline. All the books reviewed here make a contribution to this as they dare to address the burning, bigger issues which narrow empirical studies, important as they obviously are, cannot reach.

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BOOK REVIEWS

RICHARD BONNEY (ed.), *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe* c. *1200-1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), xii +527 pp. ISBN 0 19 820402 7. £65.00

The fifteen case studies assembled in this volume were conceived as a supplement to the relevant issue of the European Science Foundation's series on the origins of the modern state in Europe from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. The purpose of the earlier publication was to assess the interaction between state finance and economic systems, and its influence on state-formation. A comparative perspective was adopted to allow for an appraisal of 'national' fiscal history within its wider context, and the emphasis was on highlighting general tendencies rather than exploring the peculiarities and distinctive features of the processes under scrutiny. By contrast, the present studies take a discussion of theoretical models of the modern fiscal state as the conceptual point of reference, and give close and detailed analyses of its early modern European variants. While the broader approach of the general series prohibited any commitment to one particular terminating date, the period of time under consideration in this volume ends in 1815 to acknowledge the crucial importance of the Napoleonic Wars, which by virtue of their economic impact and fiscal pressures marked a watershed in the development of the modern fiscal state. There are two complementary studies each on medieval and early modern developments in the 'core' European states, including England / Great Britain, France, and Castile. The following nine studies examine the fiscal structures of the Holy Roman Empire, the Low Countries in the Middle Ages, the United Provinces (1579-1806), the Swiss Confederation, the Papal States, Venice, the Italian States, Poland-Lithuania (up to the Partitions), and Russia (1200-1815).

The first contribution, by W. R. Ormrod, outlines the development of the English fiscal system from the changes wrought on Anglo-Saxon government by the Norman conquest to the transformation of the 'domain state' from the late thirteenth to the late fifteenth century. Ormrod depicts the successive stages of this development, the first of which was characterized by the retention of ele-

ments of the centralized Anglo-Saxon governmental system to which were introduced the military, political, and fiscal powers of continental feudalism. The centralizing impetus of the transformed system, as epitomized by the creation of the Exchequer, was cut short by the rising costs of war in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), which necessitated the summoning of parliaments and furthered fiscal government by consent. The resulting circumscription of royal powers of taxation became, in Fortescue's definition, the distinguishing trait of the English as compared to the French feudal system. Arbitrary *tallages* on crown land and the towns, and penal taxes on the Jewish population until its eviction in 1290 constituted the basis of royal finances in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The end of the 'domain state' was brought about by the combination of a number of factors. These included, most notably, spiralling war expenses, thirteenth-century inflation, the agrarian crisis of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, which was exacerbated by the devastating impact of the plague of 1348-9, and the restrictions on royal privileges, such as the *auxilium*, *scutagium*, and *dona*, which the political élites began to impose through the medium of parliaments. General taxes began to be levied on the clergy, initially with the consent of the Pope, and, after 1330, by negotiation with Convocation. Further relief to the crown came from tolls and customs duties and extraordinary subsidies. The levying of direct taxes remained theoretically linked to military emergencies, but as a result of extended warfare between 1290 and 1450, this restriction became ineffectual. However, the end of the Hundred Years War in 1453 brought a reversal of this development and a return to the domain-based fiscal system that outlasted the subsequent internecine war. The 'fossilized tax structure' (p. 40) of the late Middle Ages, combined with changes in textile production and trade which entailed a decline in the taxable wool trade, caused a steady loss in royal revenues. As regards the distribution of the tax burden, there were considerable differences among the towns, most of which were undertaxed, and between the north of the kingdom and the heavily burdened middle and southern counties.

Patrick O'Brien and Philip A. Hunt demonstrate that, following the intermezzo of Stuart finance based on excises, and the tax exactions of the revolutionary regime, some successful reforms were implemented by the Restoration government. In particular, the problem of 'fiscal pluralism' resulting from the existence of a plurality of revenue-col-

lecting bodies was essentially checked after 1660. Henceforth, 90 per cent of the royal revenues were accounted for by the exchequer. Tax farming was gradually abolished in favour of a system of crown officials, but the positive effects of this change were severely curtailed by the persistence of patronage. Moreover, smuggling was rampant and drained away the revenues from customs. The impact of warfare from the late seventeenth century onwards triggered the development of the modern fiscal state with its heavy reliance on indirect taxes and public credit. The aggregate taxes in 1690 made up 2-3 per cent of the national income, but this figure doubled and then trebled over the next three decades. By the time of George III's reign, the share of indirect taxes had risen to 80 per cent, while increases in direct revenues towards the end of the eighteenth century were the result of Pitt's reforms. Bonney's introductory statements on the exceptional achievement of the British state in terms of fiscal extraction (p. 3) are supported by the statistical information in this chapter, which draws attention to the fact that urbanization, structural changes in domestic production, and accelerated industrial growth enabled the British government to impose on its population the highest per capita taxation in Europe at the time of the French Revolution (p. 63).

The French case is discussed by John Bell Henneman Jr. and Richard Bonney. Starting with an outline of the fragmentation of governmental and fiscal powers in the twelfth century, Henneman gives an account of the rise of the French fiscal and political state in terms of a successful expansion of royal power, which was significantly boosted by territorial acquisitions after 1204. The costs of warfare, especially after the onset of the Hundred Years War, the collection of ransoms for crusading monarchs (Louis IX and John II), and the concurrent wish to keep down non-aristocratic interests at the general assemblies of the mid-fourteenth century persuaded the aristocratic élites of the need to negotiate for a system of regular taxes that were effectively, though not intentionally, permanent. The anti-fiscal reaction in 1379-84 which followed Charles V's military successes testifies to the resilience of the feudal argument for the temporary and voluntary nature of fiscal contributions. In the long run, however, the crisis of the fourteenth century made a lasting impact in strengthening royal governmental authority and contributing to the stabilization of the fiscal system. The latter enabled Charles VIII (1483-98) to embark on his military campaigns in Italy.

Bonney's outline of the advanced fiscal system of the French crown in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demonstrates that the fiscal dilemma of the revolutionary regime was started by the National Assembly's decision in 1789-90 to abolish indirect taxes without compensation, and that the ensuing difficulties were exacerbated by the administrative blunder of the revolutionary regime which dismantled the system of intendants on which tax collection in the provinces relied.

The complementary analyses by M. A. Ladero Quesada and Juan Gelabert, which deal with Castilian finances up to 1808, highlight the vicissitudes of Castilian royal finance: for most of the period under consideration, it remained tied to the contractual *encambezamiento* system of taxation. The public credit system based on short-term loans (*asientos*) and government bonds (*juros*) meant that an increasing share of royal income from indirect taxes and the sale of titles and offices was pledged to debt service. The monarch's fiscal powers were further impaired by repeated state bankruptcies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which undermined the crown's credit with its Italian and Portuguese bankers. The series of economic and fiscal reforms which began with the introduction of a land register in 1749-56, and involved the creation of the 'Banco di San Carlos' in 1782 could not solve the problem of spiralling public debt. The crisis was precipitated by the wars against revolutionary France, and subsequently against Britain, which sparked off a series of tax revolts in the provinces.

The following four contributions deal with the German, Burgundian, Dutch, and Swiss territories. Wim Blockmanns's study of the Low Countries initiates the reader into the intricacies of the Burgundian dual fiscal system operated by the court and regional or local receivers. Eberhard Isenmann, Marjolein t'Hart, and Martin Körner show that urban units such as the Imperial towns and *Freie Reichsstädte*, the Dutch towns, and the Swiss city republics developed sophisticated instruments for creating and sustaining public credit. These fiscal sub-systems operated below the level of, or semi-independently of, the overarching fiscal structure of the composite states of which they formed a part.

Further case studies examine the fiscal system of the papacy as proprietor of jurisdictional rights and services and the fiscal administration of the papal lands (Peter Partner, ch. 11), the transformation

of the 'Serenissima's' extensive fiscal administration in the republic and on the *terra ferma* (Jean-Claude Hocquet, ch. 12), and the fiscal techniques developed by the various governments of Naples, Tuscany, and Savoy. Particular attention is given to the enlightened administrative and fiscal reforms in Austrian Lombardy and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

Eastern Europe and Russia are brought into focus in the contributions by Anna Filipczak-Kocur and Richard Hellie. The first highlights the obstructive impact of aristocratic resistance in general, and of the Lithuan nobility in particular, to any reforms that could be construed as an infringement of provincial autonomy. Politically motivated resistance thus prevented the setting up of an adequate tax and credit system, and entailed continued reliance on extortionate direct taxation of the rural population. The Russian case is notable for the profusion of bureaucratic activity: more than 100 government chancelleries with strictly defined departmental duties were created between 1550 and 1800. By contrast, the development of the fiscal system lagged behind: no national debt structure was created in the seventeenth century, and the mingling of state and court accounts continued until the 1760s. The subsequent changes and the spell of reform activity under Alexander I helped usher in the 'sophisticated tax state' by 1815 (p. 481).

As mentioned, the purpose of this supplementary collection of essays is to give a fuller and more differentiated picture of the solutions developed in response to the fiscal demands of medieval and early modern state formation. Some objections might be made to the editor's preliminary observations on the 'predatory' nature of all but the Swiss and Polish tax systems if the findings, for example, for the Holy Roman Empire are taken into account. In assessing the applicability of models of the modern fiscal state, the British case is justly singled out on account of its refined system of public credit which proved its viability by sustaining the fiscal burdens of military defence. To acknowledge the exceptional nature of the British fiscal achievement is not to deny the relative adequacy, sophistication, and considerable resilience of such fiscal instruments as were developed by some of the Italian states, the United Provinces, and the Imperial towns. There are thus complementary and equally profitable ways of interpreting the results of these highly instructive studies.

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ESTHER-BEATE KÖRBER, *Öffentlichkeiten in der Frühen Neuzeit: Teilnehmer, Formen, Institutionen und Entscheidungen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Herzogtum Preußen von 1525 bis 1618*, Beiträge zur Kommunikationsgeschichte, 7 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), xiv + 536 pp. ISBN 3 11 015600 8. DM 298.00

A few years ago, Seyla Benhabib deplored the fact that the 'public sphere'—a concept debated by social scientists ever since Walter Lippmann in the 1920s and reconsidered by Jürgen Habermas in 1962—had nostalgically been declared a phenomenon destroyed by the anonymity of modern industrial and urban society.[1] The author expressed the hope that post-modern 'decentring' of an abstract and inflexible notion of the public sphere would result in a more democratic practice of citizenship, and recommended that all parts of society should be given a chance to enter this sphere and participate in it, on condition, however, that these groups take notice of each other's needs. A similar conclusion is drawn by Esther-Beate Körber in her ambitious survey of the development of the public sphere from 1525 to 1618. Faced with the limits of the monopolistic position of what Körber calls 'the public sphere of information' of mass communication which, at the beginning of the third millennium, 'the whole people' participate in on the basis of electronic media, increasingly multicultural European societies could find new means of internal differentiation into cultural, religious, linguistic, and national minorities. Yet civil society could break down if these groups were not willing to maintain links between each other and a wider public sphere by preserving their past as well as constructing a way into the future.

Körber's study of three public spheres—the public sphere of power and political authority (*Öffentlichkeit der Macht*), the public sphere of education, and cultural and moral authority (*Öffentlichkeit der Bildung*), and the sphere of information (*Öffentlichkeit der Informationen*)—is set in the context of Ducal Prussia between 1525, when Albrecht of Hohenzollern turned the state of the Teutonic Order into a secular duchy, and the eve of the Thirty Years War. It presents a clever refutation of Jürgen Habermas's narrow definition of early modern *Öffentlichkeit* as mere representation of a ruler's

[1] Writing in *Theoria. A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 90 (December 1997), 1-24.

power, to the exclusion of wider society. This book convincingly demonstrates that more broadly defined public spheres—of education and of information—did not emerge only with the 'bourgeois age' of the Enlightenment or industrial and capitalist society, but that there are continuities in the forms as well as the content of public communication. There have always been hierarchies of public spheres, with varying degrees of authoritarian or egalitarian qualities.

Most historical works on Prussia have stressed the conflict between the dukes and the Estates of Ducal Prussia, which culminated in the second half of the seventeenth century under the rule of Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-88). This study does not follow such paths. The three public spheres, defined and identified above, dictate the structure of the study. The 'public sphere of power' is analysed through its participants (the duke, the Estates, the cities, the peasants, and the Duchy's relationship with the Crown and Estates of Poland), its channels of communication (of an oral, written, or symbolic nature), the process of decision-making in the Prussian Diet, the dissemination of official information through the developing postal system, and, finally, the handling of government 'secrets'—*arcana*—and early political publications. Departing from traditional treatments of the ducal-noble dualism, the author's interest focuses on the institutional and procedural principles of communication between *personae publicae*, people in power, and other parts of society. Most remarkable, albeit hardly surprising to early modern historians, is the contrast between an uncompromising political rhetoric of power, and the pragmatic and consensus-based practice of political negotiation between conflicting parties. Diets followed the principle of consensus and unanimity, circulating the argument as long as was necessary to win over or at least to convince opposing voices to remain silent—a practice well-known among East Central European Estate systems, above all in Poland-Lithuania. Although one would like to know more about other, more informal procedures of decision-making, such as the role of patronage, the results are impressive: they reveal a governmental and parliamentary system well informed by newspapers, messengers, correspondents, and envoys, giving a clear advantage to the ruler and his circle, a system which was never at risk of losing control over governmental 'secrets' and deliberately channelled information and publications aimed at a

small literate élite beyond the parliament, and which was only occasionally breached by political publications evading censorship.

The participants in the second public sphere, the 'sphere of education, and cultural and moral authority', typically were leading figures designing, implementing, and benefiting from education programmes at the time—politicians, theologians, professors, teachers, and students. Forms of communication in this sphere included oral, written, and symbolic variations, song, theatre and public prayers, whereas printing revolutionized the ways in which information was disseminated. The most important point which this part makes is to suggest that the development of religious orthodoxy in the Lutheran Duchy of Prussia was a reaction to theological controversy under Duke Albrecht's court preacher Osiander in the middle of the sixteenth century, and against the decision by Elector Johann Sigismund in 1613 to convert to Calvinism. Körber documents the complexities of the mutual influence exercised by the spheres of education and power, including censorship, the control over printing presses by a ducal monopoly, the failure of the consensual approach in religious controversies, the power of synods, the success of Polish demands for the toleration of Catholics in the Duchy, and the establishment of an absolute moral and philosophical authority, which increasingly characterized later sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century religious and moral publications. According to Körber this growing tendency to appeal to absolute authorities in religious treatises lent confessionalizing policies their impetus and strength, but impoverished the scholarly public sphere and disrupted dialogue. This bleak picture of the age of confessional conflict, however, is contradicted by the political practice in the Duchy which set limits to orthodox intolerance. Printed treatises do not reveal the whole truth: Calvinist rulers could not impose their confession on the Lutheran country, nor did the Lutheran majority succeed in eradicating the Catholic minority. Everyday politics once more followed more consensual and pragmatic lines.

The analysis of the third and last public sphere—that of information or 'of all the people'—is methodologically the most problematic. 'Everybody' is a participant (through non-verbal communication such as church bells, the symbolism of the gallows, or pictorial material), illiterate and literate groups—with varying ability to absorb and pass on information. Forms of communication compare with those of

the previously discussed forms, whereby written information remains non-dominant, but of growing significance as times goes on. Körber stresses that in this public sphere, the assessment of the value of information has not changed much over the centuries. Now as in the sixteenth century, the novelty, the truth and the sensation value ('terror') of the news are decisive—not the degree of absolute (religious or other) authority to which it appeals, as is the case with information originating in the public sphere of education. For the public sphere 'of all', truth is established not by the authority of the Church Fathers or Aristotle, but by eye-witnesses and sensational experience. It is here that Körber is most convincing. The 'sphere of information', helped but not created by the development of the printing press as a new medium, always existed, but expanded throughout the centuries that followed the 'Gutenberg revolution', until it became the only public sphere recognized as legitimate today. Even the early modern readership of the 'information sphere' received its knowledge from newspapers and practical books advising on medical, economic, or other everyday matters. A German-Polish dictionary, for example, printed in the Duchy of Prussia in 1558, went through twelve editions by 1607. This is hardly a sign, as Körber suggests (p. 173), that Polish, unlike German, was not a language of controversy, and that theological literature in Polish served only preachers or schoolteachers, and was only used in the private sphere. Körber's assessment that 'non-German' national languages were of 'lesser public status' does not apply to Polish, which, unlike Lithuanian, was well established as a literary language in the sixteenth century. Several prominent nobles in the Duchy knew Polish or were bilingual, and the large number of dictionaries could not have been destined only for export because there was a considerable number of printing presses in Poland-Lithuania and Polish Prussia producing similar practical language aids which formed part of the 'public sphere of information'.

Körber concludes her study with a glance at the interrelations between the three public spheres. The last sphere expanded at the expense of the sphere of educated *personae publicae*, usually theologians. Their influence was increasingly replaced by an informed, but not necessarily highly educated, public, including also a female readership. The Achilles heel of this theory, however, may lie in its exaggerated emphasis on the leading theological disputants who alleged-

ly dominated the sphere of education. There is little information about the large and influential literature in public law, philosophy, medical subjects, and history. Secular education, at the secondary level (in the academic *Gymnasien*), seemingly has no role in this model of public spheres, yet it produced a non-religious élite and public, not all of whom adhered to the 'sphere of power'. The study would have benefited from a consideration of studies of education in the Reformation period, such as works by Gerald Strauss and Chris Friedrichs.

The book's greatest weakness, however, is its heavy reliance on outdated secondary works and old-fashioned interpretations of the history of Ducal Prussia. There is practically no reference to key Polish works (almost all provided with German summaries) based on extensive archival research on the political and social history of Ducal Prussia in the sixteenth century. Almost no account has been taken of the large body of scholarship produced by historians such as Janusz Mallek, Frantiszek Mincer, Barbara Janiszewska-Mincer, Igor Kakolewski, Jacek Wijaczka, Bogdan Wachowiak, and Andrzej Kamienski, to name but a few; instead Körber uses older works by Walter Hubatsch and his pupils, which remain strongly under the influence of the anti-Polish bias of German *Ostforschung*. Even Klaus Zernack, an eminent German historian who has published extensively on Prussian-Polish relations, is scarcely mentioned. This is most unfortunate, since Körber's clear attempt to fit Ducal Prussia into a wider context of communication—for example, between the Estates and Poland through regular Polish commissions in Königsberg—would have been much more convincing if she had also taken notice of the Polish dimension of the scholarship available on her topic.

Yet another issue raises doubts: the author's explanation for ending her study in 1618. The onset of the Thirty Years War and the recognition of the electoral line of the house of Brandenburg as hereditary rulers in the Duchy are perfectly good reasons for such a choice, but the statement that 'Ducal Prussia gave up independent policy-making after 1618 and was henceforth ruled by Berlin' (p. 31) needs to be challenged. Not only does it seem a strange lapse into the outdated paradigm of 'absolutism', which Körber is ready to dismiss elsewhere in the book, but to suggest that Ducal Prussia became a 'peripheral' territory for the Hohenzollern rulers and for European politics (pp. 31-2) is questionable, considering the crucial importance

it played in the elevation of the Hohenzollern dynasty to royal status in 1701. Frederick III's self-coronation would never have been tolerated by the Emperor had he merely been Elector of Brandenburg and not also Duke of Prussia. The Hohenzollerns would not have survived the Thirty Years War so relatively unscathed without the possession of the duchy, virtually untouched by the war. Consequently, the Electors of Brandenburg spent long periods of time in Königsberg, not in Berlin. Without the economic power of the duchy, and without the vital relationship with Poland which granted the Hohenzollern rulers sovereignty over the duchy in the treaties of Welawa/Wehlau and Bydgoszcz/Bromberg (1657), the proverbial 'rise of Prussia' would have been very different indeed. Contrary to Körber's perception, the Duchy of Prussia remained a key centre of European politics throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, be it during the Swedish-Polish wars (1655-60), the Great Northern War (1700-21), or the Seven Years War (1756-63), when it was occupied by Russia.

There are a few more minor points which need correction: there was no election diet in Poland in 1559 (p. 79); Polish magnates did not have the privilege *de non appellando* during Albrecht's rule, as this right was not fully established until 1579, when noble tribunals were introduced – which was after Albrecht's death in 1568 (p. 79); Elbing was not a 'Warmian city' (p. 354), but, like Danzig and Thorn, was subject directly to the Polish crown, with clearly defined control over its own territory and a seat and vote in the Polish Prussian dietine (*sejmik* or *Landtag*); Warmian cities had no voice in the Prussian dietine, but were represented only by the Warmian bishop, who presided over the *sejmik*.

On the whole, however, this is an impressive study, which truly lives up to its claim to interdisciplinarity. It ought to influence future teaching and research on the 'printing revolution', which should be renamed the 'communication revolution'. As Körber shows, it was not the means of communication, its forms and media, which marked the rise of a general public sphere 'of all' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but its success in replacing the dominant position of the 'public sphere of education' and its orthodox authorities.

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AXEL FLÜGEL, *Bürgerliche Rittergüter: Sozialer Wandel und politische Reform in Kursachsen (1680-1844*), Bürgertum: Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 304 pp. ISBN 3 525 35681 1. DM 78.00

Rarely has so much effort been devoted to refuting a piece of anecdotal evidence, but also rarely to such good effect as in Axel Flügel's study of bourgeois ownership of Saxon aristocratic estates. Flügel goes far beyond simply proving that a relatively minor detail has been persistently misinterpreted, to draw well-founded wider conclusions about the transition from early modern to modern society. The starting point is a remark by Heinrich von Treitschke that only fourteen of the 214 aristocratic fiefs (*Rittergüter*) in the Leipzig district with entitlement to sit in the Saxon diet remained in noble hands by 1817. Treitschke's argument was that the intrusion of Leipzig merchants into the rural property market had resulted in the majority of fiefs being held by commoners who were personally ineligible to sit in the knights' college in the diet. Treitschke used this as an example of the fossilization of old regime state and society, and to support his wider argument that only Prussia could emerge as the leader of a modern Germany. To subsequent historians, the Leipzig example seemed a striking illustration of how the aristocracy's hold on political power had been eaten away by dynamic social and economic change. Political reform looked inevitable as bourgeois property ownership removed the basis for aristocratic privilege.

There are three strands to the reappraisal of these arguments. The first analyses the legal position of fief holders and demonstrates both the complexity and flexibility of early modern arrangements. Fiefs were economic assets associated with feudal and political obligations and rights. As the elector of Saxony's vassals, fief holders were obliged to provide advice, military service, and carry out other feudal duties. While feudal law set certain restrictions on possession, it left considerable scope for vassals to make their own arrangements regarding sale, inheritance, and co-ownership of fiefs. Bourgeois ownership had been fully accepted since the sixteenth century and included all the associated privileges, including the hunting rights and lesser legal jurisdiction enjoyed by aristocratic estate owners. Commoners also enjoyed exemption from land tax which, far from being an ancient privilege, dated only from the sixteenth century and

was off-set by the trend towards commuting actual personal military service into cash payment. By contrast, political rights were limited to the aristocracy who, after 1700, had to prove four generations of noble birth to be eligible to sit in the diet. Membership was further restricted by the fact that only certain fiefs qualified for personal seats, while the others were represented indirectly by their owners electing a limited number of aristocratic deputies. Thus, Flügel is already able to demolish much of Treitschke's argument that bourgeois ownership alone was responsible for the decline in aristocratic dietines. While the nobility still held the majority of the estates with personal seats, many were ineligible to take them up because they either lacked the requisite aristocratic pedigree, or because they were below the minimum age of twenty-one, or because they were one of the significant minority of female vassals who were also disbarred from attending. Moreover, some bourgeois owners were already indirectly represented as owners of the lesser fiefs entitled to elect deputies, since although they could not stand as candidates, they were still enfranchised.

The second strand analyses the social composition of fief holders in the Leipzig district in six sample years: 1681, 1724, 1764, 1793, 1819, and 1844. In contrast to other studies which concentrate on aristocratic landownership, Flügel examines all owners, providing considerable insight into the development of the Saxon bourgeois élite, as well as the changing composition of the electorates' nobility. Contrary to the cliché, the 'Leipzig merchant' was a comparative rarity among the commoners who acquired fiefs, as the majority were civil administrators or professionals. Bourgeois ownership was already firmly established in the late seventeenth century, when commoners held twenty-nine of the fiefs in the Leipzig area. However, it became both more pronounced and more stable from the mid-eighteenth century, as individual families retained their land for longer periods, while collectively commoners came to hold eighty-eight fiefs by 1819. While their share steadily declined, the aristocracy none the less held on to the majority of the fiefs qualifying for personal seats. Individual families also held more land and displayed greater stability in their ownership than their bourgeois contemporaries. However, 'the conventional impression of the nobility residing for centuries in their family seats is misleading' (p. 52), since out of the 206 noble families resident in the Leipzig area at one time between 1681

and 1844, only five owned the same estates throughout. Moreover, the Saxon nobility remained a relatively open élite and included a growing proportion of recently ennobled families.

These conclusions further undermine Treitschke's thesis and provide the foundation for the third strand in Flügel's argument which examines the debates on political reform in Saxony after the Seven Years War. The approach shifts from the quantitative analysis of the main section of the book to an examination of the pamphlet literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This demonstrates the broad consensus between bourgeois owners and the newer nobility. Both groups wished to end the political monopoly of the old nobility, whilst retaining the privileges which came with their common possession of aristocratic estates. These demands became more vocal after 1793 and resulted in a series of gradual reforms which effectively ended the aristocracy's monopoly of seats in the diet by 1820. Far from embracing new, revolutionary political ideas, bourgeois pressure had helped modernize an early modern constitution without destroying the essentially hierarchical nature of society. A conservative model of 'bourgeois society' had been created with formal legal equality, whilst maintaining the pre-eminence of an estate-owning class over other social groups. These arrangements were entrenched through other political and legal reforms by 1855.

As well as providing a more subtle explanation of the political and social transformation in Saxony, Flügel makes an important point about early modern German society. Far from becoming increasingly rigid and brittle, early modern society proved extraordinarily resilient. This resilience lay in the nature of its legal arrangements which, by their very complexity, proved capable of absorbing and containing considerable change. Estate ownership offers an excellent illustration of this, as the thick web of feudal law permitted the emergence of practices ostensibly contrary to the whole basis of early modern society. It became perfectly legal for commoners and women to hold fiefs and enjoy privileges otherwise associated with the aristocratic function of personal military service; a task which they were formally disbarred from undertaking. This anomaly was reinforced by the aristocracy's embrace of the 'bourgeois freedom' of the free disposal of property which was also protected by the laws permitting flexible inheritance, sale, and transfer arrangements for their fiefs. The substantial growth of bourgeois ownership in the later

eighteenth century made it harder to reconcile these contradictions, but far from destroying the 'old order', the ensuing tensions merely forced its modification and adaptation to circumstances.

These arguments are impressive and persuasive, particularly as they are in line with other research into the functioning of early modern socio-legal arrangements. Some of this work is referred to by Flügel who offers some brief, but suggestive comparisons with the pattern of landownership elsewhere in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Germany. These indicate a degree of mobility within the Saxon estate-owning élite that was far higher than elsewhere. This difference is not really explained, nor are the changes in ownership that are charted throughout the book and its extensive appendices. The one reason that does emerge is the significance of the varied circumstances and different strategies of individual families which are discussed in considerable detail in the main body of the text. Altogether, this is a well-executed and lucidly presented piece of research which has an important point to make about the transition to the 'bourgeois society' of the nineteenth century.

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STEFAN-LUDWIG HOFFMANN, *Die Politik der Geselligkeit: Freimaurerlogen in der deutschen Bürgergesellschaft 1840-1918*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 141 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 425 pp. ISBN 3 525 35911 X. DM 68.00

The illustration on the cover of this book depicts a Masonic initiation rite from the mid-nineteenth century. The new member appears in profile, his torso half-naked, his eyes covered with a blindfold, standing at the foot of a dais from which the master, carrying a gavel and sword, inducts him into the lodge. Another Mason is about to remove the blindfold. When the new Mason turns around, he will see a room full of brothers wearing sashes and aprons marked with the symbol of the Masons—the square and compass. Already we get a sense of what fascinated the friends and enemies of Freemasonry alike—the secrecy, the sensuality, the sociability, the theatricality, the blending of artisanal, bourgeois, and aristocratic symbols. The text that follows identifies the meaning of these features, complete with their apparent eccentricities and contradictions, in the context of the nineteenth-century German bourgeoisie, in an analysis that more than lives up to the promise of its cover.

Although the continued target of fierce criticism, surprisingly little has been written on the Masons after the eighteenth century, apart from the work by Jacob Katz, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939* (1970) and several studies of individual lodges. One reason was practical: the Soviets seized the Masons' archives during the Second World War and severely limited access for historians. The author has been able to construct his study from these files, including some still in Moscow, as well as those of state ministries supervising the Masons, personal accounts of lodge life, and anti-Masonic literature.

Another reason for the oversight, Hoffmann points out, lies in the tendency of late modern historians to neglect institutions that had their heyday in the early modern period in favour of more obviously modern ones. Just as Ute Daniel and Ute Frevert showed that court theatre and duelling were not guillotined along with Louis XVI, Hoffmann makes a good case for the continued significance of Masons in the nineteenth century. Certainly, in numerical terms, the lodges were not all that impressive, increasing from 20,000 members in 1840 to just under 62,000 in 1914, and Hoffmann makes little effort to show how their members, who were drawn largely from the upper

bourgeoisie and included many industrialists, professionals, civil servants, and even monarchs, such as Emperor William I, applied Masonic values in their professional lives. Yet as an alternative model of social organization, or simply as a model of organization, the Masons continued to captivate contemporaries. As far as Hoffmann is concerned, the real interest lies in how the lodges grappled with problems that faced the bourgeoisie as a whole—how to maintain moral leadership and exclusivity in a society whose moral standards seemed to be descending to that of the lowest common denominator and whose demands for inclusion were ever gaining strength. For the Masons, who combined an abstract sympathy for humanity as a whole with a commitment to social élitism, the challenge was particularly acute.

The three sections of the book examine different aspects of this tension. Part One investigates the political dimension of the lodges, their admission policies, and their relationships with government. Part Two explores life within the lodges under the headings of sociability, fraternity, and *Bildung*. Part Three returns to political questions with an analysis of the complex relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism within the lodges. Throughout, Hoffmann relies heavily on the records of lodges in Breslau and Leipzig, two cities that had embraced Freemasonry relatively early, in 1741. Quite different in political outlook and internal practices, the lodges of Breslau and Leipzig, located in Prussia and Saxony respectively, testify to the enormous variation in Masonry. The author shows that the character of their lodges was a function both of the economic profile of the cities and of the political traditions of their states. As an administrative, manufacturing, and trade city in a state that supervised all associations scrupulously, Breslau's lodges had a large civil service membership and reacted cautiously to demands for reform. By contrast, the lodges of the trade and publishing city of Leipzig, well used to visitors of all hues, in a state that was more tolerant of political debate, were at the forefront of efforts to simplify Masonic rituals and open up membership to marginal groups.

Such differences became very obvious as demands for more democratic structures and practices both inside and outside the lodges grew, especially from the decade before the 1848 revolutions. Hoffmann argues that these demands posed a fundamental challenge to Masonry that even the liberal lodges could not answer satis-

factorily. Apart from a brief flirtation with radical politics during the revolution, liberal lodges preferred gradual and limited change and clung to the principle of discriminatory admission procedures, while allowing the membership base to be broadened in certain directions. High membership dues, as well as an insistence on independence, easily excluded the lower classes. Unfortunately, we get little sense of the attitudes of workers, or even their socialist leaders, to the anti-democratic practices of the Masons, or even the irony of appropriating artisanal symbols while excluding artisans. Liberal and conservative Masons alike steadfastly avoided the implications of political and social change outside the lodges. The original justification for exclusivity—the pervasive eye of the state and the strict socio-legal division of society—became increasingly untenable in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless Masons continued to insist that the lodges served an important function as private spaces reserved for the cultivation of the moral character necessary for public life, thus leaving themselves open to the accusation of straightforward social élitism. Their persistent commitment to secrecy at a time when their rituals and practices had been leaked to the public can also be explained by an ordinary desire to feel special.

Hoffmann uses the obvious test case of attitudes to Jews to highlight the practical limitations of the Masons' professed love of humanity. Jews were admitted only exceptionally as visitors in the eighteenth century, from the 1840s as regular members initially by liberal lodges only, and generally with great reluctance towards the end of the century. The impetus was provided less by a commitment to tolerance than the expectations created by legal emancipation, achieved in Prussia in 1812 and Saxony in 1831. Internal debates about the admission of Jews to the lodges illustrate effectively the difficulties of both conservatives and liberals in accepting Jews as Jews. Here Hoffmann echoes the findings of Uriel Tal many years before.[1] Whereas Christianity was perceived as valid for all of humanity, Judaism was viewed as an exclusive faith and thus incompatible with universal love. Conservatives were more suspicious of secularized Jews, liberals of religious ones. Even when liberals endorsed admission, they expected Jews to abandon their distinctiveness. In yet

[1] *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870-1914* (1975).

another disappointment for Jews, the universalist ethos of Masonry, which had so impressed them originally, especially those of the majority reform movement, proved wanting.

For most German historians, the account of the relationship between Catholics and Masons will be less predictable, although again it reflects the broader trend. Here the question of Catholic membership was not a function of lodge statutes but of Catholic-Protestant relations. A majority of German Masons were Protestant, lodges being at their most dense in the northern and middle states, weakest in the south and (officially) absent from the Habsburg Empire as per a ruling of 1801. Catholics with the necessary credentials, including priests, often joined lodges in Catholic regions in the early part of the century. Hoffmann cites a Mason who suggested a link between the lodges and the *Deutschkatholiken*, but fails to elaborate on this point (p. 71). It would be interesting to know how Freemasonry shaped attitudes to issues such as celibacy, feminism, and dogma, although the link may not be sustainable in light of the different regional basis of the *Deutschkatholiken*, who were strongest in the south-west.

The author is even-handed in showing the part played by both Catholics and Protestants in the growing disinclination of Catholics to join lodges in the second half of the century. Echoing the work of Thomas Mergel, he shows that the triumph of ultramontanism, and more particularly, the Catholic Church's Anti-Masonic campaign, made it increasingly difficult for Catholics to remain members. Catholic Masons, like most of the Catholic bourgeoisie, when forced to choose, opted for mainstream Catholicism, with the result that Catholic lodge members were reduced to an anti-ultramontane rump. While not the first to pinpoint the origins of the theory of a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy in the writings of Catholics during the 1848 revolutions, Hoffmann throws up some interesting ironies for readers familiar with both sides of the heated inter-confessional discourse of the nineteenth century. Catholic claims of Masonic subversion of the state, sexual excesses, and effeminacy have obvious parallels with those of Protestants against Catholics, especially the Masons' supposed opposite, Jesuits. He also shows that Catholics were becoming less welcome in the lodges and gives some credence to Bishop Ketteler's view that the Protestant Association (*Protestantenverein*), founded in 1864 by Johann Caspar Bluntschli, was the

public voice of the Masons on confessional questions. Certainly, the venom with which Bluntschli and his followers condemned alleged Catholic fanaticism, backwardness, and immorality must have made Catholic Masons feel very uncomfortable indeed. The discrepancy between the Masons' claims to stand above confessional divisions and their Protestant ethos provided further ammunition for Catholic propagandists.

It is easy to be patronising towards men who were so blind to their own contradictions, but, to his credit, the author adopts a measured tone. He allows the reader to see the idealism of his subjects as well as the real limits of their approach. Motives for joining the lodges ranged from a desire for social prestige and business contacts to an interest in self-cultivation, an alternative experience of the metaphysical, and philanthropy. Believing that industrial society had encouraged materialism and self-indulgence, some Masons stepped outside the lodges to lend their support to moral reform movements against alcoholism and *Schmutz und Schund* literature. Hoffmann sees the same idealism in their attitude to international relations. German Masons, he tells us, advocated a love of humanity while at the same time believing that their own nation was superior because it possessed this love to the fullest degree. He goes too far, however, in using the discourse of Masons such as Fichte and Bluntschli to mount a challenge against writings on nationalism which view cosmopolitanism and nationalism as incompatible. Certainly, one must be wary of crude accounts of a descent from eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism to nineteenth-century nationalism as a prelude to twentieth-century barbarism, but why is the discrepancy between claims of universalism and the reality of national chauvinism any less problematic than that between supra-confessionalism and anti-Catholicism? Hoffmann admits that this claim became increasingly hollow over the course of the century, as evident in the turn towards *völkisch* nationalism and Francophobia from 1870 to 1918, but one wonders why it should be taken so seriously in the earlier part of the century.

One should not underestimate the challenge of identifying how Masonic values changed over time. While the testaments of Masons themselves provide answers to many practical and political questions, the rituals and language they employed may be more revealing for more abstract matters such as sociability and masculinity. In this case, the historian can either focus on changes in the product itself or

in its reception. Hoffmann chooses the latter. He is quick to point to the changing meaning of words such as love, which early in the century corresponded perfectly to the Masons' perceptions of their relations with one another, but later became associated with what was widely seen as the sexual perversion of homosexuality. We learn little about how the rituals and language of the lodges changed over time, however. It is unclear to what extent lodge life was shaped by holdovers from the eighteenth century or innovations of the nineteenth. Perhaps this failure is responsible for a certain confusion in establishing the relationship of the lodges to their time. Hoffmann seems to suggest that the lodges continued the blending of occultism and rationalism that he identified as typical of the eighteenth century, without explaining whether that blending became less attractive in the nineteenth. Some reflections on the links between Masonry and the later occult movement would complement his otherwise illuminating account of Masonic religiosity. It would also be interesting to investigate how the exoticism of the lodge shaped real encounters between Germans and foreigners, especially in the colonies, although the book cannot be faulted for leaving this question aside.

As it is, the study provides plenty of points to interest to historians of a wide range of topics—the bourgeoisie, masculinity, Jews, Catholics, liberalism, conservatism—as well as illuminating broader phenomena such as the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, ideas and practice, reason and play. As a study of *Geselligkeit*, it encourages scepticism about the claims of Tocqueville and more recently, Robert Putnam, about the virtues of associational life. The history of Masons suggests that it takes more than associations to make a democracy.

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ULRIKE KIRCHBERGER, *Aspekte deutsch-britischer Expansion: Die Überseeinteressen der deutschen Migranten in Großbritannien in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, 73 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 508 pp. ISBN 3 515 07439 2. DM 166.00

The historiography of Germans in Britain begins with the publication of Karl Heinrich Schaible's *Geschichte der Deutschen in England* in 1885. The next two significant books, Ian Colvin's *The Germans in England, 1066-1598* (1915) and C. R. Hennings's *Deutsche in England* (1923) essentially present the differing positions on the presence of Germans in British history informed by the mass hysteria of the First World War, which threw up extremes of Germanophobia and Germanophilia. Whereas Colvin saw the Germans as an alien group undermining Britain, Hennings viewed them as a minority which had endured extreme persecution. After the hatreds of the First World War had faded away, significant studies of Germans in Britain did not begin to appear again until the 1960s when C. C. Aronsfeld, who had fled the Nazis, produced a range of important articles on the history of German Jews. This theme took off during the 1980s when several books appeared on Jewish and other refugees from the Third Reich. Rosemary Ashton's study of the exiles from the 1848 revolutions, published in 1986, also deserves mention. By the 1990s the subject of Germans in British history had established itself. Other studies have appeared on more specific areas, including this reviewer's own works on the nineteenth century and the First World War, and Werner Mosse's monumental edited book *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom* (1991).

It is against this background that we should examine Ulrike Kirchberger's published Ph.D. thesis. The title initially seems rather surprising, although the contents pages reveal that she covers a large range of groups involved in any manner of activities, from transmigrants to refugees to utopian socialists to businessmen. The range of the topics she studies certainly deserves praise. Her approach is highly commendable because the Germans in nineteenth-century Britain certainly did not, like most immigrant minorities, represent a monolithic mass. In her introductory chapters Kirchberger outlines the state of play in the historiography of Germans in Britain, as well as looking at some interpretations of ethnicity and assimilation. Despite this foray into theory, the volume essentially consists of an empirical

narrative. Some of the themes the author covers at the beginning of the book receive attention in the main text. For instance, throughout the book she stresses the fact that Germans had much admiration for the British Empire and that many of those who came to Britain used it to further their own international interests. Kirchberger also rejects the argument that structural factors played the major role in pushing people towards Britain. She asserts that small groups of Germans migrated to Britain for their own reasons. She focuses upon the attractions of Britain rather than the push factors in Germany, which seems appropriate in the case of the groups she tackles. During the course of her study Kirchberger examines the ways in which Germans and Britons interacted with each other, which represents the main thematic strength of the book.

Another real strength lies in the range of groups which she studies. As mentioned above, Germans in nineteenth-century Britain certainly did not form a unified community, but were divided especially along social and religious lines. In view of the title of the book, however, Kirchberger essentially concentrates on different groups of middle and upper-class people. The lower sections of society remain essentially, but not completely, absent. In fact, she has an excellent chapter on transmigrants. This examines their importance amongst the Germans in Britain during the middle of the nineteenth century. She deals with both German and British reaction to the presence of these people in the country, as well as looking at their social life and the mechanics of their migration.

Kirchberger devotes much attention to the evolution of projects amongst Germans living in Britain for the development of areas in British colonies for the settlement of their countrymen leaving Germany. This receives contextualization in the general concern about German emigration which circulated during the middle of the nineteenth century. She argues in her introduction that the attractions of Britain for many Germans consisted in the fact that, unlike Germany, Britain represented an advanced, unified state with its own Empire, which could act as a substitute for German overseas territories. The long chapter entitled ‘Die Auswanderungsprojekte der deutschen Migranten in Großbritannien’ covers a variety of ideas for the settlement of Germans overseas. These include the Tropical Emigration Society established by John Adolphus Etzler and Conrad F. Stollmeyer, whose purpose was to found a utopian

paradise where the amount of work colonists would need to carry out would be limited because of the use of wind, wave, and solar power. Kirchberger also discusses those socialists amongst the 1848 exiles who saw the way forward as an escape from Europe and the establishment of socialist colonies in territories beyond the Continent. The final section of this long chapter examines the Ecuador Land Company.

The fifth chapter of the book, entitled 'Die Nutzung der überseeischen Infrastruktur Großbritanniens durch spezielle Interessengruppen unter den deutschen Migranten', covers a range of groups and is written in a slightly more lively style than the previous chapter. The first section deals with businessmen. It tackles the reasons for their migration, their economic activities, and their social life. Kirchberger has a good section on their position in British society, which could, however, have been more detailed. She also has a few pages on each of four businessmen, Alexander Kleinwort, Johann Heinrich Schröder, Friedrich Hart, and Nikolas Trübner. The section on Schröder totals less than one page with no footnotes. In contrast, the less important Kleinwort, Hart, and Trübner attract lengthier sketches. Kirchberger also has a short section on the involvement of Germans with British overseas investment, which is the point of their inclusion in this chapter. The chapter then moves on to consider German missionaries, Orientalists, and other researchers, especially natural scientists, who used Britain as a base and travelled to its colonies for their fieldwork. Once again, Kirchberger examines the interaction between these people and British society.

The chapter on 'Der Preußische Gesandte Christian Carl Josiah Freiherr von Bunsen als Vermittler zwischen preußisch-deutschen Überseeinteressen und dem britischen Freihandsimperialismus', is slightly broader than the title suggests because Kirchberger essentially looks at all aspects of Bunsen's influence on relations between Germans in Britain and the society to which they had moved. The final chapter, 'Der Deutsche National-Verein in Großbritannien und seine Weltreichsvorstellungen', examines, as its title suggests, the view of one of the leading German organizations in mid-nineteenth century Britain towards everything including Britain and German settlements throughout the world. The author makes much use of the liberal London-based German newspaper, *Hermann*, both in this chapter and throughout the book.

There is little doubt that Kirchberger has produced an important study on the history of Germans in Britain during the middle of the nineteenth century. The volume has both weaknesses and strengths. The main weakness is its length—508 pages for the history of a few thousand people over the course of a few decades. The author's case is not helped by her rather dry style. On the other hand, Kirchberger has used a wide range of both German and British sources. Her bibliography indicates that she spent much time in archives in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Berlin, Coburg, Marburg, Oxford, and Windsor, for royal correspondence, although her footnotes indicate that she has primarily relied on contemporary printed sources. Her most important archival materials include papers in the state archives in Karlsruhe, which hold documents from ambassadors of Baden in London during the nineteenth century. This proved to be of particular importance because Baden was the area of origin of many of the Germans, especially transmigrants, in Britain during the 1840s and 1850s. This is a work of true scholarship, which sheds new light on the history of Germans in Britain, especially the middle classes, by examining their outlook on the world and the way in which they used the British Empire to their advantage.

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THOMAS ALBERT HOWARD, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism: W. M. L. de Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-Century Historical Consciousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), xi + 250 pp. ISBN 0 521 65022 4. £30.00. $US 49.95

Some works on the history of historiography are innovative and take the subject forward; others sum up the existing state of research. Peter Hanns Reill's *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (1975) is an example of the former, as is Daniel Fulda's *Wissenschaft aus Kunst: Die Entstehung der modernen deutschen Geschichtsschreibung 1760-1860* (1996). The book by Howard under review here, by contrast, is clearly an example of the latter. Its two main concerns are to reconstruct the intellectual world of W. M. L. de Wette (1780-1849), and to ask why J. Burckhardt (1818-97) gave up his theological studies and turned to history instead. The title suggests something fundamental, but, to anticipate, the book does not fulfil the aims the author sets himself.

The Protestant theologian de Wette was influential in both the German and the English language area, and in his own lifetime was considered one of the most significant theologians of the age. Since then, however, he has largely been forgotten. The entries under his name in the dictionary *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* reflect this trend. They become shorter and shorter (1910, vol. 2, pp. 3-5; 2nd edn 1927, vol. 1, pp. 1902-3.; 3rd edn 1958, vol. 2, pp. 158-9), until finally, in the fourth edition of 1999, there is no entry under 'de Wette' at all. The same applies to the *Theologenlexikon* edited by Wilfried Härle and Harald Wagner (1987). None the less, the British Old Testament scholar John Rogerson has written a comprehensive intellectual biography[1]—a work to which Howard clearly owes a much greater debt than his sparse references suggest (pp. ix, 26, 35, 41, 57, 195, and *passim*). This becomes clear when we look at the question of the surveillance of de Wette in the context of the persecution of demagogues, or at his attempt at intellectual self-reassurance by working on the semi-autobiographical *Theodor*.[2]

[1] *W. M. L. de Wette, Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism: An Intellectual Biography* (Sheffield, 1992).

[2] Cf. Rogerson, pp. 147-59 and 165-80 with Howard, pp. 72-7 or 29-33 and 61-70.

Whatever the case, Howard provides a good summary of de Wette's intellectual development. The significance of de Wette's great models, such as Herder (pp. 25 ff.) is discussed in relation to him, his relationship with important contemporaries to whose theories he devoted a great deal of work, such as David Friedrich Strauss (esp. pp. 93 ff. and *passim*) and Schleiermacher (pp. 54 ff.), is elucidated, and, finally, his most important positions are succinctly and vividly presented. Moreover Howard, like Rogerson before him, largely follows the stations of de Wette's outer life (schooling in Weimar 1796-9; student and professorial candidate in Jena 1799-1807; professor in Heidelberg 1807-10; professor in Berlin 1810-19; Weimar period 1819-22; professor in Basle 1822-49); this allows him to point up continuities and breaks. De Wette's crucial experience of losing his Berlin professorship is plausibly explained in terms of a unique mix of orthodox ideological and political reasons (pp. 71-6; cf. Rogerson, pp. 150 ff.). Wette's letter of condolence to the mother of Karl Ludwig Sand,[3] who murdered Kotzebue, sealed his fate. In it, he described Sand's deed, although illegal, as a 'beautiful sign of the times'.

Discussion of de Wette accounts for about three quarters of the text. Howard usefully sums up de Wette's system of categories. For de Wette, religious belief and the individual experience of an 'inkling' (*Ahnung*) could not completely replace original research, but they could be disciplined by knowledge with a secure empirical grounding in historical research (Howard, pp. 43 ff.).[4]

Most of the rest of the book deals with Jacob Burckhardt's time as a student, which has been widely treated in the literature.[5] Howard

[3] Reproduced in Ernst Staehelin (ed.), *Dewettiana* (Basle, 1956), pp. 85-7.

[4] Cf. W. M. L. de Wette, *Theodor oder des Zweiflers Weihe: Bildungsgeschichte eines evangelischen Geistlichen* (Berlin, 1822), i. p. 85: 'The view of life spread over all nature—of all individual life swallowed up in the universal life, the subsuming (*Verschlingung*) of all finite things in the infinite—suited our friend well, as he recognized here a feeling which had often seized him in the contemplation of nature. He had however always before held it as poetry. But now is was to be taken as science (*Wissenschaft*).'

[5] See, in general, Werner Kaegi, *Jacob Burckhardt: Eine Biographie* (Basle, 1947), esp. i. pp. 387 ff.; Felix Gilbert, 'Jacob Burckhardt's Student Years: The Road to Cultural History', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 47 (1986), pp. 259-74; Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Alteuropa und moderner Welt: Jacob Burckhardt in seiner Zeit* (Göttingen, 1974), pp. 96 ff.

has also recently published an essay on 'Jacob Burckhardt, Religion, and the Historiography of "Crisis" and "Transition"',[6] in which he argues that there was a close correlation between Burckhardt's subjective life experience, and the topics he researched and the interpretative models he used. Burckhardt's personal emotional-religious crisis resulting from his rejection of traditional religious ideas corresponded to his discovery of the Renaissance as a period of transition wracked by crisis. Howard brings out well the influence of de Wette in this process of transformation or self-discovery; of course, he can draw on crystal clear statements by Burckhardt himself (pp. 129 ff.).[7] While this complex is mostly well known,[8] Howard is able to add nuances. In fact, his book presents a good summary of the state of research, even if this is not how he sees it. Only a small part of it contains interesting, detailed research. He sees his essay and the relevant passages in the book under review as making a significant contribution to research on Burckhardt, but more for an English readership than for historians of historiography who are familiar with the original texts. Howard's study is well presented for an English readership: all quotations are translated into English, while important terms are also given in the original German in brackets.

Yet the main title of the book holds out a promise which the book ultimately does not keep. Howard refers in passing (pp. 13, 141, 212-13) to one of the two essays which are directly relevant to his question, and which one would have expected him to deal with extensively, namely, Wolfgang Hardtwig's pioneering 'Geschichtsreligion—Wissenschaft als Arbeit—Objektivität: Der Historismus in neuer Sicht',[9] in which he coins the term *Geschichtsreligion*. Hardtwig shows that German historicism explicitly and deliberately merged religion and *Wissenschaft* (science or scholarship); the key point is the typically historicist notion of the *Historische Ideenlehre*. Jörn Rüsen's 'Historische Methode und religiöser Sinn—Vorüberlegungen zu einer Dialektik der Rationalisierung des historischen Denkens in der

[6] *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 60 (1999), pp. 149-64.

[7] Cf., e.g., Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe*, ed. Max Burckhardt (Basle, 1949), i. pp. 84-5.

[8] In this context cf. also Ernst Walter Zeeden, 'Die Auseinandersetzung des jungen Jacob Burckhardt mit Glaube und Christentum', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 178 (1954), pp. 493-514, esp. 497 ff.

[9] *Historische Zeitschrift*, 252 (1991), pp. 1-32.

Moderne',[10] too, is directly relevant for Howard's topic. Rüsen's essay deals with the complex relationship between methodization as one of the most important factors in the process of progressive scientification, and the value of meaning potential (Howard, pp. 14-16).

Early modern biblical exegesis reveals the problem of methodization in sharp focus: methodical and critical historicization deprives the holy texts of their religious sense. They gain historical contingency and empirical facticity, but lose their religious significance. To subject the Bible to source criticism deprives the scriptures of their holiness and demystifies them, reducing them to statements about something that actually happened in the past. They no longer bear the weight of the religious significance that made them historically interesting. Thus it is clear that de Wette and Burckhardt were not outsiders in addressing this fundamental problem, but representative of the academic climate of their time. To look at them in the context of a history of historiography is therefore interesting first because they suffered personally from this insight—the dilemma was directly expressed in their biographies and an important part of their scholarly work consisted of developing specific strategies to address it—and secondly because both were, and still are, influential in the subject. Given this, it is surprising that in one place Howard describes de Wette as merely a 'secondary theologian' (p. 5), although this does not follow from his own findings. By contrast, on the final pages of his book, he justifies his interest in Burckhardt as follows: 'His rejection of Christian orthodoxy (his father), liberal theology (de Wette), and modern philosophy (Hegel) placed him in a singular and negative position in relation to the dominant outlooks of his time' (p. 168). The notion of a 'singular position', however, is highly questionable. It is based on a generalization which, in my opinion, is not tenable.

Howard quite clearly believes that essential transformation processes in society and the history of ideas did not happen until the nineteenth century, and draws on both of his heroes and the term 'historicism' for evidence. However, I find Reinhart Koselleck's thesis of a *Sattelzeit* more convincing. According to this, the crucial shifts happened at the beginning of the last third of the eighteenth century.

[10] In Wolfgang Küttler *et al.* (eds), *Geschichtsdiskurs* (Frankfurt / M., 1994), ii. pp. 344-77.

And Burckhardt's biography is not so unusual, as a glance at the careers of those who became professors of history between 1700 and 1900 reveals: a majority of professional historians had once been students of theology.[11] This is a complex process of secularization or de-theologization, but it has nothing to do with atheism. On the contrary, it concerns the permeation of other areas of life by genuinely religious sentiment. One expression of this understanding is the conceptualization of individual belief in the specific form of a 'private religion';[12] a later expression was the notion of a *Geschichtsreligion.* Burckhardt was not an isolated case.

Howard writes fluently, and the numerous quotations from de Wette are rendered in good English translations. The structure of Howard's argument is always clear, and he often points it out explicitly (for example, pp. 9-11, 25, 34, 42, 86 etc.). However, a number of bibliographical errors are annoying. While the essay by Rüsen referred to above is quoted in the footnotes (pp. 174, 176, 177), it does not appear in the bibliography. Instead, a non-existent three-volume *Grundzüge des Historismus* is attributed to him (p. 237). Probably what is meant is Rüsen's trilogy on *Historik*: *Historische Vernunft*, *Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit*, and *Lebendige Geschichte.* And on p. 231 a *Geschichte des Historismus* (1992) is listed as being by Georg Iggers, Friedrich Jaeger, and Rüsen. This does not exist in this form. The book in question is by Jaeger and Rüsen, and ironically, Iggers has been one of the harshest critics of this particular account.[13]

Howard chose to use the term 'historicism' in his title, and this attracts special attention. Over the last five years, no fewer than four volumes of collected essays looking at the problems associated with this term from different angles have been published,[14] as well as numerous monographs and collections of essays or important articles

[11] Cf. Horst Walter Blanke 'Historiker als Beruf', in id. and Dirk Fleischer, *Aufklärung und Historik* (Waltrop, 1991), pp. 248-67.

[12] See Gottfried Hornig, *Johann Salomo Semler: Studien zu Leben und Werk des Hallenser Aufklärungstheologen* (Tübingen, 1996), pp. 180-94.

[13] 'Historisches Denken im 19. Jahrhundert. Überlegungen zu einer Synthese', in *Geschichtsdiskurs* (Frankfurt / M., 1997), iii. pp. 459-70.

[14] *Die Epoche der Historisierung*, vol. 3 of the conference series *Geschichtsdiskurs* (see above); Otto Gerhard Oexle and Jörn Rüsen (eds), *Historismus in den Kulturwissenschaften: Geschichtskonzepte, historische Einschätzungen, Grundlagenprobleme* (Cologne, 1996); Wolfgang Bialas and Gérard Raulet (eds), *Die Histo-*

by individual authors. It is a characteristic of the term 'historicism' that it cannot easily be defined. If we attempt to sum up the various, often ambiguous significations of 'historicism', the result would be as follows: the concept refers to the fundamental meaning of history and historical thinking for all social and cultural expressions of human life. Depending on which point of view is taken, the significance and value of what is known, in academic jargon, as 'historicism' shifts considerably. The term 'historicism' has been used in the academic discourse as a technical term to refer to things as diverse as a particular methodology in the cultural sciences, a theory of historical knowledge, a specific interpretation of history, a certain world view, and a particular (historical) philosophical concept. Each of these different interpretations stresses different aspects of a complex problem area, and some of the individual interpretations are mutually exclusive. This is the case when value connotations are attached to the term 'historicism'. Depending on whether the impact of history on human life is, in general, welcomed, simply stated, or rejected, a positive, largely neutral, or a pejorative value is attributed to the concept of historicism.

In his introductory chapter, Howard addresses the problem of definitions (pp. 12-17). Essentially, he distinguishes two forms of historicism: the 'classical historicism' of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as defined by Friedrich Meinecke and Iggers, and an independent type, 'crisis historicism', as identified by Troeltsch, which primrily addresses the problem of value relativism. In Howard's usage, 'historicism' refers both to a period in the history of the discipline which is now over, and a problematic situation in the theory of the subject. This is not unusual. Indeed, it is a basic aspect of every work on the history of historiography.[15] But Howard's central argument – 'simply put, in the 1830s Burckhardt experienced (as an emotional-religious crisis) precisely what Troeltsch described in the 1920s (as an intellectual inevitability)' (p. 13) is questionable in both senses of the word.

rismusdebatte in der Weimarer Republik (Frankfurt / M., 1996); and finally, Gunter Scholtz (ed.), *Historismus am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine internationale Diskussion* (Berlin, 1997).

[15] In this context cf. also Horst Walter Blanke, *Historiographiegeschichte als Historik* (Stuttgart, 1991).

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GABRIELE CLEMENS, *Britische Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949: Literatur, Film, Musik und Theater*, Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 24 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997), 308 pp. ISBN 3 515 06830 9. DM 124.00

This book—the author's *Habilitation* thesis—offers a comprehensive survey of British cultural policy in Germany after the Second World War based on a broad account of cultural identity in Britain itself. Gabriele Clemens starts and ends her analysis by addressing current research, hypotheses, and leading questions. Her study claims to offer the reader innovative insights into the character of British cultural policy in Germany, which, she argues, must be seen firstly in the context of overall occupation policy planning and its realization between 1942-3 and 1949-55 and, more broadly, against the backdrop of Britain's declining power status. The ensuing character of British cultural activities in defeated Germany as 'a substitute for power' ('Machtersatzpolitik') is seen as one of the basic building blocks of culture in the British Zone.

The methodology, built on a firm set of theses based on empirical evidence offered in the book's eight chapters, is reliable and transparent, albeit predictable and less than dynamic. These theses are based on Clemens's conviction that British cultural policy was an integral part of occupation policy planning in general. This idea can be, and is, proven satisfactorily in a technical sense: planning took place from 1942 to 1943 and the author shows that the implementation was more London-initiated than other historians give credit for. However, Clemens fails to spell out an overarching thesis of the nature of British occupation policy. Her own analysis of cultural policy could have lent itself to this much needed wider interpretation. Admittedly, she advances the principle of 'indirect rule' as a guiding measure, which, with certain qualifications, is also relevant for the political and legal aspect of occupation policy, and supplements it with projections of self-interest on the British side.

This question of the overall drift of British occupation policy in Germany is indeed a difficult and elusive one. In an attempt to endow British occupation policy with vision and moral underpinning, it can be interpreted as a failed exercise in colonial-style occupation. This is a sobering thought, but offers the advantage of according with documented traditions of 'indirect rule', such as early

employment of trusted 'native functionaries', and a 'common sense' attitude to political re-education, economic reconstruction, and future ties with the occupied country in trade and cultural exchange. Flexibility and a certain degree of fragmentation were virtues, not drawbacks, in this concept. Less preoccupied with their role as denazifiers, political and economic deconstructionists, and demilitarizers than their American and Russian counterparts, the British, broadly speaking, pursued all their occupation policies with a calculated reserve and self-interest. Clemens's analysis would provide ample material to support this overarching hypothesis.

Of primary importance is her belief that the so-called 'Projection of Britain' was at the centre of all British cultural policy. This approach entailed the presentation of British traditions and society as a model for post-war Germany. In a closely argued and highly informative chapter she takes this view back to the late nineteenth century and identifies the 'back-to-the-country' élite mentality that was so widespread in the inter-war years. Simultaneously, the enthusiasm in intellectual circles for the 'Russian experiment' also contributed to long-term influences on British cultural policy, embedded in a general reluctance to forego the wartime alliance in other matters.

The crucial role of these privileged intellectuals in formulating and implementing cultural policy for post-war Germany becomes apparent in this study, although it omits the role played by refugees from Nazism in helping the British discover their own past and present cultural heritage (the Warburg Institute and Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of Britain* series are but two examples). At the outset, Clemens rightly identifies the historically evolved 'élite-for-élite' approach underlying British cultural activities in post-war Germany, but does not place the widespread negative image of industry in the wider context of unemployment, strikes (notably the General Strike of May 1926), and the decline of staple industries. These problems, largely played down by the conservative Baldwin administrations, contributed to the anachronistic upper-class view of 'Bertie Wooster's England' which prevailed among the élite. However, the incipient disillusionment with this slightly outdated concept, which found its way into occupation policy, is discussed as an important departure for the young Oxford and Cambridge graduates who later became involved in formulating British policy in Germany. Con O'Neill is deservedly pointed out as a prime example of this group.

Clemens goes on to show that British censorship of German cultural activities in areas such as book production and promotion, the film industry (70 per cent of all cinemas in the Western Zones were under British control), and drama and music programming—all crucial in British estimation—was unobtrusive yet effective, following the general principle of 'indirect rule' which also underlay other areas of occupation policy. While no prohibitive 'black lists' were issued, for instance, to libraries, a monitoring process recorded the weeding-out of objectionable titles at local level. Likewise, positive initiatives for translating British works were put into place early on, supplemented by contracts with German publishers to bring out translations of pro-democracy classical and contemporary works. (For the George Bernard Shaw copyright, for instance, see FO 937/117.) Rather than 'anti-foreigner', this policy was 'pro-British', as the author convincingly shows. The numerous branches of *Die Brücke* (The Bridge) were a particular highlight. They provided much-frequented centres encouraging a new, post-Nazi outlook among the younger generation, while promoting Britain in their programmes. Firmly anchored in mass public memory, their successors, the British Council branches, have only recently come under threat because of ubiquitous cuts in cultural spending. Addressing the wider background to this approach, Clemens stresses the dominant role of the Foreign Office, and especially Con O'Neill, in the development of this liberal and democratic policy supporting German awareness of Nazi literature and its pernicious role. At the micro-level of local life, on the other hand, there is evidence that a few publishers lost their licences because of their lists, and that paper distribution, so vital for the establishment of a post-war publishing house, remained firmly under British control for a relatively long time. (The late de-regulation from 1948 is documented in, for instance, Public Record Office Kew, FO 1013/1529.)

The picture, accurately painted in broad brushstrokes by the author, leaves interesting facets still to be filled in. Were there differences in implementation between towns and rural districts, and did old connections with British publishers and authors inform licensing procedures? In short, did the rather positive image of pre-Nazi Germany, which underlay efforts to cleanse it from influences since 1933, translate into concrete, practical relationships with Germany's 'movers and shakers' in the cultural sphere? A little analysed topic in

this context is the early emphasis on religious publication in British proposals and approvals for printing. Paper regulation, too, was arranged to favour the printing of bibles and other essential religious publications. (See, for instance, Public Record Office, FO 1013/2136 (1946/47).)

A close correlation with general denazification would help to place the contradictions of British cultural policy within the overall context of British occupation guidelines in north-west Germany. A case in point is the publishing house of Bertelsmann. Heinrich Mohn, its director, was successfully established in March 1946 despite having lied on his *Fragebogen*, the questionnaire issued to all Germans to determine their stance *vis-à-vis* Nazism. Early delegation of responsibility to the Germans in the denazification process also covered the cultural sector from 1946, which shared all the shortcomings of an inter-Allied measure to eradicate Nazism.

From 1945 to 1950, British cultural policy in Germany had been devised and implemented in London and the British Zone. From 1950, British control of the German media effectively ceased with the Allied High Commission's Law No. 5. However, Britiain's role in Germany's cultural development continued. The Cultural Relations Division and the Educational Adviser (later the Cultural Adviser) concentrated on the positive side of the 'Projection of Britain', which found practical expression, for instance, in the first exhibition of British painting in Germany since 1905. Not surprisingly, it took place in the *Kunsthalle* of the Anglophile City of Hamburg.

Clemens's detailed study opens up possibilities for integrating her findings with other aspects of British occupation policy. The shift to a conciliatory attitude, early apparent in the cultural sector, is mirrored, for instance, in the legal area. Exchanges for young law students were organized in the late 1940s between Germany and London. But the decisive early months and years of occupation also deserve to be seen from the vantage point of a more multi-faceted approach. The unobtrusive dominance of long-term political considerations in the widest sense, which set the pace in all areas, including culture, jurisdiction, public health, and education, to name but a few, could lead to an empirically founded assessment of British occupation policy as a whole. The role of the Cold War, too, is a field open to further exploration. Instances of authoritative behaviour in 1949 led to a prohibition on all publications from the Soviet Zone of

Occupation (law of 12 April 1949). For the moment, Gabriele Clemens's reliable work on British cultural policy in Germany from 1945 to 1949 offers a wealth of information which is clearly structured and presented in an eminently readable style. In drawing together diverse aspects of cultural policy, she argues convincingly for a concept which was united by a common reference point, namely, Britain and its past, present, and future role in the world.

ULRIKE WALTON-JORDAN, a graduate of Cologne University, was a post-doctoral research fellow at the German Historical Institute London from 1994 to 1999, where she worked on British occupation policy in post-1945 Germany. Subsequently she joined the Centre for German-Jewish Studies at the University of Sussex, and has researched the contribution made by refugees from Nazism to British culture and society.

CONFERENCE REPORT

Restructuring Western Europe after 1945: Social, National, and Cultural Change during the Cold War. Conference of the German Historical Institute London, held at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, 6-8 July 2001.

Over the last decade two developments have influenced historical research on the post-war era. Firstly the period between the end of the Second World War and the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe has finally become a topic for historiography. For ten years now, we have seen the post-war era becoming history. Secondly, the ever-closer links between the nations of Western Europe mean that more often than not national history has given way to a more comparative perspective. The GHIL pursued both these trends with its conference on 'Restructuring Western Europe after 1945: Social, National, and Cultural Change during the Cold War'. The aim of the conference was to compare changes in the post-war societies of Britain, France, Italy, and West Germany, and to examine the key developmental processes in the four nations up to 1955.

The conference had four main themes, each dealt with in a separate session: (1) how the different countries came to terms with their most recent history, and the various ways in which the Nazi dictatorship was recalled; (2) economic and social restructuring; (3) the debates about moving away from the nation-state and the beginnings of European integration; and (4) the influence of the USA on the political, economic, and cultural reorganization of Western Europe. In the first three sessions British, French, Italian, and West German examples were compared with one another. In the fourth session, national sub-divisions were abandoned and the agents of American influence in Western Europe examined—the Marshall Plan, US cultural policy in Europe, and the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

In his Keynote Speech, which also surveyed recent literature, Mark Mazower stressed the vital significance of the *Wende* of 1989-90 for the reorientation of European historical research in the past ten years. In his view, this reorientation has been determined by five main factors: first, attempts to view the history of post-war Europe as

a whole, even though it was divided by the Cold War; second, a reduced emphasis on the role of the USA, especially since files both of the US government and their European counterparts are now more readily accessible; third, calling into question the traditional periodization, especially 'zero hour 1945', on the basis of everyday and gender history that increasingly regards the 'bad years' between 1942 and 1948 as a single entity; fourth, and closely connected with this, an emphasis on the European roots of key phenomena in the post-war period (for example, the welfare state, and the exodus from the countryside) which stretched far beyond the rupture of 1945 and cannot be explained merely by the modernizing influence of the USA; and, finally, a new sensitivity towards the successes of a modernizing conservatism, perhaps even a certain admiration for the achievements of a revived state which managed to recover unexpectedly quickly from the crises of the 1930s and 1940s.

Coming to Terms with the Past

This last aspect was the perfect transition to the papers in the first session, which dealt with the repercussions of the Second World War in British, Italian, French, and West German society. How did people come to terms with their own involvement in Nazi crimes? What role was played by resistance to the Nazi regime in the nation's collective memory? In the case of West Germany, Norbert Frei (Bochum) demonstrated that the way in which people dealt with the Nazi past changed significantly during the first two decades after the war and that this played an important part in transforming the German national community into the pluralistic-democratic society of the Federal Republic. In the first four years the victorious powers initially pursued an ambitious policy of purging, but in the following years, until about 1955, exactly the opposite policy was followed towards former Nazi functionaries. Frei described this new attitude as 'Vergangenheitspolitik', which he summed up as 'amnesty', 'integration', and 'demarcation'. In practical terms this meant that former Nazis were no longer pursued by the courts, and those already condemned were given an amnesty and integrated into post-war society. At the same time, in political rhetoric a clear line of demarcation was drawn between the Bonn republic and the Nazi regime. It was not until the end of the 1950s that a more critical approach to the 'unmastered past' emerged and in the 1960s this led to Nazi criminals being pursued by the courts once again.

The three phases described by Frei for the German case more or less overlap with those identified by Filippo Focardi (Florence) in the development of a collective memory of the Second World War in Italy. Focardi presents this process as a battle between two competing narratives, the anti-fascist and the fascist, which unlike in Germany did not become completely taboo. Between 1943 and 1947, he said, the Italian anti-fascists managed to establish their interpretation in the nation's collective memory: the Italians were the victims of fascism and of a war perpetrated by Mussolini and Germany. It was only the heroic struggle against Nazi Germany at the side of the Allies after 1943 that revealed the Italians' true feelings. According to Focardi, this interpretation became less firmly rooted in the following five years once the anti-fascist coalition had disbanded and the Cold War set in, but nothing was found to replace it. It was therefore possible to revive it at the end of the 1950s and for a long time it remained the dominant form of collective memory.

The extent of the differences between the individual nations, especially as regards coming to terms with the war and the Nazi regime, is highlighted by what happened in Britain. Nicholas Hewitt (London) examined the commemoration of the war here using British war memorials. Unlike in Germany, the defeat of National Socialism did not call British national traditions into question; and unlike in Italy, memory of the war did not divide the nation, but united it. According to Hewitt, the official commemoration of the Second World War in Britain had nothing to do with class or party affiliation, but embraced all classes and views. The most important dividing line Hewitt could perceive was between different generations—between those who had fought in the First World War and the soldiers of the Second World War. Hewitt described these younger men as a 'sceptical generation' because in numerous questionnaires they rejected the idea of impressive war memorials of the type erected to commemorate the First World War, preferring instead 'utilitarian' memorials such as public swimming baths or housing for wounded veterans.

Between War Socialism and Neo-Liberalism

The next session dealt with the debates about the new economic and social order within the individual countries. What models were considered in the different countries, which ultimately prevailed, and what arguments were used to legitimize them? In her paper on the

discussion in Britain José Harris (Oxford) rejected the view that the Second World War hardly had any effect on post-war British society. She maintained that the ideas of 'war socialism' were more important, more influential, and more radical than is generally assumed today. The idea that successful planning methods used during the war could be transferred to management of the national economy was not, according to Harris, exclusive to the political Left, but was also supported by members of the Conservative Party. The notion that some sort of state collectivism should be part of the future was generally shared—although the idea of deliberately modernizing the country was not discussed either by intellectuals or government officials. Victory over Germany, and the feeling this created that Britain was in the vanguard of modernity, prevented such matters from ever being considered.

In France, on the other hand, the defeat of 1940 and the subsequent collaboration of many French people with Nazi Germany convinced the economic and political élites of the need for a thorough modernization. This was not to be confined to the economic sphere, but should also extend to the state and the nation, as Gérard Bossuat (Cergy-Pontoise) demonstrated in his paper. Initially, however, it was not clear what should serve as the model for modernity. Since the Soviet way was out of the question, three basic models were discussed: the much-admired German model of state organization and powerful cartels; the socialist British welfare state, and the US model, not much admired to start with, based on mass consumption, mass production, and free trade. This was the one eventually adopted, not least because of American financial aid to France and Jean Monnet's personal intermediary role.

Luciano Segreto (Florence) demonstrated how Italy adapted to the same international conditions as the Cold War set in. In Italy the situation was characterized by a powerful Communist Party, the influence of the Vatican on Italian domestic policy, a weak state tradition, and the economic legacy of fascism in the form of state-controlled big enterprises, especially the banking system, and the shipbuilding, energy, and steel industries. Segreto showed how technocratic managers in this powerful state sector adopted American concepts of deregulation, favoured free trade and a reorganization of the Italian economy, and eventually prevailed over politicians and civil servants, many of whom were sceptical about the market economy.

According to Segreto, however, the American economic model was adopted in Italy only up to a point—the point at which real social change would have started. All attempts to go beyond this failed.

Beyond the Nation-State

In the third session, which dealt with the future of the nation-state and the start of European integration, the papers once again centred on the fine balance between American influence and independent developments in Western Europe. In his paper on the discussion about Europe in West Germany Wilfried Loth (Essen) concentrated on specifically German motives and objectives. He interpreted the popularity of the European movement, especially amongst the young, as a reaction to the loss of orientation after defeat in the war and the bankruptcy of the Nazi regime. Later, he said, regaining state sovereignty, self-restraint on the part of the Federal Republic, and securing peace also became driving forces in West Germany's policy on Europe. Loth stressed that to start with it was unclear which concept of Europe would prevail in Germany—the idea of a socialist Europe as a 'third force' between East and West, as envisaged by Martin Niemöller, Jakob Kaiser, and Eugen Kogon, or Adenauer's concept of integration into the West. It was the Cold War that finally led to the latter being adopted, even though it was initially less popular than its socialist counterpart.

In her paper on the discussion about Europe in France Elisabeth du Réau (Paris) likewise stressed that it was based on specifically French problems and perceived threats. She focused on French security interests between the end of the Second World War and the collapse of the European Defence Community (EDC) in 1954. The key problem was the unresolved dichotomy between the need for security—initially against Germany, and then increasingly against the Soviet Union—and the preservation of national sovereignty and self-determination. This second aspect had traditionally played an important role in French security policy. According to de Réau, this was the main reason why the federalist approach, successfully implemented in economic policy by Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, failed in the case of the EDC where it faced opposition from inter-governmentalists such as de Gaulle.

Leopoldo Nuti (Rome), speaking about the Italian case, once again introduced the USA as a central factor in the discussion – though this

time more in a passive than an active role. Italian policy for Europe, he maintained, was always primarily designed to secure American aid and to establish good relations with the USA. It was easier to communicate this objective to the Italian public in the language of woolly, idealistic European rhetoric than by using the concepts of discredited power politics. None the less, historians of the realist school were right, according to Nuti, to emphasize the continuity of traditional diplomacy and *Realpolitik* beyond the caesura of 1943/45. This was, of course, a new form of power politics with different methods.

The discussion on Europe in Britain, dealt with by Piers N. Ludlow (London), was quite different from the debates in the other three countries because in the 1950s Britain was not involved in nascent European integration. Ludlow therefore focused on the thesis often used to explain this difference, namely, the assertion that by missing the opportunity to take part in European integration from the start Britain paid the price for its victory in the Second World War. Ludlow disputed this thesis by pointing out numerous continuities connecting British foreign policy before 1939 and after 1945. Like Nuti, he stressed the importance of national interest as far as European integration was concerned. In this respect, according to Ludlow, there was no difference in principle between the British and their continental neighbours—it was just that British national interest, as defined by those in charge of foreign policy, pointed in a different direction from that in France, Italy, or Germany.

The Transatlantic Perspective

The concluding fourth session dealt with the social, political, economic, and cultural influence of the USA in Western Europe during the Cold War. In his introductory paper on the USA and Germany during the Cold War Detlef Junker (Heidelberg) emphasized how inextricably entwined the fates of the two nations were in the mid-twentieth century. It was the challenge posed by Nazi Germany that had made the USA into a world power in the first place, and then again, Germany's arrival in the West could not be explained without American influence. Junker pointed out the significance of the USA for the Federal Republic, not only in terms of economic and security policy but also as regards cultural transfer, though this was more difficult to assess in concrete terms.

Carlo Spagnolo (Siena) then presented his interpretation of the Marshall Plan. He demonstrated the degree to which the USA's plans

for domestic, security, and economic policy with respect to Western Europe were intertwined. Spagnolo saw the Marshall Plan as part of a comprehensive strategy ultimately geared towards establishing a new world order under American hegemony. As far as American strategists were concerned, securing peace and saving liberal capitalism went hand in hand. The threat, as they perceived it, came not only from the Soviet Union, but also from the disastrous consequences of the war in Western Europe. The fact that entire population groups had been driven out and families split up paved the way, as the Americans saw it, for socialism to take over the western half of the continent. That was why it was essential to create a stable political and economic situation.

Volker Berghahn (New York) added a further dimension to the picture of American post-war planning for Western Europe: the cultural one. In American eyes the threat posed to Western Europe by the Soviet Union, was not, according to Berghahn, confined to the political, military, and economic spheres, but extended to culture as well. A counter-offensive was therefore planned, not only political and military, but cultural as well. Berghahn argued that in many respects this was more difficult than all other measures. For although the Western Europeans had reluctantly accepted American political, military, and economic superiority at the end of the 1940s, they were unwilling to give up their own feeling of superiority in cultural matters. For its part, America believed it had won the cultural Cold War against the Soviet Union by the mid-1950s, while attempts to influence Western Europe still had to continue.

Michael Hochgeschwender (Tübingen) extended the discussion about the US cultural offensive started by Berghahn by presenting an important concrete example: the Congress for Cultural Freedom. This was an organization of European and American intellectuals financed by the CIA, and later by the Ford Foundation, which interpreted the Cold War primarily as an intellectual conflict. The work of the Congress, which had national branches in the USA, as well as in France, Italy, Britain, and the Federal Republic, was intended to be supranational, but none the less exhibited certain significant national peculiarities. In the Federal Republic and Britain, where there were no strong Communist parties, the focus was on combating national neutralism or Communist fellow travellers. In France and Italy, on the other hand, it was more a question of curbing the intellectual

influence of the Communists and breaking down anti-American prejudices.

Two closely related themes ran through the discussions on all the papers. Firstly, the precarious balance between American influence and genuinely European driving forces recurred frequently. There were those who supported the thesis of the primacy of the USA, and others who maintained that the post-war period should no longer be regarded as the end of the European era in world history, but as a pivotal decade in the European twentieth century. The reorientation of historical research from 1989 meant there was a chance to give European history back to the Europeans, as Mark Mazower provocatively put it. Berghahn, on the other hand, insisted that American influence on Western European history in the second half of the twentieth century cannot be over-estimated. Europeans might speak various dialects, but the common language they all used was American English.

There was another complex of questions closely connected with this which also dominated the conference: how important were national peculiarities when reacting to common challenges—for example, the threat from the USSR, the need for social security in the welfare state, or attitudes to the USA's hegemonic role? And vice versa: to what extent were developments in the post-war societies similar to one another despite national differences? What role was played, for example, by different state traditions in the development of a Keynesian interventionist and welfare state after 1945? Here (and indeed as regards policy on Europe and the legacy of the Second World War) Britain seems to have been the odd one out in many respects. On the other hand the pattern of remembering and forgetting in Britain seems to have been similar to that on the Continent—a phase of scepticism and repression in the 1950s, followed by a commemorative boom thirty years later. And other nations, too, were exceptions in some respects: France as regards its relationship with the USA, or Germany whose national past was totally discredited. The motto 'unity in diversity' therefore seems appropriate for the history of the Western European societies in the post-war period.

The conference proceedings are currently being prepared for publication.

Dominik Geppert (London)

NOTICEBOARD

Research Seminar

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

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

6 Nov. Thomas Wittek
Vom Feind zum Partner? Der Wandel des Deutschlandbildes in den britischen Medien vom Waffenstillstand 1918 bis zum Locarno-Vertrag 1925

11 Dec. Dr Sabine Freitag
Verbrecher und Verbrechen im öffentlichen Diskurs. Deutschland und England vor, während und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg

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

25 Sept. Christian Haase
Die Geschichte der Königswinter-Konferenzen

9 Oct. Dr Christoph Heyl
Der Umgang mit im Wandel begriffenen Wissenscorpora in englischen Wunderkammern (cabinets of curiosities)

16 Oct. Nicole Immler
Gedächtnisorte in Transiträumen: Zu transnationalen Codes im soziokulturellen Milieu des liberalen Bürgertums. Zentraleuropa—England. Ein Vergleich

Postgraduate Students' Conference, 10-11 January 2002

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

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

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

How should the Holocaust be remembered? Three case studies in the USA, Britain, and Germany

A panel discussion on memorials and museums dedicated to the Holocaust, organized by the German Historical Institute and the Imperial War Museum, took place on 1 June 2001 at the Imperial War Museum. Three cases were introduced in some detail in slide presentations: Professor Reinhard Rürup introduced the development and progress of the Topography of Terror project in Berlin, Martin Smith gave a virtual tour of the Permanent Exhibition at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and Suzanne Bardgett explained the concept of the Imperial War Museum's own Holocaust Exhibition. A lively and controversial discussion with the other members of the panel—Professor David Cesarani and Professor Peter Novick—as well as with members of the audience followed. It was chaired by Patrick Wright.

Arthur Geoffrey Dickens (6 July 1910-31 July 2001)

It is not surprising that in their obituaries for Geoffrey Dickens, who died this year aged 91, British papers should remember him as the leading English Reformation historian of his time and praise his organizational skills as Director of the Institute of Historical Research. Only in passing did they mention that he was also instrumental in promoting academic relations between Britain and Germany.

No doubt Dickens's interest in Germany was rooted in his research on Luther and the German Reformation. However, this never led him into the reductionist view of German history as a straight line from Luther to Hitler. Later he was to say to an Anglo-German audience that it was the task of the historian 'to rescue the public mind from short-term thinking and superficial ideas of causation. He must withdraw men from the passions of their century and show them the long perspectives which make for coolness and sanity.' Of course, Dickens was only too aware of the obsessions of his countrymen with the Nazi period and the question of whether the German leopard had really changed its spots.

Dickens recollected both the bombing raids on Hull during the First World War and the destruction brought about by the Royal Air Force in Lübeck where he had been posted after the Second Word War. As the first press officer he played a major role in setting up a free press in Lübeck by publishing the first issue of the *Lübecker Nachrichtenblatt* as early as 19 May 1945, at that time a single news sheet giving the main items from the BBC broadcasts. His *Lübeck Diary*, published by Victor Gollancz in 1947, is a testimony to his deep seated humanity, comparable to his editor's influential book *In Darkest Germany*. When the German ambassador awarded him the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1980 he referred to this book 'with its human and sympathetic approach to the German people' which 'had a considerable effect in influencing public opinion and helping to present to the British public a realistic picture of the Germans in the first two years after the war'. He could have been more specific. Faced with the misery and hunger of his charges Dickens had pleaded, in the same urgent tone as Gollancz, for the meagre food rations to be increased. He fully subscribed to Churchill's motto: 'In Victory Magnanimity.'

Dickens had detected amongst the rubble, and, above all, in the musical and religious life of the city's churches, the first new shoots of the better Germany of the past which he knew so well.

By the time of his appointment as Foreign Secretary of the British Academy in 1968, Germany had become a trusted friend of Britain, helping to pave the way for its successful application for EC membership. British universities were about to rearrange their courses to take on board the language and culture of continental nations. Dickens was fully engaged in fostering these ties. For the continentals, the Germans in particular, he represented the best of British leadership qualities: the eloquent gentleman academic with a grammar school background and a sense of informal authority, somewhat old fashioned in his manners but with an open mind. When the idea of a German Historical Institute in London (GHIL) was first broached, he welcomed it without hesitation and soon became the unquestioned spokesman for the British contingent of lobbyists. He was such an imposing and persuasive public speaker that his speech addressed to members of the *Bundestag*, civil servants, and journalists on 15 December 1969 clearly marked the breakthrough in the endeavours of his German colleagues to set up the hoped-for institute in London on the model of those in Rome and Paris. From then on it was no longer a matter of whether but of when funds would become available. If the Federal Government had not been deflected by the energy crisis caused by the steep rise in oil prices the Institute would have been founded in the early rather than in the mid-1970s.

Dickens's gentle guidance as the British founding father during its formative years was crucial for the future character of the Institute. His main concern was, quite naturally, British academic interest in German history. He saw to it that research facilities such as books and grants were made available to British students of German history. If the Institute was to make its mark in London it was well advised to enhance the position of Bloomsbury as a significant European centre of learning and scholarship by adding one more star to the galaxy of schools, institutes, and libraries. Dickens was, of course, aware that the funds came from Germany. When the Institute officially opened its doors, having found a foothold in Bloomsbury, he pointed out: 'If ever an institute stood in the right place this one does. At the risk of displaying cultural chauvinism, may I remind you that it stands amid by far the greatest assembly of humanist

libraries in the world. To our German guests I would say: this is our British contribution.' This was a valuable point to make and one which was to shape the Institute's policy henceforth. The library was to be devoted to German history and it was never to leave the academic square mile around Senate House. No one grasped this point more than the Institute's first full time director, Wolfgang J. Mommsen, who then proceeded to acquire the imposing landmark building formerly owned by the Pharmaceutical Society to accommodate the growing library of the GHIL.

It was in many ways a tribute to Dickens and his pioneering efforts that one of the first international conferences organized by the Institute debated the meaning of the German Reformation, inspired by the late Robert Scribner, one of Dickens's most renowned pupils, and published as *The Urban Classes, the Nobility and the Reformation* (1979). The leading question was the very one which had always occupied Dickens's mind: to what extent was the German Reformation a popular movement centred on the Imperial cities rather than the product of Luther's genius and princely politics. A formidable array of prominent historians from Germany and beyond were persuaded to come to London and make their contribution. It was characteristic of Dickens that he should begin his magisterial opening paper by expressing his pleasure and gratitude at meeting 'so many distinguished Reformation scholars, to whose works I have incurred such heavy debts'. Never mind that he himself was the most distinguished of them all. This short memoir gives us, the GHIL, the opportunity to acknowledge our debts to the most influential and memorable of the Institute's British founding fathers.

Lothar Kettenacker (London)

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.

Alexander, Matthias, *Die Freikonservative Partei, 1890-1918: Gemäßigter Konservatismus in der konstitutionellen Monarchie*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 123 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2000)

Alsop, Rachel, *A Reversal of Fortunes? Women, Work, and Change in East Germany* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000)

Alter, Peter, Claus-Ekkehard Bärsch, and Peter Berghoff (eds), *Die Konstruktion der Nation gegen die Juden* (Munich: Fink, 1999)

Althaus, Horst, *Hegel: An Intellectual Biography*, transl. by Michael Tarsh (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000)

Angelow, Jürgen, *Kalkül und Prestige: Der Zweibund am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2000)

Appelius, Stefan, *Pazifismus in Westdeutschland: Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft 1945-1968*, 2 vols (2nd edn; Aachen: Verlag Mainz, 1999)

Asbach, Olaf, Klaus Malettke, and Sven Externbrink (eds), *Altes Reich, Frankreich und Europa: Politische, philosophische und historische Aspekte des französischen Deutschlandbildes im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Historische Forschungen, 70 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001)

Bach, Maurizio (ed.), *Die Europäisierung nationaler Gesellschaften*, Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Sonderheft 40 (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2000)

Barclay, David Edward, *Schaut auf diese Stadt: Der unbekannte Ernst Reuter* (Berlin: Siedler, 2000)

Barer, Shlomo, *The Doctors of Revolution: Nineteenth-Century Thinkers Who Changed the World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000)

Bast, Robert James and Andrew C. Gow (eds), *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History. Essays Presented to Heiko Augustinus Oberman on his 70th Birthday* (Leiden, Boston, Mass., and Cologne: Brill, 2000)

Bauer, Franz J., *Geschichte des Deutschen Hochschulverbandes* (Munich: Saur, 2000)

Baumann, Anette, *Die Gesellschaft der frühen Neuzeit im Spiegel der Reichskammergerichtsprozesse: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im Alten Reich, 36 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2001)

Becker, Thomas P. and Ute Schröder (eds), *Die Studentenproteste der 60er Jahre: Archivführer, Chronik, Bibliographien* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2000)

Behrenbeck, Sabine and Alexander Nützenadel (eds), *Inszenierungen des Nationalstaats: Politische Feiern in Italien und Deutschland seit 1860/71*, Kölner Beiträge zur Nationsforschung, 7 (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2000)

Berding, Helmut, Klaus Heller, and Winfried Speitkamp (eds), *Krieg und Erinnerung: Fallstudien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Formen der Erinnerung, 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000)

Bergin, Joseph (ed.), *The Seventeenth Century: Europe 1598-1715*, The Short Oxford History of Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Beßlich, Barbara, *Wege in den 'Kulturkrieg': Zivilisationskritik in Deutschland 1890-1914* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000)

Biedenkopf, Kurt Hans, *1989-1990: Ein deutsches Tagebuch* (Berlin: Siedler, 2000)

Bill, Claus Heinrich, *Bibliographie zum deutschen Adel: 1200 bis 1999. (Ein Quellenweiser zu Monographien und Aufsätzen in Zeitschriften und Periodika deutscher Zunge). Eine annotierte Bibliographie*, Schriftenreihe des Instituts Deutsche Adelsforschung, 18 (Sonderburg, Owschlag: Institut Deutsche Adelsforschung, 1999)

Bleckwehl, Ulrich, *Die SPD dies- und jenseits der Nation: Sozialdemokratische Antworten auf die deutsche Teilung von 1961 bis 1990*, Edition Wissenschaft: Reihe Geschichte, 44 (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 1999)

Bloch, Marc, *Die wundertätigen Könige*, foreword by Jacques Le Goff, trans. by Claudia Märtl (Beck: Munich, 2001)

Boddien, Wilhelm von and Helmut Engel (eds), *Die Berliner Schlossdebatte: Pro und Contra* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2000)

Bohn, Robert, Jürgen Elvert, and Karl Christian Lammers (eds), *Deutsch-skandinavische Beziehungen nach 1945*, Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 31 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000)

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