

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

Bulletin



General Editor: Andreas Gestrich

Editors: Cornelia Linde
 Markus Mösslang
 Michael Schaich
 Falko Schnicke

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

Tel: 020 7309 2050

Fax: 020 7404 5573

e-mail: bulletin@ghil.ac.uk

Website: www.ghil.ac.uk

Opening hours of the Institute Library:

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday	10.00–17.00
Thursday	10.00–20.00

Enquiries should be directed to the Librarians

Tel: 020 7309 2019/2022/2039

The *GHIL Bulletin* appears twice each year
and is available free on request

ISSN 0269-8552 (print)

ISSN 3049-9135 (online)

Cover design: Lucy Schönberger

Photograph: John Goldblatt

Copy-editing and typesetting: Angela Davies

German Historical Institute London

Bulletin

Volume XXXVII, No. 2

November 2015

CONTENTS

Article

- Welfare in the Warfare State: Nazi Social Policy on the International Stage (Kiran Klaus Patel) 3

Review Article

- Internationals of Experts, Educators, and Scholars: Transnational Histories of Information and Knowledge in the Long Nineteenth Century (Chris Manias) 39

Book Reviews

- Katharina Behrens, *Scham: Zur sozialen Bedeutung eines Gefühls im spätmittelalterlichen England* (Dana Durkee) 59
- László Kontler, *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments: William Robertson in Germany, 1760–1795* (Avi Lifschitz) 63
- Micheline Nilsen, *The Working Man's Green Space: Allotment Gardens in England, France, and Germany, 1870–1919* (Tobias Becker) 67
- Rebecca Ayako Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion after Unification* (Olaf Blaschke) 71
- Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The 'Greater German Empire', 1871–1918* (Bettina Brockmeyer) 77
- Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Harald Fischer-Tiné) 83

(cont.)

Contents

Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove, <i>A Matter of Intelligence: MI5 and the Surveillance of Anti-Nazi Refugees 1933–50</i> (Alan MacLeod)	90
Hugo Service, <i>Germans to Poles: Communism, Nationalism and Ethnic Cleansing after the Second World War</i> (Tobias Weger)	95
Sagi Schaefer, <i>States of Division: Border and Boundary Formation in Cold War Rural Germany</i> (Arnd Bauerkämper)	100
Volker R. Berghahn, <i>American Big Business in Britain and Germany: A Comparative History of Two 'Special Relationships' in the Twentieth Century</i> (Christof Dejung)	104

Conference Reports

Dreams of Germany: Music and (Trans)national Imaginaries in the Modern Era (Kate Guthrie)	110
Report on the Inauguration of the Branch Office of the Max Weber Foundation, New Delhi (Divya Kannan)	116
Ignorance and Non-Knowledge in Early Modern Expansion (Susanne Friedrich)	122
Twelfth Workshop on Early Modern Central European History (Saskia Limbach)	128

Noticeboard 132

Library News

Recent Acquisitions	139
---------------------	-----

ARTICLE

WELFARE IN THE WARFARE STATE: NAZI SOCIAL POLICY ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE

KIRAN KLAUS PATEL

The evening of 8 November 1939 could have rung the knell on the Third Reich. A mere thirteen minutes after Adolf Hitler left the Bürgerbräukeller in Munich, a bomb exploded. Seven were dead, over sixty injured. Georg Elser, a Swabian carpenter far removed from the centre of power, had planned this attempt on the life of the Führer for months, and only failed after last-minute changes in Hitler's schedule; as every year, his speech at the Bürgerbräukeller to commemorate the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923 (see Ill. 1.) had been planned months in advance. His intention to attack the West after the *Wehrmacht's* swift victory over Poland made him initially cancel his speech, then ultimately deliver an abridged version. For this reason, he left the venue earlier than usual. Nothing but luck saved the dictator's life; luck that implied disaster for millions.

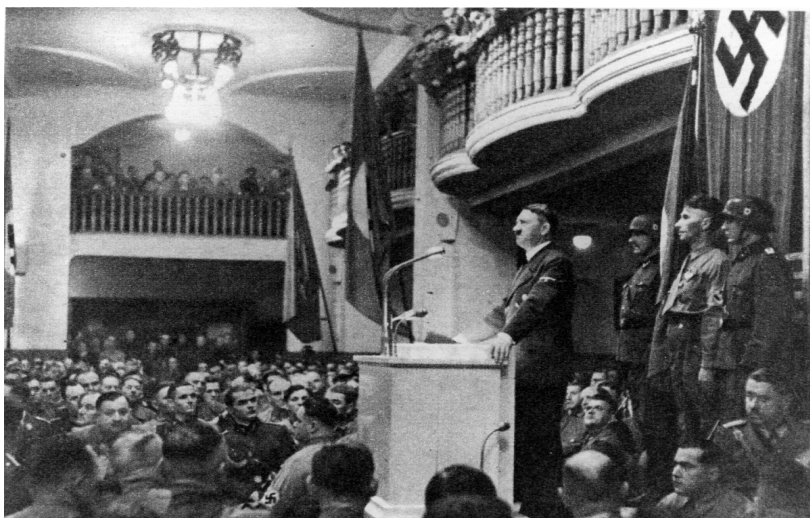
While this assassination attempt is well known, few are aware of what Hitler actually said on that day. In contrast to the speeches he normally gave on these occasions, he spent only a few sentences praising the rise of his party from obscurity to power. Instead, he delivered a long and crude tirade against Britain. In tune with his raucous audience as well as his paranoid and psychopathic personality, he accused the British government of warmongering, hypocrisy,

This text is an extended version of my inaugural lecture as Gerda Henkel Visiting Professor at the German Historical Institute London and the London School of Economics and Political Science in 2014/15. Special thanks to the GHIL, the LSE, and the Gerda Henkel Foundation for their generous support of my work. I would also like to thank Andreas Gestrich, Sönke Neitzel, Alexander Korb, Sandrine Kott, and Martin Rempe, as well as colleagues at the GHIL (especially Cornelia Linde, Michael Schaich, and Angela Davies), LSE, and in the research group Politics and Culture in Europe at Maastricht University.

Article

and aggression against Germany. He continued his rant with what he called the 'true reasons' behind British policy: 'What they hate is the Germany which sets a dangerous example for them, this social Germany. It is the Germany of a social labor legislation . . . It is the Germany of social welfare, of social equality, of the elimination of class differences—this is what they hate! . . . This Germany which grants its labourers decent housing—this is what they hate because they have a feeling their own peoples could be "infected" thereby.'¹

Illustration 1: Hitler's Speech at the Bürgerbräukeller in Munich, 8 Nov. 1939



Source: *Der Rundblick*, 19 Nov. 1939

¹ Adolf Hitler, *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations, 1932–1945*, vol. iii, ed. Max Domarus (London, 1997), 1871; German original: Adolf Hitler, *Hitler: Reden und Proklamationen, 1932–1945*, vol. ii, ed. Max Domarus (Würzburg, 1963), 1411 ('Was sie hassen ist das Deutschland, das ein gefährliches Beispiel für sie ist, das soziale Deutschland, das Deutschland unserer sozialen Arbeitsgesetzgebung . . . Dieses Deutschland der Fürsorge, des sozialen Ausgleichs, der Beseitigung der Klassenunterschiede—das hassen sie! . . . Das Deutschland, das seinen Arbeitern anständige Quartiere gibt, das ist es, was sie hassen, weil sie das Gefühl haben, daß davon ihr eigenes Volk "angesteckt" werden könnte!'). The importance given to this part of the speech is demonstrated by the fact that it was reprinted in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, the official journal of the

This quotation leads to the core of this article's subject. Even if Hitler's shrill attacks on Britain could not have been more erroneous or pharisaic, they hint at a dimension of the international history of Nazism and the global 1930s and 1940s that has attracted little attention so far: the regime's attempt to promote its social policy programmes internationally, and the complex and ambivalent history of their reception in various parts of the world.

Against this backdrop, the basic point of this article is very simple: the Third Reich's social policies were much more part of transnational conversations and exchanges on welfare issues than has been argued in the existing literature. So far, Nazism's social policies have been researched largely in isolation. This is quite surprising since Nazi Germany took great pride in its social policies, including their anti-Semitic, racist, and eugenic dimensions, and also advertised them internationally. German social policy had enjoyed great international prestige since the days of Bismarck and had long served as a transnational point of reference, as Daniel Rodgers has reminded us recently.² Moreover, the Nazis' racial welfare state was, in Mark Mazower's words, 'in so many ways the apotheosis of very widespread trends in European social thought',³ which explains why their programmes resonated internationally.

I

Before focusing on the empirical side of this topic, it is useful to ask how these issues have been dealt with in existing research. This article argues that we know surprisingly little about the subject, although such work could help to elucidate core questions in the history of Nazism and of the 1930s and 1940s more generally. In order to explain this, historiographical, conceptual, and, to some extent, even normative questions need to be considered briefly.

Reich Labour Ministry. See 'Haß gegen das soziale Deutschland', *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 2nd series, 1939, 421-3.

² Daniel T. Rodgers, 'Bearing Tales: Networks and Narratives in Social Policy Transfer', *Journal of Global History*, 9 (2014), 301-13.

³ Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London, 1999), 101.

The work presented here sits at the intersection of three bodies of literature: the historiographies of the Third Reich; of social and welfare policies; and, finally, of international and transnational history. The first of these dimensions, historiography of the Third Reich, has focused mainly on structures and developments *within* the boundaries of the German nation-state. The idea of a German *Sonderweg*, a special path leading into the abyss of the Second World War and the Holocaust, has long reinforced this tendency. Such work has been driven by the search for the roots of Nazi policies, a highly legitimate research motive. Yet it has marginalized work on some of the regime's international effects. Existing work is normally broken down into nationally defined historiographies, disregarding transnational and international dimensions, beyond the obvious focus on diplomatic relations. Even the war years, the period when Nazism reached the apex of imperial expansion in Europe, are still mostly analysed through the lens of national history.

This certainly holds true for research on the economic and social policies of the Third Reich. Such programmes, which often claimed to transcend traditional divisions such as that between social and economic policy, were part of the attempt to build a racist welfare state.⁴ More precisely, we have whole libraries demonstrating that such programmes were key to the regime's efforts to include individuals in the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the national community of the people, or to exclude them from it.⁵ Having said this, the Third Reich's social policies are

⁴ Separating Nazi social policy from the regime's economic policy is difficult, since many economic measures were highly ideologized and racialized. Reich Labour Minister Seldte himself claimed that the regime had broken down the difference between economic and social policies. Against this backdrop, some of the Third Reich's economic policies will also be referred to in this article. For Seldte's view, see 'Franz Seldte über die gegenwärtige und zukünftige Sozialpolitik', *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 2nd series, 1938, 8. For a succinct overview, see e.g. Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2014), 360-2.

⁵ See e.g. Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto (eds.), *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives* (Oxford, 2014); Detlef Schmiechen-Ackermann (ed.), 'Volksgemeinschaft': *Mythos, wirkungsmächtige soziale Verheißung oder soziale Realität im 'Dritten Reich'? Zwischenbilanz einer kontroversen Debatte* (Paderborn, 2012); Frank Bajohr and Michael Wildt (eds.), *Volksgemeinschaft: Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschaft des Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009).

still one of the most splendidly isolated pockets of German historiography. Hence, most studies deal with programmes in Germany, with collaboration in occupied territories, or with schemes elsewhere, but only rarely with the transnational interconnections between them.⁶

The extreme nationalism of the Third Reich, its cult of the Aryan, and its denunciation of any form of internationalism go a good way towards explaining why the transnational dimensions of social policy have not thus far attracted much attention. Outwardly, the Nazis appear to have dismantled Germany's international commitments. In the autumn of 1933, for instance, the Third Reich left the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization (ILO) as the most important international hubs of social policy discussion during the inter-war years. An inward turn, soon to be followed by military aggression, therefore appears to be Germany's trajectory.

While all this is true, policy exchange with other countries did not come to a complete standstill. From the outset, the regime was highly interested in promoting its social and economic policies. In its early years, many international experts and state leaders perceived Germany as a brutal and aggressive dictatorship, but did not necessarily consider it fundamentally worse than any of the other states that had abandoned democracy during the 1920s and 1930s.⁷ Nazi Germany was neither completely ostracized from international welfare debates nor uninterested in developments in the world around it. And certain welfare dimensions were perceived as remote from ideological and political concerns. An extreme example of this mindset comes from late 1936, when the US Minister to Peru was looking for a place to recuperate from 'attacks of grippe and colitis'. He informed his superiors in Washington that he would soon travel home, but given his health condition, he quickly added: 'I must get on to Baden-Baden as fast as I can.'⁸ Obviously he did not take issue with

⁶ Other fields of history, such as the analysis of the Holocaust, collaboration, or ethnic cleansing during the Second World War have been internationalized to a much larger extent; for details, see e.g. Sven Reichardt and Armin Nolzen, 'Editorial', in eid. (eds.), *Faschismus in Italien und Deutschland: Studien zu Vergleich und Transfer* (Göttingen, 2005), 9–27.

⁷ For the example of Britain, see e.g. Dan Stone, *Responses to Nazism in Britain, 1933–1939: Before War and Holocaust* (Houndmills, 2003).

⁸ National Archives and Record Administration (NARA)/Franklin Delano

Article

the fact that the flagpoles in front of the famous spa's Kurhaus now flew swastikas. This is not to say that 'Baden-Baden' can be fully identified with Nazi policies. But a letter of this kind would have been quite unthinkable a few years later. It was an intellectual operation of the postwar decades, this article argues, to remove Nazi Germany from the arena of international contact. The war, the Holocaust, and general historiographical trends made us overlook the extent to which Germany remained interconnected with the wider world.⁹ Few historians still adhere to the *Sonderweg* thesis, yet its presence can still be felt.

This brings me to the second strand of literature. Histories of the welfare state have long been written from a state-centred perspective, just as most post-1945 historiography has posited the nation-state as the central object of analysis. There were good reasons for such an approach: obviously, the rise of modern statehood and welfare-statism – a conscious regulation of the social and economic order by the state – were inextricably linked. Social policies played a central role in re-routing hopes, frustrations, and possibly also feelings of allegiance and identity from all sorts of directions towards the nation-state. For this reason, social policy is normally associated with *domestic* policies. Over the past twenty years or so, however, transnational history has demonstrated how porous and connected the container of the nation-state has always been. Social policies were no exception. There is a lot of new research on how social policies and welfare regimes have linked societies. Labour migration and remittances at the level of individuals are one example. More pertinent in our context are the intense exchanges between state actors and experts on social policy ideas and programmes. In this light, it appears that the welfare state has risen from a complex web of transnational exchanges spanning Europe and the North Atlantic, but also other parts of the world.¹⁰ However fecund these new historiographical

Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY (FDRL), Sumner Welles Papers, Box 28, Dearing to Welles, 29 June 1936.

⁹ Kiran Klaus Patel, 'In Search for a Transnational Historicization: National Socialism and its Place in History', in Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories* (New York, 2007), 96–116.

¹⁰ See e.g. Christoph Conrad, 'Social Policy after the Transnational Turn', in Pauli Kettunen and Klaus Petersen (eds.), *Beyond Welfare State Models: Trans-*

debates, the Third Reich hardly ever crops up in them. International exchanges on social policies and the welfare state, so it seems, were mainly the affair of democrats, and reserved to the halcyon days before the First World War and more recent periods since 1945.¹¹

This, however, raises the question of whether it makes sense to speak of a 'welfare state' when it comes to the Third Reich. Certainly not, if we adopt William Temple's definition. He described the welfare state as one aiming at the 'preservation of Justice and for the promotion of human welfare'.¹² Temple, it should be added, was one of the first to use this expression in writing, and a key figure in popularizing the term, especially in the United Kingdom.¹³ Many would probably agree with his definition, even today. But the time when Temple wrote these words matters. He published the book that is the source of the quotation, *Citizen and Churchman*, in January 1941, as Archbishop of York (and he became Archbishop of Canterbury soon thereafter). In his work, he opposed the 'Welfare-State' to the fascist 'Power-State'.¹⁴ Temple associated the welfare state with democratic ideals, in stark contrast to Nazism. For him, Britain should aspire to become such a 'Welfare-State'; he did not see it as a description of its present condition. The term 'welfare state' had been in use since the 1920s and gained prominence during the 1940s amidst a clash of ideologies on how to organize society.¹⁵ We should therefore historicize

national Historical Perspectives on Social Policy (Cheltenham, 2011), 218–40; Madeleine Herren, 'Sozialpolitik und die Historisierung des Transnationalen', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 32 (2006), 542–59; Young-sun Hong, 'Neither Singular nor Alternative: Narratives of Modernity and Welfare in Germany, 1870–1945', *Social History*, 30 (2005), 133–53.

¹¹ Most obviously in Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

¹² William Temple, *Citizen and Churchman* (1st edn. 1941; London, 1947), 36. Also see id., *Christianity and Social Order* (Harmondsworth, 1942), esp. 75–90; on Temple, see Stephen Spencer, *William Temple: A Calling to Prophecy* (London, 2001), esp. 70.

¹³ On the history of the term and the concept see now Daniel Béland and Klaus Petersen (eds.), *Analysing Social Policy Concepts and Language: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives* (Bristol, 2014).

¹⁴ Temple, *Citizen and Churchman*, 36.

¹⁵ Daniel Wincott, 'Original and Imitated or Elusive and Limited? Toward a Genealogy of the Welfare State Idea in Britain', in Béland and Petersen (eds.),

our notion of the welfare state and place it in a transnational perspective. The modern welfare state arose during the period when war-waging democratic states endeavoured to distinguish themselves from welfare-mongering fascist warfare states. It is therefore more productive to refrain from a normative definition of welfare that short-circuits it with a democratic political system and a positive understanding of modernity, according to which welfare is a vehicle for individual emancipation and societal progress. Some social policies were, in fact, spearheaded by authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, while democracies such as Sweden or the United States also implemented eugenicist and racist schemes. At a more philosophical level, Michel Foucault, Zygmunt Bauman, and others have highlighted the problematic dimensions of social policies.¹⁶

Against this backdrop, this article argues that we should distance ourselves from any quick normative definition of the welfare state. The Third Reich was fully part of social policy debates characteristic of the age, and a conclusive definition of 'welfare state' or 'social policies' is quite impossible, since the relationship of such terms, as well as their meaning, has shifted markedly over time.¹⁷ Still, it can be said that Germany went further in creating such programmes than most other nation-states, including many democracies, since they played a central role in realizing its racist and aggressive ambitions. To be sure, the Nazis themselves normally did not speak of a 'welfare state', or its German equivalent, the 'Wohlfahrtsstaat'. Instead, they referred to the 'Volkswohlfahrt', but they also often continued to use the established term 'Sozialstaat'.¹⁸ This in itself is already revealing:

Analysing Social Policy Concepts and Language, 127–41, who stresses British awareness of the links of the British debate to Germany. Convincingly, he gives less credit to Temple himself than to the earlier literature, but I think he underestimates the extent to which Temple separated himself from Nazi policies.

¹⁶ See e.g. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (London, 1967); and Zygmunt Bauman, *Intimations of Postmodernity* (London, 1992). See also Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life* (London, 1987), 15–16.

¹⁷ See e.g. Béland and Petersen (eds.), *Analysing Social Policy Concepts and Language*.

¹⁸ Norbert Götz, *Ungleiche Geschwister: Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim* (Berlin, 2001); Klaus Peter-

on many other issues, the Nazis distanced themselves from the established political vocabulary and came up with (seemingly) new terms. Nevertheless, they were quite comfortable putting their social policies in a specific national tradition, seen as the ‘overcoming of the spirit of 1789’, as Robert Ley, head of the almighty Deutsche Arbeitsfront (DAF; German Labour Front), once put it in a programmatic article.¹⁹ Regardless of these semantic findings, it still seems appropriate to call the Third Reich a racist variant of the welfare state.²⁰

The third strand of literature is international and transnational history, regardless of the discussion on how to define these terms.²¹ For a long time, research on the Third Reich and beyond has concentrated on a narrow definition of international history, focusing on official state affairs and problems of high politics, chiefly the question of war and peace. Social policy has remained below the radar of debates, along with other ‘lowbrow’ policy domains. For the international history of the inter-war years more generally, this has dramatically changed in recent years, as demonstrated especially by the new interest in the League of Nations and philanthropic organizations.²² Such work has shown that today’s international activities in fields such as the management of epidemics, combatting drug trafficking, and trade negotiations originated, or were furthered in important ways, during the inter-war years. This complicates our understanding of international history and globalization more broadly.

sen and Jørn Henrik Petersen, ‘Confusion and Divergence: Origins and Meanings of the Term “Welfare State” in Germany and Britain, 1840–1940’, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 23 (2013), 37–51.

¹⁹ Robert Ley, ‘Die Überwindung des Geistes von 1789’, *Neue Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*, 1 (1941), 1–9.

²⁰ Christoph Sachße and Florian Tennstedt, *Der Wohlfahrtsstaat im Nationalsozialismus: Geschichte der Armenfürsorge in Deutschland*, vol. iii (Stuttgart, 1992); see also Mazower, *Dark Continent*, 77–184; Michael Schneider, *In der Kriegsgesellschaft: Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung 1939 bis 1945* (Bonn, 2014), 454–5.

²¹ For an attempt to distinguish between various approaches see Kiran Klaus Patel, ‘Überlegungen zu einer transnationalen Geschichte’, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 52 (2004), 626–45.

²² See e.g. Susan G. Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford, 2015); Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920–1946* (Oxford, 2013); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, 2013); Daniel

Article

The inter-war period, long seen as a phase when international contacts withered away, in fact witnessed intense and, on some issues, intensifying forms of exchange. For all the nationalism and aggression that characterized the age, we should not forget that between 1930 and 1940 the number of international organizations grew from thirty-one to thirty-eight, and of international non-governmental organizations from 375 to 477.²³ New forms of communication emerged; experts, often of the social engineering brand, exchanged ideas informed and driven by international debates. Some even argue that the very nature of diplomacy changed fundamentally at this time. Alongside traditional diplomats, many new actors entered the scene. And beyond negotiations between representatives of states over questions of peace, war, and trade, diplomacy itself increasingly became a form of international self-representation and propaganda.²⁴

All this is well established in recent research. Few, however, have dared to touch on the dark sides of inter-war internationalism. The recent historiographical hype on this subject concentrates on those actors and forums that strove for reconciliation and peace. But cosmopolitans, philanthropists, and progressives were not the only ones who cooperated; so did representatives of authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. On social policy specifically, Italian fascism and Nazism claimed leadership roles in reorganizing Europe. This has very recently led to a new interest in 'fascist' internationalism, mainly with a focus on Italy,²⁵ but Germany and social policy issues also deserve more attention in this context.

Laqua (ed.), *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars* (London, 2011).

²³ Johan Galtung, 'Nonterritorial Actors and the Problem of Peace', in Saul Mendlovitz (ed.), *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (New York, 1975), 151-88, at 161.

²⁴ Madeleine Herren, *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865: Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung* (Darmstadt, 2009), 55, 74. This change is, for instance, reflected in Charles K. Webster, *The Art and Practice of Diplomacy: Orations Delivered at the London School of Economics* (London, 1952), 6.

²⁵ See the recent conference 'Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945', held in Berlin on 19-21 July 2014, and the forthcoming special section: Kiran Klaus Patel and Sven Reichardt (eds.), 'The Dark Side of Trans-

II

In what follows, this article will focus on the relationship between sovereign states, rather than on instances in which Nazi Germany annexed or occupied foreign territories, where social policies were often imposed externally, accompanied by brutal violence, as a means of subjugating and exploiting populations. The article thus concentrates on the other end of the spectrum, on situations in which non-German actors enjoyed more room for manoeuvre, where it would have been easy to sideline international debates and ignore the programmes of Nazi Germany or any other foreign country. This choice is conceived as a litmus test to show that such a transnational dimension really matters; that analysing such links between societies can shed new light on the history of the Third Reich and the 1930s and 1940s more generally.

Moreover, this article focuses on the level of state policies, partly for pragmatic reasons, partly because nation-states remained the decisive forums and format for social policy actors during the 1930s and 1940s. Transnational and international forums will therefore not take centre stage, and the perspective of recipients and other individuals who came in contact with such welfare policies, although a highly interesting alternative approach, will remain beyond the scope of this text.

More precisely, two dimensions in the transnational history of Nazi social policy will be distinguished. These are information exchange, in which foreign models were used to legitimize existing or emerging national policies; and cases of selective policy adaptation, building on transnational exchange and learning processes which ultimately reified national differences, even if this might sound paradoxical.

The first of these dimensions, information exchange, often served to legitimize existing national policies. If we consider the wider background, social programmes had already become a central element in building the modern state before the First World War. Even back then, this had led to a massive increase in mutual observation and cross-referencing between societies. Statistics made it possible to

nationalism: Social Engineering and Nazism, 1930s–1940s’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 51 (2016).

compare and rank nations on the basis of international social policy research. Societies around the world observed each other using criteria such as population size, fertility and, especially during the inter-war years, unemployment levels, pension schemes, and other welfare provision. Experts conversed in a transnational vernacular of social expertise and often framed their ideas in typically high modernist language, characterized by a belief in progress and change,²⁶ but also in the commensurability and readability of societies.

In a world shaped by social Darwinist thought, such standardized knowledge was frequently translated into a hierarchy of nations, with clearly defined 'pioneers' and 'laggards'. Social engineers, regardless of their political views, associated lavish programmes with societal progress and civilizational standards, and laissez-faire liberals seemed to be on the retreat. Politicians used such knowledge for their own ends and, all in all, scientific communities and politicians viewed each other reciprocally as resources for one another, as Mitchell G. Ash has put it.²⁷ Normal citizens, finally, were not only a target for such schemes and propaganda efforts with transnational dimensions; they also played a central role in putting them into practice. Social policy, in other words, became a symbol and a site for negotiating the international prestige of a nation.

The 1930s were not a particularly auspicious period for introducing new social policies, given the financial and other constraints resulting from the Great Depression and growing international ten-

²⁶ See e.g. James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, 1998); and Ulrich Herbert, 'Europe in High Modernity: Reflections on a Theory of the Twentieth Century', *Journal of Modern European History*, 5 (2007), 5–21. See also Kerstin Brückweh, Dirk Schumann, Richard F. Wetzell, and Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Engineering Society: The Role of the Human and Social Sciences in Modern Societies* (New York, 2012); on social policy experts in Germany at the time see Lutz Raphael, 'Sozialexperten in Deutschland zwischen konservativem Ordnungsdenken und rassistischer Utopie (1918–1945)', in Wolfgang Hardtwig (ed.), *Utopie und politische Herrschaft im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Munich, 2003), 327–46.

²⁷ Mitchell G. Ash, 'Wissenschaft und Politik als Ressourcen für einander', in Rüdiger vom Bruch and Brigitte Kaderas (eds.), *Wissenschaften und Wissenschaftspolitik: Bestandsaufnahmen zu Formationen, Brüchen und Kontinuitäten im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2002), 32–51.

sions. Across societies, austerity policies dominated at the beginning of the decade, and social programmes had to face the criticisms of economic orthodoxy. Yet the Nazis continued or launched a whole host of programmes, ranging from job-creation schemes to leisure-time programmes and pro- and anti-natalist policies. And they were not alone in doing so. In fact, many European and non-European states intensely debated and introduced new welfare measures at the time. Social security, to give but one example, was introduced or reformed in various parts of the world, including Sweden, France, Canada, Brazil, and New Zealand. To contemporaries, such schemes often appeared radical, risky, and overly expensive. States around the world—and Nazi Germany was by no means an exception—collected information about practices elsewhere in order to relate their own efforts to them.²⁸ (See Ill. 2.)

Illustration 2: Visit of the Japanese Ambassador, Lieutenant General Oshima, to Ordensburg Vogelsang in January 1939



Source: Archiv Vogelsang IP

²⁸ See e.g. 'Die Weltwirtschaftskrise im Spiegelbild der sozialpolitischen Gesetzgebung des Auslandes', *Soziale Praxis*, 44 (1935), 587–94, 611–16; more

Building on efforts dating back to the mid nineteenth century, much exchange on such issues took place in the inter-war period. And while some accounts would have it otherwise, the Third Reich kept existing channels wide open, and even established many new ones. Regular exchange of information through the Foreign Ministry in Berlin and its embassies; study tours abroad, and in Germany for foreign visitors; access to non-German professional and scholarly publications – all these instruments served this goal. Moreover, Germany did not burn all bridges with the League of Nations and its affiliated agencies when it left the League in October 1933. The official Berlin office of the ILO was closed, but the regime allowed the organization to keep a representative in Berlin. This correspondent, Wilhelm Claussen, eagerly reported back to Geneva about Nazi social policy; in fact, the ILO's Berlin representation turned into a tool of German propaganda, as Sandrine Kott has recently demonstrated.²⁹ At an informal level, contacts between high-ranking officials in the Reich Ministry of Labour and Harold Butler, director of the ILO's secretariat, the International Labour Office, continued until the second half of the 1930s. German hopes that Butler planned to increase the Office's independence from the League of Nations – as a basis for closer links to Nazi Germany – ultimately did not materialize. Still, both sides invested quite some time and energy in these exchanges.³⁰

Quite generally, German officials continued to participate in international congresses, not least to pre-empt criticism of the Third Reich

generally, Kiran Klaus Patel, *The New Deal: A Global History* (Princeton, forthcoming 2016).

²⁹ Sandrine Kott, 'Das Reichsarbeitsministerium und die Internationale Arbeitsorganisation: Internationalisierung der Arbeits- und Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich' (Geneva: unpublished expertise for the German Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, 2013); ead., 'Dynamiques de l'internationalisation: l'Allemagne et l'Organisation internationale du travail (1919–1940)', *Critique internationale*, 52 (2011), 69–84. See also the rather cautious article after the Third Reich had left the International Labour Organization: 'Deutschlands Austritt aus der Internationalen Arbeitsorganisation', *Soziale Praxis*, 42 (1933), 1301–2, and, in the wider context, Reiner Tosstorff, *Workers' Resistance against Nazi Germany at the International Labour Conference 1933* (Geneva, 2013).

³⁰ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 3901/20641, esp. Reich Ministry of Labour, Note Krohn, 31 May 1937.

at such events.³¹ In 1934 Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry established the Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale to facilitate, scrutinize, and control international conferences in Germany on a whole variety of issues, while also creating a sophisticated system of information gathering and management.³² A critical article in *Nature* on the German institution in 1935, accusing it of being a propaganda tool, prompted an immediate reply from the Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale, trying to whitewash itself.³³ In 1936 an official German delegation attended the third International Conference on Social Work in London.³⁴ In 1936–7 the DAF elaborated a social programme with a strong international dimension, and during the war it published the journal *Neue Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit* (in German, French, Dutch, and Italian) to disseminate the social policies of the expanding Nazi empire, perfidiously playing on the name of the International Labour Office's publication, the German version of which was called *Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*.³⁵ (See Ill. 3.) The DAF had a separate unit that collected statistical information on other countries which, in 1943, exchanged publications with some 450 institutes and libraries beyond German borders. As late as March 1944, the Arbeitswissenschaftliche Institut of the DAF organized an international conference on labour relations in Bad Salzbrunn. Under the banner of planning a 'European

³¹ Daniel Laqua, 'Transnational Intellectual Cooperation, the League of Nations, and the Problem of Order', *Journal of Global History*, 6 (2011), 223–47, at 236.

³² The Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale originally focused on the medical field but soon expanded its activities to include social policies; see Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale, *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Kongress-Zentrale, 1939/40* (Berlin, 1940); and Madeleine Herren, '“Outwardly . . . an Innocuous Conference Authority”: National Socialism and the Logistics of International Information Management', *German History*, 20 (2002), 67–92.

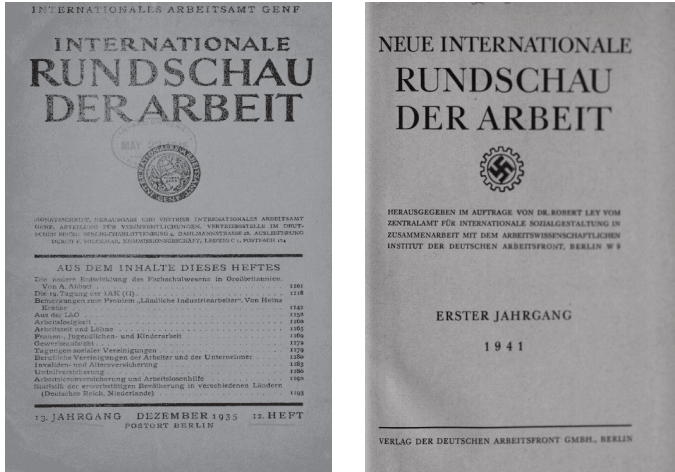
³³ 'Nazi-Socialism and International Science', *Nature*, 136 (1935), 927–8; C. F. O. C. Adam, 'Nazi-Socialism and International Science', *Nature*, 137 (1936), 829.

³⁴ Hilde Eiserhardt, 'Dritte Internationale Konferenz für soziale Arbeit', *Soziale Praxis*, 45 (1936), 570–4, and, as evidence of the extended preparation by the German delegation, Hermann Althaus (ed.), *Social Work and the Community* (Karlsruhe, 1936); see also 'Social Service', *The Times*, 13 July 1936.

³⁵ *Neue Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*, herausgegeben im Auftrage von Dr. Robert Ley vom Zentralamt für Internationale Sozialgestaltung in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Arbeitswissenschaftlichen Institut der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, Berlin, published 1941–4.

Article

Illustration 3: Covers of *International Rundschau der Arbeit* and *Neue Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*



Source: *Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit* and *Neue Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*

social order', the meeting turned into a clearing-house for social policy information.³⁶ And these are just a few examples.

But how was such information used? In the German context, it was often exploited to legitimize existing or emerging policies. An explicitly triumphalist tone prevailed from the mid 1930s. Comparisons with states traditionally seen as underdeveloped featured prominently in the regime's claims to have raised living standards through social policies. But its pretences went even further. In 1939, for instance, Labour Minister Franz Seldte bragged in his book, *Social Policy in the Third Reich*, that 'representatives of ministries of social affairs, scholars and practitioners from Europe and overseas come to us in great numbers, in order to learn on the spot about the excep-

³⁶ Ulrich Zucht, 'Das Arbeitswissenschaftliche Institut und die Nazifizierung der Sozialwissenschaften in Europa, 1936–1944', 1999: *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*, 4 (1989), 10–40, quotation at 10.

tional successes' of Nazi Germany's social policies.³⁷ The same year, an internal note from his ministry stressed that 'especially today', German social policy had acquired the 'quality of an "export article"' which helped to strengthen and expand its global influence.³⁸

In general, the regime's social programmes and alleged successes in overcoming mass unemployment were used to legitimize Nazi rule. Such statements were for both international and domestic consumption. And while their crude and presumptuous tone might have struck a chord in the Reich, their propaganda value at an international level was often more limited.

This is all well known. It is much less well known that at first, the regime's international references frequently had a more defensive ring to them. After the takeover, the regime was internationally vulnerable and sought to uphold a façade of respectability. The press was repeatedly advised to tone down comparisons regarding social and economic policy issues.³⁹ Moreover, a quantum of insecurity about the regime's direction characterized debates, particularly since many new social programmes were financed in unorthodox ways. References to social policies elsewhere therefore served to legitimize Nazi policies. Fascist Italy was often invoked in 1933, for instance, in the repression and replacement of free trade unions with Nazi front organizations or the creation of the leisure organization *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy).⁴⁰ Italy also stood at the cradle of the

³⁷ Franz Seldte, *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich, 1933–1938* (Munich, 1939), 267. See also e.g. 'Die Sozialpolitik am Ende des zweiten Kriegsjahres', *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 5th series, 1941, 427–30; 'Internationale Sozialpolitik', *Soziale Praxis*, 48 (1939), 953–6; Arbeitswissenschaftliches Institut der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, *Sozialpolitik zwischen zwei Kriegen: Deutschland, Frankreich und England* (Berlin, 1940), 160–7; and 'Entwicklungslinien der europäischen Sozialpolitik', *Neue Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*, 1 (1941), 10–38. For a chronology of the German–Italian relationship on these issues see Daniela Liebscher, 'Faschismus als Modell: Die faschistische Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro und die NS-Gemeinschaft "Kraft durch Freude" in der Zwischenkriegszeit', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus*, 21 (2005), 94–118.

³⁸ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 3901/20653, Reich Ministry of Labour, Note, 28 Dec. 1939.

³⁹ Philipp Gassert, *Amerika im Dritten Reich: Ideologie, Propaganda und Volksmeinung* (Stuttgart, 1997), 214.

⁴⁰ Daniela Liebscher, *Freude und Arbeit: Zur internationalen Freizeit- und Sozialpolitik des faschistischen Italien und des NS-Regimes* (Cologne, 2009), 250–317.

Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale.⁴¹ The regime cited the positive reception its eugenic policies had received from some US eugenicists in order to boost the legitimacy of its new schemes.⁴² To give a last example: the Adolf Hitler schools, created to educate the next generation of leaders, were compared to established elite education institutions such as Eton, and Nazi leaders went so far as to invite a delegation of Etonians to visit.⁴³

Obviously, the boundaries between defensive and triumphalist references were porous, and by tendency, the regime increasingly moved from the former to the latter over time. Instead of featuring as role models, Italian policies were soon referred to as inferior attempts at refashioning society, in comparison to which the Nazi policies shone even brighter. The reference to Eton is another good example: a few years after rather defensive parallels had been drawn, Hitler was boasting about the superiority of the Adolf Hitler schools: in contrast to Eton, which was populated by 'the sons of financial aristocracy and financial magnates', the Nazi schools catered to 'children of the people'.⁴⁴

While it is easy to discount such statements as cheap propaganda, it in fact reveals how much debates and practices were internationally connected. This holds particularly true for those layers of the dis-

⁴¹ Liebscher, 'Faschismus als Modell', 108, n. 25.

⁴² Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 123–4.

⁴³ Hartmut Happel, *N.S. Ordensburg Sonthofen* (Immenstadt, 2011), 82. During the first years of the regime, some more specialized journals and outlets kept a rather neutral tone when comparing German to other schemes. In 1935, an article in *Soziale Praxis* on a study by the International Labour Office on placement service even acknowledged that the work provided 'several suggestions that result from the comparison of so many countries'. 'Bedeutung und Organisation der Arbeitsvermittlung in der Welt', *Soziale Praxis*, 44 (1935), 529–37, at 537.

⁴⁴ Adolf Hitler, *Der großdeutsche Freiheitskampf* (3rd edn. Munich, 1943), 351–2: 'Dort das Eton-College und auf unserer Seite die Adolf-Hitler-Schule oder die nationalsozialistische Erziehungsanstalt, nationalpolitische Schule [sic!]. Zwei Welten: In einem Fall die Kinder des Volkes, im anderen Fall nur die Söhne dieser Geldaristokratie, dieser Finanzmagnaten. Dort nur Leute, die im Staat eine Rolle spielen, aus dieser Schule, und hier Leute, die im Staat eine Rolle spielen, aus dem Volk. Das sind zwei Welten.' As one of many other examples: Gisela Augustin, 'Die Sozialpolitik des Faschismus', *Reichs-arbeitsblatt*, 2nd series, 1937, 339–43.

cussion in which more detailed knowledge played a role, especially at the expert level. Such work often relied on statistics from the League of Nations and similar international bodies and came up with detailed calculations on entitlements in various countries. In 1939, for instance, the official *Reichsarbeitsblatt* published an article on family allowances for soldiers, comparing provision in London, Paris, and Berlin. Not surprisingly, it argued that German provisions were an exceptionally generous 'model'. British policies, in contrast, appeared 'completely unsatisfactory'.⁴⁵ In this specific case, recent research has demonstrated that Nazi provisions for the dependents of mobilized men were indeed more generous than those in most other nations. As a lesson from the First World War, the regime wanted to keep this group in particular happy in order to stabilize its political rule.⁴⁶ Another case is more representative. During the early years of the regime, comparisons of unemployment figures were used in a similar way to praise its alleged achievements, while glossing over the fact that Germany's rapid reduction in unemployment was built on an incipient 'natural' economic upswing, rearmament, and sugar-coated statistics.⁴⁷ And a final example, in which a transnational ref-

⁴⁵ Regierungsrat Flügge, 'Familienunterhalt in London, Paris und Berlin: Ein aufschlussreicher Vergleich', *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 2nd series, 1939, 433-4; for the contemporary debate see e.g. Marianne Sakmann, 'Foreign Provisions for the Dependents of Mobilized Men', *Social Security Bulletin*, 11 (1941), 11-28. As a similar example, in this case with detailed comparative statistics on Austria (published roughly one year before the annexation), 'Wirtschafts- und sozialpolitische Tatsachen aus Österreich mit Vergleichszahlen für das Deutsche Reich', *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 2nd series, 1937, 391-4.

⁴⁶ Birthe Kundrus, *Kriegerfrauen: Familienpolitik und Geschlechterverhältnisse im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, 1995), 431-4. Obviously, the German programme was strongly racist; Götz Aly, for instance, has called it 'continual bribery of the populace via the social welfare system'. Götz Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: How the Nazis Bought the German People* (London, 2006), 72.

⁴⁷ See e.g. E. Winners-Runge, 'Die Arbeitslosigkeit im Ausland im Jahre 1934', *Soziale Praxis*, 44 (1935), 675-84; 'Die Entwicklung der Arbeitslosigkeit in verschiedenen Ländern Europas', *Neue Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*, 1 (1941), 234-45; also 'Soziale Auslandschronik 1937', *Jahrbuch 1937 des Arbeitswissenschaftlichen Instituts der DAF* (1937), 349-66; on the regime's performance, see e.g. Dan P. Silverman, *Hitler's Economy: Nazi Work Creation Programs, 1933-1936* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (London, 2007), 42-9;

Article

erence was even incorporated into the name of a programme, was the Four-Year Plan. While obviously taking its cue from its Soviet homologue, the system of five-year plans, it also trumpeted that the Nazis needed less time to overcome the problems of the time.⁴⁸

Germans were by no means the only ones basing comparative arguments on statistical evidence and other forms of expert knowledge. The 1942 Beveridge Report, for instance, included a separate appendix that compared British social insurance with that of other states, including Allied countries (among others, Australia, Canada,

Illustration 4: German Commemorative Stamp for the World Congress of Recreation in Hamburg, 1936



Source: In the author's possession

Timothy W. Mason, *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich: Arbeiterklasse und Volksgemeinschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1977).

⁴⁸ On transnational links and forms of entanglement (though mainly in other fields than the ones discussed here) between inter-war Germany and the Soviet Union, see e.g. Michael David-Fox, Peter Holquist, and Alexander M. Martin (eds.), *Fascination and Enmity: Russia and Germany as Entangled Histories, 1914–1945* (Pittsburgh, 2012); also Katerina Clark and Karl Schlögel, 'Mutual Perceptions and Projections: Stalin's Russia in Nazi Germany – Nazi Germany in the Soviet Union', in Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared* (Cambridge, 2008), 396–442; and Peter Temin, 'Soviet and Nazi Economic Planning in the 1930s', *Economic History Review*, 44 (1991), 573–93.

and the United States), neutrals such as Sweden and Spain, but also of foes such as Germany, Italy, and Japan.⁴⁹ The level of aggregation differed in these surveys, and only a few went as far as the *Reichsarbeitsblatt* piece, converting currencies to allow for direct comparisons. Still, the various nations saw each other in competition with each other, highlighting their respective achievements.

Moreover, it would be wrong to think of nation-states as single and consistent entities in such exchanges. This applied especially to the German side, where various institutions competed on welfare issues and their international representation. In this sense, international references were used not just by the state or experts to convince people at home and audiences abroad, but also by competing state and party agencies. The Reich Ministry of Labour had to face the growing power of the DAF that promoted its policies internationally, often in cooperation with the German Foreign Ministry and the Dienststelle Ribbentrop, thus challenging the role of the ministry.⁵⁰ The 1936 World Congress for Leisure Time and Recreation, for instance, was mainly organized by the DAF in Hamburg and showcased its achievements (see Ill. 4.), thereby overshadowing the traditional role of the ministry.⁵¹ In a similar vein, the 1941 International Women's Meeting was not just meant to propagate a distinct form of female fascist networking, but also to strengthen the role of the NS-Frauenschaft at the expense of other female Nazi organizations.⁵² And during the Second World War the Reichsarbeitsdienst

⁴⁹ William Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (New York, 1942), 287–93.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Hans Günter Hockerts, 'Sicherung im Alter: Kontinuität und Wandel der gesetzlichen Rentenversicherung, 1889–1979', in Werner Conze and M. Rainer Lepsius (eds.), *Sozialgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Beiträge zum Kontinuitätsproblem* (Stuttgart, 1983), 296–323.

⁵¹ Liebscher, *Freude und Arbeit*, 465–86. Timothy Mason had already argued that the DAF discovered leisure policy as a field not yet occupied by another important organization in the Third Reich; Mason, *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 187. Despite its conflicts with the DAF, the Reich Labour Ministry also extensively commented on the event. See e.g. *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 2nd series, 1936, 295–308.

⁵² Elizabeth Harvey, 'International Networks and Cross-Border Cooperation: National Socialist Women and the Vision of a "New Order" in Europe', *Politics, Religion and Identity*, 13 (2012), 141–58.

(RAD) promoted its own model for combining economic and social policy internationally, and sought to support the creation of similar institutions in Axis and client states such as the Slovak Republic. The *Wehrmacht*, however, wanted a different policy, and the Foreign Ministry was also more a rival than an ally for the RAD. For all its efforts to promulgate its achievements in the realm of social policy, the Nazi state experienced clashes and conflicts within its various parts, and these should not be disregarded.⁵³

International references and contacts were thus part of the power struggles between competing factions of the Nazi state. The Third Reich was anything but a unitary actor in this respect, revealing the polycratic dimensions of the Third Reich's political system. Radical Nazi leaders often challenged more conservative professional elites, as in the conflict between the DAF and the ministry, and here references to foreign policies and international propaganda efforts were one of several strategies in ferocious power struggles. They served as a tool to engender legitimacy in domestic controversies over policy choices. Obviously, this was not specific to the Third Reich. Even if decision-making mechanisms differed markedly between societies, competing groups and institutions also used international references elsewhere to further their domestic political agendas.

This sort of propaganda and propagandistic competition was not just projected onto other European societies, or restricted to the North Atlantic. The international dimensions of Nazi social policy had an even broader scope. Nazi institutions also invited representatives and experts from Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, Persia, Afghanistan, and elsewhere to promote their social policies.⁵⁴ They tried to win over and instrumentalize German minorities abroad for their purposes, and set up offices in various parts of the world. Argentina, for instance, had representatives not only of the NSDAP and military intelligence, but also of the DAF, the NS-Frauenschaft, several party sub-organizations, and Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry.⁵⁵ And in

⁵³ Tatjana Tönsmeier, *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei 1939–1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn* (Paderborn, 2003), 263–76.

⁵⁴ 'Ausländer sehen das soziale Deutschland', *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 5th series, 1940, 46–7; Kiran Klaus Patel, *Soldiers of Labor: Labor Service in Nazi Germany and New Deal America, 1933–1945* (New York, 2005), 1–2.

⁵⁵ Uwe Lübken, *Bedrohliche Nähe: Die USA und die nationalsozialistische Herausforderung in Lateinamerika, 1937–1945* (Stuttgart, 2004), 228; and

places there was real interest in these programmes. In India, for instance, some intellectuals saw the RAD as a role model for the time after independence. In January 1938 Subhas Chandra Bose, one of India's best-known nationalists, argued for the creation of a voluntary organization to mobilize the masses for the Indian cause. In addition to the British political parties' summer schools, he referred to the Nazi RAD as a role model, arguing that it 'deserves careful study and, with suitable modification may prove beneficial to India'.⁵⁶

Latin America is another case in point. It is established fact that the Third Reich competed with the United States and other democracies for Latin American markets.⁵⁷ But they also competed for Latin American minds. There is good research on this for cultural relations, for instance, the role of the cinema, music, and the radio. But social policies also became a dimension in these ideological clashes. Arthur Manthey, for instance, who was in charge of the international division of the committee organizing the World Congress for Leisure Time and Recreation mentioned above, argued that American states had to be wooed especially. He travelled to the United States, visited several Central American states, and continued on to Brazil and Argentina, among other places, to enlist support for the Nazi event. Consequently, several American delegations attended and the concluding report of the Congress was published in German, English, French, Italian, and Spanish.⁵⁸

Apart from its domestic functions, Nazi social policy thus strove for international recognition as part of an effort to challenge the dominant role of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization as clearing-houses of international debates on social issues. The anti-Geneva thrust of these international activities demonstrates that during the Third Reich, the regime did not simply revert to bilateralism or turn inward. Instead, Nazi and fascist inter-

Harvey, 'International Networks', on the gendered agency of these initiatives.

⁵⁶ Subhas Chandra Bose, *Collected Works*, vol. ix: *Congress President, 1938-1939*, ed. Sisir Kumar Bose and Sugata Bose (Kolkata, 2004), 24.

⁵⁷ See e.g. Ronald C. Newton, *The 'Nazi Menace' in Argentina, 1931-1947* (Stanford, Calif., 1992); Lübken, *Bedrohliche Nähe*.

⁵⁸ Liebscher, *Freude und Arbeit*, 466-7; Weltkongreß für Freizeit und Erholung (ed.), *Memoria del Congreso Mundial para le Organizacion de las Horas Libres y del Recreo* (Hamburg, 1937).

nationalism was a clear-cut alternative to existing forms of internationalism, whether under the banner of the League of Nations, or of a socialist, communist, or liberal-capitalist brand.⁵⁹ In 1939–40 the Reich Ministry of Labour and the Foreign Ministry even discussed creating a direct rival to the ILO and started negotiating these plans with Italian officials.⁶⁰

For all these reasons, the Third Reich was part of the overall push for internationalization that social policy had witnessed since the creation of the ILO in 1919 that had led to strong new links between societies around such questions. Democrats at the time were acutely aware of the Nazi challenge. Writing in the *American Political Science Review* in June 1937, exile Karl Loewenstein warned that ‘a closer transnational alignment or “bloc” of fascist nations . . . a fascist International of the multi-colored shirts is clearly under way’.⁶¹ Despite such early warnings, fascist internationalism continues to be ‘one of the most under-researched aspects of fascism’, as Roger Eatwell has argued.⁶² This certainly holds true for questions of social policy. Perhaps research is still struggling with the fact that ‘fascist internationalism’ itself is a contradiction in terms; that research on this dimension seems counter-intuitive.⁶³

As mentioned above, German policies in this respect were highly fragmented and inconsistent since they reflected internal power struggles in the Third Reich. Moreover, the anti-internationalist, exclusivist, and supremacist dimensions of Nazi ideology counterbalanced the regime’s international propaganda and missionary zeal, as well as the credibility of such efforts.⁶⁴ This was also true because Hitler himself never fully embraced the idea of advertising Nazi wel-

⁵⁹ Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (New York, 2012), 154–88; Kott, ‘Dynamiques’.

⁶⁰ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 3901/20653, esp. Reich Ministry of Labour, Note Krohn, 15 May 1939.

⁶¹ Karl Loewenstein, ‘Militant Democracy and Fundamental Rights’, *American Political Science Review*, 31 (1937), 417–32, quotation at 418.

⁶² Roger Eatwell, ‘The Drive Towards Synthesis’, in Roger Griffin (ed.), *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus* (London, 1998), 189–204, quotation at 195.

⁶³ Stuart J. Woolf, ‘Introduction’, in Stuart J. Woolf (ed.), *Fascism in Europe* (London, 1981), 17.

⁶⁴ See e.g. Fritz Meystre, *Allgemeine Sozialpolitik* (Munich, 1934), 76; Arbeits-

fare programmes internationally. By comparison, both fascist Italy and Japan created more formalized institutions for international propaganda and filled them with more life.⁶⁵ Yet it would also be wrong to underestimate the extent of information exchange and the legitimizing function of references to foreign models for the German case.

III

‘All of this helps us in planning even though our methods are of the democratic variety.’ These are the words US President Franklin D. Roosevelt chose for an internal note in 1938 to explain why he was personally interested in learning about Nazi welfare programmes and why he looked to the Third Reich even for political inspiration. This leads to the next part of this article, which looks at selective policy adaptation. In some cases, transnational debates about Nazi social policy led to non-coercive forms of selective policy adaptation. In the specific case mentioned above, the American president personally ordered lengthy reports on Nazi institutions from the US embassy in Berlin, not to procure propaganda material against the Third Reich, but as a source of information and even inspiration. Against this backdrop, American experts studied Nazi institutions such as Strength through Joy, the RAD, or the regime’s public works schemes. As shown elsewhere, some aspects of the German measures were even adopted in America in a modified form and thus assimilated, for example, in the case of air mechanic training.⁶⁶

This was not an isolated case. US experts such as labour economist Lewis Lorwin argued that democracies could learn from the social policies of Nazi Germany.⁶⁷ Swedish politicians also analysed

wissenschaftliches Institut der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, *Sozialpolitik zwischen zwei Kriegen*, 16–17.

⁶⁵ Herren, *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865*, 77–8.

⁶⁶ NARA/FDRL, OF 58B, Box 4; NARA, College Park, MA, RG 59/862.504/545; see also Patel, *Soldiers of Labor*, 277–91.

⁶⁷ Lewis L. Lorwin, *Public Works and Employment Planning in Germany, 1933–1939*, Prepared for the National Resources Planning Board, 1 Nov. 1940, in: NARA/FDRL, President’s Secretary’s Files, Box 157.

Nazi social policies in search of inspiration, and integrated them into their political proposals. At the same time, such references were the very reason why these ideas were unacceptable to other Swedes.⁶⁸ The Hamburg World Congress for Leisure Time and Recreation was instrumental in the development of the Japanese leisure time movement, especially in the establishment of the Nihon kōsei kyōkai (Japanese Recreation Association). More generally, the second half of the 1930s saw an intense discussion about whether Japan should emulate Germany, or develop a distinct Japanese form of recreational activities.⁶⁹ In Britain, the debate in the 1930s about the physical fitness of British youth was deeply informed by Nazi policies. In October 1936, Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer and future Prime Minister, argued that Britain could learn ‘from others’, explicitly referring to the ‘splendid condition of the German youth’.⁷⁰ The following year the government passed the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, which encouraged voluntary activities to improve Britons’ physical fitness and created new initiatives, such as the National Fitness Campaign (NFC), to this end. In this case, the German example did not have a direct impact on British legislation. Instead, British actors quickly stressed that their approach was voluntary and non-coercive. Improving national fitness was seen as the ultimate proof of the superiority of democracy over Nazism and other dictatorships.⁷¹ In sum, the history of some social policy programmes in the United States, Japan, Britain, and other countries cannot be understood without taking into account these transnational processes of selective adaptation and rejection.

⁶⁸ Norbert Götz and Kiran Klaus Patel, ‘Facing the Fascist Model: Discourse and the Construction of Labor Services in the United States of America and Sweden in the 1930s and 1940s’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 41 (2006), 57–73.

⁶⁹ Daisuke Tano, ‘“Achse der Freizeit”: Der Weltkongress für Freizeit und Erholung 1936 und Japans Blick auf Deutschland’, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 58 (2010), 709–29; more generally, also see Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, 1987).

⁷⁰ ‘Mr. Chamberlain on Peace’, *The Times*, 3 Oct. 1936.

⁷¹ Anna Maria Lemcke, ‘“Proving the Superiority of Democracy”: Die “National Fitness Campaign” der britischen Regierung (1937–1939) im transnationalen Zusammenhang’, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 57 (2009), 543–70; Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain, 1880–1939* (Oxford, 2010), 279–329.

The Nazis, in turn, emulated political practices elsewhere. Strength through Joy, established in 1933 as a flagship of the Third Reich, was inspired by Mussolini's *dopolavoro*. During the first years of the Nazi regime, fascist Italy also served as a point of reference in many other respects, and this continued well into the second half of the 1930s, despite the serious shortcomings of fascist social programmes.⁷² Nazi leaders and experts were fascinated by Italian community planning in North Africa, and when the first 20,000 Italian settlers set out for Libya in the autumn of 1938, the German Embassy in Rome made sure one of its diplomats accompanied them. This was only one of several German study trips to the region; Heinrich Himmler, Robert Ley, Rudolf Hess, and Hermann Göring also travelled there to study Italy's settlement policy. In this context, Patrick Bernhard has recently argued that in one specific regard, German planning elites even emulated Italian colonial practices: the spatial setup of new towns for the east of Hitler's empire was inspired by Italian design with a central piazza concentrating all official buildings.⁷³ Given that the diplomatic relationship between the two regimes was not always easy, these transfers are quite remarkable. Still, fascist Italy was the most obvious place for the Nazis to turn to, given the Italian regime's earlier establishment and ideological proximity.

In some cases, one can even speak of a circulation of knowledge, involving mutual references, sometimes over an extended period of time. The March 1944 conference in Bad Salzbrunn mentioned above was explicitly intended to come up with an alternative to the congress of the International Labour Organization held in Philadelphia one month later (see Ill. 5).⁷⁴ The ILO debates for their part were driv-

⁷² Liebscher, *Freude und Arbeit*; Reichardt and Nolzen (eds.), *Faschismus in Italien und Deutschland*; on fascism's shortcomings, see e.g. Victoria de Grazia, 'Die Radikalisierung der Bevölkerungspolitik im faschistischen Italien: Mussolinis "Rassenstaat"', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 26 (2000), 219–54; on a key Italian knowledge broker in this context, see Wolfgang Schieder, 'Faschismus im politischen Transfer: Giuseppe Renzetti als faschistischer Propagandist und Geheimagent in Berlin, 1933–1941', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus*, 21 (2005), 28–58.

⁷³ Patrick Bernhard, 'Hitler's Africa in the East: Italian Colonialism as a Model for German Planning in Eastern Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 51 (2015), forthcoming.

⁷⁴ Zucht, 'Das Arbeitswissenschaftliche Institut'.

Article

Illustration 5: International Labour Conference in Philadelphia, April-May 1944



Source: Photo Library of the International Labour Office.
© International Labour Office

en by an attempt to formulate an alternative to Nazi rule over Europe, while also trying to secure a future for the organization in the postwar world. Its 'Resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement', in particular, was meant as a clear-cut alternative to Nazi social policies, which implied exploitation and terror for most non-German Europeans.⁷⁵ The British Beveridge Report was also deeply informed by simultaneous debates in Robert Ley's DAF and the Reich Labour Ministry, and vice versa. In the press, articles disparaged the efforts of the other country as part of the propaganda

⁷⁵ International Labour Office, *Resolutions Adopted by the Twenty-Sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, Philadelphia, April-May, 1944* (reprinted from the Official Bulletin, vol. XXVI) (Montreal, 1944), 1-8; more generally, Antony Alcock, *History of the International Labour Organisation* (London, 1971), 171-87.

effort; meanwhile, experts in both Berlin and London carefully explored the details of the respective plans.⁷⁶ Second-order observation, as Niklas Luhmann would call it, came on top, in that ILO experts also carefully scrutinized German perceptions of the Beveridge Report.⁷⁷

What do these findings suggest? Transfers between dictatorships might seem unproblematic. But between dictatorship and democracy? Such work is not easy. International comparisons and the analysis of transnational flows involving the Third Reich run the risk of trivializing the terror of the Nazi regime; of drawing false analogies and comparisons. Its social policies were highly racist and need to be seen in the context of the preparation and execution of a war of aggression, and for this reason, it seems appropriate to characterize the regime as a warfare state. Referring to social policy transfers is not meant to exonerate the Third Reich. The conceptional debate on transnational history helps to avoid simplistic, and potentially apologetic, conclusions. This is not about one-to-one copies; not about little 'Third Reichs' in New Deal America, the Swedish *Folkhemmet*, or Britain's National Government. In all cases mentioned here, democratic politicians were well aware of the dilemmas they faced when turning to Nazi Germany for inspiration. Roosevelt's words, which opened this section of the article, must be seen in this context. Chamberlain's view was similar. After praising the physique of Ger-

⁷⁶ Karsten Linne, "Die Utopie des Herren Beveridge": Zur Rezeption des Beveridge-Plans im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland', 1999: *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*, 4 (1993), 62–82; Zucht, 'Das Arbeitswissenschaftliche Institut'; Marie-Luise Recker, *Nationalsozialistische Sozialpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich, 1985), 151–4; on Beveridge, see Jose Harris, *William Beveridge: A Biography* (Oxford, 1997); a recent survey of the Beveridge Report and the state of the art is Cornelius Torp, *Gerechtigkeit im Wohlfahrtsstaat: Alter und Alterssicherung in Deutschland und Großbritannien von 1945 bis heute* (Göttingen, 2015), 38–59.

⁷⁷ ILO Archives, Geneva, SI 2/0/25/2/2, Bureau International de Travail, 'Plan Beveridge. Opinions allemandes recueillies dans la presse par le B.I.T., Genève' [no date]. I would like to thank Sandrine Kott for referring me to this file. On Luhmann, see, in English, Niklas Luhmann, 'Deconstruction as Second-Order Observing', *New Literary History*, 24 (1993), 763–82; more generally, Niklas Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme: Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984).

man youth, he quickly added that 'our methods are different from theirs, in accordance with our national character and traditions'.⁷⁸

And, indeed, there were no direct copies, but only piecemeal adaptations in which the highly ideological parts of the 'original' were cut out. Time and again politicians and experts referred to the dramatic distance between their political systems. But they did not restrict their search for solutions to societies with similar political systems. Consequently, we should not overlook this other dimension, however compromising and critical it might seem at first glance. In spite of the ideological differences, many experts and politicians of the time followed the famous saying from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: 'It is proper to learn even from an enemy.'⁷⁹

In Germany, things were not fundamentally different. The last years of the war saw a discussion about ambitious social reform projects, comparable to the British Beveridge Report. As late as summer 1944, the regime discussed a thorough reform of its social insurance system. Franz Seldte, whose Labour Ministry was in charge of these issues, pleaded for administrative simplification, but also for a substantial increase in pensions. When explaining his draft to the other ministers, he argued that Germany's level of pension benefits 'at least had to match minimal provisions, and possibly exceed the benefits abroad, particularly of Western democracies'. Otherwise, the 'psychological repercussions for the working German *Volksgenosse*' would be fatal, and the 'effect abroad' unacceptable. Seldte's point of reference was again Britain and the Beveridge Report. Obviously the politics of constant cross-national comparisons now obliged some actors to see the disadvantages of German provisions, and to argue for improved conditions to match propagandistic self-fashioning with reality.⁸⁰

In the end, Seldte's proposal was shelved, since it met strong opposition from a phalanx of other ministries and agencies. In reaction to Seldte's proposal, his rival Fritz Sauckel, the almighty General Plenipotentiary for Labour Deployment, for instance, argued that the

⁷⁸ 'Mr. Chamberlain on Peace', *The Times*, 3 Oct. 1936; also see Lemcke, 'Proving the Superiority of Democracy'.

⁷⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book IV, 428. No contemporary source I know of refers to this saying directly.

⁸⁰ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 1501/3783, Seldte to Funk and others, 25 Aug. 1944.

Beveridge Report was 'a postwar plan and so far, we have serious doubts about its realization.'⁸¹ At the time, it was still unclear whether the British government would eventually endorse this project; in Germany, references to Britain turned into an argument for both the proponents and the opponents of far-ranging reform plans. According to an unverified German source in the Beveridge papers held at the London School of Economics, some German administrators in 1944 acknowledged the superiority of the British scheme, however loath they would have been to admit this in public.⁸² And even Sauckel had to concede that 'after a victorious conclusion of the war', Germany would have to increase and expand its social provision.⁸³ The significance attributed to British social insurance efforts is also revealed by the fact that in mid January 1945 the Reich Ministry of Labour produced an elaborate translation of a British white paper, based on the Beveridge Report on social insurance, of some 120 pages in length. This paper was sent to former Secretary of State Johannes Krohn two days before the Red Army reached the borders of the German Reich in the East, and months after Aachen had fallen in the West.⁸⁴ In sum, therefore, foreign ideas and concepts were an important element of the debate, even during the very months when the Third Reich was falling apart.

And it is possible to go a step further. On questions of concrete policy options, transnational exchanges also impacted in another way. Because of transnational exposure, this article argues, societies and their elites sometimes also decided which options *not* to pursue. In this sense, transnational exchanges helped to reify the nation. What does this mean? To stick to the extreme example of cross-references between democracies and dictatorships: in the United States, Britain, and elsewhere, transnational references could also influence

⁸¹ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 1501/3783, Sauckel to Seldte, 7 Oct. 1944; also see *ibid.*, Seldte to Lammers, 25 Aug. 1944. On the wider context, see Recker, *Nationalsozialistische Sozialpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 275–85.

⁸² London School of Economics and Political Science, William Beveridge Papers, 8/59, appendix to PLS-Nr. 363/43 g, secret. Also referred to in Janet Beveridge, *Beveridge and His Plan* (London, 1954), 198–199. So far, it has been impossible to verify the authenticity of this document with other German sources.

⁸³ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 1501/3783, Sauckel to Seldte, 7 Oct. 1944.

⁸⁴ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 3901/20655, Karstedt to Krohn, 17 Jan. 1945.

policy choices by *reducing* options. To return to the example given above: after Britain introduced its National Fitness Campaign in 1937, the debate continued. Early in 1938, Sir Edward Grigg, the president of a regional committee of the NFC and a prominent politician who had served as governor of Kenya, argued in favour of compulsory paramilitary training for every young man as part of the NFC's work. Grigg again referred to Germany as an example, but this time there was public uproar. Grigg was quickly forced to resign as NFC regional committee president, while the NFC distanced itself from any kind of authoritarian practice. Interestingly, *The Times* sided with Grigg, but public opinion as well as the government clearly felt that any such idea was incompatible with the country's political standards. Just as transnational references had facilitated a debate two years earlier, they now defined the limits of what was perceived as legitimate political action.

Similar examples come from the United States, where questions of whether new programmes should be voluntary or compulsory, and whether they should have a (para-)military dimension also stirred heated debate—just as in Britain, the meaning and importance of voluntarism always remained contested.⁸⁵ More obligatory forms were often rejected as fascist or totalitarian, and the less binding approach ruled the day. Moreover, the United States saw a discussion about the 'American way' at this time as a search for an updated understanding of national identity. In this context, debates with transnational references sometimes resulted in the definition of a supposedly typical 'national way', thus reifying national differences. Put more simply: only because they were exposed to a transnational range of options did societies eventually decide what their path should be and, in turn, they rationalized these choices as the obvious consequences of national traditions, institutions, and so on. On broad issues, such as the alternative between democracy and dictatorship, they might have been right. But when it came to the nuts and bolts of specific programmes, national traditions did not always serve as guiding principles, and policy choices were contested domestically. Naming one option as the quintessentially 'British' or 'American'

⁸⁵ James Hinton, 'Voluntarism and the Welfare/Warfare State: Women's Voluntary Services in the 1940s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 9 (1998), 274–305.

solution ultimately revealed that societies were deeply embedded in transnational exchanges and conversations, and transnational delimitation was meant to add legitimacy for a given policy choice.

IV

All in all, this article has tried to demonstrate that Nazi social policies were part of an international conversation to a much larger extent, and in a more meaningful way, than research so far has suggested. In public discourse, references to programmes elsewhere were meant to give new initiatives legitimacy by referring to the pioneering role of other societies, to parallel developments elsewhere, or the alleged superiority of one's own solution by comparison with international homologues. In this respect, the Third Reich was not unique. Other societies referenced Nazi schemes in just the same ways. In a range of other cases, experts and politicians resorted to selective policy adaptation, building on transnational exchange and learning processes. Paradoxically, these exchanges tended to reify national differences and fundamental ideological rifts, particularly between liberal democracy and fascism. Not at a fundamental level, but at a technical level, so this article contends, some of these differences only emerged over time, and as a result of processes of mutual perception and exchange.

So far, the Third Reich's social policies have been excluded from the transnational context of its age. This Exceptionalist view, fully in line with the *Sonderweg* interpretation of German history, continues to dominate public and scholarly interpretations, even if most historians today would distance themselves from the *Sonderweg* narrative. The range of options for organizing public work schemes, leisure activities, or child allowance was limited. Nazi social and welfare policies had roots in social scientific discourses and administrative practices that were not worlds apart from the rest of the globe. To be sure, inclusion and exclusion were negotiated in very different ways across societies, and the differences between societies should not be levelled. Still, liberal democracies often developed their welfare elements to distinguish themselves from and to confront their fascist rivals, and not simply because of domestic dynamics or qualities intrinsic to democracies. These findings for the prewar and war years

can also be transposed to other contexts. In the Cold War, for instance, the Soviet Union was to assume a similar role in the West.

What has been described here is but a first step. More research is needed to properly understand the actors involved in such exchanges, the question of periodization, the exact relationship between public and expert discourses, and their links to policy-making, as well as the weight with which foreign references impacted on societies. Internal conflicts within the Nazi leadership over transnational models and references might also shed new light on the debate about whether the Third Reich's polycratic elements led to fragmentation and inefficiency or whether, on the other hand, a combination of competence overlap, infighting, and transnational networking increased efficiency.⁸⁶ On these issues, this article has only been able to offer some first ideas.

Moreover, there is the other side of these exchanges, which has been left out here for lack of space, even if, in fact, it mattered at least as much: the role of Nazi social policies in the broadest sense in the occupation and domination of Europe from the late 1930s. This part of history is well known. Again, social and economic policy instruments tended to converge, even if population policy (*Volkstumspolitik*) and economic targets often competed with each other. In general, however, policies were driven by racism, violence, and the drive to exploit non-Aryans. The destruction of trade unions, forced labour, racial hierarchization, resettlement, racist screening as part of 'Germanization' policies, and, ultimately, extermination characterized the Third Reich's policies. Frequently, the same organizations and individuals referred to in this article were involved in, or even in charge of, these tasks. The Arbeitswissenschaftliche Institut established a branch in Vienna soon after the annexation of Austria. The Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale plundered the archives of international organizations based in Paris and Brussels. Seizing expert knowledge was an important step towards dominating and exploiting other societies. Officials of German employment agencies and the Reich Ministry of Labour followed the *Wehrmacht* and played an important role in organizing forced labour. The first German labour agency in conquered Poland, for instance, was established on 3 September

⁸⁶ On this debate see esp. Sven Reichardt and Wolfgang Seibel (eds.), *Der präkäre Staat: Herrschen und Verwalten im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2011).

1939, in Rybnik, a mere two days after the invasion had begun.⁸⁷ All of these agencies were part of the general racial policy intending to reconstruct German and European society as a harsh system of selection and exclusion.⁸⁸

During the war, non-Germans across the continent quickly learned that the regime gave pride of place to war, violence, and exploitation. Ultimately, it lacked a political vision for winning allies and enlisting other Europeans in sufficient numbers to fight for a common cause. Nazi Germany never systematically strove to build a strong fascist international, and Hitler himself was never particularly keen on spreading German social policies internationally. Others, however, were. Some felt that ‘am deutschen Wesen soll die Welt genesen’, that the German character should heal the world. Others saw German policies as a role model or a cautionary tale. The world certainly witnessed a ‘Nazi social policy moment’ during the 1930s and 1940s, and postwar welfare state planning even continued when the regime’s fate was already sealed. For these reasons, it would be wrong to disregard the fascination and interest that the regime’s policies stirred at the time. In contrast to Hitler’s claims in the opening quotation, Nazi Germany never achieved ‘social equality’ or the ‘elimination of class differences’; in fact, it never even seriously aspired to do so. But its social policies cannot be ignored, and they can only be understood when placed against the backdrop of global developments and exchanges.

⁸⁷ Valentina Maria Stefanski, ‘Nationalsozialistische Volkstums- und Arbeits-einsatzpolitik im Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz 1939–1945’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 31 (2005), 38–67.

⁸⁸ See e.g. Karl Heinz Roth, ‘Sozialimperialistische Aspekte der Okkupationspolitik: Strategien und Aktivitäten der “Deutschen Arbeitsfront” (DAF)’, in Werner Röhr (ed.), *Faschismus und Rassismus: Kontroversen um Ideologie und Opfer* (Berlin, 1992), 353–75; and, more generally, Karl Heinz Roth, *Intelligenz und Sozialpolitik im ‘Dritten Reich’: Eine methodisch-historische Studie am Beispiel des Arbeitswissenschaftlichen Instituts der Deutschen Arbeitsfront* (Munich, 1993).

Article

KIRAN KLAUS PATEL is Jean Monnet Professor of European and Global History at Maastricht University. In 2014/15 he was the Gerda Henkel Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics and the German Historical Institute London. His most recent publications include: *European Integration and the Atlantic Community in the 1980s* (2013) (ed. with Kenneth Weisbrode); *The Historical Foundations of EU Competition Law* (2013) (ed. with Heike Schweitzer); and *The New Deal: A Global History* (forthcoming 2016).

REVIEW ARTICLE

INTERNATIONALS OF EXPERTS, EDUCATORS, AND SCHOLARS: TRANSNATIONAL HISTORIES OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHRIS MANIAS

HEATHER ELLIS and ULRIKE KIRCHBERGER (eds.), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), xii + 238 pp. ISBN 978 9 004 25312 4. E-ISBN 978 9 004 25311 7. €104.00

ESTHER MÖLLER and JOHANNES WISCHMEYER (eds.), *Transnationale Bildungsräume: Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beiheft 96 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 195 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 10124 7. €49.99

W. BOYD RAYWARD (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), xviii + 318 pp. ISBN 978 1 4094 4225 7. £65.00

DAVIDE RODOGNO, BERNHARD STRUCK, and JAKOB VOGEL (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*, Studies in Contemporary European History, 14 (New York: Berghahn, 2015), xiv + 305 pp. ISBN 978 1 78238 358 1. \$120.00. £75.00

To investigate the dynamics of international exchange in the modern period, science, scholarship, and expertise seem like ideal test cases. It is often claimed that ‘science’ has no country and rests much of its legitimacy on a sense of universalism and objectivity. Exchange and transfer across national boundaries—either on amicable terms or by emulation of rivals—have been essential to developing fields of scholarship and claims to authority over numerous questions. Additionally, new technologies deriving from scientific and technical expertise, such as shipping, railway transport, and telegraphic and

radio communication, provided the infrastructural foundations which bound the increasingly interconnected world from the nineteenth century onwards. Yet these developments co-existed with countervailing processes: claims to scientific progress often rested on intensely national or imperial projects; internationalisms were often based as much on the exclusion of particular groups as wide connections; and infrastructural consolidations were as important for integrating and differentiating nation-states, national economies, and imperial systems as they were for international connections. These tensions ensure that histories of these processes are potentially of great interest in investigating the dynamics of exchange and transmission in the modern world, and how this operated in terms of wider patterns of integration, differentiation, and rivalry.

The development of 'transnational', 'transfer', and 'entangled' history (and the attempts to define these various approaches) is a complex area, although it has been summarized well in a number of recent articles and studies.¹ Two historiographical currents within it are particularly relevant for the four volumes being reviewed here. The first is the 'new international history'.² Over the past decade or so, a body of literature investigating the rise of 'internationalist' culture in the early twentieth century has led to something of a rebranding of 'international history' (formerly a synonym for fairly traditional diplomatic history). While still examining international relations, the field has been broadened through being connected with cultural, social, and intellectual history and used to illustrate the significance of non-state actors, civil society groups, and international

¹ 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', Participants: C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, *American Historical Review*, 35 (2006), 1441–64; Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14/4 (2005), 421–39; and Jan R uger, 'OXO: Or, the Challenges of Transnational History', *European History Quarterly*, 40/4 (2010), 656–68.

² Patricia Clavin, 'Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts', *European History Quarterly*, 40/4 (2010), 624–40, for a reflection on these issues; Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, 1997) for an early example; and the collections Daniel Laqua (ed.), *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars* (London, 2011), and Laura Beers and Geraint Thomas (eds.), *Brave New World: Imperial and Democratic Nation Building in Britain Between the Wars* (London, 2011) for some more examples.

institutions, and how wider commitments to ‘internationalism’ manifested among a whole range of actors. As well as deepening understandings of how the international systems of the early twentieth century operated, these studies have also led to an interesting terminological shift. ‘Internationalism’ is increasingly being recognized as the term used by nineteenth- and twentieth-century actors for the processes of cross-national exchange that would often be termed ‘transnational’ by modern historians.³ Focusing on this allows specific contemporary conceptions of cross-national exchange to be examined, sidestepping the potential ambiguities of the term ‘transnational’ (and also its problematic terminological inflation, as it becomes something of a historical buzzword).

Similar directions have been followed within the history of science, even if a relative slowness in adopting ‘transnational’ approaches in this field has been cited in some recent discussions.⁴ ‘Scientific internationalism’ and its relationship with the ‘nationalization’ of science have generated persistent (if slightly sporadic) interest,⁵ and relate well with the ‘new international history’. More expansively, there has also been a move within the history of science to regard circulation and movement (often on a global scale) as the key object of study, much deriving from Jim Secord’s call for the idea of ‘knowledge in transit’ to serve as a new master organizing principle.⁶ In doing so, historians of science have examined how scientific models, approach-

³ Patricia Clavin, ‘Introduction: Conceptualising Internationalism between the World Wars’, in Laqua (ed.), *Internationalism Reconfigured*, 1–14, discusses this shift.

⁴ See particularly Simone Turchetti, Néstor Herran, and Soraya Boudia, ‘Introduction: Have We Ever Been “Transnational”? Towards a History of Science Across and Beyond Borders’, *British Journal for the History of Science*, 45/3 (2012), 319–36, and the other contributions in this journal edition.

⁵ Ronald E. Doel, Dieter Hoffmann, and Nikolai Kremontsov, ‘National States and International Science: A Comparative History of International Science Congresses in Hitler’s Germany, Stalin’s Russia, and Cold War United States’, *Osiris*, 20 (2005), 49–76; N. L. Kremontsov, *International Science between the World Wars: The Case of Genetics* (London, 2005); Paul Forman, ‘Scientific Internationalism and the Weimar Physicists: The Ideology and its Manipulation in Germany after World War I’, *Isis*, 64/2 (1973), 150–80; Elisabeth Crawford, *Nationalism and Internationalism in Science, 1880–1939: Four Studies of the Nobel Population* (Cambridge, 1992).

⁶ James Secord, ‘Knowledge in Transit’, *Isis*, 95–4 (2004), 654–72.

es, and methods have been mediated and transformed as they moved across a range of different contexts, strongly affected by the specifics of particular localities but also by the processes of transmission and actions of 'go-betweenes'.⁷ With history of science methods being extended to encompass the 'history of knowledge' more generally, and connected with other fields such as the history of expertise over social questions and educational history, it seems as if pairing these approaches with other forms of international history is a logical step.

The four books reviewed all link these two historiographies in some manner (sometimes explicitly, other times in their general approach), being illustrative of wider attempts to carry 'transnational' and 'internationalist' history models into the history of science, knowledge, and expertise. They had their origins in either conferences or networks of academics, but manage to avoid the potential problems in the 'conference proceedings' genre of unevenness and excessive heterogeneity by all being organized around clear themes and well-selected case studies. Given that they are all written within quite new fields and that most of the contributors are early-career scholars, many of the contributions are testings of ideas and the initial publications in wider programmes of research. They therefore show individual corners of what will hopefully be a range of very interesting monograph projects appearing over the next few years, and offer an overview of the potentials—but also some of the limits and areas for further investigation—within the international and transnational history of knowledge.

The volumes all have a similar chronological focus on a 'long nineteenth century' of varying durations (sometimes starting as early as 1750 and ending as late as 1950). Within this, there is a general centre of gravity around the years 1880 to 1914, a period which the edi-

⁷ Two particularly interesting collections on this line are Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, and James Delbourgo (eds.), *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820* (Sagamore Beach, Mass., 2009); and Bernard V. Lightman, Gordon McOuat, and Larry Stewart (eds.), *The Circulation of Knowledge Between Britain, India, and China: The Early-Modern World to the Twentieth Century* (Leiden, 2013).

tors of one of the collections call 'the heyday of internationalism within the emerging transnational sphere'.⁸ This is an excellent direction, as much work in transnational history, and particularly 'the new international history', has tended to focus on the interwar period, and particularly forms of internationalism centred around the League of Nations. Stretching the chronology back more firmly into the nineteenth century in some respects relativizes the internationalism of the 1920s and 1930s as a damaged and reconfigured version of a more confident international culture in the earlier period. Taking this longer duration also establishes the importance of nineteenth-century modes of organization and institutionalization for developments in the twentieth century, something quite significant given that nineteenth-century history seems to have declined in fashion somewhat over the past few years. Where the books differ is in how they approach issues of internationalism, exchange, and transmission, with all four adopting quite different spatial categories and objects of study. Their organizing principles show the different ways that transnational history and the history of knowledge can be connected, and how they can be related to a variety of methodological approaches and historical questions. It therefore pays briefly to characterize each of the volumes in terms of their specific features.

Shaping the Transnational Sphere is the most tightly organized and coherent of the collections, although this is partly because its contributions engage with one of the most established and well-studied areas within transnational history, namely, the role of 'experts' engaged in social reform movements. In this respect, it is the volume which most directly represents a 'reading back' of the themes of the new international history into the long nineteenth century. The volume sets out to explore 'the activities of networks and non-state actors beyond and below national borders that were particularly important for the dissemination of reform ideas and practices', illustrating how they operated within and helped to develop a 'transnational sphere . . . the space where encounters across national borders took place'.⁹ The case studies examine the cross-border relations of

⁸ Davide Rodogno, Bernhard Struck, and Jakob Vogel, 'Introduction', in eid. (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s* (New York, 2015), 1–22, at 8.

⁹ *Ibid.* 2.

'expert' groups, mostly social reformers and a variety of philanthropic organizations (including child welfare groups, Jewish migration assistance, and large American foundations), which are shown to have interacted across national borders to form a wider domain of transnational activity. This is not presented as invariably successful or unproblematic, however. It was often quite tense, uneven, and operated in a stop-start manner, with a slow consolidation in the early nineteenth century, quickening around the years 1880 to 1914, and then dealing with a series of ruptures and revaluations after the First World War.

Transnationale Bildungsräume, meanwhile, has a similar (if more theoretically engaged) approach and more specific case studies. Here attention focuses on educational institutions, particularly universities, schools, research institutes, and educational reform groups. These are unified through the category of 'Bildungsräume' ('spaces of education'), 'which were constituted in the form of personal networks, representation and reception in media, and institutional cooperation as well as through the creation or use of international forums'.¹⁰ The spatial framework means not only that international, national, and local levels can be interrelated, but also that they can be investigated within the same category as physical spaces, such as schoolrooms and university buildings, and wider 'imagined spaces' around linguistic and disciplinary communities. Notably, the constitution of these *Bildungsräume* is given a strong ideological dimension, growing from ideas of improvement, the instillation of values, and concepts of the 'civilizing mission'. In this way, educational institutions are shown to have developed in a way which not only reconfigured older relationships and regions of activity, but also drew coherence from a series of shared values and assumptions.

The contributions in *Anglo-German Scholarly Relations*, meanwhile, adopt a slightly different approach, explicitly focusing on a bilateral relationship between scholars in two different national communities. Interactions between British and German scholars are traced in a variety of areas, including anthropological projects, popular science

¹⁰ Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, 'Transnationale Bildungsräume: Koordinaten eines Forschungskonzepts', in eid. (eds.), *Transnationale Bildungsräume: Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion* (Göttingen, 2013), 7-19, at 8.

publishing, Antarctic exploration, and participation in scientific meetings and congresses. While this might seem, at first glance, a less sophisticated approach than the transnational spatial orientations of the above two volumes, it is one that has real advantages. Given the iconic status of the 'rise of Anglo-German antagonism' as a test case in much international history, this remains a historiographically significant relationship to examine,¹¹ and the focus on it allows very close and subtle studies across a variety of fields. The contributions in the volume also situate the Anglo-German relationship within much wider linkages, with relations between scholars in these two countries not occurring in a vacuum, but being strongly affected by interactions with their counterparts in other European countries, the USA, and colonial empires. In some respects, therefore, by showing the significance of these multiple relations, the studies (possibly counter-intuitively, but to great effect) actually use the bilateral relationship to illustrate much wider systems of connection.

Information Beyond Borders is the most eclectic of the four, based around the category of 'information'. While the book is technically subtitled with the chronology 'in the Belle Époque', the chapters veer quite far from the classic years of this period, covering the same long nineteenth-century timeframe as the other books. The category of 'information' is not really conceptualized or defined, but the individual chapters present the diversity of forms of information, and the international relationships around its exchange, very well, showing a fluid and dynamic set of transfers where 'people, publications, objects and ideas – as information – in all its many formats and carriers moved ever more freely and quickly to and fro across the boundaries of the European states and beyond them'.¹² While the case studies are less clearly organized than in the other three volumes, they are often in more innovative areas – the introduction explicitly notes

¹¹ For general accounts of this, see Jan Rüger, 'Revisiting the Anglo-German Antagonism', *Journal of Modern History*, 83/3 (2011), 579–617; and Andreas Fahrmeir, 'New Perspectives in Anglo-German Comparative History', *German History*, 26/ 4 (2008), 553–62.

¹² W. Boyd Rayward, 'Introduction: International Exhibitions. Paul Otlet, Henri La Fontaine and the Paradox of the Belle Époque', in id. (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque* (Farnham, 2014), 1–22, at 21.

them as 'unusual and suggestive'¹³ – with chapters on the role of telegraphic networks, business magazines, news agencies, and library management systems. There are also numerous excursions into questions of language (a key issue in transnational exchange which is often under-examined in the other volumes), and a strong focus on communications technologies and information management.

It should be apparent from the above that a methodological distinction exists between those volumes whose analytical focus is based on defined objects of study or relationships between specific national contexts (more traditional means of conducting transfer and transnational history), and those which focus more on 'spaces' where transnational activity was conducted. In practice, however, there is less difference between the actual case studies in the four volumes than this might initially suggest. The spatial frameworks are incredibly interesting on a conceptual level and the theoretical discussions give a great deal of food for thought, but they appear difficult to pursue in practice. It is quite telling that in the two volumes which are explicitly constructed around a spatial frame of analysis (*Bildungsräume* and *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*), most of the chapters continue to deal with bilateral relationships, 'perceptions' of one national context by individuals or institutions in another, or the formation and activity of self-defined 'international' organizations. How to fully implement the theoretical discussions around the category of space, rather than use it to foreground (still certainly worthy and interesting, but rather more traditional) studies of international organizations and cross-national perceptions, is something that still needs to be developed.

The case studies in these volumes are expectedly varied. There are a number of consistencies, however, which show interesting dimensions around the international history of ideas and knowledge. In particular, there is a set of institutions which persistently feature across all the volumes. The first are the major international exhibitions which were held across the nineteenth century and appear in

¹³ Ibid. 13.

numerous chapters as focal points for international culture. As show-cases of scientific and technical innovation and self-consciously 'international' and 'universal', these seem to be some of the clearest examples of the connection between science, expertise, and internationalism. Many chapters investigate them in some way, particularly in terms of their organization and in the arrangement of their exhibits. The second common case study are international congresses of scientists and reformers, which were held with increasing regularity and in increasing diversity from the later nineteenth century onwards. Across the volumes, we have accounts of international gatherings of (among others) sanitary engineers, chemists, telegraphers, social reformers, Orientalists, and idealist philosophers, meeting in various locations to discuss common questions and define their communities. Finally, there are also international organizations devoted to specific causes, especially those concerned with social reform and education, or which served as associations for particular professional or 'epistemic communities'. Notably, as is presented in many of the chapters, such as Stephane Frious's on sanitary engineers and Martina Henze's on prison reform,¹⁴ these three objects of study are closely linked: international congresses were often held alongside international expositions, and many international associations had their origins in networks formed through congresses. Highlighting these linkages potentially allows a more integrated study of international organization, illustrating how it moved between these shared institutions and varying degrees of formal organization.

Some other important objects of study also appear at several junctures. The way in which telegraphic systems served as conceptual models for ideas of a world community is a very interesting issue brought up in Frank Hartmann's contribution in *Information Beyond Borders*.¹⁵ Multinational companies (including news organizations)

¹⁴ Stephane Frious, 'Sanitizing the City: The Transnational Work and Networks of French Sanitary Engineers, 1890s-1930s', in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*, 44-59; and Martina Henze, 'Transnational Cooperation and Criminal Policy: The Prison Reform Movement, 1820s-1950s', *ibid.* 187-217.

¹⁵ Frank Hartmann, 'Of Artifacts and Organs: World Telegraph Cables and Ernst Kapp's Philosophy of Technology,' in Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 23-34.

are also important players in a number of chapters,¹⁶ and probably deserve further study. Not only did the scale of these institutions dwarf many of the ‘internationalist’ reform institutions which seem to be absorbing most attention, but many philanthropic organizations were founded using fortunes accumulated through international business, and had their internal administration based on business practices. Universities, libraries, and learned societies are also shown as important sites where transnational and international projects were germinated and implemented. In addition, particular individuals active in internationalist projects, such as the creation of universal languages, encyclopedias of the sum of human knowledge, or particular schemes of education reform are also presented as important ‘international actors’. The world of internationalist activity is therefore shown to be both extensive and dense, with a whole range of institutions and modes of organization involved in the formation of cross-border networks.

More informal connections are less frequently examined in the volumes, perhaps because they are more difficult to investigate, requiring archival research in multiple countries rather than clear sets of documents produced by explicitly ‘international’ organizations or projects. This is, however, an area where the close, bilateral focus of *Anglo-German Relations* pays off significantly. Hilary Howes’s study of how correspondence, publications exchanges, and collaborative research sustained theoretical and methodological interchange between German and British anthropologists in Malaya is an excellent example of how this kind of research can be conducted.¹⁷ Similarly, Tara Windsor’s chapter on the re-establishment of contacts between German and British literary figures after the First World War shows the importance of informal contacts, such as study-trips and personal correspondence, for laying the ground for a

¹⁶ Alistair Black, ‘An Information Management Tool for Dismantling Barriers in Early Multinational Corporations: The Staff Magazine in Britain before World War I’, *ibid.* 283–302.

¹⁷ Hilary Howes, ‘Anglo-German Anthropology in the Malay Archipelago, 1869–1910: Adolf Bernhard Meyer, Alfred Russell Wallace and A. C. Haddon’, in Heather Ellis and Ulrike Kirchberger (eds.), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, 2014), 126–46.

resumption of more formal international activity in the late 1920s.¹⁸ These contributions also highlight how significant personal relationships of trust and friendship were for transnational exchange, allowing a much more nuanced appreciation (partly informed by the history of emotions) of how cross-border interactions were formed and fostered. In this way, studies can get behind the often quite banal and formulaic commitments to internationalism which litter speeches and publications at international congresses and expositions, and gain a deeper appreciation of what these relations meant to contemporaries.

The general focuses described above mean that there are also some gaps—or at least areas for further investigation—which cut across all of the volumes. Like the literature on inter-war internationalism, there is still a predominant focus on liberals as international actors in most of the volumes. While there is a call in the introduction of *Shaping the Transnational Sphere* to examine the ‘dark side’ of transnationalism and internationalism (particularly right-wing and conservative internationalist connections, and the cross-national development of the eugenics movement),¹⁹ this is unfortunately not answered in many of the contributions. There is still a general tendency to take for granted that internationalism was primarily connected with liberal ideology, and even calling non-liberal internationalism the ‘dark side’ does suggest an overly moralized conception. Only a few case studies veer away from this, but those that do, such as Vincent Viaene’s study of Catholic internationalism,²⁰ signal that there is potentially a lot to be done in these areas. In particular, this and other contributions mark out religious history as a major potential field where transnational and international approaches could be usefully turned. This could also be extended not only to the obvious but still surprisingly understudied area of socialist internationalism (mentioned in a few of the chapters, but not closely examined in any of them), and also to internationalism among conservative, right radical, or aristocratic groups.

¹⁸ Tara Windsor, ‘Rekindling Contact: Anglo-German Academic Exchange after the First World War’, *ibid.* 212–32.

¹⁹ Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel, ‘Introduction’, 4.

²⁰ Vincent Viaene, ‘Professionalism or Proselytism? Catholic “Internationalists” in the Nineteenth Century’, in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*, 23–43.

A further potential limit (or perhaps an interesting point) about the case studies is that they all focus on highly mobile, educated, or socially well-positioned groups. The actors encountered in the volumes tend to be confident and ambitious figures such as educational reformers, sanitary experts, journalists, economists, and medical professionals. There is much less on involuntary migrants, colonial subjects, or exiles except as they feature as the objects of transnational projects. This is, of course, partly due to the organizing principles of the volumes. Titles referring to 'experts', 'scholars', and creators of *Bildungsräume* all indicate that we are dealing with self-conscious (or at least aspirational) improving elites. This does, however, raise the issue of whether, when talking about transnationalism and internationalism, we are primarily dealing with individuals with the power, resources, and mobility which enable them to travel easily across borders and form cross-national alliances. Reading behind some of the chapters, however, there do seem to be additional areas which could be worth studying to give a deeper perspective. Who exactly is learning universal languages such as Esperanto, Volapük, and Ido,²¹ and how do they conceptualize international transmission? How do the Eastern European Jewish refugees who are being assisted by Jewish migration assistance charities in Britain, France, Germany, and the USA relate with their metropolitan benefactors?²² And how do the indigenous peoples being studied by British and German anthropologists (or those providing access to populations of interest to foreign anthropologists) interact with their investigators?²³ While of course more difficult to study, these are questions that deserve further investigation, and offer a way to connect the relatively high-level world of voluntary transnational actors with a much wider range of groups.

²¹ Their founders and inventors are discussed in Markus Krajewski, 'Organizing a Global Idiom: Esperanto, Ido and the World Auxiliary Language Movement before the First World War', in Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 97–108; and Fabian de Kloe, 'Beyond Babel: Esperanto, Ido and Louis Couturat's Pursuit of an International Scientific Language', *ibid.* 109–22.

²² Tobias Brinkmann, 'The Road from Damascus: Transnational Jewish Philanthropic Organizations and the Jewish Mass Migration from Eastern Europe, 1840–1914', in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*, 152–72.

²³ Howes, 'Anglo-German Anthropology in the Malay Archipelago, 1869–1910'.

This is also paralleled in the geographic focus of the volumes, which tends to be oriented around north-western Europe and the USA. Geographies frequently shrink even further, as 'Germany' often means Prussia or the north, 'Britain' south-east England and London, France is Paris, and the USA either the East Coast or even just New York City. There are individual chapters in the volumes looking at Italy, Turkey, and Poland, but, with a couple of exceptions, these are usually nodes looking towards or being acted on by groups from these north Atlantic centres. Russia, South America, China, and European colonies beyond India, south-east Asia, and Australasia are largely absent. There are, of course, some insights to be had here, as it indicates that internationalist projects were often carried out from established centres of authority and depended on established geographies of power. On the flip-side, however, it does perhaps reinforce stereotypes of the peripheral and primarily 'receptive' nature of actors in eastern and southern Europe, and extra-European contexts. This emphasis is probably not just worth regarding as a gap requiring filling (although more studies of, for example, Russian and South American internationalism would certainly be of great interest), but also something which perhaps reflects the dynamics of nineteenth-century internationalism. Not as something which spread to all countries equally, but something which served as a way of further accentuating the dominance and importance of the 'core' countries which most explicitly represented 'internationalist' ideals, or as something which was cited by ambitious 'modernizing' new elites in other national contexts, who sought to use the language of international civilization and citation of foreign models to build their own authority within the domestic context.

Perhaps one of the most interesting issues which all the volumes engage with in some way is how to position these histories of transmission of information, scholarship, and expertise in relation to other historic concerns, either traditional, such as the rise of the nation-state, or more recent, such as the reinvigoration of imperial history and vogue for global history which has almost swept the rug from beneath the feet of the often European-centred transnational

history.²⁴ The sense received in some earlier works of transnational history, that it offered a new way of conceptualizing modern history which diminished nations, empires, and borders as something contingent to be ‘moved beyond’ has receded somewhat. The nation-state and the empire have been stubbornly persistent and difficult to ignore. This ensures that all the volumes engage with the following questions. How did transnationalism and internationalism interact with the rise of nation-states, imperial systems, and the hardening borders which were also a key part of the period? And how significant actually were transnational and international projects within a world of consolidating nations and empires? These questions are particularly relevant to the period under examination in the books. A core problem—of how the heyday of internationalism in the period 1880 to 1914 coincided with the dramatic upsurge in national and imperial rivalries, and ended in the explosion of the First World War—looms over all the works, and is indicated in all the introductions and many of the contributions. The relationship between the international and the national therefore becomes a key issue for all the volumes. The strategies used to engage with this, and the explanations that are offered, show some of the insights that transnational history can offer to these wider historical themes.

One issue is how relevant internationalist ideologies actually were in these periods. For example, it is enjoyable to read that a Dutch physician in the 1900s devised a utopian scheme to transform The Hague into a World Capital based on positivist and hygienist principles,²⁵ but what was the significance of this? Many of the chapters directly engage with questions like this, and none seem wholly unaware of them. One of the strongest examinations is made by Julia Moses in her study of the International Congress on Accidents at Work. While providing a central transnational forum for discussions of work accident legislation, this was an institution which ‘governments could choose to ignore, manipulate or search for new ideas’.²⁶

²⁴ Clavin, ‘Time, Manner, Place’ offers a way of coming to terms with this.

²⁵ Geert Somsen, ‘Global Government through Science: Pieter Eijkman’s Plans for a World Capital’, in Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 201–20.

²⁶ Julia Moses, ‘Policy Communities and Exchanges across Borders: The Case of Workplace Accidents at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’, in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*, 60–81, at 62.

It is argued in this and many other contributions that these translation processes required a great deal of mediation and ran into frequent opposition. This is particularly strongly noted in those contributions in *Bildungsräume* which deal with the emulation of foreign (usually German) education systems in other countries. For example, Mustafa Gencer's study of the emulation of German education practices in the Ottoman empire draws attention to how Turkish educational reformers emphasized both the 'national' character of German and Prussian education alongside its 'universal' qualities, and how its local implementations needed to be imprinted with a self-asserted sense of 'Turkishness'.²⁷ As such, national or local specificities persistently remained important (and were often argued for by contemporaries), and became the prism through which exchange processes were refracted.

This also leads many of the contributions to consider not only what happened when transnational exchange was aimed at, but also what factors militated against it. Global war and national rivalry are the most explicit of these. The First World War serves as a central or culminating episode in many of the chapters, fundamentally transforming internationalist and transnational projects, spurring some on to new intensity, and eradicating others entirely. The chapters which carry across the post-1918 period illustrate the continuities, but also the tensions and transformations, which the war wrought. Tara Windsor's fascinating chapter on the rekindling of relations between German and British writers in the aftermath of the First World War has already been mentioned, but also notable is Katharina Rietzler's study of American philanthropic organizations across the period 1900 to 1930, which traces an institutional continuance in American philanthropy, but also how it moved more towards a focus on international law rather than peace activism in a changed international context.²⁸

²⁷ Mustafa Gencer, 'Der Transfer deutschen Bildungswissens in das Osmanische Reich', in Möller and Wischmeyer (eds.), *Transnationale Bildungsräume*, 117–36, at 129.

²⁸ Katharina Rietzler, 'From Peace Advocacy to International Relations Research: The Transformation of Transatlantic Philanthropic Networks, 1900–1930', in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*, 173–93.

National rivalries prior to the First World War are more variably engaged with. The contributions in *Anglo-German Relations* seem to indicate that in most scholarly fields, cooperation and friendly exchanges continued throughout the proposed period of Anglo-German antagonism, answering the question posed in the introduction of whether 'scholarly relations followed the chronological rhythm of political history'²⁹ with a general 'No'. A split less frequently engaged with, but still apparent, Franco-German antagonism after 1871, also appears as hugely important in either retarding or conditioning particular transnational projects. There is a tendency in many of the chapters for international organizations to seem 'German-centred', in particular, those concerned with labour or welfare reform, owing to Germany's extensive social insurance system,³⁰ or French-centred, such as many of the international expositions or the educational congresses discussed by Damiano Matasci, where 'German professors and pedagogues were conspicuous in their relative absence from the transnational arena'.³¹ The implications of this, that the key period of internationalism was marked by this strong fault-line, is of major interest. Looking at how these 'rival internationalisms' manifested, and why individuals and communities took particular sides, is something which would be a fascinating area of future study.

However, there are also more prosaic and potentially more telling blockages which become apparent from many of the contributions. Those dealing with Australasian developments continue to make references to 'the tyranny of distance' and logistical difficulties in causing problems for exchange.³² But these issues were not just limited to extra-European contexts. One of the most interesting examinations is

²⁹ Ulrike Kirchberger, 'Introduction', in Ellis and Kirchberger (eds.), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks*, 1–20, at 14–15.

³⁰ Sandrine Kott, 'From Transnational Reformist Network to International Organization: The International Association for Labour Legislation and the International Labour Organization, 1900–1930s', in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*, 239–58; and Moses, 'Policy Communities and Exchanges across Borders', 62.

³¹ Damiano Matasci, 'International Congresses of Education and the Circulation of Pedagogical Knowledge in Western Europe, 1876–1910', in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*, 218–38, at 226.

³² Heather Gaunt, '"In the Pursuit of Colonial Intelligence": The Archive and Identity in the Australian Colonies of the Nineteenth Century', in Rayward

Daniel Laqua's chapter in *Information Beyond Borders*, looking at the formation of the *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, an internationalist yearbook organized by activists in Austria and Belgium. A very intriguing section on obstacles to transnational cooperation presents this as a 'case of shared convictions and ambitions being undermined by practical obstacles and personal frustrations'.³³ It was not so much international tensions or ideological differences which worked against collaboration, but delays and irregularity in correspondence, lack of funds, and inability to raise public support or interest. This is a good indication that when looking at the success or failure of transnational relations, it is often mundane issues around communication practices and technologies that are more significant than ideological commitments and wider international relations.

Perhaps the most interesting points come when the relationships between the transnational and the national are regarded not as in opposition, but as mutually constitutive. Transnational and international exchange, even when successfully undertaken, often seems to have created a sense of national difference, as participants became aware of, or argued for, distinctions between communities. Additionally, many activities which seem to be emblematic of national competition, such as the rush for colonies, exploration in 'unknown' areas, or arms build-ups, often seem to have depended on adopting techniques from potential rivals, and forms of 'competitive emulation', with drives to transfer frequently reflecting a desire not to fall behind potential rivals. The chapters which really engage with this issue, such as Pascal Schillings's examination of Anglo-German networks in Antarctic explorations, are some of the strongest in the four volumes, showing how intense national rivalry and competition often rested on the emulation and exchange of techniques, and the creation of common discourses. As a result, there is a key point that 'cooperation and rivalry thus appear as merely different aspects of

(ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 49–68; and Mary Carroll and Sue Reynolds, 'The Great Classification Battle of 1910: A Tale of "Blunders and Bizzareries" at the Melbourne Public Library', *ibid.* 243–58.

³³ Daniel Laqua, 'Alfred H. Fried and the Challenges for "Scientific Pacifism" in the Belle Époque,' in Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 181–200, at 188.

Anglo-German connectedness'.³⁴ This potentially opens a way out of the 'Why did internationalism fail?' impasse, and into new analytical territory in both transnational and national histories, allowing international exchange to be examined as something that was bound up in nation-building and national rivalries. One of the early criticisms, indeed, of transnational history was that it reinforced the national categories that historians were aiming to get away from. From these studies of its nineteenth-century manifestations it seems as if this might have been a historical process too, with transnational connections actually being key to forming national boundaries and a sense of distinctiveness.

A similar interesting issue which develops from this (and the metropolitan and north Atlantic focus of these volumes) is how internationalist ideologies connected to colonial ideas and the 'civilizing mission' ideologically justifying the rush to European imperialism. As noted above, the links between European educational reform, universalism, and colonial ideologies is a key theme in *Bildungsräume*. Similarly, Paul Servais's chapter in *Information Beyond Borders* also shows how Orientalist congresses bound together colonialist and universalist currents in both their objects of study and organization.³⁵ In these chapters, the structures of international exchange, often based around networks consolidated from empires, and its ideological foundations, based on notions of improvement, the authority of 'civilized' centres, and the asserted need of other countries to emulate them, become of great parallel significance. This connection, which shows how the idealism and optimism, but also the elite structure and paternalistic nature of many transnational and international projects drew off the same impetuses as European imperialism and supported colonial projects, is one of the great gains of these books.

It must also be said, however, that these works do not just interrelate transnational history to traditional narratives of the rise of the First World War and the age of empire and nationalism. Some of the

³⁴ Pascal Schillings, 'Anglo-German Networks of Antarctic Exploration around 1900', in Ellis and Kirchberger (eds.), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks*, 105–25, at 125.

³⁵ Paul Servais, 'Scholarly Networks and International Congresses: The Orientalists before the First World War', in Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 85–96.

early promise of transnational history, of highlighting and showing the importance of relationships which have been occluded by these grand narratives, is also readily apparent. Particularly notable are Jana Tschurennev's study of how early nineteenth-century school reform in Britain and India saw a multi-sided movement of techniques and emulation between the colony and the metropole.³⁶ Stephane Frious's chapter on sanitary engineers, meanwhile, makes the argument that the most important channels of transmission were not between different countries or from national capitals to 'provincial' centres within the same country, but actually saw different urban centres of varying size emulating one another in a highly multilateral and autonomous manner.³⁷ Similarly, Jan Surman's chapter on the rise of Slavic languages as 'languages of science' in preference to German in the late nineteenth century shows how linguistic differences could serve as important means of institution-building and lead to new spatial configurations in scientific networks. Patterns of association based around territorial empires, or which included Slavic-speakers in 'German-speaking' communities, began to break down, and new networks linking Poles, Czechs, and other Slavic speakers across national and imperial boundaries became more significant.³⁸

All in all, these books combine to indicate a more sophisticated and multi-faceted understanding of international and transnational currents in the long nineteenth century, and the wide significance of international exchange and internationalist ideologies for issues of knowledge, expertise, scholarship, and science. Notably, these works do not generally present this as a means of countering and relativizing old narratives, but use transnational history to think about these in new ways. The rise of nations and empires, and the lead-up to large historical events such as the First World War, are shown to have been deeply intertwined with a variety of cross-border relationships on a range of scales. In doing so, these works all investigate what

³⁶ Jana Tschurennev, 'Schulreform im imperialen Bildungsraum: Das Modell des wechselseitigen Unterrichts in Indien und Großbritannien', in Möller and Wischmeyer (eds.), *Transnationale Bildungsräume*, 43–61.

³⁷ Frious, 'Sanitizing the City', 44–59.

³⁸ Jan Surman, 'Divided Space – Divided Science? Closing and Transcending Scientific Boundaries in Central Europe between 1860 and 1900', in Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 69–84.

Review Article

Christophe Verbruggen and Julie Carlier call ‘the ever-present tension between different scales and spaces, such as between the local and the transnational’,³⁹ and show how the history of transfer and exchange can reveal different layers in these processes. There still, of course, remain things to develop in the field: moving the geographic focus beyond the North Atlantic; making full use of the concept of ‘space’; and paying more attention to non-liberal forms of transnationalism and internationalism. However, as ‘state-of-the-field’ collections, indications of where work is being conducted, and sources of a range of methodological and conceptual points, these books all repay close reading.

³⁹ Christophe Verbruggen and Julier Carlie, ‘Laboratories of Social Thought: The Transnational Advocacy Network of the Institut International pour la Diffusion des Expériences Sociales and its *Documents du Progrès* (1907–1916)’, in Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders*, 123–42, at 124.

CHRIS MANIAS is Lecturer in the History of Science and Technology at King’s College London. He is the author of *Race, Science and the Nation: Reconstructing the Ancient Past in Britain, France and Germany, 1800–1914* (2013).

BOOK REVIEWS

KATHARINA BEHRENS, *Scham: Zur sozialen Bedeutung eines Gefühls im spätmittelalterlichen England*, Historische Semantik, 20 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 359 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 36722 3. €54.99

Some tropes never die. All medievalists have been forced, at some point in their career, to grapple with the outdated and hackneyed notions that continue to colour our perceptions of the Middle Ages. Even in the twenty-first century, the ghost of Burckhardt lingers everywhere: in films, books, and video games that collectively caricature the Middle Ages as simplistic and quaint, forever damned to history's purgatory of not quite measuring up to modernity. Katharina Behrens's recently published book *Scham: Zur sozialen Bedeutung eines Gefühls im spätmittelalterlichen England* sets itself the goal of tackling some of these misconceptions. Her study, based on her doctoral thesis, is a wide-ranging look at the concept of 'shame' in the Middle Ages. Her work is a response to those authors who judge the Middle Ages against the benchmark of the Renaissance, and who invariably find the level of emotional sophistication in medieval writing to be wanting. Shame as a cultural concept has suffered at the hands of these scholars. Behrens's study very effectively counters these claims with an examination of medieval shame in its many forms and guises.

Behrens's goal was to explore the meaning and functions of 'shame' in late medieval English society, chronologically framed by a set of documents produced during the reign of Richard II. Her study adds to the growing body of work within the burgeoning field of the history of emotions. She positions herself as a successor to the pioneering work done by Barbara Rosenwein and others on the social uses and cultural underpinnings of specific emotions. Their work comes as a response to the narrative that interprets the history of emotions as akin to a process of maturity. This view places the emotional history of Western civilization on a long upwards trajectory, from the childlike abandon of the Middle Ages towards the emotion-

Book Reviews

al restraint of the modern era. Scholars such as Rosenwein and Behrens claim that this approach is untenable; emotions must be judged within the context of the society that creates them, and should not be seen as a linear progression contingent on modern values. Though finding a natural home under the umbrella of cultural history, works such as this really shine when they are allowed to spill over into neighbouring fields of inquiry. Though *Scham* starts from a core concern with the sociological and anthropological implications of shame as an emotion, Behrens looks far beyond this scope, and deftly includes aspects of juridical, political, intellectual, and religious history as well.

Historical research can never recover the sensory experience of feeling an emotion. Thus we are limited to working from surviving evidence that either discusses shame directly or provides the means of extrapolating the social meaning of shame from past events. Behrens thus splits her evidence into two parts. The first part deals with the literary discourse of shame. Her evidence here comprises texts from four distinct bodies of writing: chronicles, primarily those of Thomas Walsingham, a Benedictine chronicler; religious and didactic writings; legal and administrative works, especially the Letter Books of the City of London; and, finally, what John Burrow dubbed 'Ricardian poetry', that flowering of Middle English literature at the end of the fourteenth century best represented by Chaucer, but also including Gower, Langland, and the Gawain-poet. The conclusions reached in her literary analysis reveal no great surprises. Shame depends heavily on the literary genre in which it is found. Courtly literature was deeply bound up with questions of honour; religious/moral texts dealt with the inevitable shame of choosing vice before virtue; and Chaucer's scathing wit often targeted characters who pretended to false modesty. She concludes that the rich complexity of the medieval corpus cannot be reduced to any single, monolithic set of cultural values. Chaucer, especially, presents an array of 'conflicting moralities', which alone should put paid to the notion that the Middle Ages were in any way culturally deficient.

Part two moves away from the close reading of texts to a series of case studies that exemplify the function of shame in late medieval society. Here she uses evidence of a performative nature to analyse the very public ways in which shame served either as deterrent or punishment for social transgressions. As she concludes, every socie-

ty must find ways to enforce norms, and shame seems to have been a particularly effective means of maintaining social control in late medieval England. Her work follows Rosenwein's lead on categorizing shame as a 'social' emotion; that is, shame is produced as a result of interactions with others. One never feels it in isolation, but rather only in connection with a failure to meet social expectations or a transgression of social norms. Thus the public rituals surrounding such actions as pillorying, penance, and begging each worked as powerful regulators within communities. The great interest of this section was seeing how it connects back to broader questions of social and political history. One must understand the extent to which shame was internalized in order to fully grasp, for example, why honour, reputation, and civic pride so frequently appear as grounds for action in civic records. Urban historians, especially, would do well to consider how the discourse of shame informed the broader urban *mentalité*.

In spite of the universality of emotion as a human trait, unpacking the social meaning of emotions can be remarkably tricky. Not only do social norms morph over time, but so does language. Behrens spends some time discussing England's late medieval linguistic landscape, including an extensive list of shame-related vocabulary from Middle English, French, and Latin, all of which were in use at the end of the fourteenth century. She chose as her framework the three semantically related German concepts of *Scham*, *Schande*, and *Schamhaftigkeit*. Applying these is rather unusually complicated by the fact that English has lost the distinction between *Scham*, the internally applied feeling of having erred, and *Schande*, the feeling of public judgment for having erred. First, it raises the question of why some languages, such as German and French, retain the distinction between public and personal shame, while English does not. Behrens claims that the merging of these two concepts into the unified English word 'shame' had already happened by the fourteenth century. It might have been interesting if she had spent more time ruminating on the cultural impact of such a linguistic loss. When all shame is emotively channelled into the unitary concept of 'personal' shame, as it is in English, does public shaming become more efficacious? To what extent might this alter the social context of shame? Given that Behrens's research was concerned with social outcomes, it seems pertinent to question how the social frame-

Book Reviews

work of shame could have been shaped or modified by the linguistic peculiarities specific to late medieval England.

Behrens concludes that public shame functioned as a highly effective instrument of social order in late medieval England, even at times cutting across social strata. She illustrates this with the example of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. It was not just the ruling class that employed the language of shame against the rebels. The rebels in similar fashion also used propaganda tactics designed to shame and discredit their opponents. Each side tried to leverage public opinion by highlighting a breach of social norms through the medium of public shaming. As Behrens demonstrates throughout the book, these methods were often highly efficacious, though she concludes that shame functions best as a social control within a community structured by personal ties. Whether the same methods continue to be as effective is a matter left open for question. Have we moved away from a communal *mentalité* to the extent that we no longer understand the discourse of shame in the same way that our medieval counterparts did? Late medievalists who read petitions and bills laden with expressions of shame and dishonour often view them as formulaic constructions that had long lost their meaning. Perhaps this view should be modulated in light of Behrens's findings. Whatever the answer, this work should prompt us to consider the ways in which our own cultural assumptions colour our historical understanding.

Overall, Behrens's book more than adequately demonstrates that shame functioned as a powerful social adhesive in medieval England. Moreover, this book should be accessible to a non-specialist audience, as it is thankfully free from the dense jargon that often accompanies scholarly works on cultural history. For those new to the field of cultural history, or the history of emotions in particular, this book is a fine introduction to a complex and fascinating topic.

DANA DURKEE is writing a Ph.D. thesis on 'Social Mobility and the Worsted Weavers of Norwich, 1450–1530' at Durham University.

LÁSZLÓ KONTLER, *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments: William Robertson in Germany, 1760–1795*, Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 272 pp. ISBN 978 1 137 37171 3. £60.00

How should modern societies accommodate peacefully the erosion of traditional forms of authority, political and religious strife, commerce and self-interest? Can ever-growing religious and moral pluralism be reconciled with stable government and the rule of law? These major questions were not only debated by eighteenth-century political agents and philosophers across Europe; they also underlay most of the renowned historical works written in this period. The link between history-writing and the cultural and economic aspects of the first globalized age was particularly manifest in the works of the Scottish churchman and historian William Robertson (1721–93). Robertson, like many of his Enlightenment peers, applied a stadial theory to the emergence of human civilization (although most of his works did not explicitly expound the basic philosophical assumptions behind this theory). According to the stadial view of history, different modes of subsistence—from hunting and gathering to agriculture to manufacture and commerce—determined the cultural, political, and intellectual progress of various nations. This was not a straightforward precedent of Marxist-style historical materialism: the stadial view, especially as employed by eighteenth-century Scottish authors, was closely intertwined with contemporary discourses on human agency, its unintended consequences and relation to providence, and a moral psychology preoccupied with the tensions between self-interest and the common good.

Contrary to recent views of Robertson's *oeuvre* as much more traditional than hitherto acknowledged (more rooted in humanistic and Christian vocabularies), László Kontler uses the German reception of his writings to rehabilitate Robertson as an innovative and modernizing Enlightenment author. The works at the centre of Kontler's inquiry are Robertson's *History of Scotland* (1759), *History of the Reign of Charles V* (1769, especially its extended introduction, 'A View of the Progress of Society in Europe'), *History of America* (1777), and *Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients Had of India* (1791). In addition to these well-known works, Kontler's study includes an excellent chapter on Robertson's early sermon of 1755,

Book Reviews

The Situation of the World at the Time of Christ's Appearance. In this chapter Kontler focuses on the supposed tension between Christian notions of providence and the relativist or materialist overtones of a stadial theory of history. By contextualizing Robertson's work within recent scholarship on the religious aspects of the Enlightenment, he suggests that this tension is not as pronounced as it may initially appear. Robertson's view of divine action as gradual and progressive left sufficient scope for independent human action; human beings made free choices, which unintentionally furthered God's general plan.

Throughout the book Kontler uses German translations of Robertson's works, as well as reviews of the original English writings and their German versions, to assess why and how the Scottish historian was read throughout the Holy Roman Empire. Nevertheless, his main focus is on the University of Göttingen, where enterprising historians, theologians, ethnologists, and legal scholars reviewed and commented profusely on Robertson's histories. Indeed, Kontler points out the similar predicaments of Scotland and the eighteenth-century Hanoverian electorate: their peripheral link to the British crown (despite significant political differences), the conscious attempt to promote a new culture for the educated public, and the emphasis on moderate Protestantism at the service of a modernizing nation.

One of the greatest merits of the book is Kontler's careful reading of works by relatively unknown German authors. Next to such major scholars as Johann Stephan Pütter, Christian Gottlob Heyne, Christoph Meiners, and Arnold Heeren, we are also introduced to Johann Philipp Ebeling (pp. 54–6), Ludwig Heinrich von Nicolay (pp. 78–81), Julius August Remer (pp. 112–18), and Georg Friedrich Seiler (pp. 106–11), among many others. While paying serious attention to their attempts to render Robertson in their own linguistic and cultural idioms, Kontler eventually seems to agree with the verdict of posterity by subsuming many of them under the prototype of an 'ambitious and learned but pedantic and somewhat unimaginative provincial scholar' (p. 149, concerning Remer).

Another important service rendered by Kontler is his drawing of suggestive links between works by some of these relatively neglected scholars and more major authors and controversies. One such fruitful proposal, even in the absence of decisive evidence, is that

Ebeling's translation of the sermon by Robertson, published in Hamburg in 1779, could have been a contribution to the raging *Fragmen-tenstreit* between Lessing and orthodox clergymen. This suggestion is particularly stimulating given the similarity of the themes discussed in Robertson's sermon and in Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1777–80).

The book deals separately with the contexts of Robertson's works and German history-writing (ch. 1), the early sermon and the religious Enlightenment (ch. 2), Robertson's 'View of the Progress of Society', the programmatic introduction to his *History of Charles V* (ch. 3), the narrative sections of the *History of Charles V* and the *History of Scotland* (ch. 4), and, finally, Robertson's histories of overseas cultures in America and India (ch. 5). Each chapter includes a sharp analysis of some of the main themes in Robertson's original works, especially the organizing stadial idea and the civilizing effects of commerce, before moving on to a discussion of various German reviews, translations, abbreviations, versions, and modifications. Chapter 5 contains a fascinating discussion of the similarities between Robertson's views on overseas cultures and the observations made by Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg Forster following their circumnavigation of the earth with Captain James Cook. Georg Forster, who had close ties to the University of Göttingen, also went on to translate Robertson's *Historical Disquisition* on India. By exploring the anthropological and historiographical affinities between the young Forster, one of the radical supporters of the French Revolution in Germany, and the conservative Robertson—by contrast to the disagreements between Forster and Christoph Meiners on similar issues—Kontler throws fresh light on the Enlightenment Republic of Letters. As he suggests, 'the differences which separated such figures did not inexorably divide enlightened opinion until the French Revolution proceeded beyond the stage of benign constitutional improvement' (p. 183).

While most of the material in chapters 2 to 5 had already been published as journal articles over the last decade, the book profits substantially from new and very useful methodological observations in its introduction. Legitimizing his method of reinterpreting William Robertson himself parallel to surveying his German reception, Kontler suggests that the process of translation may illuminate not only the target culture but also the original work. The ways in which

Book Reviews

contemporaries approach a certain text, while deeply embedded in their own cultural contexts, can clarify much of the structure and meanings of the translated work (pp. 6–9). Kontler criticizes studies of Enlightenment translation which highlight a supposedly misleading or wrong rendering of particular terms and themes in the target culture. He argues persuasively against the ‘tendency to represent the agent of translation or reception as blameworthy of oversight, incompetence, or malicious manipulation’, and disapproves of views of reception as ‘a unilinear process of “passing on” ideal-typical meanings from authoritative creators to inferior recipients’ (p. 7). Yet this noteworthy guideline is not always adhered to in the body of the text. There we find recurrent references to the meagre success and ‘blunders’ of translators (p. 56), ‘unintended distortions’ and ‘unwittingly committed errors’ (p. 84), or ‘inadequate terminology and inconclusive usage’ (p. 147) on the part of the German recipients. Such terms do seem to presuppose the translators’ failure to convey a set of originally clear and distinct (or at least very differently intended) meanings.

This point, however, does not detract from the substantial merits of Kontler’s suggestive and important book. Cautious in his assessment of the overall significance of Robertson’s works in Germany, he argues that reception took place intensively and extensively, while direct impact on history-writing is more difficult to identify. Yet this German reception, circumscribed as it may have been, is expertly analysed and valuably employed by Kontler to reassess William Robertson’s own work and the contexts of both its production and its interpretation. This nuanced and well-researched book makes a serious contribution to our understanding of the multiple ways in which history was written, read, used, and debated in the Enlightenment.

AVI LIFSCHITZ is Senior Lecturer in European History at University College London (UCL), specializing in the intellectual history of Europe in the long eighteenth century. His publications include *Language and Enlightenment: The Berlin Debates of the Eighteenth Century* (2012) and, as co-editor, *Epicurus in the Enlightenment* (2009).

MICHELINE NILSEN, *The Working Man's Green Space: Allotment Gardens in England, France, and Germany, 1870–1919* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2014), xiv + 232 pp. ISBN 978 0 8139 3508 9. US\$39.50

In current speculations about the city of the future, urban gardening is an important issue. Illustrations of these visions resemble a cross between Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* and the Hanging Gardens of Babylon: tall buildings overrun by vegetation, crops on every balcony, window ledge, and rooftop. Today the most common and, in terms of surface area, most important form of urban gardening is still the allotment garden, which in recent years has witnessed something of a revival. Though some authors, such as Caroline Foley in *Of Cabbages and Kings*,¹ trace this form of small-scale agriculture back to medieval and early modern predecessors, allotments truly flourished in the industrializing cities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is exactly the period Micheline Nilsen, Associate Professor of Art History at Indiana University, covers in her book *The Working Man's Green Space: Allotment Gardens in England, France, and Germany, 1870–1919*.

The first chapter defines what an allotment garden is and lists differences and commonalities in the three countries under investigation. The wealth of different names—statutory, temporary, and private allotments in England; *Jardin ouvrier*, *Jardin industriel*, or *Jardin familial* in France; *Kleingarten*, *Schrebergarten*, or *Laubenkolonie* in Germany—indicates different regional manifestations and origins. Nilsen is able to lump them together because they all share a common denominator: these gardens are 'usually of small size, not attached to a dwelling, they are cultivated by their tenant and family for individual consumption' (p. 2). Once this premise is established, the three subsequent chapters trace the development of allotments in the three countries by focusing largely on law and politics.

In England allotments were associated with access to landownership. The first allotments were established in the countryside as a reaction to the enclosure of common land. Enclosures deprived the rural population of the 'waste' lands that for centuries had con-

¹ Caroline Foley, *Of Cabbages and Kings: The History of Allotments* (London, 2014).

Book Reviews

tributed to their subsistence. Following the Swing Riots in the 1830s allotments were seen as a means to counter social unrest. This idea became even more prominent following the gradual extension of male suffrage. Men who owned a patch of land, however small, were believed to hold a stake in the nation and therefore to be immune to socialism. According to Nilsen, 'allotments had become a national political concern' (p. 31) by the 1870s, an assessment borne out by the number of allotment acts passed during the following decades. By that time allotments were no longer a rural but an urban phenomenon.

German allotments were located outside cities from the start, especially in the densely populated industrial regions of Berlin and the Ruhr. The owners of large industrial companies founded allotments in order to placate their workforce. This may also have been a reason why the leaders of the SPD rejected allotments: sowing, weeding, and harvesting were seen as mere distractions from political engagement. At the same time, however, 'the milieu of the *Lauberkolonien* and *Kleingärten* had a social democratic leaning' (p. 84). But that was Germany. In France, where allotments became established even later, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the movement had strong conservative and Catholic leanings. Indeed, most of the first *Jardins ouvriers* were founded either by priests or by people closely affiliated with the Catholic Church.

In terms of numbers, allotments were clearly more important, or at least more numerous, in England than in the other two countries. Before the outbreak of the First World War, there were about half a million allotment plots in England but not even 40,000 in Germany and fewer than 18,000 in France. However, as Nilsen does not compare these developments directly, it is not entirely clear why this was the case. Explanations could include England's earlier start, its higher degree of urbanization and industrialization, the existence of allotments in the countryside as well as around cities, or other factors.

As Nilsen is an art historian it comes as no surprise that she devotes an entire chapter to the aesthetics of allotment gardens, which she places in the context of an 'aesthetics of the everyday' (p. 128). Even though allotments were primarily utilitarian, the laying out of plots and the arrangement of flowerbeds, for instance, were aesthetic practices. It was here more than anywhere else that, according to Nilsen, members of the working classes were able to cultivate

their 'own vernacular visual language' (p. 147). This chapter is also the one in which Nilsen gets closest to a social history or *Alltagsgeschichte* of allotments. However, this aspect remains largely under-explored in Nilsen's book and she seems to think so too. At any rate she regrets the 'scarcity of voices that relate the experience of being an allotment holder' (p. 129). We have to take her word for it, of course, but it is hard to believe there are not more sources to shed light on this.

Nilsen also makes surprisingly little use of the illustrations included in her book. Particularly interesting are the photographs of the allotment site Ost-Elbien in Berlin, which show bearded men and austere women having coffee and playing cards. Clearly being a member of an allotment association meant much more than tending to the soil. At least in Berlin, allotments seem to have been an integral part of working-class socializing. Yet how working class the *Kleingärtner* were also remains an open question. Some of the pictures suggest they were lower middle class rather than working class.

Another aspect that could have been covered in more detail is that of transnational contacts and exchanges. The First International Congress of the *Jardins ouvriers* met in Paris in 1903. In 1926 the Office international des fédérations des jardins ouvriers, the International Association of Workers' Gardens, which still exists to this day, held its first congress in Luxemburg. However, we learn little about how and by whom these international encounters were organized, what questions were discussed, and whether they facilitated cultural exchanges.

Nilsen's conclusion brings the story up to the present: as during the First World War, the Second World War led to an increase in the number of allotments in order to supplement the food supply. In the age of affluence after the war, vegetables became so cheap that allotments lost their original purpose. In the 1960s their image was poor and some fell into disrepair or were turned into building sites. By the mid 1970s, with an increase in leisure time, earlier retirement, rising unemployment and vegetable prices, as well as greater environmental awareness, people looking for an allotment had to put their names on a waiting list. In the meantime, the function of allotments had radically altered: 'gardens and allotments became outdoor living spaces rather than productive acreage' (p. 158). And that is still the situation today.

Book Reviews

The Working Man's Green Space gives a concise overview of the history of allotments in England, Germany, and France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While rich on politics, organization, and discourse, the book is not the social history some readers may expect from the title. Nor is the comparison fully realized, as the book examines England, France, and Germany separately, leaving readers to search for similarities, differences, and overarching themes on their own. Whether allotments are a relic of a bygone age or a model for the sustainable city of the future remains to be seen. Given recent developments, however, this story seems far from over.

TOBIAS BECKER is a Research Fellow in modern history at the German Historical Institute London. His publications include *Inszenierte Moderne: Populäres Theater in Berlin und London, 1880–1930* (2014); *Popular Musical Theatre in London and Berlin, 1890–1930* (2014, ed. with Len Platt and David Linton); and *Die Stadt der tausend Freuden: Metropolenkultur um 1900* (2011, ed. with Anna Littmann and Johanna Niedbalski).

REBECCA AYAKO BENNETTE, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion after Unification*, Harvard Historical Studies, 178 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 380 pp. ISBN 978 0 674 06563 5. \$US49.95. £36.95

This book challenges the standard narrative that Catholics were not integrated into the German Empire until the 1890s, or at least not earlier than the years following the *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s. Instead, Bennette argues, the groundwork for integration into the nation had already been laid with the foundation of the new Reich in 1871. Catholic integration happened not despite the *Kulturkampf*, but because of it and during it.

Though most scholars agree that Catholics developed their own, alternative version of a nation in the 1870s, little is known about exactly how they profiled it, and whether the status of being an 'enemy of the Reich' blocked or encouraged national loyalty. Thus after the publication of a few magisterial studies about the *Kulturkampf* in Europe,¹ Bennette, Associate Professor at Middlebury College, goes back to details and provides a microscopic scrutiny of the years 1871 to 1878 in Germany. After some general remarks on 'The German Question and Religion' and the 'German Epoch' after 1866, the first part of the book dissects these eight years, dividing them into four phases and following them strictly chronologically.

The first phase covers the years 1871 to 1872. In 'The Beginning of the German Epoch', Bennette describes how unification in January 1871 was welcomed enthusiastically by Catholics, though some still regretted the exclusion of Catholic Austria in 1866. Aware of their status as a minority, they established a Catholic protection party and constructed a history of Germany that reached back to the Holy Roman Empire, which had lasted for about 1,000 years, for most of that time as a Catholic realm. Emperor Wilhelm I was seen in the tradition of Barbarossa, not that of any Prussian kings. In this context

¹ Cf. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003); Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholics: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, 2004); and, more recently, Lisa Dittrich, *Antiklerikalismus in Europa: Öffentlichkeit und Säkularisierung in Frankreich, Spanien und Deutschland (1848-1914)* (Göttingen, 2014).

Book Reviews

the quotation in this book's title was born: Julius Bachem, the Catholic politician and editor, in 1872 suffered from the liberals' 'un-German' *Kulturkampf* politics. If this continued, the new nation would have no meaning, would be only an empty body without a soul. This soul was to be fought for by voting for the Centre Party, bringing the Catholics and true Christianity back in.

The second chapter, entitled 'The Limits of Loyalty Tested', describes the culminating years of the *Kulturkampf* (1873 to mid 1875), which marked the low point of Catholics' confidence in their struggle for the soul of the fatherland. Classical images of Christian persecution in ancient times, or of Catholics being suppressed like the Irish, were revitalized. But they continued to claim their place in the nation.

In a third phase, from mid 1875 to 1877 ('The Real Threat Emerges'), a solution to the unfortunate situation in the new nation was found in attacking another enemy in order to reach out to the Protestants as potential allies. Anti-Jewish propaganda increased enormously in 1875, but proved to be a failure. It was, according to Bennette, immediately followed by anti-socialism in 1876 (p. 54), which proved to be a 'far more unifying rallying point for Catholics' (p. 64) than the antisemitic experiment. The initially positive and inclusive nationalism of Catholics turned into a negative and exclusive nationalism (vocabulary that Bennette avoids).

While efforts to end the *Kulturkampf* began in late 1877 and 1878, the Centre Party, which is the focus of this chapter while others look at newspapers, started to cooperate with the government as recounted in 'The Search for Continued Relevance'. Hostility towards socialism grew, but a constructive commitment to social questions was necessary in order to keep workers in the Centre Party.

The second and much longer part of the book systematically asks questions about four significant elements of Catholic national identity. Inspired by the 'spatial turn' approach, the first issue concerns Catholics mapping Germany. Located on the periphery of the Reich, Catholics tried to put themselves into its centre. Their newspapers talked about Berlin, a Prussian town, inhabited by Protestants if not 'heathens'. The 'soul' of Germany was not apparent in the capital. In this unfriendly place, the Catholic newspaper *Germania* appeared in December 1870. This ultramontane daily, on which this chapter is based, frequently reported on Catholic regions such as Bavaria,

Baden, the Rhineland, and Silesia as truly German, perhaps as more German than Berlin. The areas appearing most German, the Rhineland and Westphalia, counted as essential parts of the nation. Regional and religious differences were presented as the soul of Germany. While the Catholic periphery observed the capital, Catholics in the capital integrated the Catholic periphery.

Gender, the second topic, is tackled in a fresh, new way. It is well known that Protestants defined hegemonic masculinity and ascribed femininity to Catholicism. The nation was masculine, while religion and Roman Catholicism were feminized. But did Catholics accept this notion? We might identify a Catholic re-masculinization campaign around 1900,² but lack reliable information about the preceding decades and about how Catholics received the reproach of feminization. Bennette shows that Catholics did, indeed, give the nation a feminine outlook. Catholics criticized masculine militarism,³ and masculine nationalism, favouring a more feminine ideal. Germania, in contrast to Hermann of the Cherusci, represented feminine traits. The main Catholic journal was called *Germania*. The Virgin Mary was strong but female, and masses of women peacefully protesting against *Kulturkampf* sanctions offered passive resistance. The semantics of the violated ('vergewaltigte') Church confirms this image. Bennette concludes that Catholics identified with the feminine. Did this give rise to a feeling of exclusion from the masculine nation? On the contrary: Catholics deserved inclusion all the more to complete the male nation with its feminine counterpart (p. 120). Unfortunately, female voices are not consulted in this chapter.

The third issue is the classic one of the battle over schools and scholarship. Catholics rejected the liberal claim to education and German scholarship. Bennette shows that they valued education and *Bildung* before the 1890s, when discussions about inferiority and the

² Cf. Olaf Blaschke, 'The Unrecognised Piety of Men: Strategies and Success of the Remasculinisation Campaign around 1900', in Yvonne-Maria Werner (ed.), *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 2011), 21–45.

³ On this see already Ingo Löppenberg, 'Wider Raubstaat, Großkapital und Pickelhaube': *Die katholische Militärisierungskritik und Militärpolitik des Zentrums 1860 bis 1914* (Frankfurt, 2009). Although almost half of Bennette's well-informed book consists of footnotes, some titles, like this one, have been overlooked.

Book Reviews

education deficit broke out. By the 1870s the question was already: what is 'true' education?

While the third chapter of this second part on schools and scholarship is one of the weaker chapters since it confirms earlier findings, the final chapter is most inspiring. Going back to the spatial turn, it evokes new perspectives of global history. Bennette surveys the Catholic moral geography of Europe and the world. Catholics realized that the creation of Germany changed the balance of power in Europe. If Germany was to be the strongest nation in Europe – not defeated and corrupt France; not capitalist Britain; not sick Austria; and not laughable Italy – it should, since Europe was the world's leading continent, play the most powerful role in the world, a notion opening the field for later imperialism. German Christianity, Catholics argued, had a worldwide responsibility for humanity and other countries which were still pagan, or barbarian, like Russia. Only if Catholics were integrated, could Germany fulfil its global mission. Thus Catholics warned that the *Kulturkampf* was the wrong path, leading to national impotence. Again, signs of Catholic integration into colonial and imperialist ambitions occurred not only in the 1890s, but already in the 1870s.

Because of the conflict, the basis for Catholic integration into the nation was laid as early as in the *Kulturkampf* years, although this nation had a different profile from the hegemonic one. This final statement is substantially derived from the sources of the 1870s. Bennette convincingly argues that Catholics nourished a specific national ideal and aimed for integration into Germany. But their wish should not be seen to indicate that they were actually integrated. Bennette's findings can also be read in the opposite direction. Catholic national rhetoric about true liberalism, true education, and true Christianity might suggest that they did not feel integrated. The Protestant majority and liberal politics went on excluding Catholics. The Protestant perspective and a comparison with Protestant national rhetoric are missing from Bennette's book. While they might have felt they were Protestant Germans rather than German Protestants, their fellow countrymen were likely to say that they were, above all, German Catholics rather than Catholic Germans.

One crucial question remains: did Catholics have any other choice? Were they not bound to give assurances that they were not enemies of the Reich, but patriots? Can we trust the propaganda, ranging from

Julius Bachem to his son Karl Bachem, whose history of the Centre Party around 1930 repeatedly emphasized how German, how national Catholics really were?⁴ In addition to looking again at the signposts on the path of Catholic rhetoric about national loyalty, well known from the sources, it would have been challenging to identify the fine differences between Catholic and Protestant images, as Bennette successfully does in the chapter about gender.

Protestant Germans are known for having been antisemitic. Catholics shared a similar mentality. Bennette defines the outburst of Catholic antisemitism as only 'temporally specific' for the year 1875, neither recognizing its starting point around 1871, nor the waves of antisemitism around 1880 and 1893. To claim that there was an 'absence of vitriol directed at Jews' before 1875 and a lack of arguments holding Jews and Freemasons responsible for the *Kulturkampf* is rather strange in light of the evidence that can be found in the sources and literature. As early as 1872 Pius IX himself blamed Jews and Freemasons for the *Kulturkampf*. And in the same year, Bishop Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler saw 'liberal Germanness' as Jewishness: 'The German folk now goes to the Jews in order to receive instruction about the essence of the German nature' (*deutsches Wesen*).⁵ Statistical evidence suggests that the first wave of Catholic antisemitism lasted from 1871 to 1875.⁶ However, Bennette's observation that the term 'Judenfrage' was more frequent in 1875 (p. 54), and her interpretation that antisemitism at this time reached the most important newspapers (p. 60), might be true. She certainly does not belong to the apologetic camp which, to the present day, downplays Catholic antisemitism as a marginal phenomenon, preferring to call it anti-Judaism. Instead, her interpretation allows Catholic antisemitism to fit into her scheme of early integration into the German nation. Bennette reduces the allegedly shortlived outburst of antisemitism in 1875 to 'tactics to integrate in the Reich' (p. 53), rather than the integration of the Catholic camp itself. The problem is that Bennette con-

⁴ Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der deutschen Zentrums-partei*, 9 vols. (Cologne, 1927-32).

⁵ Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, *Die Centrums-Fraction auf dem ersten Deutschen Reichstage* (Mainz, 1872), 10.

⁶ Olaf Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (2nd edn. Göttingen, 1999), 146-7.

Book Reviews

centrates on only a few specific newspapers, such as the Berlin *Germania*, and only on eight years of the *Kulturkampf*.

However, the question about the exact timing of antisemitism and its dimensions does not affect Bennette's core argument about efforts for national integration as early as the *Kulturkampf* era. This book is therefore one of the most important works we have about the German *Kulturkampf* era and beyond. From now on historians are likely to be more careful in claiming that Catholic integration only began in the 1890s.

OLAF BLASCHKE is Professor of History at the University of Münster. His recent publications include *Die Kirchen und der Nationalismus* (2014) and *Offenders or Victims? German Jews and the Causes of Modern Catholic Antisemitism* (2009).

STEFAN MANZ, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The 'Greater German Empire', 1871–1918*, Routledge Studies in Modern European History, 24 (New York: Routledge, 2014), xvi + 360 pp. ISBN 978 0 415 89226 1. £85.00

Looking beyond national borders has become more and more common in research on German history after 1871, and not only since the publication in 2006 of the iconic study, *Das Kaiserreich transnational*.¹ Stefan Manz locates his study in this new research context and analyses Imperial Germany's transnational relations and entanglements. He takes a global view of the German-language diaspora and, in the process, innovatively links different world regions with each other and with Imperial Germany. He also convincingly combines a number of methods: social history arguments based on statistics feature equally with discourse analysis and case studies.

Manz defines Imperial Germany as a 'transnational communicative space' (p. 7) that, he argues, contributed to creating a Greater German Empire going beyond national borders. He calls this space 'diaspora', referring to the most recent research, which interprets the term relatively widely. Central aspects, which may appear individually or together, are, for example, the migrants' idealized collective memory of the homeland that they have left, and an ethnic sense of belonging together along with a problematic relationship with the host country that is, nevertheless, seen as holding out the possibility of a good and tolerant life (see p. 9). For Manz, it is important to see diaspora as a process which is 'made' by the migrants. With reference to Rogers Brubaker, he sees diaspora, by analogy with nation-state-building, as a condition that is in a state of permanent flux, something always in the process of becoming (see p. 209).

The study is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter Manz sums up the social history factors leading to the German migrations of the nineteenth century, with a glance at preceding centuries and almost all the regions of the world. I shall look at three of these here. For Eastern Europe, Manz concludes that only in the nineteenth century did 'nationalist historiography' recognize different regional (for-

* Trans. Angela Davies (GHIL).

¹ Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds.), *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914* (Göttingen, 2006).

Book Reviews

merly) German-speaking groups, some of which had been settled since the Middle Ages, as Germans (but excluding the Jews). Ignoring the 'multiethnic' reality on the ground, it preferred to speak of linguistic enclaves (p. 22). In the USA, Manz shows, the National German American Alliance tried to bind emigrants more closely to their country of origin from 1901. In the research, this has been seen as a response to a loosening of ties between German-speaking migrants and Imperial Germany. By taking a global view reaching from eastern Europe to the west, Manz can show, however, that this interpretation is not adequate. Nationalist movements came into being in many places at the same time, and were by no means specific to the USA. As far as internal (west) European migrations are concerned, Manz emphasizes the high degree of fluctuation based on small distances and regional working conditions. He points to significant gaps in the research for Europe as well as for Asia.

In the second chapter Manz looks at the ideas about emigration and Germans abroad circulating within Imperial Germany. This takes him more deeply into his subject, as he explicitly examines the construction of a diaspora. He first defines 'diaspora' as a contemporary term which can only really be applied to Germany since the establishment of Imperial Germany. This does not, of course, imply that 'diaspora' was tied to 'nation', but in the case of Germany, we can only really speak of the active formation of a diaspora with the rise of the nation-state. Manz investigates Imperial Germany's construction of a diaspora by looking at nationalist and popular publications such as the *Gartenlaube*, at associations such as the Alldeutsche Verband, and at legislation which granted German migrants the right to retain or regain German citizenship on ethnic criteria. According to Manz, life in Russia, Brazil, and South Africa was imagined as being rural and anti-modern, thus allowing true 'Germanness' to flourish. On the basis of various publications, Manz illustrates the practices of an *Indeutschnahme* which the diaspora designed as a test not only of a German nation, but of an ideal German nation (see e.g. pp. 65–6). The nationalistic publications and associations, along with the citizenship legislation allow Manz to conclude that the creation of a diaspora was a building-block of a 'right-wing modernity' (p. 88) that saw Germany in the first row of global actors.

Manz then turns to a systematic analysis of his rich and multi-layered material. Apart from a descriptive chapter on Russia and the

USA, he concentrates on three aspects that are central to nation-state formation: politics, religion, and language. Under the heading of 'Politics', Manz looks at the German navy and Germans abroad. Manz sees the *Hauptverband der deutschen Flottenvereine im Ausland*, which was supported by the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* and must be distinguished from the *Flottenverein*, supported by industry, as the only 'pressure group' (p. 104) to have most of its members not in Germany but abroad. With the *Hauptverband*, Manz takes his readers abroad for the first time. Without wanting to reproduce the Eurocentric view of the time under investigation, he explains how the *Hauptverband's* nationalist views were adopted in various different regions. In Europe, Manz explores the situation in Britain in detail, perhaps because of his own previous research, but also in response to the gaps in the research on German migration in western Europe that he highlights. The *Hauptverband*, like most of the German nationalist associations, was largely a middle-class affair and ideologically aligned with Imperial Germany, which sometimes brought it into conflict with its various host countries. In Asia and Australia, institutional encouragement of enthusiasm for the German navy was especially closely connected with the political situation. In colonized countries, such as Australia, for example, efforts were made not to provoke the colonial rulers. This form of restraint, Manz claims, was not practised in the Americas; in Central and South America, in particular, nationalist associations increased in number from 1880. In Brazil and Mexico, a strong loyalty to Imperial Germany was at least outwardly visible. Manz points out, however, that it would be wrong to look only at the nationalist associations. Many German migrants also displayed a great deal of pragmatism for the sake of a conflict-free daily life on the spot.

No naval associations were founded in the German colonies in Africa. In German South-West Africa (today's Namibia), for example, German migrants generally retained a positive attitude towards Imperial Germany, but developed a 'hybrid identity' between the colony and the metropole. This brief section on Africa could have been somewhat longer, as the 'ideology of dissimulation' in the colonies,² which were seen as part of Imperial Germany, is, ultimate-

² Ulrike Lindner, *Koloniale Begegnungen: Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880–1914* (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), 312.

Book Reviews

ly, difficult to compare with other diaspora phenomena. Overall, Manz comes to the conclusion that the highly popular German navy was deliberately used to drive an expansion of Imperial Germany to include its (former) members abroad. He points out that while the construction of a diaspora was not something entirely new at the end of the nineteenth century, national tendencies were globalized at this time. The Hauptverband and the naval associations were 'one mosaic piece within this process' (p. 123).

A chapter on the USA and Russia makes it clear that both countries differed from other places of migration. While there were German nationalist associations and publications in tsarist Russia, the country's unequivocal demand for loyalty to the Tsar meant that Russia was not a suitable place for the creation of diasporas. And the USA was a special case in that German immigrants identified with the American model of success and progress, making them much more prepared to assimilate than, for example, in Brazil or the colonies, where there were much clearer movements to delineate the immigrants from the local population. Overall, Manz stresses the heterogeneity of the migrants to north America. But this should not be misunderstood as a lack of 'diasporisation' (p. 144), as the mass German patriotic reaction to the outbreak of the First World War shows.

In the next systematic chapter, Manz looks at the relationship between religion and the formation of diasporas. Religion here refers mainly to Christianity, and Protestantism in particular. Manz provides only a short digression on Catholics, as Catholic associations and other actors in Imperial Germany only accepted nationalist arguments and began to identify with *Volk* and nation at a late stage. And they referred to the Protestant discourse. Manz presents a triangle of Protestantism, nation-building, and diaspora, whereas previous research has only combined two out of the three factors. He shows impressively how the three aspects were linked and intertwined. For German migrants, he argues, the linking of Protestantism and nationalism or *Volkstum* was a welcome opportunity to bind the scattered community together again. Even secular actors allied themselves with Protestantism in order to disseminate nationalist ideas. In countries which did not foreground or permit the formation of a national diaspora, such as Russia, Manz suggests there was a shift towards religion. In such contexts, connections and solidarity were built mainly via religion.

Schools also contributed to the creation of a German diaspora and a Greater German Empire, as Manz shows in his last chapter, on language. The founding of associations and targeted selection and training of teachers allowed the transnationalization of schools to be institutionalized and centrally controlled. According to Manz, teachers were sent abroad with a dual task. First, they were to teach the children of German migrants and, from 1900, also some children from the local population, and tie them ideologically to Imperial Germany. And after their return to Germany, they were to apply the 'German-ness' they had practised and taught abroad to German national education. Given the centrally controlled selection and purpose of education, it is no surprise that most teachers were members of nationalist and conservative associations, and tended towards 'political conformism' (p. 239). Taking the example of schools, Manz can once again point to the conflict-enhancing character of diaspora formation. In many countries Germanocentric education was not popular and contributed to the 'Germanophobic violence' (p. 254) that erupted in many places from 1914.

In his study Manz takes a global view of attempts to create and maintain a German diaspora. Numerous associations as well as political and religious movements played a part in this. Manz also impressively demonstrates how processes of inclusion and exclusion worked within the diaspora. National movements, for example, sometimes gave women new scope for action, but they were often excluded from membership of associations. Jews were always excluded from the construction of a German diaspora for which the (Protestant) 'male, educated middle-classes' (p. 263) were responsible. Manz himself repeatedly concedes that the global view of the making of a diaspora cannot be exhaustive because, for example, it can only begin to perceive the movements for separation from Imperial Germany, and the efforts to conform to the host country.

At the centre of this study is a differentiated approach to the many regions to which (former) German citizens migrated. The pleasure of reading is somewhat diminished, however, by the detailed accounts of the various associations and their often rather small contributions to the formation of the diaspora which occasionally threaten to overwhelm the reader. And this reader would sometimes have preferred a pithy summary to the many, frequently long, quotations which present contemporary voices and point to the broad and often

Book Reviews

impressive material basis of the work. Ultimately, however, this form of analysis and presentation leaves an inspiring impression, created by its differentiated approach, methodological diversity, and references to gaps in the research. Finally, it is to be hoped that Manz's work, with its pioneering global approach, will stimulate further in-depth research on the creation of regional diasporas and similar transnational studies on migration.

BETTINA BROCKMEYER teaches modern history and gender history at the University of Bielefeld. Her current research project is entitled 'Kolonialismus im Lebenslauf: Biographien zur deutschen Kolonialherrschaft in Afrika'. She is the author of *Selbstverständnisse: Dialoge über Körper und Gemüt im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (2009) and many essays, most recently 'Der Kolonialbeamte Rudolf Asmis', in Rebekka Habermas and Alexandra Przymbel (eds.), *Von Käfern, Märkten und Menschen: Kolonialismus und Wissen in der Moderne* (2013), 84–94.

KRIS MANJAPRA, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire*, Harvard Historical Studies, 186 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014), ix + 442 pp. ISBN 978 0 674 72514 0. \$49.95. £36.95. €44.95

Historians of South Asia are already familiar with the name of Kris Manjapra. His first monograph, published in 2010, was a short but innovative biography of the diasporic Indian revolutionary and founder of the Communist Party of India, Manabendra Nath Roy. As M. N. Roy had a truly 'global biography' and spent considerable time in Germany during the 1920s, the slim volume already foreshadowed two core themes of Manjapra's work reviewed here. These commonalities aside, his second book is in an entirely different league both in style and thematic and temporal breadth. The author, who teaches at Tufts University in Boston, has this time steered clear of the obfuscating postcolonial jargon that at times made his first book hard to digest, giving us a fine example of historical scholarship and erudition in *Age of Entanglement*. The book is partly based on the author's Ph.D. thesis, which was submitted to Harvard in 2007, and thus has been in the making for more than a decade. However, it is not only the meticulous collection and stringent analysis of a vast body of primary sources and literature that deserves praise. For one, Manjapra's work derives part of its freshness and originality from the fact that he uses recent theoretical insights and perspectives stretching from the Franco-German champions of *histoire croisée* (or *Verflechtungsgeschichte*) to more conventional intellectual history and (post-)Subalternist currents such as the reflections of Indian political scientist Partha Chatterjee (pp. 2 and 7). What also renders this study extraordinary is that it is based not only on material in European languages but also on a wide range of writings in Bangla. There are still not many contributors to the burgeoning field of transnational history who possess the linguistic skills required truly to transcend a Eurocentric (or often merely Anglocentric) perspective by giving equal weight to writings in non-western idioms.

The main argument put forward in the 450-odd pages of the book is aptly summarized by the author in the first paragraph: German and Indian intellectuals, Manjapra maintains, collaborated intensely, seeking 'to destroy the nineteenth-century world order organized by British power'. According to him, this boundary-crossing coopera-

Book Reviews

tion had older roots but gained considerable momentum in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The 1880s ushered in about a half-century of intense Indo-German cultural interaction that was stimulated by three simultaneous developments: first, the challenge to British Raj in India by different varieties of indigenous nationalism; secondly the German challenge to British hegemony in Europe; and, finally, the slow decline of the British Empire (along with the Enlightenment rationality and universalism that it embodied) for internal reasons. Manjapra is primarily interested in intellectual and academic cooperation between Indians and Germans, in the role of the arts and sciences (sometimes cast in Foucauldian vein as 'countersciences', pp. 9–10) in the struggle to fill the vacuum left by the evaporating imperial world order. Far from limiting his study to intellectual history in the narrow sense, he promises to link the scholarly and artistic endeavours under scrutiny to the respective political projects of Indian and German nationalism, thus injecting 'a necessary dose of realpolitik to the transnational intellectual history' (p. 6). Perfectly understandable in terms of the necessary linguistic and regional expertise but nonetheless problematic are the asymmetries in the units of analysis. Instead of the promised focus on 'Indians' and 'Germans', Manjapra actually deals with a broad constituency of German-speaking intellectuals from all over Europe (including Switzerland, Hungary, and so on) on the one hand, and a relatively small circle of almost exclusively Bengali thinkers on the other.

The study is divided into two somewhat disproportional parts. The four chapters of Part I, entitled 'Stages of Entanglement', explore the broader historical developments of Indo-German connections during the entire period under review (that is, between 1815 and 1945), while six of the seven chapters in the second part provide an in-depth analysis of various 'Fields of Encounter'. The last chapter in this section offers a rather sketchy survey of post-Second World War developments. Finally, instead of ending the book with an exhaustive conclusion, Manjapra wraps up his main points in a crisp 'Epilogue' (pp. 288–92).

Part I is composed in contrapuntal fashion, juxtaposing two chapters on German engagements with India and two chapters on Indian perspectives on (or activities in) Germany. As Manjapra argues in chapter 1, during the first six decades after 1815 the bulk of German scientists and intellectuals identified with the British imperial en-

deavour. Quite a few of these individuals used posts in British India or the armchair exploration of Indian material as a sort of ersatz imperialism, allowing them to follow 'the British on the high seas to world significance' (p. 19). Besides the well-known German contributions to Oriental scholarship, the author also covers less familiar ground in this section. Among other things, he elucidates German involvement in colonial forestry, botany, and geography on the sub-continent (pp. 29–32) and assesses the indirect influence of the German education system and cooperative banking methods on India, both of which were admired and copied by British imperial administrators (pp. 33–6). A comprehensive analysis of popular varieties of the German intellectual fascination with India – ranging from towering figures such as Arthur Schopenhauer (pp. 62–3), to forgotten bestselling authors such as Karl Bleibtreu (p. 57) and right-wing academic Indologists (pp. 80–5) – is provided in the fourth chapter. Original as Manjapra's discussion is, especially when it comes to the lesser known figures (the 'foot-soldiers of German Orientalism', so to speak), his argument would be more convincing if he had added a brief glimpse of the situation in the rest of Europe. It is far from clear whether cultural Indomania and professional engagements in the Raj by 'mercenaries of science' were, indeed, part of a peculiar German *Sonderweg* (as implied by the author), or merely the specific expressions of much broader European trends.

Chapters 3 and 5 offer a contrast to the German perspective by zooming in on the discovery of Germany by Indian nationalists. While the third chapter scrutinizes the Germanic fantasies and ascriptions of early *swadeshi* nationalism (1905–14), Manjapra draws on materials from his earlier book when he looks at the actual Indian presence on the spot in Germany in chapter 5. Most of the Indian exiles in Germany were students, and Berlin in particular hosted a significant sub-continental diaspora during the inter-war period. Manjapra's conclusion that the knowledge and intellectual stimuli these expats received at German universities and in exchanges with Weimar's public intellectuals and political activists, who offered 'a new kind of soft power for Indian nationalists to undermine the British imperial world view' (p. 89), seems reasonable. Yet here, too, it would have been illuminating to read more about other sources of such 'soft power', such as France or Meiji Japan. This gap is especially noticeable in discussions of the important 'Greater India' trope, an

Book Reviews

ideology that was worked out by Bengali intellectuals in the 1920s in order to boost national pride by constructing a historical legacy of India. Here Manjapra seems to somewhat unduly exaggerate the influence of German partners in dialogue, whereas important French inspirations are only mentioned in passing (p. 101) and influential studies exploring Indian nationalism's French connection (such as the ground-breaking work of Susan Bayly and Roland Lardinois) are not cited at all.

The chronological coverage of the various stages of Indo-German entanglements serves only as an *amuse-gueule* before Manjapra embarks on his chief project of shedding light on the epistemic resources and channels of communication structuring the protracted encounter between German and Indian intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He singles out half a dozen fields as particularly relevant for the transnational dialogue of scientists and artists and their impact on the respective national(ist) agendas. Chapter 5 examines the role of academic physics in linked (though in many ways contradictory) projects of building up national pride in India and Germany. Physics, Manjapra persuasively argues, was not only a booming and prestigious science in the first half of the twentieth century, rapidly acquiring an epistemic authority to make claims 'about the structure of the matter and its practical applications for industry and strategy' (p. 142), it also happened to be dominated by German scientists and institutions such as the renowned Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin Dahlem. While Indian physicists such as Meghnad Saha and C. V. Raman could thus make use of their German connections to break free from the spell of imperial epistemic hegemony, Weimar Germany instrumentalized the global attraction of its scientific elite institutions to 'assert itself as a geopolitical World center' (p. 128) despite the humiliation of defeat in the Great War and the sanctions subsequently imposed by the League of Nations.

Similarly ground-breaking is chapter 6, which grapples with the convergence of Indian (or rather Bengali) concepts of global economy. Following the interactions of illustrious theorists such as Benoy Kumar Sarkar on the Indian side and Bernhard Harms, director of the Institute of Sea Transport and Global Economics in Hamburg on the German, Manjapra highlights the emancipatory role of German science for Indian national(ist) economists. Another odd Indo-German couple presented here for the first time consists of the Indian

economist (and later president of India) Zakir Husain and his German *Doktorvater* (Ph.D. supervisor) Werner Sombart from Berlin University, whose latent anti-Semitism converged with equally strong overtones of anti-Anglo-Saxonism and anti-imperialism (p. 165) to render his theories attractive for Indian nationalists. Chapter 7 deals with a different kind of ideological support. It examines the political ammunition that was provided by the various currents of 'Marxist Universalism'. Manjapra once again unearths fascinating material and relates hitherto unfamiliar stories, such as those associated with the transnational career of the trade union activist Franz Josef Furtwängler, who became an influential popularizer of Gandhi in Germany in the late 1920s and early 1930s (pp. 184–8). Yet this is one of the weaker parts of Manjapra's book. For one thing, one wonders if an Indo-German *histoire croisée* perspective is really the best lens through which to analyse Marxist entanglements in South Asia. This reviewer feels that a somewhat wider angle – Manjapra himself occasionally uses the concept 'central European' which, however, is never further explored – would have generated deeper insights. The second point of criticism relates to the concept of 'red Orientalism' as used by the author. As presented in this chapter, relations between Indian revolutionaries and the Communist International seem rather harmonious. There is hardly any contextualization within the Stalinist project of tightening Soviet rule in Central Asia, and no mention of the prejudices and politics of racist exclusion that many Asian communists suffered in Moscow, 'the acropolis of the communist world' (p. 180), as well as in other centres of the movement.

In chapters 8 and 9 Manjapra is back on the *terra firma* of the history of science, analysing the Indo-German exchanges in political geography (or 'geo-politics') and psychoanalysis respectively. While much has been written on the relationship between Sigmund Freud and his Indian disciple Girindrasekhar Bose, who are the focus of chapter 9, the core argument that psychoanalysis was not a quasi-imperial export from Europe to the wider world but 'was rather co-constituted by a worldwide group of scholars' (p. 211) is as bold as it seems plausible. The interactions between scholars such as the German geographer Karl Haushofer (of *Lebensraum* fame) and the Bengali economist and polymath Benoy Kumar Sarkar, both of whom posited new geo-cultural wholes challenging the imperial world order, are described and brilliantly analysed in chapter 8. They are less well

Book Reviews

known than the exchanges between Indians and German-speaking adepts of psychoanalysis and provide a particularly pertinent illustration of the core arguments put forward in *Age of Entanglement*.

In Chapter 10 Manjapra quits the history of science and takes his readers on a *tour de force* through the 'worlds of artistic expression' in interwar India and Weimar Germany. In the first section, he reconstructs the border-crossing activities of expressionist painter Stella Kramrisch from Vienna, who became involved with the Tagore circle. She spent more than two decades in India and served as an important go-between for Indian and German painters and art lovers. The subsequent section is also devoted to cultural brokerage, the focus being Bavarian film director Franz Osten, who worked in Bombay for several years in the 1920s and 1930s and produced Indian-themed box office hits in Germany and afforded vital stimuli for the artistic development of emerging Bollywood cinema.

The short eleventh chapter on the alleged decline of Indo-German entanglements after the Second World War is the only disappointment in what is otherwise an excellent book. An attempt to cover the cultural and economic activities of two German states in independent India over four decades is necessarily bound to resort to oversimplifications. Given the box office success of Fritz Lang's *Tiger von Eschnapur* remakes in the late 1950s, the India craze of the hippy generation in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, and the continuing literary engagements with India of leading intellectuals such as Günther Grass, Hubert Fichte, and Peter Sloterdijk, it is hard to be convinced by Manjapra's hypothesis that 'popular Orientalism had died in West Germany and Americanism took its place' (p. 282).

It must be reiterated that, in spite of the few weaknesses indicated above, *Age of Entanglement* is a landmark publication. It demonstrates both how much can be gained by 'de-centring' familiar histories and adopting new perspectives, and that the writing of a sophisticated and ambitious piece of transcultural intellectual history in the *longue durée* does not necessarily imply superficiality, but can be combined with sound empirical grounding and a stupendous density of documentation. There is no doubt that Kris Manjapra has written a book to be cherished. It is only to be hoped that the many stimuli provided by his outstandingly comprehensive study will generate further research in the subfields it covers by historians of Germany and other German-speaking countries and regions, as well as by historians of South Asia.

German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire

HARALD FISCHER-TINÉ is Professor of Modern Global History at the ETH Zurich and Adjunct Professor of History, Jacobs University Bremen. His current projects are 'Muscling in on Asia: the YMCA in India and Ceylon, c.1890–1950' and 'A Global History of Modern South Asia' (with Vasudha Bharadwaj). His many publications include *Shyamji Krishnavarma: Sanskrit, Sociology and Anti-Imperialism* (2014), and an edited volume (with Patricia Purtschert), *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins* (2015).

CHARMIAN BRINSON and RICHARD DOVE, *A Matter of Intelligence: MI5 and the Surveillance of Anti-Nazi Refugees 1933–50* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), viii + 254 pp. ISBN 978 0 7190 9079 0. £70.00

As the Nazi Party consolidated its grip on power, many of the new regime's political opponents were forced to flee Germany to escape the terror. Some of those refugees headed to Britain, a number that was to grow over the course of the 1930s. In Britain, however, many of the refugees attracted the attention of the Security Service (more commonly known as MI5) as their politics and activities were deemed to pose a potential threat to national security. Hitherto this aspect of the Security Service's work has largely escaped the attention of intelligence historians. Armed with the MI5 'Personal Files' on the refugees now available at the National Archives, *A Matter of Intelligence: MI5 and the Surveillance of Anti-Nazi Refugees, 1933–50* aims to correct this omission. In so doing, the book offers a fascinating insight into the attitudes and actions of MI5, and, indeed, the wider British government, towards the political refugees. As an intelligence history, however, *A Matter of Intelligence* is more problematic.

The book is divided into three chronological sections. Part I covers the period from the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 to the outbreak of war in 1939. It starts by considering how anti-communism came to be the Security Service's central focus in the 1920s, and how this continued to be an important strand of its worldview. It is also argued that as the flow of German and Austrian refugees began to arrive in Britain in the 1930s, MI5's definition of what a communist was included many groups who were not, but rather were simply anti-Nazi. There certainly were communists among the political refugees, though, and many of the most important, worthy of MI5 files, are introduced.

Part II goes on to develop this further. The coverage and analysis of the refugee groups that sprang up in this period is compelling. The German, Austrian, and Czech refugee groups are analysed in turn. The complexity of refugee politics is made apparent, as different factions competed to control the cultural and political organizations of each national group. In addition, the Security Service's overwhelming suspicion of these groups, believed to be 'communist fronts', and the individuals who ran them is demonstrated. In most cases, MI5's desir-

ed solution was internment. It appears that in most cases MI5 failed to get its way. The exception, of course, was during the short period of general internment of 'enemy aliens' at the height of the invasion scare of 1940. Otherwise MI5 was forced to monitor the individuals they suspected, while lobbying other departments, principally the Home Office, for them to be interned or refused employment in sensitive posts. Here, too, the techniques available to the Security Service are analysed. Of these, the use of informers from within the refugee groups is of considerable importance. The authors demonstrate how this was done, and point to the general low quality of the information obtained. Moreover, the contrast between the informants being described as 'reliable sources' by MI5 officers, while simultaneously being monitored by these same officers, is highlighted. Also suspect, in the Security Service's eyes, were the British supporters of the refugees.

Part III moves on to consider the political refugees, the Security Service, and the early Cold War. Even after the Soviet entry into the war on the Allied side, MI5 continued to monitor and warn others of the activities of the refugees. Clearly the Security Service was right to be worried as there were Soviet spies among the refugees. These spies were also to be found among the foreign scientists who had settled in Britain in the 1930s. Two case studies, of Klaus Fuchs and Engelbert Broda, both examples of 'atom spies', are set out. Neither of these cases shows the Security Service in a particularly good light. Fuchs, who volunteered his services to the Soviets in 1941, was only caught as a result of VENONA, the decryption of Soviet signals. Broda was never caught and was only identified after his death.

Taken together these chapters are interesting and engaging. They do, however, flirt with the conspiracy theories surrounding Roger Hollis. Hollis in this period was head of F Division of MI5, responsible for tackling subversive activities. He would later spend nine years as Director-General of the Security Service. It has also been alleged that he was a Soviet spy. In the conclusion to the book the authors state that they have chosen not to reopen the questions surrounding Hollis as the case remains unproven and there is no new evidence. Yet, from the construction placed on Hollis's role and MI5's failures, it appears the authors believe there is a case to answer. This is compounded by the total reliance on the works of the two main protagonists (Peter Wright and Chapman Pincher) in the anti-Hollis crusade.

Book Reviews

There is a much wider literature on the Soviet spies and on Hollis than this.

More problematic than the flirtation with conspiracy are some of the general conclusions that are offered by the authors and the failure to properly contextualize the work in relation to the intelligence literature. First is the conclusion that MI5 focused too much attention on communist refugees in the run up to and during a war against fascism. This was a consequence of the Security Service's long tradition of anti-communism. MI5 'was unable to suspend this judgement, let alone the surveillance, during the years when the Soviet Union was an ally' (p. 232). This begs the question, however, of why MI5 should suspend its judgement? The alliance with the USSR was an alliance of convenience. The threat of Soviet espionage did not disappear during the war. On the contrary, it expanded as those groomed during the 1930s, for example, the Cambridge Five, took their place at the heart of the country's security apparatus—and sent everything they could to Moscow.

In addition, it is argued that the Security Service watched 'the wrong Germans for the wrong reasons' (p. 233). Behind this was the highly reductive political reasoning of MI5 and its tendency to see the world through a binary, friend or foe, perspective. More seriously, there was the failure to distinguish between those who posed a genuine threat and those who did not. In the book it is explained that MI5 did distinguish between communist leaders and the rank and file (p. 108), so there was some element of discernment. Moreover, many of the individuals discussed in the text deserved all the attention MI5 gave them. Jürgen Kuczynski, Ursula Beurton, Edith Tudor-Hart, Margaret Mynatt, and Engelbert Broda were all spies, and MI5 made it clear that they were suspected as such. The failure was MI5's inability to find the positive proof and government departments not accepting their warnings.

Finally, there is the lack of contextualization. The reasons put forward by the authors for the dearth of previous interest in this topic will make intelligence historians bristle. First it is suggested that intelligence historians have been unable to differentiate the surveillance of enemy alien political refugees before and during the war from surveillance of communists during the Cold War. Alternatively, intelligence historians are so invested in the 'good war' narrative surrounding MI5 that they have excluded this topic because it does not

fit with that narrative (the intelligence historian as propagandist). Or, finally, it is suggested that intelligence historians have been distracted by the Cambridge Five (p. 233). There is, though, an alternative explanation, and that is that intelligence historians have concentrated on the capture of German agents, double cross, ISOS (the breaking of the German secret service cyphers), deception, and interrogation, because they were more important to winning the war. British intelligence was not so distracted by the refugees as this account appears to argue. MI5 did not spend considerable resources on the communists as is suggested here, and F Division played a relatively marginal role in wartime. While clearly of central importance to the refugees, especially those who suffered the injustice of internment, all the other aspects of MI5's work have received more scholarly interest because it was more important to winning the war against Germany. That was the focus of MI5 in this period.¹ It is in that context that this book needs to be placed.

A Matter of Intelligence is a valuable addition to the literature on the Security Service and the political refugees it watched. It reveals new insights into the lives of the refugees and how they were perceived by the authorities. It is a neglected area and one that is ably filled by this book. Yet the book is not without its problems, not least that the general conclusions drawn do not seem to be totally supported by the evidence presented, and by the fact it fails to place this aspect of MI5's work into its wider context.

¹ See e.g. TNA, KV 4/1-3, J. C. Curry, 'The Security Service. Its Problems and Organisational Adjustments 1908-1945', volumes I-III, March 1946.

ALAN MACLEOD is AHRC Post Doctoral Research Fellow, 'Cultures of Intelligence' Project, University of Leeds. In addition to his work on British intelligence, he has also researched the conflict in Northern Ireland, focusing particularly on its international dimension. His

Book Reviews

Ph.D. examined the interactions of the United Kingdom, Republic of Ireland, and United States over Northern Ireland in the early period of the Troubles. He is the author of 'The Conservative Party and the Irish Question, c.1885-2010', in Bradley W. Hart and Richard Carr (eds.), *The Foundations of the British Conservative Party: Essays on Conservatism from Lord Salisbury to David Cameron* (2013), 84-106.

HUGO SERVICE, *Germans to Poles: Communism, Nationalism and Ethnic Cleansing after the Second World War*, New Studies in European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ix + 378 pp. ISBN 978 1 107 67148 5. £65.00 US\$99.00

The forced migrations of ethnic Germans from eastern, central, and south-eastern Europe during and after the Second World War have been the subject of numerous publications: academic studies, polemical accounts, and personal recollections. The opening of relevant document holdings in eastern European archives after 1989/90 inspired new research projects on these resettlements. Human rights discourses, the experience of the war in the Balkans with its massive refugee impact, and international cooperation were further factors that encouraged the study of coerced migrations and what became, in 1992, 'ethnic cleansing' in the new, internationally standardized terminology. Case studies of geographical entities, of specific ethnic groups, and comparative analyses have added to our knowledge of this tragic period of European history. As for the 'flight and expulsion' of the Germans from eastern Europe, are there still any unknown aspects left for further research at all? The historical context, the early history, and the decision of the Great Powers to remove Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia seem to have been thoroughly investigated in the past.

There is much more need for detailed case studies, and Hugo Service's book contributes to a better understanding of what happened in postwar Poland, or, to be more precise, in the former eastern German provinces of Upper and Lower Silesia, after 1945. Many recent German studies have focused on collective memory and the political use and misuse of the psychological consequences of 'flight and expulsion' in the West German political debate up to 1989, and in reunited Germany after 1990. Nevertheless, with the exception of the perspective of the expellees themselves, which has been part of a specific, highly politicized, and emotional discourse since the early 1950s, we still know very little about how the expulsions were actually carried out. What exactly happened to those Germans who remained in the eastern territories under Polish rule?

Service has chosen a comparative approach, examining how the new local and regional authorities of the two districts of Hirschberg/Jelenia Góra (Lower Silesia) and Oppeln/Opole (Upper Silesia) dealt

Book Reviews

with their ethnic German residents once Silesia had become Polish. In order to contextualize these demographic and ethnic processes, Hugo Service begins with an overview of wartime events in eastern Europe from 1939 to 1944, the Nazi German and Soviet occupation of Poland, and the terror which both dictatorships directed against civilians. In chapter 2 he explains the changes that took place in Poland after the Second World War: the country's territorial shift towards the west, and the introduction of the communist regime and its ideological and organizational background. In the next chapter the author outlines the final stages of the Second World War in the Oppeln and the Hirschberg districts—the end of the hostilities, the coming of the Soviet troops, and the establishment of peace in central Europe. Service rightly points to the role of 'chaos and lawlessness' in the immediate postwar period. The lack of secure structures in a Polish state reborn after six years of occupation is a factor often forgotten in studies on the expulsion of the Germans from Poland. It seems impossible, however, to explain the causalities of this mass exodus without commenting on the specific circumstances that prevailed after the end of the country's German and Soviet occupations. This issue is not addressed in Service's book.

Thanks to an influx of refugees from neighbouring Czechoslovakia, the Hirschberg district experienced population growth of about one-fifth in the immediate postwar period. Its local population was almost entirely of ethnic German origin. The Oppeln district was characterized by a 'typical' Upper Silesian population structure: a large number of its inhabitants were bilingual, and even though they had been German citizens, the ethnic identity of many was fluid or unclear. The new Polish authorities categorized this group as 'autochthonous Slavic'. This hypothetical classification helped to support the government's idea of the 'recovered territories'—old 'Piaśt' areas which had now 'returned' to the Polish motherland. Inhabitants from the Opole district had to undergo a 'verification' procedure to prove their 'Polish' character. Memberships in Polish associations, any activities in favour of Poland, or simply being Catholic could contribute to the granting of continued residence in the area. This explains why a large part of Upper Silesia's inhabitants were allowed to remain in their homeland and were not driven out, in contrast to what almost the entire German population of the Hirschberg district experienced.

Service describes the latter case step by step. The ethnic cleansing in Lower Silesia started with a phase of 'disorganized expulsion' in spring 1945, an expression that seems much less emotional than the term 'wilde Vertreibung' ('wild expulsion'), widely used in German scholarship. Service also mentions voluntary migrations, but focuses especially on the 'mass transportation' following the Potsdam Agreement. A small number of German labourers had to remain in some specific economic areas; the last transports took place as late as October 1947. The course of the expulsions from the Hirschberg district, according to Service, reflects the different stages in how the German population was perceived by the Polish authorities in the years after 1945. At the beginning, they were in a hurry to get rid of the Germans, but over time they began to appreciate their specialized knowledge of the region and of certain industrial branches. For this reason they tried to keep them as experts for a certain time.

The social and cultural processes of integrating the German refugees into East and West Germany have been studied by many researchers. How did the parallel processes of integrating Poles take place in Upper and Lower Silesia after 1945? Hugo Service offers a few answers based on an examination of language and identity policies, repression on the political side, attitudes towards names, and relations between indigenous Poles and newcomers from other parts of Poland. He examines how German cultural traces were partly destroyed, as was the case for many remnants of the Protestant faith, which had been especially strong in Lower Silesia. The Roman Catholic Church, traditionally very important, participated in many ways in this cultural 're-Polonization' of the whole region. The author's remarks on 'belonging and not belonging', and inclusion and exclusion provide particularly interesting insights into the cultural dimensions of forced migration. He also describes the process of social integration through economic aspects as the repartition of the ground. Polish settlers from central Poland, Polish expellees from the former Polish territories east of the river Bug, and Poles returning from western and southern European countries (France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and so on) had to find a new home in Silesia. One of the interesting details Service unearths is the fact that some of the newcomers in Upper Silesia adopted elements of German vocabulary and assimilated in a manner opposite to what the regime had hoped for.

Book Reviews

Chapter 8 deals with the role of Silesia as a waiting room for Jewish displaced persons liberated from the concentration camps. Lower Silesia had truly become a centre for Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, developing a strong social, cultural, and religious life. Most Jews later emigrated to other countries because of a strong anti-Semitic campaign by the communist leaders, which revived long-lived stereotypes among many Polish citizens. In addition to Germans and Jews, the author also considers the fate of other groups, such as foreign DPs, former forced labourers, and former concentration camp prisoners. He also discusses another group which, in this context, might have merited more attention, as it directly affected Lower Silesia: the Akcja Wisła, ethnic Ukrainians and Lemkos from south-eastern Poland who were forced to resettle in the former German-inhabited areas of the new Polish western and northern territories. This measure undermined the plan for an ethnically homogeneous Silesia.

Service's book provides a good synthesis of the complex ethnic processes in Upper and Lower Silesia after 1945. His study is particularly strong where he presents the results of his own archival research. The structure of the book is reader friendly, even for those who are not specialists in German-Polish postwar history. Nevertheless, the book also has some weak elements. While the author consulted various holdings preserved in the State Archives of Jelenia Góra, Opole, and Wrocław as well as those of the Lastenausgleichsarchiv in Bayreuth (Germany), a dependency of the German Federal Archives that holds documents generated by German refugees and expellees after their arrival in West Germany, one wonders why he disregarded the abundant collections of the Institute of National Memory (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej) for the Polish perspective, or the material generated by the central level of the Polish executive after 1945, for instance, the Ministry of the Recovered Territories (Ministerstwo Ziem Odzyskanych) held at the Archive of New Acts (Archiwum Akt Nowych) in Warsaw. New Polish studies on postwar phenomena in the former German eastern territories underline the significance of their fundamental holdings.¹ The high degree of state

¹ See e.g. Grzegorz Hryciuk, Małgorzata Ruchniewicz, Bożena Szaynok, and Andrzej Żbikowski, *Wysiedlenia, wypędzenia i ucieczki 1939-1959: Atlas ziem Polski. Polacy – Żydzi – Niemcy – Ukraińcy* (Warsaw, 2008); Beata Halicka,

centralization means that Warsaw's archives contain a mass of material crucial for the understanding of local and regional political and administrative levels in the years after the end of the Second World War. The reviewer also notes the selective use of literature. Some prominent Polish scholars who have published important studies on the 'weryfikacja' politics and on general postwar history in Silesia are missing from the bibliography, for instance, Ryszard Kaczmarek and Paweł Kacprzak. Overall, however, these critical remarks do not diminish the value of Hugo Service's book for academic and non-academic readers alike.

Polens Wilder Westen: Erzwangene Migration und die kulturelle Aneignung des Oderraums 1945–1948 (Paderborn, 2013).

TOBIAS WEGER has been a Research Fellow at the Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa in Oldenburg, Germany, since 2004. His publications include *Kleine Geschichte Prags* (2011); *'Volkstumskampf' ohne Ende? Sudetendeutsche Organisationen 1945 bis 1955* (2008); and *Nationalsozialistischer 'Fremdarbeitereinsatz' in einer bayerischen Gemeinde 1939–1945: Das Beispiel Olching* (1998).

SAGI SCHAEFER, *States of Division: Border and Boundary Formation in Cold War Rural Germany*, Oxford Studies in Modern European History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), xvi + 219 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 967238 7. £60.00

In 1963, a ‘weed alarm’ rang on the western side of the border between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. After the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party had sealed the border and triggered collectivization in 1952, fields along the 1,000-mile-long frontier had increasingly been neglected. East German guards sprayed the area with strong herbicides. On the other side, West German borderland farmers and local authorities demanded compensation from regional and central agencies in the FRG. Yet the government in Bonn was anxious to avoid recognizing the GDR and thereby accepting the division of Germany. The Federal Republic’s leading politicians had therefore already rejected frontier farmers’ demands for financial compensation for land that they owned in the east. The rigidity of East German border regulation and the final collectivization drive in 1959–60 meant that a broad strip along the border turned into a ‘no man’s land’. The Federal Republic’s central government authorities, for their part, gradually lost interest in the border region. The economic boom of the 1960s finally induced the young and qualified inhabitants of the borderlands to leave the rural peripheries, both in the GDR and in the FRG.

In five chapters, Sagi Schaefer sheds light on the negotiations between the various actors, their interests and aims, arrangements and compromises regarding the inter-German border. From 1948 to 1952, temporary demarcation lines were solidified (ch. 1). In 1952–3, the beginning of collectivization sharpened conflicts about land use and property ownership along the border (ch. 2). Highlighting the role of frontier farmers, this chapter links research on the formation of borders and boundaries to the history of rural society. Changing the perspective, Schaefer argues that the western (especially West German) policy of non-recognition also shattered cross-border exchange, interactions and networks (ch. 3). In the GDR, the enforced collectivization destroyed private landownership and eastern frontier farmers’ attachment to the land in the latter half of the 1950s and in the 1960s (ch. 4). The impact of West German *Ostpolitik* on the inter-German border was more ambivalent (ch. 5). While de facto recogni-

tion of the GDR deepened the division between the two German states, détente led to a rapprochement between the FRG and the GDR and their border residents, facilitating travel, especially *Grenznahverkehr*. The Basic Treaty also created the inter-German Border Committee that regulated the border and paved the way towards a more precise demarcation that was completed as late as 1978. All in all, new channels of communication and exchange emerged, giving rise to regional coordination after the border's collapse in November and December 1989.

As a history of border formation from the perspective of the actors, Schaefer's book looks at public interest in the experience of separation in places such as Mödlareuth (situated partly in Thuringia and partly in Bavaria). The postwar history of this divided village has been presented in a local museum since the 1990s, and it was the subject of the German TV series *Tannbach* in early 2015. Schaefer's study concentrates on the Eichsfeld region in central Germany, a Catholic enclave in a territory that has been dominated by the Protestant faith since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Catholicism laid the ground for kinship relations and networks that persisted even after Eichsfeld was split between Prussia and Hanover at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This borderline eventually divided the Soviet, British, and American occupation zones in 1945, and became the inter-German border in the 1950s.

Rather like Edith Sheffer's pioneering study of the transformation of the border between the Federal Republic and the GDR,¹ Schaefer conceives of the frontier between the two German states as 'a set of interactive processes of political, spatial, and social division' (p. 17). Taking up the constructivist turn in border studies,² Schaefer's excellent book reconstructs the transformation of relations between East and West Germans on both sides of the border. Equally important, the interactions between frontier residents and central and regional

¹ Edith Sheffer, *Burned Bridge: How East and West Germans Made the Iron Curtain* (Oxford, 2011).

² See Doris Wastl-Walter (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (Farnham, 2011); Fiona Williamson, 'The Spatial Turn of Social and Cultural History: A Review of the Current Field', *European History Quarterly*, 44 (2014), 703–17; Christoph Dipper and Lutz Raphael, "'Raum" in der Europäischen Geschichte: Einleitung', *Journal of Modern European History*, 9 (2011), 27–41.

Book Reviews

state agencies receive strong attention. Local inhabitants shaped life in the peripheral regions and ascribed meanings to the border, but state agencies imposed considerable constraints on them. Nevertheless, border residents were able to harness central policies for their own ends. In their attempts to receive compensation for the fields that they had lost in the east, for instance, West German frontier farmers appealed to the government in Bonn as victims of 'Soviet aggression'. Yet the aims and interests of central state authorities and the regional districts differed, both in the FRG and the GDR. Whereas the former were concerned with official relations between the two German states, the latter sought to settle land conflicts and stabilize the local economy, thereby halting the flight from agriculture and the borderlands.

As Schaefer demonstrates, the inter-German border was constructed 'from below' as much as 'from above'. The specific appropriations of central directives by border residents and district local authorities, in particular, show the scope and limits of agency on the border. Although he takes political restrictions into account, Schaefer occasionally tends to underestimate and diminish their impact on border residents, especially on the eastern side. In his account of the final phase of the collectivization of agriculture in 1959–60, for example, the author emphasizes that members of the new Type I collectives managed to preserve some autonomy, as livestock and machinery remained privately owned. Yet they had to share fieldwork in the collectives and were not simply 'able to protect and maintain their self-perception as independent farmers rather than workers of a state-owned farm' (p. 136).

In similar vein, Schaefer's assertion that the 'balance of power between state and non-state groups and individuals was not clearly tilted in the state's direction' (p. 137) in the process of collectivization underrates the constraints imposed on East German farmers. In the divided country, moreover, frontier residents were hardly 'guardians of national values' (p. 151). Although he highlights the differences between the GDR and the FRG, Schaefer overrates the similarities between agricultural modernization in the two German states. As he rightly observes, the implementation of reforms like the Land Consolidation Act (*Flurbereinigungsgesetz*) depended on 'landowners' willingness to embrace it' (p. 148) in West Germany – in stark contrast to collectivization in the GDR. Not least, the author's interpretation

that the East Germans were mere 'objects' and 'excluded from most decisions about their own future in 1989–90' (p. 202) ignores the free elections of 18 March 1990 and the ensuing policies of Lothar de Maizière's government. Schaefer is surely right, however, in stressing the basic asymmetry of power in the process of unification.

These reservations notwithstanding, Sagi Schaefer's book is a major contribution to historical scholarship. Going far beyond the history of the inter-German border, it explains the role of specific actors and institutions in the dynamics of the division of Germany from the 1950s to the 1970s. The protracted process of separation confronted borderland residents with problems and challenges that they tried to tackle by cross-border cooperation, a wide range of interactions, or even Cold War rhetoric. The border between the two German states was not only imposed 'from above' by central authorities, but its construction was embedded in concrete everyday social interchange. It relied on mobilization as much as on coercion. Schaefer also analyses the strategies used by border residents to circumvent and penetrate the border, though less extensively. Yet it still needs to be investigated whether and to what extent cross-border interaction in the 1970s and 1980s, especially through *Grenznahverkehr*, eventually facilitated the regional cooperation that emerged from the collapse of the border in 1989. In any case, Sagi Schaefer has convincingly demonstrated that borders are constructed and superseded by human actions, even under restrictive conditions.

ARND BAUERKÄMPER is Professor of Modern European History at the Free University Berlin. Among his many publications are *Die 'radikale Rechte' in Großbritannien: Nationalistische und faschistische Bewegung vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis 1945* (1991); *Ländliche Gesellschaft in der kommunistischen Diktatur: Zwangsmodernisierung und Tradition in Brandenburg 1945–1963* (2002); *Die Sozialgeschichte der DDR* (2005); *Der Faschismus in Europa 1918–1945* (2006); and *Das umstrittene Gedächtnis: Die Erinnerung an Nationalsozialismus, Faschismus und Krieg in Europa seit 1945* (2012).

VOLKER R. BERGHAHN, *American Big Business in Britain and Germany: A Comparative History of Two 'Special Relationships' in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), ix + 375 pp. ISBN 978 0 691 16109 9. \$49.50. £34.95

Volker R. Berghahn's new book examines the 'special relationships' between the United States and both Britain and Germany in the twentieth century by studying business relations between the three countries. It is no surprise that the relationship between the USA and Britain is called 'special' – time and again, politicians from both sides of the Atlantic have emphasized the particularity of the Anglo-American relationship, especially during the two world wars. To speak of a German-American 'special relationship', on the other hand, might seem more unusual. By drawing on the statements and speeches of American politicians, businessmen, and journalists, however, Berghahn can show that many American businessmen regarded the German economy as much more dynamic and efficient than the British. According to Berghahn, American enterprises largely conducted business with Britain only during the First World War and then after 1933. After 1918 and again after 1945, German-American business relations were pursued seamlessly, regardless of the deep estrangement during the wartime years, whereas American entrepreneurs' interest in doing business with their British counterparts abated as soon as the German market was accessible again. Berghahn concludes that the 'shifts in the balance of German-American "special relations" ran countercyclically to the shifts in Anglo-American business relations' (p. 10). He therefore regards the American-British-German triangle as an interconnected whole, and not as two separate bilateral relations.

Looking at such transatlantic interconnections between 1900 and 1957 (the book's title is misleading as the study covers only the first half of the twentieth century), Berghahn concludes that, all in all, the economic relationship between the USA and Germany was a much more remarkable 'special relationship' than the Anglo-American one. The backlash from the two world wars notwithstanding, trade and foreign investment between Germany and the USA continued to grow, whereas economic relations between Britain and the USA declined in the long run. Why was this the case? And why did American businessmen consider Germany a much more interesting

market? In general, Americans perceived the British economy as stagnating and, especially after the First World War, as paralysed by labour disputes. Germany, on the other hand, was considered a much more dynamic business location. This is why even after 1945, the calamities of Nazi rule and the Second World War notwithstanding, American entrepreneurs were keen to revive earlier business connections, a process that Berghahn sees as a 'survival of traditions and institutions that dated back to the late nineteenth century' (p. 363). In his eyes, the German economy's revival after 1945 was a consequence of the fact that German enterprises were able to adopt American business principles. Other factors were that the German economy was characterized by an emphasis on high-quality services and products, efficient vocational training, and cooperative industrial relations, all of which gave it a competitive edge over the British economy.

The book is organized into six thematic chapters. The first examines the expectations of the European–American business nexus expressed in newspapers at the turn of the twentieth century. All observers were convinced that the emergence of the USA as a major industrial power would, sooner or later, challenge the predominance of European economies in global markets. Because of their economic performance in the decades before 1914, however, the Germans also had high hopes of being counted among the leading industrialized countries of the twentieth century. The second chapter describes how economic methods were exchanged across the Atlantic. German engineers and entrepreneurs regularly visited industrial centres on the American East Coast to study Taylorism and Fordism. American visitors to Europe, in turn, returned puzzled and disillusioned by what they had seen in Britain, where many industrialists with their Oxbridge classics education had little understanding of the problems of modern production and marketing. The Americans, by contrast, were impressed by German businessmen and the German system of education and training, both of skilled workers and managers and scientists involved in research and development in engineering firms.

As chapter three points out, American relations with Britain became more 'special' again with the outbreak of the First World War, until the two sides became formal allies with America's entry into the war. This relation quickly deteriorated after 1918, however, not least

Book Reviews

because American business elites were determined to undermine the City of London's primacy as the financial hub of the world in favour of Wall Street. In chapter four, Berghahn describes how American businessmen began to look towards Weimar Germany again after the mid 1920s. With its political system stabilizing, German industry once more seemed a more promising prospect for economic engagement than the rather undynamic British economy. The bursting of the speculative bubble in 1929 and the following Great Depression, however, affected Germany more deeply than Britain, leading to political radicalization and, finally, the Nazi seizure of power in 1933.

Chapter five describes the dilemma many American firms found themselves in when dealing with Germany after 1933. Whereas many withdrew their investments from Germany, companies that had production facilities in the country found it more difficult to cut ties. Some American businesses in Germany, such as IBM and General Motors, became involved in efforts to prevent the outbreak of war, or, once the fighting had begun, supported an armistice as late as 1941. Although Britain and the USA became allies again after the outbreak of the Second World War, their relations were far from harmonious. Since Britain was largely bankrupt by autumn 1940, it could no longer pay for American deliveries of food and weapons and thus became more dependent on American loans, as chapter six points out. The consequences of this increasing economic imbalance were felt especially after the end of the war. When the two countries differed on the issue of maintaining British imperial rule during the Suez Crisis in 1956, President Eisenhower threatened to trigger the collapse of the British currency, which forced the British to withdraw from Egypt.

On the whole, Berghahn provides interesting insights into the thinking of businessmen and politicians on both sides of the Atlantic and convincingly relates their economic concerns to geopolitical deliberations. One downside of the book, however, is the lack of a proper bibliography. The references are merely cited in the endnotes which forces readers to comb through the annotations of each and every chapter to find out what sources and literature the author used. It would be very welcome if renowned academic publishers such as Princeton University Press could spare their readers this bother. This is probably the result of cost-cutting, but it considerably impedes the use of their publications.

Although Berghahn describes an aspect of transatlantic economic cooperation that is often underestimated, he is not the first to compare the productivity of German and American businesses, and point to the greater efficiency of American firms. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, Alfred D. Chandler argued that American and German enterprises embodied two – albeit different – varieties of managerial capitalism. Britain, he argued, remained ensnared in inefficient personal capitalism, and was incapable of developing similar organizational structures to its German and American competitors, which is why the global market share of British firms eroded after the late nineteenth century. Berghahn does not consider Chandler’s study which, although many of its comparative findings have been seriously challenged over the last two decades, is still a cornerstone of today’s business history. By largely neglecting it, Berghahn misses a chance to achieve one of the aims of his study, namely, to ‘persuade social and cultural historians to reintegrate the elements of business cultures and political economy in their research and teaching’ on the one hand, and ‘to convince economic historians not to look exclusively toward quantitative macroeconomics and mathematical modelling, but toward their colleagues in traditional departments of history’ on the other (p. 364).

This approach is highly topical and Anglo-American historians might learn a great deal from their counterparts in Germany, where an intense debate has been conducted on how to integrate cultural history approaches into business and economic history. More than a decade ago, the volume *Wirtschaftsgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte* set the standard for this endeavour,¹ and a recently published volume, *Auf der Suche nach der Ökonomie*,² aimed to further advance the debate. It is a pity that Berghahn as a specialist in German history neither mentions this debate among German-speaking historians, nor cites the relevant research literature, as this might have been helpful information for Anglophone scholars.

One of the outcomes of this controversy is that social and cultural historians benefit from the results obtained by economic and busi-

¹ Hartmut Berghoff and Jakob Vogel (eds.), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte: Dimensionen eines Perspektivenwechsels* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004).

² Christof Dejung, Monika Dommann, and Daniel Speich Chassé (eds.), *Auf der Suche nach der Ökonomie: Historische Annäherungen* (Tübingen, 2014).

Book Reviews

ness historians, not least because this allows them to sharpen their arguments. It would therefore have been interesting to see how Berghahn could have reconciled the contemporary opinion which is the basis of his book with the quantitative analysis of Mira Wilkins's *Maturing of Multinational Enterprise* (1974), or her 2004 study *History of Foreign Investment in the United States*.³ Wilkins's data shows that throughout the twentieth century, US multinationals favoured Britain over Germany for their overseas investments, and that British investment in the USA consistently exceeded German investment.

But it seems that an analytical approach of this sort is not the primary aim of Berghahn's impressive overview of how businessmen from both side of the Atlantic assessed each other in the first half of the twentieth century, even though he repeatedly argues for the necessity of bridge-building between economic history on the one hand and political and cultural history on the other. Rather, he is interested in making a novel contribution to the scholarly debate on Americanization and the notion that the twentieth century can be construed as the American century. In 1902, the British journalist William T. Stead published *The Americanisation of the World*.⁴ This book attracted a good deal of attention at the time and has also influenced recent historiographical attempts to describe how European societies were shaped by the American way of life, which was seen as a role model or a threat to European values respectively. Fewer scholars, however, have turned the telescope of historical investigation around and examined the attitudes of American elites towards Europe, which is the focus of Berghahn's study.

Berghahn also mentions repeatedly that his study of transatlantic history could, or perhaps should, be extended to a global history. He justifies this claim by pointing out that both German and American foreign policy was influenced by Japan's rise to become a global player after the turn of the twentieth century. Such an approach would ultimately transcend the North Atlantic area, which still provides the framework for many business histories, and take into account global

³ Mira Wilkins, *Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); ead., *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States, 1914–1945* (Cambridge Mass., 2004).

⁴ W. T. Stead, *The Americanisation of the World: Or, the Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1902).

historical studies such as Kristin L. Hoganson's study *Consumers' Imperium*,⁵ and Sebastian Conrad's notion of the 'globalization of the nation-state'. One possible research trajectory would be to examine the extent to which Western businessmen assessed their operations on a global level and compared business opportunities in Europe with those in Latin American or Asian markets after 1900. Berghahn does not elaborate on this idea in any depth. But it is not the least merit of his book that he opens up such research perspectives beyond the beaten path of both conventional business history and American history.

⁵ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007).

CHRISTOF DEJUNG is *Privatdozent* in Modern History at the University of Constance and held a Fellowship at the University of Cambridge between 2013 and 2015. He is the editor, with Monika Dommann and Daniel Speich Chassé, of *Auf der Suche nach der Ökonomie: Historische Annäherungen* (2014), and the author of *Die Fäden des globalen Marktes: Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Welthandels am Beispiel der Handelsfirma Gebrüder Volkart 1851–1999* (2013).

CONFERENCE REPORTS

Dreams of Germany: Music and (Trans)national Imaginaries in the Modern Era, conference held at the German Historical Institute London, 5–7 Feb. 2015. Conveners: Neil Gregor (University of Southampton), Thomas Irvine (University of Southampton), and Andreas Gestrich (GHIL).

It is just over a decade since Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter published their seminal edited collection *Music and German National Identity* (2002). By resituating musical works within their broad socio-cultural context, the contributors aimed to refine our understanding of how, from the eighteenth century, music came to be imagined as a purveyor of national identity. They sought, in other words, to show how ‘writers, thinkers, statesmen, educators, impresarios, demagogues, audiences’ (p. 3) and, subsequently, composers co-opted music into an emerging discourse about what it meant to be ‘German’. The picture they painted debunked the notion that nationalism was in any sense an essential quality of music, even as it acknowledged the art world’s long-standing investment in the idea of ‘German music’.

Thirteen years on, ‘Dreams of Germany: Music and (Trans)national Imaginaries in the Modern Era’ brought together historians and musicologists to showcase the rich panoply of current research on Germany and its music. In so doing, it provided an opportunity to take stock of how broad scholarly developments have impacted these disciplines and, more specifically, have suggested new ways of thinking about the relationship between musical culture, identity, and the national.

One of the academy’s most notable turns in recent years has been towards ‘affect’ – a concept that draws attention to visceral and bodily experiences of the world. In musicology, this turn has given a new impetus to explore music’s emotional appeal: to recover from the

The full conference programme can be found under Events and Conferences on the GHIL’s website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

past, or document in the present, something of the lived experience of particular cultural encounters. If this concern seems eminently pertinent to the study of music, it nevertheless signals a departure from the historical preoccupation with the art form's intellectual value. This old disciplinary bias has also made its mark on research into music and national identity. Despite, or more likely because of, the emotive power of nationalist discourse, scholars have tended to downplay music's complicity in cultivating emotional senses of belonging.

That affect theory's expanded horizons might usefully be applied to (trans)national studies was evident from the conference's opening sessions. The first panel on 'Listening Communities' investigated the very different contexts in which music has helped to foster affective communities. Ryan Minor (Stony Brook) argued that the ensembles in Mozart's *da Ponte* operas not only staged community, but might also have invited eighteenth-century audiences to share in a moment of national identification. Hansjakob Ziemer (Max Planck, Berlin) showed how, by the early twentieth century, the idea of 'audience as nation' had become central to critics' and intellectuals' aspirations for German society. Bringing the conversation into the twenty-first century, Luis-Manuel Garcia's (Groningen) ethnographic paper presented a vibrant account of Berlin's Electronic Dance Music scene, around which a diverse migrant community has developed since the turn of the millennium. In a second session on 'Genres', Daniel Morat (FU Berlin) looked beyond listeners to performers, examining how in the early twentieth century collective singing, especially of patriotic songs, enacted a variety of 'dreams of Germany'.

Drawing these disparate periods and repertoires together was a shared interest in how participating in a musical event can create a feeling of belonging, even, as Minor and Garcia's case studies showed, in the absence of more formal modes of citizenship. At the same time, juxtaposing such contrasting scenarios raised an important issue: whose nation is captured in these musical moments? Whose national imaginary do they represent? These questions pose a specific challenge when it comes to research into historical audiences or groups of performers whose membership can, at best, be only partially known. While official voices ring on through history, to what extent a given public identified with or internalized this rhetoric is harder to say. What is more, if, as these papers suggested, music's

Conference Reports

ephemerality has made it a pliable vehicle for nationalist discourse, this characteristic also leaves something beyond the historian's reach, intangible and remote.

Nevertheless, that such questions are being tackled points to how another turn in recent scholarship is impacting studies of music and nation: a turn, that is, towards the regional and the local. Decentering the official rhetoric that has dominated the public sphere has enabled scholars to bring to light other perspectives on what it has meant to locate a sense of Germanness in music. At this conference, the value of recognizing local particularities was demonstrated in a panel on 'The *Longue Durée* of the Regional (Bavaria)'. Kirsten Paige (Berkeley) described how Wagner used cutting-edge rail and ventilation technologies to realize his utopian vision of Bayreuth as a place in which the German nation might be de-industrialized and re-naturalized. Dana Smith (Queen Mary, Univ. of London) focused on the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern, revealing local variations in how 'Jewish' music was understood, and in the extent to which women were involved as performers. Concluding the panel was Emily Richmond Pollock's (MIT) account of how tensions that pervaded German operatic culture—between past and present, tradition and progress—were mediated at the re-opening of Munich's Bayerische Staatsoper in 1963. By attending to the discourses that surrounded regional institutions at a particular historical moment, these papers highlighted the extent to which national imaginaries are always contingent, shifting, and contested. They also drew attention to the murky relationship between state and civic culture, as they probed how local concerns intersected with national agendas.

The counterpart to this regional turn can be found in the rapidly expanding field of transnational studies. When it comes to music, this development has invited a fresh consideration of how composers, musicians, works, audiences, and discourse have traversed national borders and how this movement has shaped musical meaning, both at home and abroad. Speaking to the impact of transnational musical movement in Germany, Carolin Krahn (Vienna) sought to nuance our understanding of *Italiensehnsucht*, using a close reading of select texts to expose German critics' 'schizophrenic' attitude towards Italian music. In so doing, she showed how certain writers drew on notions of 'the Italian' in their attempts to define 'German' music. Tobias Becker (GHIL) also touched on the reception of foreign

operettas in Berlin, as he explored how scenarios and libretti were modified for different cities and their publics.

In contrast, a panel on 'Others, Near and Far' asked how German music has been imagined beyond the country's national borders. Laura Tunbridge (Oxford) and Annika Forkert (Royal Holloway, Univ. of London) provided two examples of inter-war Britain's 'dreams of Germany', the former focusing on the London Lieder Club, which was founded in 1932 so that elite audiences could experience live (as opposed to recorded) performances of German art song; and the latter on conductor Edward Clark's attempts to promote new German music to British audiences. Meanwhile, Felipe Ledesma-Núñez (Stony Brook) and Brooke McCorkle (Pennsylvania) explored the impact of German imaginaries further afield: the first in an account of how the prominence of musical evolutionism in turn-of-the-century Ecuador inspired composers to draw on German, as well as Ecuadorian, traditions in their efforts to create a national art music; and the second through an exploration of how from the late nineteenth century Wagner's philosophies were appropriated by disaffected Japanese intellectuals, even though his operatic music remained largely unperformed until the 1940s. In another panel, Brooks Kuykendall (Erskine College) took a more traditional stance, analysing Britten's *War Requiem* to suggest ways in which the composer might have drawn inspiration from Bach's Passions. Together, these papers pointed to how the myth of German musical supremacy has been perpetuated across the globe, at once enlivening and disempowering other musical cultures.

In addition to the focus on geographical movement, another prominent conference theme was the transmission of musical ideas across time, a subject that came to the fore in a panel titled 'Fantasies, Reminiscences, Nightmares', which dealt with the issues of cultural memory and loss. Here, Martha Sprigge (Michigan) used Georg Kater's *Aide Mémoire* to reassess antifascist music's place in postwar East Germany's commemorative culture, as an ambiguous, questioning voice rather than simply a propagandistic one. Moving across the border, Lap Kwan Kam (Taiwan) explored how Austria tried to disentangle itself from a pan-German musical narrative and establish a distinctive Austrian identity. Whereas the transnational perspective focused on external others, these papers revealed an othering from within that was central to the postwar process of rehabilitation.

Conference Reports

An altogether different sort of cultural movement was explored in a session on 'High and Low in Interwar Germany'. Over the past decade, a growing body of scholarship has sought to complicate our understanding of the relationship between high and low, but to date relatively little thought has been given to how these ideological categories played into nationalist agendas, a lacuna that Nicholas Attfeld's (Brunel) and Martin Rempe's (Constance) papers began to redress. Attfeld revisited the early writings of theorist August Halm, which suggest that Halm's educational initiatives ultimately aimed to transform high German culture into a *Volkskunst*. The desire to familiarize the masses with their illustrious musical heritage continued to shape musical culture in the 1930s and 1940s, as Martin Rempe demonstrated in his investigation into the Nazi's aspirations for a 'new popular music'. How the tension between popularity and prestige has been negotiated in relation to the national promises a fruitful avenue for further research.

The final panel focused on postwar popular culture. Julia Sneeringer's (CUNY) paper explored the club scene of Hamburg in the early 1960s as a site of transnational encounter between British musicians, German cultural entrepreneurs, and young music fans, including British and Germans, who descended upon the port city from all over the world. The popular club scene became both a site on which national belonging and identity could be re-thought (or re-felt) and a liminal space in which, in the wake of a recent war, the tensions and problems of national belonging could be momentarily suspended. Similarly, Jeff Hayton (Wichita) explored how in the punk scene, a musical subculture supposedly very distanced from anything 'national', musicians and fans articulated both their critique of aspects of postwar German culture and their alternative visions of what being German might entail. The last paper returned to the contemporary genre foregrounded in the first panel, Electronic Dance Music, and to the reception of the German electronic band *Kraftwerk* in the USA. Focusing on parodic accounts of German EDM music produced in the USA in the 1980s and 1990s, Sean Nye (Univ. of Southern California) explored how such parody served both to familiarize American audiences but also to reinscribe assumptions about German national culture—centred on the trope of the *Autobahn* and its attendant clichés of rationality, efficiency, and boredom—that figure, like the ideas adumbrated in Garcia's opening panel paper,

as a profound fantasy of Germany articulated from beyond its borders.

The themes of the conference were brought together in two keynote presentations. The first, 'Cinematic Dreams of Germany', was given by Berthold Hoeckner (Chicago), who employed psycho-analytic perspectives to compare representations of Germany in films by Jean-Luc Goddard and Alexander Kluge. Meanwhile, in a panoramic survey of German musical cultures over the last three centuries, Celia Applegate (Vanderbilt) both revisited the themes of the original intervention that prompted this conference and asked how, under the headings 'organizations and institutions', 'performance and its technologies', and 'the question of interpretation' that story might now be told differently.

'Dreams of Germany' exemplified how research into music and (trans)national imaginaries has transformed over the past decade. The sheer breadth of the papers was remarkable: in geographical terms, they ranged from Berlin and Munich to Tokyo and Ecuador; in time period from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century; in methodology from close readings of literary, musical, and filmic texts to ethnography; and in sources from musical scores to photographs, architectural plans, and sound recordings. While canonical composers and works remained well represented, they by no means dominated. Taken together, this scholarship seemed to foreground the complex plurality of national discourse and musical culture. Yet by putting such diverse contexts side-by-side, the conference also raised the thorny question of how macro socialities and micro-level experiences might relate. To what extent did these multifarious German musical fantasies intersect? How much of the past is carried into the present, in spoken or unspoken ways? It is evident that discourse about the nation continues to shape musical encounters, just as music continues to be used to voice national imaginaries; but the points at which these narratives overlap often remain elusive. One thing that this conference made certain is that there are many different Germanys, and many different German musics.

KATE GUTHRIE (University of Southampton)

Report on the Inauguration of the Branch Office of the Max Weber Foundation, New Delhi, held at the India International Centre in New Delhi on 14 Feb. 2015.

The opening of the branch office of the Max Weber Foundation (MWF) in New Delhi on 14 February 2015 marked a fresh approach to research on the intersection between education policy and poverty reduction. The meeting took place at the India International Centre in New Delhi. Indra Sengupta (Academic Coordinator, TRG, German Historical Institute London) launched the event with an introduction to the Transnational Research Group on Poverty and Education (TRG). Next, Andreas Gestrich (Director, GHIL) gave an account of the group's research objectives. The TRG, he said, was established as part of a larger academic collaboration with generous funding from the Max Weber Stiftung. It is a joint initiative of the GHIL and its partner institutions: the Centre for Modern Indian Studies (CeMIS, Göttingen), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU, New Delhi), King's College London (KCL), and the Centre for Studies of Developing Societies (CSDS, New Delhi). It seeks to combine scholarship across the social sciences in order to explore questions concerning education and the nature and consequences of its provision by both public and private players in India from the nineteenth century onwards. The five-year project offers doctoral and post-doctoral fellowships as well as short-term grants.

The first panel of the day, which was chaired by Indra Sengupta, saw four TRG Fellows present their work-in-progress. The panel elicited a lively debate, which indicated that education continues to remain an ideological and emotionally charged subject for all. Arun Kumar (CeMIS, Göttingen) and Divya Kannan (JNU, Delhi) gave brief presentations of their ongoing Ph.D. research projects, which are based on missionary archival sources, as missionaries were the earliest providers of education to the labouring poor. K. N. Sunandan (CSDS/TRG, Delhi) and Alva Bonaker (CeMIS, Göttingen), whose postdoctoral and Ph.D. projects respectively explore contemporary schooling practices that determine 'manual' and 'mental' labour, and government schemes such as the Mid-Day Meal Programme, high-

The full conference programme can be found under Events and Conferences on the GHIL's website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

lighted the role of the state and civil society in education. The presentations provoked a discussion on the importance of constructing the poor as a historical category. Questions were raised regarding the need to distinguish varying categories of the poor so as to formulate policies addressing specific concerns of inequality and exclusion.

The following panel presented a new and significant initiative of the TRG, 'Key Moments of Education Policy towards the Poor'. The panel was chaired by Rupa Viswanath (Göttingen). The Key Moments project, undertaken by some of the Fellows and Principal Investigators of the TRG, concentrates on major shifts/phases of change and continuity in the history of mass education in India from the 1820s to the present. The aim of the project is to move away from a mere chronological mapping of educational policies. The project is coordinated by Jana Tschurenev (CeMIS, Göttingen). Neeladri Bhattacharya (JNU, Delhi), a Principal Investigator, briefed the audience on the importance of writing histories from a bottom-up view and expanding the researcher's archival focus by including non-official sources. He posed the question of social scientists and those concerned working towards an archive that will not exclude the poor and their issues. The questions, he said, were straightforward. For example: how did the poor actually experience the classroom, if any; and what happened to the poor during schooling? Based on such an inter-sectional approach, the Key Moments project will focus on a number of broad themes: indigenous and rural education, gender and inequality, caste and politics, religious and vocational education.

Jana Tschurenev explained three 'key moments' during the colonial period with regard to education provision. During the first one, in the 1820s, education for women was primarily carried out by missionary societies. By the 1880s, with shifts in public opinion on women's education and emergent nationalist discourses, several female public educators such as Pandita Ramabai in Maharashtra came to prominence, and a move towards the professionalization of certain occupations occurred. Later, these tended to perpetuate gendered notions of work, which were attempts to transfer 'care' and 'nurture', perceived as innately 'womanly' traits, from the domestic to the public sphere.

Preeti's (JNU, Delhi) presentation outlined the multiple ways in which certain jobs, particularly midwifery, were professionalized in the colonial United Provinces, which include parts of present-day

Conference Reports

northern India. Those involved in public deliberations sought to 'educate' women on matters of health and hygiene in a scientific manner, and train traditional midwives (*dais*) as professionals. They evoked varying representations of indigenous women's work for women, pitting them against Western, female, medical missionaries. Initially, groups of *dais* resisted these attempts by the colonial administration and missionary establishments.

Malini Ghose's (CeMIS, Göttingen) paper highlighted the need to destabilize the sweeping generalizations often made with regard to educational developments. She pointed out the necessity of viewing rupture or disturbance as a framing device. Tracing the life histories of Dalit women in rural Bundelkhand, she showed how individual life-stories rupture macro-studies that may fail to account for failures and problems in the system. She discussed various educational policy shifts in India from the 1990s on to understand how marginalized subjects are constructed and transformed through them.

Members of the audience pointed out that the Key Moments project had to separate schooling from education in order to gain better analytical clarity. It was also suggested that the question of language needed to be examined more closely, especially in post-independent India, to understand why a large number of children still do not attend school, despite legislation and policy formulations. A couple of possible problems were particularly highlighted: for example, how to map out this research in a non-linear way, since chronological narration seemed inevitably to take precedence; and how to bring together a range of inter-sectional approaches to determine the parameters of a 'key moment'.

The afternoon session, 'Education for the Poor: The Politics of Poverty and Social Justice', chaired by Geetha B. Nambissan (JNU, Delhi) saw the coming together of perspectives from inside and outside the Indian context. The speakers were Marcelo Caruso (Institute of Education Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin), Kalpana Kannabiran (Council for Social Development, Hyderabad), Krishna Kumar (Department of Education, University of Delhi), and Crain Soudien (School of Education, University of Cape Town). Marcelo Caruso spoke at length about the construction of poverty as a discourse from the mid fifteenth century on, and the attempts made to school the poor into prevalent social and labour norms. He adopted this *longue durée* approach in order to gain better insight into the current neoliberal

eral discourses on education in Latin America. Schooling has been and remains a political issue and, as he pointed out, educational attainments played a role in strategies of disenfranchisement, such as in the case of illiterate adults being denied the right to vote in previous decades.

Kalpana Kannabiran took the argument in a slightly different direction by presenting her experiences as both a lawyer and activist in India. Even after a decade, the goal of universal elementary education is far from being achieved in India. She said the context in which everyday opportunities of life exist is suffused with law. Drawing on examples from her work amongst tribal communities, particularly the Chenchus, in Andhra Pradesh, she argued that the right to life and liberty, enshrined in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution, is often in a state of suspension in tribal areas. This brought home forcefully the fact that judicial mechanisms cannot be viewed in isolation from education.

How do the children of the poor fare in the system? This was the question that Krishna Kumar asked in his presentation. He said the need of the hour was to integrate two theoretical domains in our understanding: the conceptual and the social. In order to engage with poverty, we will have to account for various philosophical positions that defined poverty in different ways. This, he elaborated, was key to understanding the experience of children inside the classrooms. He cited Gandhi and Tagore's ideas as two examples of varying educational systems.

Our focus was then taken to South Africa by Crain Soudien, who applied global debates on education to his geographical area. The major debate in South Africa, he said, was occurring on three inter-related axes: first, the fault of the past; secondly, the failure of the current new elites to incorporate changes; and lastly, a tendency by dominant discourses to blame the poor themselves for all their shortcomings. Soudien explained that the emergence of a newly affluent black middle class did not lead to a natural sympathizing with the problems of the disprivileged. Understanding psycho-social and spatial experiences of poverty was key to engaging with prevalent capacities of local children and connecting them with global realities.

Geetha B. Nambissan started off the discussion by flagging some important issues. She raised the important question of whether we have depoliticized poverty by concentrating excessively on social jus-

Conference Reports

tice. At a time when new groups, hitherto discriminated against and excluded, are staking claims to educational resources, re-conceptualizing the category of 'justice' is necessary in order to challenge neoliberal thinking. A lively discussion ensued, which included questions such as what constituted the 'public' and the dangers of neoliberal policies adopted by universities that were, in effect, perpetuating old and new forms of privilege.

The ceremonial inauguration of the new branch office took place in the evening in the form of a keynote lecture. Heinz Duchhardt (President of the Max Weber Stiftung, Bonn) spoke about the institution's history, emphasizing its role in extending bilateral and multi-lateral relations through academic collaborations. Sudha Pai (Rector, JNU) stressed the advantages of such mutual cooperation and highlighted how JNU, as a central university, has been attempting to formulate strategies to deal with mass education through inclusive policies. The CSDS's director, Sanjay Kumar, spoke about its involvement in the TRG projects, especially with regard to the issues of inclusion and equity in school education in contemporary India.

The highlight of the inauguration was the keynote lecture presented by Carlos Alberto Torres (Professor of Education and Director, Paulo Freire Institute, University of California, Los Angeles), well known for his extensive research on comparative and international development education. In his paper, 'Neoliberalism, Globalization Agendas, and Banking Educational Policy: Is Popular Education an Answer?', Torres presented the challenges to university education and tensions between the local and global along three axes: the first comprised elements of instrumental rationality, a dominant strand of neoliberalism manifested via banking education; the second concerned the challenges for global education; and thirdly, he asked provocatively whether education could be popular if it lacked equality and access? Neoliberalism, argued Torres, has been the new 'common sense' for at least three generations now, and has gained a moral and intellectual hegemony. It has had an immensely troubling impact on university education. He argued that the contemporary economic rationale behind ranking models to assess the quality of education were strategically positioned markers. He elaborated on the pitfalls of such a system, which also tended to be technocratic in nature.

The discussion dwelt on the pressing question of creating a model in which educational resources could be redistributed. This evoked

Inauguration of MWF Branch Office New Delhi

multiple responses at the gathering, with some considering it rather utopian at this stage. Yet there was a general consensus that the state's role had to be substantially restructured in order to transfer resources from private hands to the people. Following Paulo Freire, many felt that de-politicization had to be curbed by incorporating new participatory mechanisms. He advanced his idea of the 'Global Commons' as a project of developing global citizenship education, predicated on global peace. A successful intervention in university education for the people would require citizenship and democracy to be reformulated simultaneously. The speaker appealed to everyone to join the long, silent revolution on global citizenship.

DIVYA KANNAN (TRG Ph.D. Fellow, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Ignorance and Non-Knowledge in Early Modern Expansion, international Workshop organized by the German Historical Institute London and held at the GHIL, 24–25 Mar. 2015. Convener: Susanne Friedrich (LMU Munich).

Should the concepts of ignorance and non-knowledge be incorporated into studies of early modern European expansion? The answer given by the workshop 'Ignorance and Non-knowledge in Early Modern Expansion' was a clear yes. The two-day event aimed to shed light on particular cases, conceptualizations, and problems of research as well as on the relevance and functions of 'ignorance' and 'non-knowledge' more generally. In her introduction Susanne Friedrich (Munich) described the challenges and prospects of integrating these concepts into the investigation of early modern expansion. She stated that 'non-knowledge' and 'ignorance' can neither be conclusively defined nor easily accessed because of their covert nature. They are not simply the opposite of knowledge, but, rather, complementary to it. Relying on heuristic and methodological considerations, Friedrich distinguished between 'ignorance' and 'non-knowledge'. She argued that the former consists of passive forms of not knowing which can only be studied retrospectively, while the latter is active in nature, consisting of contemporary reflections. Using examples from the Dutch East India Company, Friedrich demonstrated that both had a considerable impact on the Company's knowledge culture. There was a structural deficit of knowledge, increased by distance and protracted communication-cycles. Non-knowledge was rated a threat, but also constituted a starting-point for projects, served as an argument in conflicts, and was even wilfully maintained. Furthermore, the classification of something as non-knowledge was not only a question of epistemology, but also closely connected to politics and social standing.

Subsequently, the sociologist Matthias Groß (Jena) gave an overview of the state of the art in sociological ignorance studies, complemented by examples from his own research. He distinguished four basic forms of ignorance, namely: *nescience* (ignorance which can only be discovered in hindsight); *general non-knowledge* (the acknowl-

The full conference programme can be found under Events and Conferences on the GHIL's website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

edgement that things are unknown); *active/positive non-knowledge* (specified ignorance, integrated into planning and stimulating the acquisition of knowledge); and *passive/negative non-knowledge* (known, but reckoned unimportant or dangerous). Contrary to common perception, the unknown does not necessarily have to be seen as negative. When studying ignorance, one should be aware of the gap between the 'official' version propagated about an operation and 'real world' decision-making. While subsequent coverage maintains that decisions were grounded in sound information and accepted knowledge, circumstances often demand decision-making in situations of ignorance. Drawing on extracts of interviews with engineers facing unexpected situations while cleaning up contaminated sites or drilling in search of geothermal energy, Groß made it clear that some aspects of 'tacit knowledge' fall into the field of non-knowledge, and pointed to methodological problems in recognizing non-knowledge. He proposed to examine the precise wording and to register, besides statements of missing knowledge, also utterances of gut feelings, surprise, novelty, and metaphorical phrases.

The two following talks presented case studies in the history of cartography, one of the few historical sub-disciplines concerned with missing knowledge and 'silences of uniformity' (J. B. Harley). Zoltán Biedermann (London) took a closer look at a sample of maps displaying a region in present-day Iran, demonstrating how different cartographical regimes produced specific blind-spots. Lázaro Luís, for example, depicted the region in 1563 according to the portolan logic. Only sites that could be seen from water were included, while the inland was left blank. The information, delineated in a scheme of rhumb lines, derived from observation and the calculation of distances, while other possible sources such as hearsay or travel writing were left out because of their supposed unreliability. In contrast to Luís's approach, the maps which Gastaldi and Lafreri produced in 1561 used the Ptolemaic grid, in which locations were placed on the basis of coordinates. The sources they relied on ranged from Ptolemy to travelogues. This resulted in more places being depicted, but also in the integration of data far removed from the standards of reliability used for portolans. Nevertheless, in the medium term the grid outshone the portolan tradition as it was more appealing to a wider public. In some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish maps, however, a clash of these different cartographic regimes can be detected.

Conference Reports

How Africa became the continent of 'non-knowledge' was demonstrated by Benjamin Steiner (Erfurt). Relying on a micro-study of the depiction of the Niger and Senegal rivers, he problematized networks of trust and different notions of reliability. In 1714 the rivers were for the first time correctly reproduced as two separate streams on a printed map by Guillaume Delisle. He had obviously had access to French Senegal Company manuscripts that reported the inhabitants' hearsay of the region's geography. The data was thus derived from an information regime connected to and thus dignified by the crown. Delisle endowed the reports with enough authority to supersede an almost 2,000-year-old tradition. Jean-Baptiste Anville's approach in 1749 was a very different one: leaving blank all spaces for which he had no 'reliable data', the cartographer adhered to a different knowledge concept by which only the reports of reliable, that is, socially classifiable, individuals were to be trusted. Indigenous knowledge was abandoned as non-knowledge, giving way to the idea of the epistemic superiority of European methodology. In Anville's map, the Niger and the Senegal were once again connected.

Decision-making and assessment in environments of non-knowledge formed the focus of the next papers. William O'Reilly (Cambridge) advocated the integration of a non-knowledge concept into migration studies. The decision to migrate, and where, was made not solely on the basis of 'rational' reasoning. Basing his observations on eighteenth-century German emigration, O'Reilly demonstrated that confession, state policy, and networks alone do not entirely explain migrants' decisions; rather their non-knowledge complemented and enhanced blurred information. Migrants' attitudes can be categorized along the dimensions of their awareness of non-knowledge, its intentionality, and its temporal stability. Referring to theories of risk-communication and Karin Knorr-Cetina's scientific epistemology, O'Reilly developed four questions for investigating the characteristic traits of the non-knowledge culture of emigrants. What temporal and spatial scale did they consider adequate for knowledge to be regarded as valid, reliable, and complete? How were unforeseen events addressed? How were complexity, uncertainty, ambiguity, and the limits of knowledge dealt with? What were the ways and routines of coping with the de- and re-contextualization of knowledge?

Anne Murphy (Hatfield) traced non-knowledge in surroundings usually considered well informed. Her analysis of the role of non-

knowledge in the creation of early modern financial markets challenged the assumption that prices reflected all manifest information. She stressed that the influence of talk about the unknown was more important in London's paper market in the 1690s than numbers and 'facts'. In a situation in which the state sought to borrow money by using various newly invented financial instruments, potential investors had to deal with a considerable degree of non-knowledge: neither were the returns of those instruments known, nor did parliament have a reputation as a borrower. Factors that made the loan successful were the prospect of high returns and the conversations of the investors. As oral networks mattered, bodily presence and geographical closeness were of high importance, even more so in situations when things went wrong, as they did. Only a few experienced investors got their investments back: those who were well connected and had learned, through their conversations, how to deal with the government.

Emma Spary (Cambridge) added yet a further dimension. Focusing on attempts by eighteenth-century French travellers to communicate the flavour of the pineapple, and methodologically located at the crossroads of the history of knowledge, food history, and sensory history, Spary pointed to the intransmissibility of certain forms of embodied experience. Like other exotic goods, the pineapple was introduced to Europeans by means of texts, images, and preserved specimens. Over time it adopted different meanings as it became a symbol for royalty or the Antilles. Yet, despite all attempts to stabilize embodied knowledge over distance, the pineapple's flavour eluded all efforts to grasp it, as it could not be preserved, nor could its taste in any way be adequately described by media. It remained unknowable to contemporaries, for whom it even became a marker for the intransmissibility of experiences. In a kind of 'reverse imperialism' the pineapple undermined French certainties about their superiority of taste as a culture.

While Emma Spary demonstrated that certain forms of knowledge cannot be communicated, Romain Bertrand (Paris) addressed the gaps within the chain of knowledge transmission. Looking at early seventeenth-century Portuguese, Dutch, and English expansion, he argued against the idea that knowledge could be accumulated simply by collecting manuscripts. He proved that proficiency in the Malay language was common among the Portuguese of Malacca; neverthe-

Conference Reports

less, there are no traces of a transmission of manuscripts to the motherland. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch and English started gathering Javanese and Malay manuscripts early. One of the collectors on site was Peter Willemsz Floris, who first worked for the Dutch before switching to the English East India Company. His command of Malay and Persian seems to have been better than that of Thomas Erpenius, a Leyden professor of Oriental languages who acquired Floris's manuscripts, but did not engage with them any further. After Erpenius's death, the manuscripts were sold to the library of Cambridge university, where they lay buried in oblivion until the nineteenth century. As knowledge was not extracted from the manuscripts by reading them, knowledge transmission came to a dead end too.

Martine Julia van Ittersum (Dundee) assessed the suppression of evidence and the misreading of documents by Hugo Grotius, thus answering Robert Proctor's plea for a history of 'agnotology'. As a solicitor and political adviser, Grotius developed justifications for the Dutch expansion. He drafted petitions for the East India Company, and wrote *Mare liberum* to defend the right of the Dutch to trade and navigate in the Indies. Van Ittersum exemplified Grotius's use of documents and the readjustment of his free-sea argument to situational requirements with two case studies. First, she instanced the piracy lawsuit against the owners of the *Swimming Lion*, for whom Grotius provided legal cover before the Middelburg Admiralty Court in 1609–10. Her second example featured the Anglo-Dutch colonial conferences of 1613 and 1615, when Grotius argued that the freedom of the sea is limited by contracts. In both cases he established and interpreted the 'facts' according to the present needs of his principals. In doing so, he wilfully created non-knowledge by suppressing contrary reports and presenting quite speculative narratives.

Since the workshop was intended to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas on a new topic, more than half of the time was devoted to discussions. These drew on the papers but also widened the field, exploring different perspectives, adding further examples and new aspects. As it is impossible to give a full account of the enormous richness of the discussions, some impressions must suffice. Almost all the themes of the cultural history of knowledge were reviewed in relation to non-knowledge, adding new aspects to questions of authority, expertise, reliability, experience, and access, to

name but a few. The interrelation between knowledge and non-knowledge was repeatedly described as dialectical. Links to concepts such as state-formation, governmentality, universalization, controllability, and modernization were also debated. Warnings were issued against interpretations that were too linear. However, two possible caesurae for a 'history of non-knowledge' emerged more than once. They can roughly be equated with 'Renaissance humanism' and 'enlightenment'. In both instances, the threshold between knowledge and non-knowledge was redefined, a new attitude towards the future emerged, and non-knowledge was reflected upon to a greater extent. Temporality and reflexivity figured prominently in the discussion of the conceptualization of a historical approach. Some participants suggested different labels and more subcategories, yet all agreed that forms of 'non-knowledge' reflected in contemporary life have to be separated from others visible only in retrospect. Methodologically, emphasis was placed on practices. Some argued for a mainly source-driven approach, while others insisted on the importance of having a theoretical framework first. Yet the possibility of a special 'theory of non-knowledge' met with scepticism for practical as well as philosophical reasons.

No workshop on a relatively new topic could cover all relevant aspects, and hence there were some gaps. First, there were no contributions on the historical semantics of 'non-knowledge' and 'ignorance'. Equally deplorable was the relatively minor coverage of Spanish-language material. Although several of the questions raised remained open or met with stimulatingly different answers, the integration of ignorance and non-knowledge into studies of expansion was generally supported. The exploration of the various answers to the challenges posed by 'ignorance' and 'non-knowledge' promises to yield a better grasp of the knowledge cultures of expanding powers. This workshop provided initial insights into a new field worthy of more attention from historians.

SUSANNE FRIEDRICH (LMU Munich)

Twelfth Workshop on Early Modern Central European History, co-organized by the German Historical Institute London, the German Historical Institute Washington, and the German History Society, and held at the GHIL on 8 May 2015. Conveners: Bridget Heal (University of St Andrews), David Lederer (NUI Maynooth), Jenny Spinks (University of Manchester), and Angela Schattner (GHIL).

Following the success of the previous workshops, this was the twelfth collaboration between the German Historical Institute London and the German History Society. This year the workshop was also co-organized by the German Historical Institute Washington, which generously provided travel scholarships for Ph.D. students to participate in the workshop. Breaking with tradition, this workshop was held not in autumn but in spring in order to avoid a clash with other German history related events, such as the German History Society's Annual General Meeting. The workshop was very well attended, bringing together twenty-eight scholars from as far afield as Oxford, Dresden, North Carolina, and Shanghai. The nine papers were carefully organized, allowing participants to discuss a large variety of topics in early modern German history, including personal, social, and economic relationships; notions of religious culture; and the struggle for peace and order, not only in Germany, but also in central Europe.

After a warm welcome, the first session, chaired by Angela Schattner, dealt with order and disorder in early modern Germany. Christopher Kissane (London School of Economics) gave insights into his current project, 'bEUcitizen', investigating the development of local citizenship in Europe over the past 500 years. In his paper, Kissane presented common and divergent patterns of citizenship across a range of German cities up to 1789. Evidence suggests that citizenship was more widespread in Free Imperial Cities than in territorial cities, but it was not easily available because of a number of barriers such as fees, religious background, and gender. Thus women could technically obtain citizenship, but were effectively excluded. Gerd Schwerhoff (University of Dresden) gave illuminating insights into the culture of invective. Spurred by recent terrorist attacks on the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, Schwerhoff shed light on the culture

The full conference programme can be found under Events and Conferences on the GHIL's website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

of invective in the sixteenth century. In the early modern period insults fulfilled an important social function: teasing, taunting rituals, and insult competition were means of integrating into certain social groups. Insults were especially popular among students, but they were found at all levels of society, in particular in the learned elites. Within this culture of invective, people of different faiths were one of the target groups. Consequently contemporaries of Martin Luther were not taken aback by his strong language.

The second session focused on global religious networks and was chaired by Bridget Heal. In her paper, Renate Dürr (University of Tübingen) investigated the Jesuits' impact on the early Enlightenment. Dürr showed how missionaries contributed significantly to the production of knowledge in Europe through their activities all over the globe. Their reports clearly demonstrate the communicative process of acquiring knowledge aided by local populations. The Jesuits thus contributed, implicitly and explicitly, to Enlightenment debates. Adding to this global perspective, Duane Corpis (NYU Shanghai) investigated how charities in Protestant parishes increasingly widened their geographical scope. By the seventeenth century there was already a steady shift towards global charity networks such as those providing disaster relief for cities that had recently been attacked. With expanding trade networks, these long-distance charity networks grew in size. Corpis illustrated his arguments with the example of Erfurt. Whereas in the sixteenth century the city had given charity to recipients outside the parish on only four occasions, by the eighteenth century, it catered for many more foreign recipients over a much larger geographical area. Similarly, in Augsburg 20 per cent of the *Evangelische Wesenskasse* went outside the city between 1730 and 1770.

After lunch the focus shifted towards religious culture in early modern Germany. Tricia Ross (Duke University, Durham, NC) opened the session by presenting parts of her Ph.D. project on the relationship between religion and medicine. In her paper Ross focused on various Protestant sermons and commentaries on Sirach (Ecclesiasticus). Although Lutherans denied Sirach a place in the biblical canon, it was nonetheless frequently used, especially chapter 38, which deals with the relationship between physicians and patients. In discussions on Sirach, physicians were presented as imitators of the Great Physician, Christ, offering not only a cure for the body, but

Conference Reports

also consolation for the soul. Sermons also formed the basis for Paul Strauss's (University of Nebraska-Lincoln) paper, which focused on the depiction of Ottoman Turks. Comparing sermons by Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed preachers, Strauss concluded that they functioned as abridged history stories. They were intended to transmit general knowledge about the origins of the Turks, the spread of Islamic empires, and (often violent) interactions between Christians and Muslims. Furthermore, many preachers used such sermons to prove exegetical points, but also to build confessional boundaries. The third paper, given by Martin Christ (University of Oxford), concentrated on the boundaries of toleration in a multi-confessional region, Upper Lusatia. A closer look at the three editions of a Catholic hymn book produced in this area reveals that it cannot be simply classified as a product of the 'Counter-Reformation'. Instead the visual, textual, and aural elements point to a complex and multi-layered vision of Catholicism in Upper Lusatia which accommodated Slavonic and Lutheran influences.

The fourth panel of the day widened the geographical scope once again by focusing not exclusively on Germany, but on central Europe. This last session, chaired by David Lederer (NUI Maynooth), discussed confessional and national crises. In his paper on confessional crises in early eighteenth-century central Europe, Patrick Milton (University of Cambridge) explored responses to religious persecution in the Holy Roman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Despite considerable differences in constitutional arrangements, contemporaries often viewed the Reich and the Commonwealth in similar terms. This facilitated interventions especially on confessional matters. The Commonwealth was strongly influenced by the culture of mutual surveillance and external intervention in the Reich, a fact often criticized by leading members of the Polish establishment. Kirsten Cooper (University of North Carolina) investigated national rhetoric in France and the Holy Roman Empire during the late seventeenth century, when these two territories conducted almost continuous warfare against each other. A survey of numerous political pamphlets reveals that well before the era of modern nationalism, national rhetoric was an important persuasive tool used to encourage political mobilization. Concepts of 'Germanness' and 'Frenchness' were often used to persuade Germans to support the Emperor.

Each session was followed by lively discussions that addressed questions about religious and national identities, the dissemination of ideas, and their reception. At the end of the workshop attendees felt that the papers had a good chronological spread which allowed for a perspective on the early modern period as a whole. Overall, it was a thought-provoking workshop that introduced original, new work on various aspects of early modern German history. Participants also continued to discuss concepts of honour, identity, order, and disorder in early modern Germany, issues that had already been raised at the German History Society's Annual General Meeting in September 2014. Already much anticipated are the GHS's AGM on 3–5 September 2015 in London, and the next early modern workshop to be held on 6 May 2016.

SASKIA LIMBACH (St Andrews)

NOTICEBOARD

Scholarships Awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate and postdoctoral students to enable them to carry out research in Britain, and to British postgraduates for research visits to Germany. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months, depending on the requirements of the research project. British applicants will normally be expected to have completed one year's postgraduate research, and be studying German history or Anglo-German relations. Scholarships are advertised on H-Soz-u-Kult and the GHIL's website. Applications, which should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, along with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research, should be addressed to the Administrative Director, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ. During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the GHIL Colloquium. In the second allocation for 2015 the following scholarships were awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Steve Bahn (Heidelberg) Dem Gemeinwohl dienlich? Das Konzept der Sträflingskolonie

Barbara Berger (Munich) Der Gasbehälter als Bautypus: Entstehung, Entwicklung und Verbreitung des Gasbehälters im 19. Jahrhundert

Jan Carlos Breiting (Marburg) Natur als Ressource: Erschließung und Schutz des Lake Victoria, 1950er-80er

Catarina Caetano da Rosa (Darmstadt) Die Verflechtung der Welt? Rio de Janeiro und Lissabon, 1808-1907

Michael Czolkoß (Oldenburg) Diakonische Frauenarbeit und kulturelle Partizipation/gesellschaftliche Teilhabe in Deutschland und England im 19. Jahrhundert

Sonja Dolinsek (Erfurt) Traffic in Women, Slavery, Sex Work: The Transnational Politics of Sexual Labour in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century

Katharina Ebner (Munich) Religion als Argument? Eine vergleichende Untersuchung über religiöse Argumentationen im politischen Diskurs in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in Großbritannien (1945–89)

Wolfgang Egner (Constance) Protektion: Die Entwicklung neuer imperialer Herrschaftsformen und Legitimationsfiguren im 19. Jahrhundert

Fernando Esposito (Tübingen) Die 'Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen': Chronopolitische Theorie und Praxis in der Industriemoderne, 1860–1970

Katja Fortenbacher (Marburg) 'A test of Empire': Der Einfluss Südafrikas auf die irischen Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen vom British Empire (1916–49)

Stefan Geißler (Heidelberg) Die Lloyd's Lists: Eine Global Intelligence Unit?

Anne Gnausch (Berlin) Symptome der Krise? Selbsttötungen in der Weimarer Republik

Annika Haß (Saarbrücken) Treuttel & Würtz: Ein transnationaler Verlag zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik

Jochen Hausmann (Würzburg) Humphrey Bland (1685/86–1763): Eine britische Karriere in der zweiten Reihe zwischen Royal Army, Gibraltar und Schottland

Timo Holste (Münster) Contested Internationalism: The Boy Scouts International Bureau and the Resurgence of Nationalism, 1930–42

Annette Karpp (Berlin) Anglo-American Punk Subculture and Human Rights, 1970s–2000s

Timo Kupitz (Trier) Von Old Labour zu New Labour: Der Niedergang der English Working Class und der Aufstieg des Affluent Worker

Jörg-Ole Münch (Constance) Im Namen der 'Nachbarschaft': Kulturelle Vielfalt und multiethnische Gruppenbildung auf dem Altkleidermarkt im viktorianischen London (1840–60)

Darren Michael O'Byrne (Cambridge) Political Civil Servants and the German Administration under Nazism

Sven Petersen (Göttingen) Dinge im Konflikt: Eine globale Medien-geschichte des Österreichischen Erbfolgekrieges (1739–48)

Noticeboard

Cristina Sasse (Gießen) Trade Directories und die Konstruktion städtischer Räume in England, 1760–1830

Daniel Stahl (Jena) Waffenhandel im Zeitalter der Ideologien: Der Kampf um Rüstungsexporte und Rüstungsexportbeschränkungen im 20. Jahrhundert

Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh (Warwick) Monarchical Rule and Political Culture in Imperial Germany: The Reign of William I

Malte Thießen (Oldenburg) Immunisierte Gesellschaften: Eine englisch–deutsche Vergleichs- und Verflechtungsgeschichte von Gesellschaftskonzepten, Risiko- und Sicherheitsvorstellungen

Forthcoming Workshops and Conferences

Emotional Journeys: Itinerant Theatres, Audiences, and Adaptation in the Long Nineteenth Century. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 19–20 Nov. 2015, organized in cooperation with the Max Planck Institute for Human Development. Conveners: Tobias Becker (GHIL), Kedar Kulkarni (MPI for Human Development).

In the nineteenth century, theatre was one of the most popular and important means of entertainment. Popular theatre entertained by addressing the emotions of its audiences: comedies appealed to humour, melodramas to fear and compassion. Emotions being culturally constructed, what happened when a play was performed in a different cultural context? How were humour, melodrama, and other genres translated? And what were the local (perhaps vernacular) idioms that mediated the feelings that genres are (in theory) supposed to make legible to an audience? How did touring companies adapt their repertoires? And if they did not, what kinds of cultural work were they doing by expecting audiences to comprehend their plots, idioms, and, of course, genres? The workshop wants to address these questions by looking specifically at touring companies that crossed cultural borders, such as, for example, European companies in Asia and South America, Parsee companies in India, and Asian companies in Europe. It asks how these troupes were set up, what audiences they catered for, and how these audiences perceived the performances.

Cultural Encounters during Global War, 1914–1918: Traces, Spaces, Legacies. Conference to be held in London, 21–23 Jan. 2016. Conveners: Santanu Das (King's College London), Andreas Gestrich (GHIL), Daniel Steinbach (King's College London).

The First World War resulted in an unprecedented range of encounters between peoples from different ethnic, social, and cultural backgrounds. Soldiers from across the globe travelled to different theatres of war, where they not only encountered fellow-soldiers and non-combatants with different languages, religions or customs, but also interacted with friendly or belligerent civilians. This interdisciplinary conference seeks to investigate the different kinds of encounters, exchanges, and entanglements that happened during wartime.

German Song Onstage 1770–1914. Conference to be held at the Royal College of Music, London, 12–14 Feb. 2016, organized by the Royal College of Music, Wigmore Hall, and the GHIL. Conveners: Natasha Loges (Royal College of Music), Laura Tunbridge (Oxford University), Andreas Gestrich (GHIL).

The conference seeks to explore the recent explosion of interest in the public musical concert as an artistic, cultural, and social phenomenon, specifically the significance of the Lied (a largely private genre) within these public events. Song evidently played an essential role in the makeup of public concerts alongside the more obvious symphonies, concerti, overtures, and arias. Furthermore, as William Weber has argued, it was the inclusion of song which upset the eighteenth-century hierarchies of concert genres, leading to a transformation in concert programming over the century. Alongside this was the gradual emergence of the practice of singing complete song cycles beginning in the 1850s, and the even later concept of the dedicated song recital. The keynote speaker is Professor Susan Youens (University of Notre Dame). A special feature of the weekend is two public concerts reproducing programmes given by Clara Schumann. These will take place in the RCM's Amaryllis Fleming Concert Hall (12 February) and Wigmore Hall (13 February). Pianist Graham Johnson and tenor Christoph Prégardien will also lead a public workshop with RCM students on building Lieder programmes today.

In memoriam Gerhard A. Ritter
29 March 1929–20 June 2015

With great sadness the German Historical Institute London announces the death of one of its founding fathers, the historian Gerhard A. Ritter, who died in June 2015 in Berlin aged 86. Ritter was one of the most prominent German post-war historians. A member of the cohort born around 1930, the so-called *Flakhelfergeneration* or *1945ers*, he belonged to that group of intellectuals who helped shape the new Federal Republic and its democracy.

From 1947 to 1952 Ritter studied history, politics, philosophy, and German at Tübingen University and the recently established Free University of Berlin, where he received his Ph.D. in 1952. From a working-class background and with close family ties to the German labour movement, he wrote his thesis on the development of the Social Democratic Party and Free Trade Unions in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1952 Ritter moved to Oxford, where he had a two-year Fellowship at St Antony's College to work on his next thesis, the *Habilitation*, which was on the history of the British labour movement from the foundation of the Labour Representation Committee (1900) to the Russian Revolution. This first stay at Oxford laid the foundation for Ritter's lifelong close relationship with St Antony's College, where he later held visiting professorships and was awarded the position of Honorary Fellow in 1983, and for his engagement for Anglo-German academic connections and exchange in general. It also was the beginning of his intense interest in comparative history, in particular, of political parties and parliamentary systems, and of the development of welfare states, which was his main field of research in later years

After his *Habilitation* in 1961 Ritter was quickly appointed to a chair in the department of politics, Otto Suhr Institute, at the Free University of Berlin. In 1965 he moved to a chair of modern history at Münster University, and in 1974 was appointed professor of modern and contemporary history at the Ludwigs-Maximilian-Universität in Munich, where he stayed until retirement in 1994.

In Münster, Ritter successfully established a research unit on modern British and Commonwealth history which still exists today. It focused on studies of the inter-war period, for which records were released for the first time by the then Public Record Office in 1968. It

was also in 1968 that Ritter was approached by the director of the State Archive in Hanover at the time, Dr Carl Haase, and invited to join a group discussing the possibility of setting up a German Historical Institute in London on the model of those in Rome and Paris. Already crucially involved in 1965 in establishing a Fellowship, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, for German historians to teach German history at St Antony's in Oxford, Ritter immediately gave his full support to this idea. He joined the 'pressure group' working for a London Institute, the Anglo-German Group of Historians (Britisch-Deutscher Historikerkreis), which was founded with the particular support of contemporary historian Paul Kluge at a first meeting in February 1969 in Frankfurt. He helped develop a research programme and supported the various research activities of this group, funded, again, by the Volkswagen Foundation.

When the plans for setting up a proper, government-funded institute finally succeeded, Ritter also became a member of the new institute's Advisory Board. He was by far the Institute's longest serving board member. He served from 1976 to 1982, again from 1986 to 1992, and then, after the Federal Ministry of Science and Research decided to transfer the management of all the German Historical Institutes abroad to the newly established Stiftung Geisteswissenschaftliche Institute im Ausland, again from 1993 to his retirement.

Ritter left his papers from his time as a member of the Advisory Board to the Institute's archive. These documents show him as an extremely engaged and foresighted *Beirat*, full of ideas for research plans for the Institute, but also concerned for the academic careers of its research fellows, who were on limited contracts and had to find positions in the German academic system after their time in London. His advice and support was particularly crucial at the beginning of the 1990s, when the Institute was in severe financial trouble and feared closure.

Gerhard Ritter's amazing commitment was not limited to the German Historical Institute and St Antony's College. He was Chairman of the Deutsche Historikerverband from 1976 to 1980, a member of the Advisory Board of the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte, and also served the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung for many years in various functions. After 1989, however, he was, above all, engaged in reshaping the Humboldt University's department of history in his native Berlin.

Noticeboard

It is with great gratitude and respect that the German Historical Institute London will keep Gerhard A. Ritter's memory alive. He will be greatly missed by colleagues and friends in Britain and Germany.

Andreas Gestrich

LIBRARY NEWS

Recent Acquisitions

- Abrosimov, Kirill, *Aufklärung jenseits der Öffentlichkeit: Friedrich Melchior Grimms 'Correspondance littéraire' (1753–1773) zwischen der 'république des lettres' und europäischen Fürstenhöfen*, Francia, Beiheft 77 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014)
- Adamczyk, Dariusz, *Silber und Macht: Fernhandel, Tribute und die piastische Herrschaftsbildung in nordosteuropäischer Perspektive (800–1100)*, Quellen und Studien. Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, 28 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014)
- Adorno, Theodor Wiesengrund and Gershom Scholem, *Briefe und Briefwechsel*, viii: *Briefwechsel 1939–1969*, ed. Asaf Angermann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2015)
- Affeldt, Stefanie, *Consuming Whiteness: Australian Racism and the 'White Sugar' Campaign*, Racism Analysis. Series A: Studies, 4 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2014)
- Ahlheim, Hannah (ed.), *Kontrollgewinn – Kontrollverlust: Die Geschichte des Schlafs in der Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2014)
- Aly, Götz (ed.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945*, vol. xii: Katja Happe et al. (eds.), *West- und Nordeuropa: Juni 1942–1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Andresen, Knud, Linde Apel, et al. (eds.), *Es gilt das gesprochene Wort: Oral History und Zeitgeschichte heute. Dorothee Wierling zum Geburtstag 2015* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015)
- Asbach, Olaf and Peter Schröder (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years War* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014)
- Asch, Ronald G. (ed.), *Hannover, Großbritannien und Europa: Erfahrungsraum Personalunion 1714–1837*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen, 277 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014)
- Assis, Arthur Alfaix, *What is History for? Johann Gustav Droysen and the Functions of Historiography*, Making Sense of History, 17 (New York: Berghahn, 2014)

Library News

- Axster, Felix, *Koloniales Spektakel in 9 x 14: Bildpostkarten im Deutschen Kaiserreich*, Post-koloniale Medienwissenschaft, 2 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2014)
- Badisches Landesmuseum (ed.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil: Weltereignis des Mittelalters 1414–1418*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013–14)
- Bassett, Richard, *For God and Kaiser: The Imperial Austrian Army from 1619 to 1918* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015)
- Bastian, Corina, Eva Kathrin Dade, et al. (eds.), *Das Geschlecht der Diplomatie: Geschlechterrollen in den Außenbeziehungen vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Externa, 5 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014)
- Bauerkämper, Arnd and Natalia Rostislavleva (eds.), *Sicherheitskulturen im Vergleich: Deutschland und Russland / UdSSR seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014)
- Baumgart, Winfried, *Bücherverzeichnis zur deutschen Geschichte: Hilfsmittel, Handbücher, Quellen*, Historische Grundwissenschaften in Einzeldarstellungen, 5 (18th rev. edn. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014)
- Behrens, Katharina, *Scham: Zur sozialen Bedeutung eines Gefühls im spätmittelalterlichen England*, Historische Semantik, 20 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Benz, Stefan, *Frauenklöster Mitteleuropas: Verzeichnis und Beschreibung ihrer Geschichtskultur 1550–1800*, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 160 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014)
- Berg, Matthias, *Karl Alexander von Müller: Historiker für den Nationalsozialismus*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 88 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Berghahn, Volker Rolf, *American Big Business in Britain and Germany: A Comparative History of Two 'Special Relationships' in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014)
- Betts, Paul and Corey Ross (eds.), *Heritage in the Modern World: Historical Preservation and Global Perspective*, Past and Present Supplements, NS 10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Beuys, Barbara, *Die neuen Frauen: Revolution im Kaiserreich 1900–1914* (Munich: Hanser, 2014)

- Biefang, Andreas and Marij Leenders (eds.), *Das ideale Parlament: Erich Salomon als Fotograf in Berlin und Den Haag, 1928–1940*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 167; *Parlament und Öffentlichkeit*, 5 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2014)
- Bierling, Stephan, *Vormacht wider Willen: Deutsche Außenpolitik von der Wiedervereinigung bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Bingen, Dieter (ed.), *Deutsch-Polnische Geschichte*, vol. ii: Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg and Edmund Kizik, *Altes Reich und Alte Republik: Deutsch-polnische Beziehungen und Verflechtungen 1500–1806*; vol. iii: Jörg Hackmann and Marta Kopij-Weiß, *Nationen in Kontakt und Konflikt: Deutsch-polnische Beziehungen und Verflechtungen 1806–1918* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2014)
- Böck, Korbinian (ed.), *Westfalen in der Moderne 1815–2015: Geschichte einer Region* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2015)
- Booms, Hans (ed.), *Die Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung*, vol. xxiii: Christine Fabian and Uta Rössel (eds.), 1970 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Borggräfe, Henning, *Zwangsarbeiterentschädigung: Vom Streit um 'vergessene Opfer' zur Selbstaussöhnung der Deutschen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, 16 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014)
- Borgolte, Michael (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften*, vol. i: *Grundlagen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014)
- Borgolte, Michael (ed.), *Migrationen im Mittelalter: Ein Handbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014)
- Böttcher, Winfried (ed.), *Klassiker des europäischen Denkens: Friedens- und Europavorstellungen aus 700 Jahren europäischer Kulturgeschichte* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2014)
- Böttiger, Karl August, *Briefwechsel mit Christian Gottlob Heyne*, ed. René Sternke and Klaus Gerlach (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015)
- Brakensiek, Stefan, Corinna von Bredow, et al. (eds.), *Herrschaft und Verwaltung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, *Historische Forschungen*, 101 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2014)
- Brandt, Peter and Detlef Lehnert (eds.), *Ferdinand Lassalle und das Staatsverständnis der Sozialdemokratie*, *Staatsverständnisse*, 65 (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2014)
- Brandt, Peter, *Mit anderen Augen: Versuch über den Politiker und Privatmann Willy Brandt* (3rd edn. Bonn: Dietz, 2014)

Library News

- Bretz, Manfred and Vroni Bretz (eds.), *Ortsbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Verzeichnis bestehender und ehemaliger Gemeinden mit Gerichten, Standes- und Jugendämtern sowie Ausländerbehörden*, 2 vols. (24th edn. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Landesamtswesen, 2015)
- Brockhaus, Gudrun (ed.), *Attraktion der NS-Bewegung* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2014)
- Broers, Michael, *Napoleon*, vol. i: *Soldier of Destiny: 1769–1805* (New York: Faber & Faber, 2015)
- Buelens, Geert, *Europas Dichter und der Erste Weltkrieg*, trans. Waltraut Hüsmert (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014)
- Buschak, Willy, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa sind unser Ziel: Arbeiterbewegung und Europa im frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2014)
- Büschel, Hubertus, *Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe: Deutsche Entwicklungsarbeit in Afrika 1960–1975*, *Globalgeschichte*, 16 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2014)
- Chakkalakal, Silvy, *Die Welt in Bildern: Erfahrung und Evidenz in Friedrich J. Bertuchs 'Bilderbuch für Kinder' (1790–1830)* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014)
- Clairmont, Yves, *Vom europäischen Verbindungsbüro zur transnationalen Gewerkschaftsorganisation: Organisation, Strategien und Machtpotentiale des Europäischen Metallgewerkschaftsbundes bis 1990*, *Studien zur Geschichte der Europäischen Integration*, 25 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014)
- Clover, Gwyneth and Carrie Smith-Prei (eds.), *Bloom and Bust: Urban Landscapes in the East since German Reunification*, *Space and Place*, 13 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015)
- Common Heritage: Documents and Sources Relating to German–British Relations in the Archives and Collections of Windsor and Coburg*, vol. i: *The Archives: With an Appendix Covering the State Archives in Gotha*, ed. Franz Bosbach, John R. Davis, and Karina Urbach, *Prinz-Albert-Forschungen*, 7/1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015)
- Coy, Jason Philip, Benjamin Marschke, et al. (eds.), *Kinship, Community, and Self*, *Spektrum: Publications of the German Studies Association*, 9 (New York: Berghahn, 2015)
- Dalos, György, *Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen: Von Katharina der Großen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 2014)

- Damberg, Wilhelm and Karl-Joseph Hummel (eds.), *Katholizismus in Deutschland: Zeitgeschichte und Gegenwart*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 130 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015)
- David-Fox, Michael, Peter Holquist, et al. (eds.), *The Holocaust in the East: Local Perpetrators and Soviet Responses* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014)
- Didi-Huberman, Georges, *Das Auge der Geschichte*, vol. ii: *Remontagen der erlittenen Zeit*, trans. Markus Sedlaczek (Paderborn: Fink, 2014)
- Dillon, Christopher, *Dachau and the SS: A Schooling in Violence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Dingel, Irene (ed.), *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche* (new edn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Dingel, Irene (ed.), *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche: Quellen und Materialien*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Droit, Emmanuel, *Vorwärts zum neuen Menschen? Die sozialistische Erziehung in der DDR (1949–1989)*, trans. Michael Esch, *Zeithistorische Studien*, 54 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014)
- Duchhardt, Heinz and Matthias Schnettger, *Barock und Aufklärung* (new edn. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Eckart, Wolfgang Uwe, *Die Wunden heilen sehr schön: Feldpostkarten aus dem Lazarett 1914–1918* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2013)
- Eckel, Jan, *Die Ambivalenz des Guten: Menschenrechte in der internationalen Politik seit den 1940ern* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Eiland, Howard and Michael W. Jennings, *Walter Benjamin: A Critical Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014)
- Esch, Arnold, *Die Lebenswelt des europäischen Spätmittelalters: Kleine Schicksale selbst erzählt in Schreiben an den Papst* (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Eugster, David and Sibylle Marti (eds.), *Das Imaginäre des Kalten Krieges: Beiträge zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Ost-West-Konfliktes in Europa*, *Frieden und Krieg*, 21 (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 2015)
- Fallada, Hans, *A Stranger in My Own Country: The 1944 Prison Diary*, ed. Jenny Williams and Sabine Lange, trans. Allan Blunden (Cambridge: Polity Books, 2015)

- Feindt, Gregor, Félix Krawatzek, et al. (eds.), *Europäische Erinnerung als verflochtene Erinnerung: Vielstimmige und vielschichtige Vergangenheitsdeutungen jenseits der Nation*, *Formen der Erinnerung*, 55 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Fiebrandt, Maria, *Auslese für die Siedlergesellschaft: Die Einbeziehung Volksdeutscher in die NS-Erbgesundheitspolitik im Kontext der Umsiedlungen 1939–1945*, *Schriften des Hannah-Arendt-Instituts für Totalitarismusforschung*, 55 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Filipová, Lucie, *Erfüllte Hoffnung: Städtepartnerschaften als Instrument der deutsch-französischen Aussöhnung, 1950–2000*, trans. Nina Lohmann, *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz*, 237: Abteilung für Universalgeschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015)
- Fischer, Bernhard, *Johann Friedrich Cotta: Verleger, Entrepreneur, Politiker* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014)
- Foitzik, Jan (ed.), *Sowjetische Kommandanturen und deutsche Verwaltung in der SBZ und frühen DDR: Dokumente, Texte und Materialien zur Zeitgeschichte*, 19 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015)
- Förster, Birthe and Martin Bauch (eds.), *Wasserinfrastrukturen und Macht von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft NS 63 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Fried, Johannes, *The Middle Ages*, trans. Peter Lewis (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015)
- Friedrich, Jörg, *14/18: Der Weg nach Versailles* (2nd edn. Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 2014)
- Gehler, Michael, *Modellfall für Deutschland? Die Österreichlösung mit Staatsvertrag und Neutralität 1945–1955* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2015)
- Geisthövel, Alexa and Bodo Mrozek (eds.), *Popgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014)
- Geulen, Christian, *Geschichte des Rassismus* (2nd rev. edn. Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Ghosh, Peter, *Max Weber and The Protestant Ethic: Twin Histories* (2nd imp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Glantz, David M., *The Stalingrad Trilogy*, vol. iii (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2014)

- Gossman, Lionel, *The Passion of Max von Oppenheim: Archaeology and Intrigue in the Middle East from Wilhelm II to Hitler* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014)
- Grabas, Christian and Alexander Nützenadel (eds.), *Industrial Policy in Europe after 1945: Wealth, Power and Economic Development in the Cold War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
- Graham-Dixon, Francis, *The Allied Occupation of Germany: The Refugee Crisis, Denazification and the Path to Reconstruction*, *International Library of Twentieth Century History*, 70 (London: Tauris, 2013)
- Gräßler, Florian, *War die DDR totalitär? Eine vergleichende Untersuchung des Herrschaftssystems der DDR anhand der Totalitarismuskonzepte von Friedrich, Linz, Bracher und Kielmansegg*, *Extremismus und Demokratie*, 30 (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag, 2014)
- Greenberg, Udi, *The Weimar Century: German Émigrés and the Ideological Foundations of the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014)
- Gruner, Wolf and Jörg Osterloh (eds.), *The Greater German Reich and the Jews: Nazi Persecution Policies in the Annexed Territories 1935–1945*, trans. Bernard Heise, *War and Genocide*, 20 (New York: Berghahn, 2015)
- Gugglberger, Martina, *Reguliertes Abenteuer: Missionarinnen in Südafrika nach 1945*, *L’Homme Schriften*, 22 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014)
- Hadlow, Janice, *The Strangest Family: The Private Lives of George III, Queen Charlotte and the Hanoverians* (London: William Collins, 2014)
- Hahn, Hans-Joachim and Olaf Kistenmacher (eds.), *Beschreibungsversuche der Judenfeindschaft: Zur Geschichte der Antisemitismusforschung vor 1944*, *Europäisch-jüdische Studien. Beiträge*, 20 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Hammerschmidt, Peter, *Deckname Adler: Klaus Barbie und die westlichen Geheimdienste* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2014)
- Hampel, Harry, *Wo stand die Mauer?* (Regensburg: Stadtwandel Verlag, 2014)
- Hansen, Jason D. (ed.), *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography, and the Visualization of the German Nation, 1848–1914*, *Oxford Studies in Modern European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Hansert, Andreas, *Geburtsaristokratie in Frankfurt am Main: Geschichte des reichsstädtischen Patriziats* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014)

Library News

- Harten, Hans-Christian, *Himmlers Lehrer: Die Weltanschauliche Schulung in der SS 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014)
- Haubold-Stolle, Juliane and Andreas Mix (eds.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg in 100 Objekten*, exhibition catalogue (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2014)
- Haug, Wolfgang Fritz (ed.), *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus*, vol. viii, pt. 2 (Hamburg: Argument-Verlag, 2015)
- Heideck, Christian, *Zwischen Ost-West-Handel und Opposition: Die Japanpolitik der DDR 1952–1973*, Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien der Philipp-Franz-von-Siebold-Stiftung, 57 (Munich: IUDICIUM-Verlag, 2014)
- Heinzelmann, Ursula, *Beyond Bratwurst: A History of Food in Germany, Food and Nations* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014)
- Helfferich, Tryntje, *The Iron Princess: Amalia Elisabeth and the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013)
- Henz, Günter Johannes, *Leopold von Ranke in Geschichtsdenken und Forschung*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2014)
- Herbert, Ulrich, *Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert, Europäische Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2014)
- Hertle, Hans-Hermann (ed.), *Der Sound des Untergangs: Tonmitschnitte aus den letzten Sitzungen des SED-Zentralkomitees Oktober bis Dezember 1989. Eine Dokumentation* (3rd edn. Berlin: Links, 2014)
- Hett, Benjamin Carter, *Burning the Reichstag: An Investigation into the Third Reich's Enduring Mystery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Heyde, Jürgen, *Transkulturelle Kommunikation und Verflechtung: Die jüdischen Wirtschaftseliten in Polen vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, Quellen und Studien. Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau*, 29 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014)
- Hillesum, Etty, *The Complete Works 1941–1943*, ed. Klaas A. D. Smelik and Meins G. S. Coetsier, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans, 2 vols. (Maastricht: Shaker Verlag, 2014)
- Hoffrogge, Ralf, *Werner Scholem: Eine politische Biographie (1895–1940)* (Constance: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2014)
- Hort, Jakob, *Architektur der Diplomatie: Repräsentation in europäischen Botschaftsbauten, 1800–1920. Konstantinopel – Rom – Wien – St. Petersburg*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 234 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)

- Hübner, Peter, *Arbeit, Arbeiter und Technik in der DDR 1971 bis 1989: Zwischen Fordismus und digitaler Revolution*, Geschichte der Arbeiter und der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, 15 (Bonn: Dietz, 2014)
- Huff, Tobias, *Natur und Industrie im Sozialismus: Eine Umweltgeschichte der DDR*, Umwelt und Gesellschaft, 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015)
- Hürter, Johannes (ed.), *Terrorismusbekämpfung in Westeuropa: Demokratie und Sicherheit in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, 104 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015)
- Hürter, Johannes and Michael Mayer (eds.), *Das Auswärtige Amt in der NS-Diktatur*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 109 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014)
- Hürtgen, Renate, *Ausreise per Antrag: Der lange Weg nach drüben. Eine Studie über Herrschaft und Alltag in der DDR-Provinz*, Analysen und Dokumente, 36 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Ihrig, Stefan, *Atatürk in the Nazi Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014)
- Incesu, Günal, *Ankara, Bonn, Brüssel: Die deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen und die Beitrittsbemühungen der Türkei in die Europäische Gemeinschaft, 1959–1987*, Histoire, 47 (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014)
- Jacob, Marianne (ed.), *Deutsches Schriftsteller-Lexikon 1830–1880*, vol. vi: Karl Goedeke, *Goedekes Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, ed. Paul Raabe and Thomas Lindenberg, Fortführung, 6 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2014)
- Janssen, Philip Jost (ed.), *Historical Social Research: An International Journal for the Application of Formal Methods to History. Retrospective, 2004–2014*, Historical Social Research, Supplement 26 (Cologne: Zentrum für Historische Sozialforschung, 2014)
- Jensen, Uffa, *Politik und Recht: Perspektiven deutsch-jüdischer Geschichte* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014)
- Jessen, Olaf, *Verdun 1916: Urschlacht des Jahrhunderts* (rev. edn. Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Jones, Larry Eugene (ed.), *The German Right in the Weimar Republic: Studies in the History of German Conservatism, Nationalism, and Antisemitism* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014)
- Kaesler, Dirk, *Max Weber: Preuße, Denker, Muttersohn. Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2014)

Library News

- Kaiser, Reinhold, *Die Mittelmeerwelt und Europa in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2014)
- Kassler, Michael (ed.), *Memoirs of the Court of George III*, 4 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015)
- Kater, Michael H., *Weimar: From Enlightenment to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)
- Kauders, Anthony D., *Der Freud-Komplex: Eine Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Deutschland* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2014)
- Keller, Peter, 'Die Wehrmacht der Deutschen Republik ist die Reichswehr': *Die deutsche Armee 1918–1921, Krieg in der Geschichte*, 82 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014)
- Knorring, Marc von, *Die Wilhelminische Zeit in der Diskussion: Autobiographische Epochencharakterisierungen 1918–1939 und ihr zeitgenössischer Kontext*, *Historische Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 88 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014)
- Koch, Alexander, *Der Häftlingsfreikauf: Eine deutsch-deutsche Beziehungsgeschichte* (Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2014)
- Kolb, Eberhard, *Otto von Bismarck: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Koller, Heinrich (ed.), *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III.*, vol. xxx: Peter Gretzel (ed.), *Die Urkunden und Briefe des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs in Wien, Abt. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv: Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, Familienurkunden und Abschriftensammlungen (1483–1488)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014)
- Kotkin, Stephen, *Stalin*, vol. i: *Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014)
- Kott, Sandrine, *Sozialstaat und Gesellschaft: Das deutsche Kaiserreich in Europa*, trans. Marcel Streng, *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft*, 214 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Kühl, Stefan, *Ganz normale Organisationen: Zur Soziologie des Holocaust* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014)
- LeGoff, Jacques, *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?* (Paris: Seuil, 2014)
- Lentz, Thierry, *1815: Der Wiener Kongress und die Neuordnung Europas*, trans. Frank Sievers (2nd edn. Munich: Siedler, 2014)
- Lewald, Fanny, *Ein Leben auf dem Papier: Fanny Lewald und Adolf Stahr. Der Briefwechsel 1846 bis 1852*, ed. Gabriele Schneider and Renate Sternagel, vol. 1 (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 2014)

- Lower, Wendy, *Hitler's Furies: German Women in the Nazi Killing Fields* (London: Vintage Books, 2013)
- Luebke, David Martin and Mary Lindemann (eds.), *Mixed Matches: Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, Spektrum: Publications of the German Studies Association, 8 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014)
- Luxemburg, Rosa, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. vi: *1893 bis 1906*, ed. Annelies Laschitzka and Eckhard Müller (Berlin/Ost: Dietz, 2014)
- MacGregor, Neil, *Germany: Memories of a Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 2014)
- Mallmann, Klaus-Michael et al. (eds.), *Dokumente der Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion*, vol. iii: *Deutsche Berichte aus dem Osten 1942–1943*, Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle Ludwigsburg der Universität Stuttgart, 26 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2014)
- Malone, Carolyn Marino and Clark Maines (eds.), *Consuetudines et regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, *Disciplina monastica*, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)
- Martines, Lauro, *Furies: War in Europe, 1450–1700* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014)
- Marx, Christian, *Paul Reusch und die Gutehoffnungshütte: Leitung eines deutschen Großunternehmens*, *Moderne Zeit*, 25 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013)
- Mehring, Reinhard, *Kriegstechniker des Begriffs: Biographische Studien zu Carl Schmitt*, Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014)
- Meier, Christian, *Der Historiker und der Zeitgenosse: Eine Zwischenbilanz* (Munich: Siedler, 2014)
- Meinhardt, Matthias, Ulrike Gleixner, et al. (eds.), *Religion Macht Politik: Hofgeistlichkeit im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit, 1500–1800*, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 137 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2014)
- Menner, Simon, *Top Secret: Bilder aus den Archiven der Staatssicherheit* (2nd edn. Ostfildern: Cantz, 2014)
- Moorhouse, Roger, *The Devils' Alliance: Hitler's Pact with Stalin, 1939–41* (London: Bodley Head, 2014)
- Moos, Marilyn, *Beaten But Not Defeated. Siegfried Moos: A German Anti-Nazi who Settled in Britain* (Winchester: Chronos, 2014)

Library News

- Muhle, Susanne, *Auftrag: Menschenraub. Entführungen von Westberlinern und Bundesbürgern durch das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der DDR*, *Analysen und Dokumente*, 42 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015)
- Müller, Gerhard (ed.), *Thüringische Staaten: Sachsen, Weimar, Eisenach 1806–1813*, *Quellen zu den Reformen in den Rheinbundstaaten*, 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Müller, Horst (ed.), *Deutschland – Russland: Stationen gemeinsamer Geschichte – Orte der Erinnerung*, vol. iii: Helmut Altrichter et al. (eds.), *Das 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2014)
- Müller, Rolf-Dieter, *Enemy in the East: Hitler's Secret Plans to Invade the Soviet Union*, trans. Alexander Starritt (London: Tauris, 2015)
- Müller, Sven Oliver, *Das Publikum macht die Musik: Musikleben in Berlin, London und Wien im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Mulligan, William, *The Great War for Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)
- Nagel, Anne Christine, *Johannes Popitz (1884–1945). Görings Finanzminister und Verschwörer gegen Hitler: Eine Biographie* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015)
- Neal, Larry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Capitalism*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Nedkvitne, Arved, *The German Hansa and Bergen 1100–1600*, *Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*, NS 70 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014)
- Oertzen, Christine von, *Science, Gender, and Internationalism: Women's Academic Networks, 1917–1955*, trans. Kate Sturge (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
- Olpen, Bernhard, *Johann Karl Vietor (1861–1934): Ein deutscher Unternehmer zwischen Kolonialismus, sozialer Frage und Christentum*, *Beiträge zur europäischen Überseegeschichte*, 102 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014)
- Olsen, Jon Berndt, *Tailoring Truth: Politicizing the Past and Negotiating Memory in East Germany, 1945–1990*, *Studies in Contemporary European History*, 15 (New York: Berghahn, 2015)
- Ortmann, Alexander, *Machtvolle Verhandlungen: Zur Kulturgeschichte der deutschen Strafrechtswissenschaft 1879–1924*, *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft*, 215 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)

- Paas, John Roger, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600–1700*, vol. xii: 1686–1700 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014)
- Panayi, Panikos (ed.), *Germans as Minorities during the First World War: A Global Comparative Perspective* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014)
- Paret, Peter, *Clausewitz in his Time: Essays in the Cultural and Intellectual History of Thinking about War* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015)
- Pearce, Andy, *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2014)
- Perel, Sally, *Das war kein Spiel! Die Überlebensgeschichte des Sally Perel*, ed. Manfred Grieger and Ulrike Gutzmann (Wolfsburg: Volkswagen AG, 2014)
- Peter, Matthias, *Die Bundesrepublik im KSZE-Prozess 1975–1983: Die Umkehrung der Diplomatie, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte*, 105 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Petropoulos, Jonathan, *Artists under Hitler: Collaboration and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)
- Philpott, William James, *Bloody Victory: The Sacrifice on the Somme* (2nd imp. London: Abacus, 2014)
- Plumpe, Werner (ed.), *Eine Vision, zwei Unternehmen: 125 Jahre Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung* (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Price, Munro, *Napoleon: The End of Glory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Prietz, Frank Ulrich, *Das Mittelalter im Dienst der Reformation: Die Chronica Carions und Melanchthons von 1532. Zur Vermittlung mittelalterlicher Geschichtskonzeptionen in die protestantische Historiographie*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B: Forschungen, 192, book and CD-ROM (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014)
- Pufendorf, Samuel Freiherr von, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. iv (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2014)
- Pyta, Wolfram, *Hitler: Der Künstler als Politiker und Feldherr. Eine Herrschaftsanalyse* (Munich: Siedler, 2015)
- Rabeler, Sven (ed.), *Welfische Residenzstädte im späten Mittelalter (14. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, Mitteilungen der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. NS: Stadt und Hof, Sonderheft 1 (Kiel: Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 2014)

Library News

- Raulff, Ulrich, *Wiederssehen mit den Siebzigern: Die wilden Jahre des Lesens* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014)
- Reuß-Köstritz, Heinrich zu, *Heinrich VII. Prinz Reuß, Botschafter unter Bismarck und Caprivi: Briefwechsel 1871–1894*, ed. James Stone and Winfried Baumgart (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015)
- Risso, Linda, *Propaganda and Intelligence in the Cold War: The NATO Information Service* (London: Routledge, 2014)
- Roos, Daniel, *Julius Streicher und 'Der Stürmer' 1923–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014)
- Rosenbaum, Heidi, *'Und trotzdem war's 'ne schöne Zeit': Kinderalltag im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2014)
- Ross, Henryk, *Memory Unearthed: The Lodz Ghetto Photographs of Henryk Ross*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Maia-Mari Sutnik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015)
- Röw, Martin, *Militärseelsorge unter dem Hakenkreuz: Die katholische Feldpastoral 1939–1945*, *Krieg in der Geschichte*, 83 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014)
- Rozett, Robert, *Conscripted Slaves: Hungarian Jewish Forced Laborers on the Eastern Front during the Second World War* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014)
- Sarotte, Mary Elise, *The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall* (New York: Basic Books, 2014)
- Saurer, Edith, *Liebe und Arbeit: Geschlechterbeziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Margareth Lanzinger (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014)
- Scharnhorst, Gerhard von, *Private und dienstliche Schriften*, vol. viii: *Tragischer Vollender (Preußen 1813)*, ed. Johannes Kunisch, Michael Sikora, and Tilman Stieve, *Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 52/8 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014)
- Schieder, Wolfgang, *Benito Mussolini* (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Schilling, Britta, *Postcolonial Germany: Memories of Empire in a Decolonized Nation*, *Oxford Historical Monographs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Schlusche, Günter, Verena Pfeiffer-Kloss, et al. (eds.), *Stadtentwicklung im doppelten Berlin: Zeitgenossenschaften und Erinnerungsorte*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Mauer und Flucht* (Berlin: Links, 2014)

- Schmidt, Gustav (ed.), *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Halberstadt und seiner Bischöfe*, pt. v: Gerrit Deutschländer (ed.), 1426–1513, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Sachsen-Anhalts, 7 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 2015)
- Schmitt, Carl, *Briefwechsel: 1926–1981*, ed. Ewald Grothe (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2014)
- Schmitz-Esser, Romedio, *Der Leichnam im Mittelalter: Einbalsamierung, Verbrennung und die kulturelle Konstruktion des toten Körpers*, Mittelalter-Forschungen, 48 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014)
- Schroeder, Klaus and Jochen Staadt (eds.), *Feindwärts der Mauer: Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit und die West-Berliner Polizei*, Studien des Forschungsverbundes SED-Staat an der Freien Universität, 21 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2014)
- Schwarz, Hans-Peter (ed.), *Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: 1984*, 2 vols. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Schwentner, Gerhard, *Schärding: Landgericht. Historischer Atlas von Bayern*, Teil D: Innviertel. Reihe I, H. 1 (Munich: Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, 2014)
- Schymura, Yvonne, *Käthe Kollwitz 1867–2000: Biographie und Rezeptionsgeschichte einer deutschen Künstlerin* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2014)
- Seidl, Klaus, *‘Gesetzliche Revolution’ im Schatten der Gewalt: Die politische Kultur der Reichsverfassungskampagne in Bayern 1849* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014)
- Sinn, Andrea, *Jüdische Politik und Presse in der frühen Bundesrepublik*, Jüdische Religion, Geschichte und Kultur, 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014)
- Slutsch, Sergej, Carola Tischler, and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (eds.), *Deutschland und die Sowjetunion 1933–1941: Dokumente aus russischen und deutschen Archiven* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2014)
- Smith, Stephen A. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Soll, Jacob, *The Reckoning: Financial Accountability and the Making and Breaking of Nations* (London: Allen Lane, 2014)
- Speth, Volker, *Katholische Aufklärung, Volksfrömmigkeit und ‘Religionspolicy’: Das rheinische Wallfahrtswesen von 1814 bis 1826 und die Entstehungsgeschichte des Wallfahrtsverbots von 1826. Ein Beitrag zur aufklärerischen Volksfrömmigkeitsreform*, Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien, 5 (2nd rev. edn. Frankfurt am Main: Lang Edition, 2014)

- Spiekermann, Uwe (ed.), *The Stasi at Home and Abroad: Domestic Order and Foreign Intelligence*, Bulletin of the German Historical Institute Washington, Supplement 9 (Washington: German Historical Institute, 2014)
- Steiner, Benjamin, *Nebenfolgen in der Geschichte: Eine historische Soziologie reflexiver Modernisierung*, Historische Zeitschrift, Beiheft NS 65 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Steiner, Stephan, *Rückkehr unerwünscht: Deportationen in der Habsburgermonarchie der Frühen Neuzeit und ihr europäischer Kontext* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2014)
- Stites, Richard, *The Four Horsemen: Riding to Liberty in Post-Napoleonic Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Stöber, Rudolf, *Neue Medien: Geschichte. Von Gutenberg bis Apple und Google. Medieninnovation und Evolution*, Presse und Geschichte, 72 (Bremen: edition lumière, 2013)
- Strickrodt, Silke, *Afro-European Trade in the Atlantic World: The Western Slave Coast c.1550–c.1885*, Western Africa Series (Woodbridge: Currey, 2015)
- Temperley, Harold William Vazeille, *An Historian in Peace and War: The Diaries of Harold (William Vazeille) Temperley*, ed. Thomas G. Otte (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014)
- Ther, Philipp, *Die neue Ordnung auf dem alten Kontinent: Eine Geschichte des neoliberalen Europa* (2nd edn. Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014)
- Tolsdorff, Tim, *Von der Stern-Schnuppe zum Fix-Stern: Zwei deutsche Illustrierte und ihre gemeinsame Geschichte vor und nach 1945*, Öffentlichkeit und Geschichte, 7 (Cologne: Von Halem, 2014)
- Tooze, Adam, *The Deluge: The Great War and the Remaking of Global Order, 1916–1931* (London: Allen Lane, 2014)
- Treber, Leonie, *Mythos Trümmerfrauen: Von der Trümmerbeseitigung in der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit und der Entstehung eines deutschen Erinnerungsortes* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2014)
- Treiblmayr, Christopher, *Bewegte Männer: Männlichkeit und männliche Homosexualität im deutschen Kino der 1990er Jahre*, L'Homme Schriften, 19 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015)
- Troeltsch, Ernst, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. xiv: *Spectator-Briefe und Berliner Briefe (1919–1922)*, ed. Gangolf Hübinger (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015); vol. xix: *Briefe II. (1894–1904)*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Graf and Harald Haury (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014)

- Ubl, Karl, *Die Karolinger: Herrscher und Reich* (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Uhl, Karsten, *Humane Rationalisierung? Die Raumordnung der Fabrik im fordistischen Jahrhundert*, *Histoire*, 62 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2014)
- Vaizey, Hester, *Born in the GDR: Living in the Shadow of the Wall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Walter, Dierk, *Organisierte Gewalt in der europäischen Expansion: Gestalt und Logik des Imperialkrieges* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2014)
- Watson, Alexander, *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary at War, 1914–1918* (London: Allen Lane, 2014)
- Weber, Max, *Gesamtausgabe*, Section 1: *Schriften und Reden*, vol. xxv: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Gesamtregister*, ed. Edith Hanke and Christoph Morlok; Section 2, *Briefe*, vol. iv: *Briefe 1903–1905*, ed. Gangolf Hübinger and M. Rainer Lepsius (Tübingen: Mohr, 2015)
- Weir, Todd H., *Secularism and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Germany: The Rise of the Fourth Confession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Wendehorst, Stephan (ed.), *Die Anatomie frühneuzeitlicher Imperien. Herrschaftsmanagement jenseits von Staat und Nation: Institutionen, Personal und Techniken*, *Bibliothek Altes Reich*, 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Wenkel, Christian, *Auf der Suche nach einem 'anderen Deutschland': Das Verhältnis Frankreichs zur DDR im Spannungsfeld von Perception und Diplomatie*, *Studien zur Zeitgeschichte*, 86 (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014)
- Werr, Sebastian, *Heroische Weltsicht: Hitler und die Musik* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014)
- Wettig, Gerhard (ed.), *Chruschtschows Westpolitik 1955–1964*, vol. ii: *Anfangsjahre der Berlin-Krise (Herbst 1958 bis Herbst 1960)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2015)
- Wicke, Christian, *Helmut Kohl's Quest for Normality: His Representation of the German Nation and Himself*, *Making Sense of History*, 20 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015)
- Wienfort, Monika, *Verliebt, verlobt, verheiratet: Eine Geschichte der Ehe seit der Romantik* (Munich: Beck, 2014)
- Winkler, Heinrich August, *Geschichte des Westens*, vol. iii: *Vom Kalten Krieg bis zum Mauerfall* (Munich: Beck, 2014); vol. iv: *Die Zeit der Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 2015)

Library News

Winter, Jay Murray (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Wünschmann, Kim, *Before Auschwitz: Jewish Prisoners in the Prewar Concentration Camps* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015)

Zilch, Reinhold, *Finanzierung des Kulturstaats in Preußen seit 1800* (Hildesheim: Akademie Verlag, 2014)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vol. 43: Knut Diekmann, *Die nationalistische Bewegung in Wales* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1998)

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

Vol. 45: Arnd Reitemeier, *Außenpolitik im Spätmittelalter: Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Reich und England 1377* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999)

Vol. 46: Gerhard A. Ritter and Peter Wende (eds.), *Rivalität und Partnerschaft. Studien zu den deutsch-britischen Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Festschrift für Anthony J. Nicholls* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999)

Vol. 47: Ulrich Marsch, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft: Industrieforschung in Deutschland und Großbritannien 1880–1936* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000)

Vol. 48: Lothar Reinermann, *Der Kaiser in England: Wilhelm II. und die britische Öffentlichkeit* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001)

Vol. 49: Josef Reindl, *Wachstum und Wettbewerb in den Wirtschaftswunderjahren: Die elektrotechnische Industrie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Großbritannien 1945–1967* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001)

Vol. 50: Jörn Leonhard, *Liberalismus: Zur historischen Semantik eines europäischen Deutungsmusters* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001)

Vol. 51: Willibald Steinmetz, *Begegnungen vor Gericht: Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des englischen Arbeitsrechts (1850–1925)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002)

Vol. 52: Andreas Rödder, *Die radikale Herausforderung: Die politische Kultur der englischen Konservativen zwischen ländlicher Tradition und industrieller Moderne (1846–1868)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002)

Vol. 53: Dominik Geppert, *Thatchers konservative Revolution: Der Richtungswandel der britischen Tories (1975–1979)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002)

Vol. 54: Nikolaus Braun, *Terrorismus und Freiheitskampf: Gewalt, Propaganda und politische Strategie im Irischen Bürgerkrieg 1922/23* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003)

Vol. 55: Andreas Fahrmeir, *Ehrbare Spekulanten: Stadtverfassung, Wirtschaft und Politik in der City of London, 1688–1900* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003)

Vol. 56: Christoph Heyl, *A Passion for Privacy: Untersuchungen zur Genese der bürgerlichen Privatsphäre in London, 1660–1800* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004)

Vol. 57: Ulrike Lindner, *Gesundheitspolitik in der Nachkriegszeit: Großbritannien und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Vergleich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004)

- Vol. 58: Ursula Rombeck-Jaschinski, *Das Londoner Schuldenabkommen: Die Regelung der deutschen Auslandsschulden nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005)
- Vol. 59: Thomas Wittek, *Auf ewig Feind? Das Deutschlandbild in den britischen Massenmedien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005)
- Vol. 60: Hans-Christof Kraus, *Englische Verfassung und politisches Denken im Ancien Régime: 1689 bis 1789* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006)
- Vol. 61: Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung (1660–1818)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006)
- Vol. 62: Florian Altenhöner, *Kommunikation und Kontrolle: Gerüchte und städtische Öffentlichkeiten in Berlin und London 1914/1918* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008)
- Vol. 63: Renate Held, *Deutsche als Kriegsgefangene in Großbritannien im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008)
- Vol. 64: Dominik Geppert, *Pressekriege: Öffentlichkeit und Diplomatie in den deutsch-britischen Beziehungen (1896–1912)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007)
- Vol. 65: Frank Bösch, *Öffentliche Geheimnisse: Skandale, Politik und Medien in Deutschland und Großbritannien, 1880–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009)
- Vol. 66: Fabian Klose, *Menschenrechte im Schatten kolonialer Gewalt: Die Dekolonisierungskriege in Kenia und Algerien, 1945–1962* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009)
- Vol. 67: Almut Steinbach, *Sprachpolitik im Britischen Empire: Herrschaftssprache und Integration in Ceylon und den Föderierten Malaiischen Staaten* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009)
- Vol. 68: Christiane Reinecke, *Grenzen der Freizügigkeit: Migrationskontrolle in Großbritannien und Deutschland, 1880–1930* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010)
- Vol. 69: Andreas Pečar, *Macht der Schrift: Politischer Biblizismus in Schottland zwischen Reformation und Bürgerkrieg (1534–1642)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2011)
- Vol. 70: Andreas Rose, *Zwischen Empire und Kontinent: Britische Außenpolitik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2011)

Vol. 71: Bernhard Dietz, *Neo-Tories: Britische Konservative im Aufstand gegen Demokratie und politische Moderne (1929–1939)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012)

Vol. 72: Jens Gründler, *Armut und Wahnsinn: 'Arme Irre' und ihre Familien im Spannungsfeld von Psychiatrie und Armenfürsorge in Glasgow, 1875–1921* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013)

Vol. 73: Sabine Freitag, *Kriminologie in der Zivilgesellschaft: Wissenschaftsdiskurse und die britische Öffentlichkeit, 1830–1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2014)

Vol. 74: Tobias Becker, *Inszenierte Moderne: Populäres Theater in Berlin und London, 1880–1930* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2014)

STUDIES OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON – OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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

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

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

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

John Brewer and Eckhart Hellmuth (eds.), *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1999)

Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende (eds.), *British and German Historiography 1750–1950: Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers* (Oxford, 2000)

Willibald Steinmetz (ed.), *Private Law and Social Inequality in the Industrial Age: Comparing Legal Cultures in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States* (Oxford, 2000)

- Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (eds.), *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (Oxford, 2001)
- Jeremy Noakes, Peter Wende, and Jonathan Wright (eds.), *Britain and Germany in Europe 1949–1990* (Oxford, 2002)
- Benedikt Stuchtey and Eckhardt Fuchs (eds.), *Writing World History 1800–2000* (Oxford, 2003)
- Dominik Geppert (ed.), *The Postwar Challenge: Cultural, Social, and Political Change in Western Europe, 1945–1958* (Oxford, 2003)
- Benedikt Stuchtey (ed.), *Science across the European Empires, 1800–1950* (Oxford, 2005)
- Michael Schaich (ed.), *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2007)
- Matthias Reiss (ed.), *The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007)
- Karina Urbach (ed.), *European Aristocracies and the Radical Right 1918–1939* (Oxford, 2007)
- Markus Mösslang and Torsten Riotte (eds.), *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815–1914* (Oxford, 2008)
- Dominik Geppert and Robert Gerwarth (eds.), *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity* (Oxford, 2008)
- Richard Bessel and Claudia B. Haake (eds.), *Removing Peoples: Forced Removal in the Modern World* (Oxford, 2009; paperback 2011)
- Matthias Reiss and Matt Perry (eds.), *Unemployment and Protest: New Perspectives on Two Centuries of Contention* (Oxford, 2011)
- R. J. W. Evans, Michael Schaich, and Peter H. Wilson (eds.), *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495–1806* (Oxford, 2011)
- Kerstin Brückweh (ed.), *The Voice of the Citizen Consumer: A History of Market Research, Consumer Movements, and the Political Public Sphere* (Oxford, 2011)

Willibald Steinmetz (ed.), *Political Languages in the Age of Extremes* (Oxford, 2011; paperback 2012)

STUDIES IN BRITISH AND IMPERIAL HISTORY

Vol. 1: Christiane Eisenberg, *The Rise of Market Society in England, 1066–1800*, trans. Deborah Cohen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013)

Vol. 2: Ronald G. Asch, *Sacral Kingship between Disenchantment and Re-enchantment: The French and English Monarchies 1587–1688* (New York, Berghahn Books, 2014)

Vol. 3: Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority: German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global Trade 1660–1815*, trans. Cynthia Klohr (New York, Berghahn Books, 2014)

FURTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hermann Hiery and John M. MacKenzie (eds.), *European Impact and Pacific Influence: British and German Colonial Policy in the Pacific Islands and the Indigenous Response* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1997)

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

Sabine Freitag (ed.), *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003)

Dominik Geppert and Udo Wengst (eds.), *Neutralität: Chance oder Chimäre? Konzepte des Dritten Weges für Deutschland und die Welt 1945–1990* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005)

Werner Paravicini (ed.), *Luxus und Integration: Materielle Hofkultur Westeuropas vom 12. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010)

Lothar Kettenacker and Torsten Riotte (eds.), *The Legacies of Two World Wars: European Societies in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011)

Ludwig Vogl-Bienek and Richard Crangle (eds.), *Screen Culture and the Social Question 1880–1914* (New Barnet: John Libbey, 2013)

Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto (eds.), *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Riccardo Bavaj and Martina Steber (eds.), *Germany and 'The West': The History of a Modern Concept* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015)

Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich (eds.), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015)

BRITISH ENVOYS TO GERMANY

Sabine Freitag and Peter Wende (eds.), *British Envoys to Germany, 1816–1866*, i. 1816–1829, Camden Fifth Series, 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society in association with the German Historical Institute London, 2000)

Markus Mösslang, Sabine Freitag, and Peter Wende (eds.), *British Envoys to Germany, 1816–1866*, ii. 1830–1847, Camden Fifth Series, 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society in association with the German Historical Institute London, 2002)

Markus Mösslang, Torsten Riotte, and Hagen Schulze (eds.), *British Envoys to Germany, 1816–1866*, iii. 1848–1850, Camden Fifth Series, 28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society in association with the German Historical Institute London, 2006)

Markus Mösslang, Chris Manias, and Torsten Riotte (eds.), *British Envoys to Germany, 1816–1866*, iv. 1851–1866, Camden Fifth Series, 37 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society in association with the German Historical Institute London, 2010)

HOUSE PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE LONDON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research on British History

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

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

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

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

Regina Pörtner (ed.), *Research on British History in the Federal Republic of Germany 1998–2000: An Annotated Bibliography* (London, 2002)

Annual Lectures of the German Historical Institute London

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 1989 Thomas Nipperdey, *The Rise of the Arts in Modern Society* (London, 1990)
- 1990 *Not available*
- 1991 Lothar Gall, *Confronting Clio: Myth-Makers and Other Historians* (London, 1992)
- 1992 Keith Robbins, *Protestant Germany through British Eyes: A Complex Victorian Encounter* (London, 1993)
- 1993 Klaus Hildebrand, *Reich – Nation-State – Great Power: Reflections on German Foreign Policy 1871–1945* (London, 1995)
- 1994 Alan Bullock, *Personality and Power: The Strange Case of Hitler and Stalin* (London, 1995)
- 1995 Ernst Schulin, *'The Most Historical of All Peoples': Nationalism and the New Construction of Jewish History in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (London, 1996)
- 1996 Michael Howard, *The Crisis of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1916–17* (London, 1997)
- 1997 Johannes Fried, *The Veil of Memory: Anthropological Problems when Considering the Past* (London, 1998)
- 1998 David Blackbourn, *A Sense of Place: New Directions in German History* (London, 1999)
- 1999 Gerhard A. Ritter, *Continuity and Change: Political and Social Developments in Germany after 1945 and 1989/90* (London, 2000)
- 2000 Peter Pulzer, *Fog in Channel: Anglo-German Perceptions in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2001)
- 2001 Heinrich A. Winkler, *The Long Shadow of the Reich: Weighing Up German History* (London, 2002)
- 2002 *Not available*
- 2003 Werner Paravicini, *Fact and Fiction: St Patrick's Purgatory and the European Chivalry in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 2004)

- 2004 Anthony J. Nicholls, *Always Good Neighbours – Never Good Friends? Anglo-German Relations 1949–2001* (London, 2005)
- 2005 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Europe, the 'West', and the Civilizing Mission* (London, 2006)
- 2006 John Breuilly, *Nationalism, Power and Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (London, 2007)
- 2007 Stig Förster, *The Battlefield: Towards a Modern History of War* (London, 2008)
- 2008 Janet L. Nelson, *Opposition to Charlemagne* (London, 2009)
- 2009 Hartmut Kaelble, *The 1970s in Europe: A Period of Disillusionment or Promise?* (London, 2010)
- 2010 *Not available*
- 2011 Wolfram Siemann, *Metternich's Britain* (London, 2012)
- 2012 Jane Caplan, *'Jetzt Judenfrei': Writing Tourism in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (London, 2013)
- 2013 Ute Frevert, *The Moral Economy of Trust: Modern Trajectories* (London, 2014)

German Historical Institute London Bulletin, Issue 1 (Spring, 1979)–

German Historical Institute London Bulletin Index, 1979–1996 (London, 1996), plus supplement for the years 1997–2001

German Historical Institute London Bulletin Supplements

- No. 1 Indra Sengupta (ed.), *Memory, History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, with a foreword by Hagen Schulze (London, 2009)
- No. 2 Andreas Gestrich and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl (eds.), *Cosmopolitan Networks in Commerce and Society 1660–1914* (London, 2011)

- No. 3 Andreas Gestrich and Martin Stark (eds.), *Debtors, Creditors, and their Networks: Social Dimensions of Monetary Dependence from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (London, 2015)