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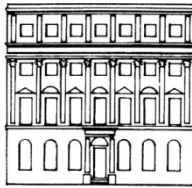

BULLETIN

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 Rüger, '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 Krementsov, '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. Krementsov, *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-betweens'.[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.

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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

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[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 philan-thropic organizations (including child welfare groups, Jewish migra-tion 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 universi-ties, 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 net-works, representation and reception in media, and institutional coop-eration 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 consti-tution 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 institu-tions are shown to have developed in a way which not only recon-figured 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

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[10] Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, 'Transnationale Bildungsräume: Koordinaten eines Forschungskonzepts', in eid. (eds.), *Transnationale Bil-dungsräume: 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

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[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 excursuses 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.

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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 expositions 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)

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[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

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[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.

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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 transla-
tion processes required a great deal of mediation and ran into fre-
quent opposition. This is particularly strongly noted in those contri-
butions 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 prac-
tices in the Ottoman empire draws attention to how Turkish educa-
tional 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 per-
sistently remained important (and were often argued for by contem-
poraries), 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 trans-
forming 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 inter-
national law rather than peace activism in a changed international
context.[28]

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[27] Mustafa Gencer, 'Der Transfer deutschen Bildungswissens in das Osman-
ische Reich', in Möller and Wischmeyer (eds.), *Transnationale Bildungsräume*,
117–36, at 129.
[28] Katharina Rietzler, 'From Peace Advocacy to International Relations Re-
search: The Transformation of Transatlantic Philanthropic Networks, 1900–
1930,' in Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere*,
173–93.

Review Article

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

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(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

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[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 Tschurenev'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

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[36] Jana Tschurenev, '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.

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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).