

**RESEARCH ON BRITISH HISTORY
IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY
1989-1994**

An Annotated Bibliography

edited by
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London 1996

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ISBN 0 9521607 7 3

PREFACE

This annotated bibliography of German research on British history, the third published by the German Historical Institute London, demonstrates that German historians' interest in this subject is undiminished. In presenting this aid to research, the Institute assumes an equal interest on the part of English-speaking historians in the work of their German colleagues. The aim is to initiate and to encourage scholarly dialogue by overcoming language barriers.

As in previous editions, this bibliography lists all works, as far as possible, on British history, which were published in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1989 and 1994. The first part contains short reviews/abstracts written by the research fellows of the GHIL, while the second part consists of a list of articles published in journals and essay collections. Within each chronological section, the books reviewed are ordered loosely from the general to the specific by topic, while the articles are listed in alphabetical order. An index of the author or editor of each book mentioned and a general index to the whole bibliography are provided. Special mention must be made of the year 1990, a turning point which is also reflected in bibliographical research. West German publications only (as was the practice in previous editions of this bibliography) are listed for the year 1989, while publications from the whole of Germany are included for the period from 1990.

I should like to express my thanks to Dr Frank Wende from the Deutsche Bibliothek Frankfurt for important bibliographical assistance. Thanks are also due to Jane Rafferty, J. A. Underwood, and Angela Davies, who translated the reviews and helped with the editorial work. Special thanks, of course, must go to the editor of this volume, Dr Ulrike Jordan.

London, April 1996

Peter Wende

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BOOK REVIEWS

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General Studies

[1] CORNELIA WITZ *et al.*, *Großbritannien Ploetz. Geschichte Großbritanniens und Irlands zum Nachschlagen*, 3rd revised edn (Freiburg: Ploetz, 1993), 223 pp.

The history of Great Britain ends on 2 August 1993, the day on which the British government formally ratified the Treaty of Maastricht – this is the impression one might get from reading the last entry in this Ploetz, which presumably ended up in this position purely as a result of an editorial deadline. Still, hope should not be abandoned for a future edition of this useful collection of facts and figures if what is said at the beginning of the book is true, namely that an essential characteristic of British history is that it is strongly imbued by tradition.

Johannes Paulmann

[2] ROLAND STURM, *Großbritannien. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Politik*, Grundwissen- Länderkunde, 7 (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1991), 307 pp.

This paperback reference book on Britain, with an emphasis on the 1980s, that is, the Thatcher years, compresses within its three hundred pages more information than one would find in any British book on the same topic. It is indeed an impressive accumulation of facts, soberly presented and enhanced by many charts, statistics and opinion polls. There is even space for a three-and-a-half page chronology of British social insurance legislation from 1911 to 1980, to put Thatcher's contribution, or rather 'retribution' into perspective. Roughly one third of the total is devoted to, in this sequence, the economy, society, and politics. For Sturm there is such a thing as society, and he has looked into every inner-city corner of it. As to politics, the chapter on the civil service is particularly useful, not least because of its implicit comparison with the Federal Republic. Compared with Anthony Sampson's former attempts at exposing the anatomy of Britain, Sturm's book con-

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tains more facts and less interpretation. Legislative acts, not Thatcher's or Keith Joseph's rhetoric speak for her credo. Sturm's sources are almost exclusively English and therefore his slant, if there is one, is that of British political scientists who have long-since come to the conclusion that Thatcher's 'property-owning society' is, in fact, a deliberate option for the two-thirds society. No doubt, Thatcher's reforms benefited the economy, making it more productive and competitive. It is true, the 'English crisis', which has been the standard topic of German observers, has been overcome. But by comparison with other countries, and in view of favourable conditions (upswing in the world economy, North Sea oil, gains from privatization), Thatcher's success is not quite as impressive as it appears to the faithful. This is altogether a fair résumé.

Lothar Kettenacker

[3] HANS KASTENDIEK, KARL ROHE, and ANGELIKA VOLLE (eds), *Länderbericht Großbritannien. Geschichte, Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1994), 624 pp.

The series in which this volume is published usually meets the expectations of both general-interest readers and experts looking for an up-to-date, concise summary of key aspects of a given geographical entity. The book in question here is no exception. Along with 'traditional' overviews like 'historical development' and identification of contemporary problems, it focuses on aspects of immigration and changes of mentality in a multi-ethnic society, thus targeting issues of both general interest and scholarly debate. Equal emphasis is given to the three main aspects, the political system and its development, economic structures and industrial relations, and Britain's role in international politics. In the concluding part, challenging questions are raised which point beyond Britain towards key problems of present-day Western industrial society, for example, the future of the education system, environmental challenges, the role of the media, and the place of culture in society.

Ulrike Jordan

[4] WOLF D. GRUNER and BERND-JÜRGEN WENDT (eds), *Großbritannien in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Geschichte, 9 (Hamburg: Krämer, 1994), 245 pp.

This volume traces British history from medieval times to the present for general interest readers. Well-known specialists cover the chronological sequence: Klaus Arnold writes on medieval England, Günter Lottes deals with the early modern period, especially the problem of the Glorious Revolution, and Gottfried Niedhart covers the relationship between power, economy, and peace in the eighteenth century, supplemented by Karl Heinz Metz's thoughts on the history of ideas. The nineteenth century, which brought Britain world power status and imperial ascendance, is dealt with by Wolf D. Gruner, while Christiane Eisenberg analyses developments in domestic policy between 1815 and 1880. Edgar Feuchtwanger explains the British party system, and Sidney Pollard looks at the problems and effects of the Industrial Revolution. Marie-Luise Recker tackles Weimar and Britain, while Bernd-Jürgen Wendt concentrates on economic appeasement. Lothar Kettenacker's contribution on British post-war planning and Clemens Wurm's essay on Britain and European integration round off this very readable volume.

Ulrike Jordan

[5] UWE KRÖGER, *England. Die geteilte Nation* (Stuttgart and Vienna: Edition Erdmann in K. Thienemanns Verlag, 1991), 380 pp.

It was the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) who in his novel *Sybil* warned his country that it was well on the way to becoming two nations – one of the rich, the other of the poor. According to Disraeli, these two nations were totally foreign to each other; their way of life, their customs, and their laws had become so different that any kind of sympathetic contact was impossible. In this book by the man who headed the ZDF television studio in London from 1985, the problem of a divided nation is described in an easy, informative, journalistic style (admittedly, one that is also occasionally somewhat superficial and prone to inaccuracy). Kröger's account of England and specifically of London is given not from an academic standpoint but told through the eyes of a journalist who was able to study at first hand the principal characteristics of English political life during the

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Margaret Thatcher years, which he considers to have been a crucial period of social inequality, anti-European politics, and cultural disorientation. In the time since John Major replaced Margaret Thatcher in November 1990, Kröger notes some improvement in terms of a narrowing of the gaps that had grown up both between the British social classes and between Britain and continental Europe. Whether Major will succeed in this ambitious task is still an open question for one whose work appeared only shortly after Major's accession to 10 Downing Street. Consequently, Kröger concentrates mainly on Thatcher and her politics and includes many insights into London and 'typically British' characteristics, deliberately not concealing his great sympathy (in spite of occasionally strong criticism of Thatcherism) for the Englishness of a country that still distances itself from the European idea. The author clearly knows England well (and London very well), and he treats the reader to some colourful pictures of English society, from the unemployed and the homeless to the new 'Yuppie Town' in London's East End. As a journalist, Kröger does not give a structured, differentiated survey, but rather a panorama of the many different impressions he collected over the years of his London posting.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[6] ROSWITHA SIEPER, *The Student's Companion to Britain. British History, Geography, Life, Institutions, Arts and Thought*, 8th revised edn (Munich: Max Hueber, 1993), 324 pp.

The updated version of this comprehensive textbook provides a chronological and institutional introduction to Britain from the Norman invasion to the Thatcher government. After a chronological overview based on individual reigns and parliaments, the author chooses central topics which span the centuries, for example, the economy, social structure, law and religion, education, English (alas, not British!) thought and the arts. Over-simplification and dated information is not always avoided and constitutes one of the main shortcomings of the publication which otherwise is a basic starting-point for use in schools.

Ulrike Jordan

[7] FRANK HUGELMANN, *Student's Outline of British and American History* (Berlin: Cornelsen, 1992), 95 pp.

This slim but comprehensive introduction to British and American history is clearly intended for use in schools and junior higher education establishments. It consists of chronologically arranged datelines indicating the most significant events in both countries. These datelines are interspersed with essays on subjects and developments of historical importance. There are separate entries for Ireland and Scotland.

Ulrike Jordan

[8] HARALD HUSEMANN (ed.), *As Others See Us. Anglo-German Perceptions* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1994), 151 pp.

This volume is a collection of essays dealing with the mutual perceptions of Britain and Germany presented in various media: advertising, newspapers, films, literary works, children's books, and language-course books. Most of the authors are from one of these two countries and their essays, which basically deal either with the post-war period or the present-day, are all published in English so that they are accessible to both sides. They deal with stereotypes, clichés and prejudices, demonstrate how they developed, and demand, at least implicitly, that they should be overcome. The volume has a weakness, however, namely that its bilateral perspective emphasizes the polarity between Britain and Germany. For this reason, one should really read the essay by Joep Leersen first, even though it is somewhere in the middle of the book. This would have made a good introduction, especially since the book does not have one, because it shows that the mutual perceptions of the two countries developed in the context of other perceptions being formed at the same time. Positive attitudes towards England, for example, emerged at the same time as vehement criticism of France. It seems that the ensemble of character traits in Europe as a whole does not change, but that they are attributed to different nations at different times.

Johannes Paulmann

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[9] GOTTFRIED NIEDHART (ed.), *Das kontinentale Europa und die britischen Inseln. Wahrnehmungsmuster und Wechselwirkungen seit der Antike*, Mannheimer Historische Forschungen, 1 (Mannheim: Palatium, 1993), 222 pp.

The essays in this volume cover a huge time-span, ranging from Greek and Roman antiquity, the subject of the first four essays, right up to contemporary history. What links them all is their approach. They all look at the perception of events in the British Isles at a given time, and at the reactions they evoked and the expectations they aroused on the Continent of Europe. Karl-Friedrich Krieger shows how England was depicted in a French tract at the time of the Hundred Years War. Klaus-Jürgen Matz uses Anglo-Prussian co-operation in Africa in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to show how Europeans' perceptions of each other as foreigners were less significant than the distant stance they all took towards non-Europeans. Michael Erbe asks to what extent England was a model in the French constitutional discussions of 1789. Those who became more closely involved with England also displayed a discrepancy between perception and reality. This is demonstrated by Wolfgang von Hippel, using the example of observers in south-west Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. This discrepancy is not surprising at a time when the two states were at war with one another, but it was then constructed into an image of an enemy that could be contrasted with one's own self-perception. Rolf Peter Sieferle analyses this by looking at the 'ideas of 1914'. Wilhelm Kreuz and Thomas Grosser deal with two media not usually paid much attention, the image of Britain in German films during the inter-war period, and in Nazi caricature. In his own essay, Gottfried Niedhart shows that West Germany's perception of Britain changed with the advent of the Cold War, and images of the enemy were replaced by traditional stereotypes taken from an earlier period. All the essays show the lack of objectivity in these perceptions, and the extent to which self-interest determined which information was selected. The volume is dedicated to Manfred Schlenke, the former chairman of the Verein zur Förderung des Britisch-Deutschen Historikerkreises, on his sixty-fifth birthday.

Johannes Paulmann

[10] JÜRGEN KLEIN (ed.), *State, Science and Modernization in England: From the Renaissance to the Present Time* (Hildesheim etc.: Olms, 1994), 335 pp.

This volume investigates the process of modernization in England from the Renaissance to the present day. It concentrates on state and science in an overall cultural context. From the sixteenth century onwards changes in language and literature prepared the ground for innovations like the turn towards empiricism and increased tolerance. The seventeenth-century intellectual and literary scene produced cultural complexity and systemic transformations, whereas the Age of Reason fostered new socio-political patterns as well as new epistemological and economic ideas. Both influenced the ethical-aesthetical realm, for example, by breaking taboos (Hogarth). Romanticists, however, favoured a normative criticism of modernization, whereas nineteenth-century English authors claimed the need to spread knowledge. Authors and intellectuals entered a debate on the tension between technological revolution and the holistic interpretation of self/culture which is still going on today.

Ulrike Jordan

[11] CARSTEN PETER THIEDE, *Religion in England. Darstellung und Daten zu Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994), 157 pp.

This handbook, which will appeal to a wider audience than an academic readership, offers a useful overview of religion in England from the beginnings of Christian missionization to the present. Published in the series 'Religion in Europa', this volume by the ordained Anglican reader Thiede, as the blurb puts it, throws light on the 'link between history and anecdote', as well as on the divergence between different forms of religious faith and church institutions. A chronology, brief biographies, and a list of addresses are appended.

Bärbel Brodt

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[12] HEIDE GERSTENBERGER, *Die subjektlose Gewalt. Theorie der Entstehung bürgerlicher Staatsgewalt* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1990), 658 pp.

It is not immediately apparent from the title, but a good third of this voluminous publication is concerned with English history from the Middle Ages to the late nineteenth century. The author herself classifies her work as historical sociology rather than as history proper. Her aim is to write a critique of modernization theory and Marxist concepts of historical development. It would, therefore, be a mistake to expect her book to provide detailed empirical findings. Rather, this is an ambitious attempt to reconstruct the constitution of the 'bourgeois state' as a public (that is, 'non-individual') authority. Gerstenberger traces this process using the examples of England and France. She regards the crucial characteristic of the 'bourgeois state' as being the complete removal of any personal exercise of power. After discussing a broad spectrum of historical research, Gerstenberger is able to dismiss simple assumptions of causality based on the dominance of the economy or class-struggle models. Her 'bourgeois state' neither came about as a result of the transition from the feudal to the capitalist mode of production, nor can it be traced back to the rise of a particular governing class, the so-called 'bourgeoisie'. On the contrary, the first and most important prerequisite in her view was the emergence of a practice of government, based on a generalized system of law, in which the direct exercise of power by the nobility was transformed into privileged rule, that is, rule derived from the Crown. Such privileges were increasingly competed for under market conditions. Consequently, as time went on, the fact of being privileged came to seem more and more the product of chance and hence open to challenge. To describe the phase in which this form of government prevailed, Gerstenberger proposes the term *ancien régime*. Her central thesis is in fact that the 'bourgeois' form of government, with its emphasis on individual rights, came into existence only where there had previously been an *ancien régime*. A public critique developed against this regime and campaigned on behalf of the individual against privilege in the form of legally protected private 'interests'. England and France provide the author with examples of two particular courses for this model of development.

Gerstenberger's analysis of English history provides us with a highly condensed version based largely on the state of research in the mid-

1980s. Particular attention is paid to the interplay of local and central governmental structures and to the length of time taken by the process of transition to which the author applies the term *ancien régime*. On the whole, her account is stimulating, although specialists in the individual periods discussed will find little that is new. Nevertheless, the historical sections of the book are clear and well-written. The same can hardly be said of the theoretical sections. These suffer from the use of jargon in which unnecessary prefixing of the word *Struktur-* burdens all kinds of terms with a gravity they often do not possess. Altogether, one wonders after reading the book whether so colossal an effort was really necessary to achieve this (admittedly tenable) revision of Marxist ideas and modernization theories.

Willibald Steinmetz

[13] LOGIE BARROW, DOROTHEA SCHMIDT, and JUTTA SCHWARZKOPF (eds), *Nichts als Unterdrückung? Geschlecht und Klasse in der englischen Sozialgeschichte* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1991), 273 pp.

The object of this collection of essays is to acquaint German readers with the methods and findings of recent British gender history. In keeping with the year of publication (1991), the volume records the state of debate reached at the end of the 1980s. The majority of the contributions printed are translations of previously published articles by British and American feminist historians, and most of those appeared in *History Workshop Journal*. Three original contributions at the end of the volume (by L. Davidoff/C. Hall, E. Rosenhaft, and U. Frevert) look at the question of how feminist historical scholarship came to take different paths in Britain and Germany. The guiding viewpoint of the collection is the assumption that German women's and gender history lags (or used to lag) behind its British counterpart so far as dealing with the category of 'class' is concerned. The essays, which focus mainly on the nineteenth century, discuss the relationship between 'class' and 'gender' in terms of three problem areas: biographical sketches of individual women who overcame class barriers or came into conflict with them, the balance of power between men and women in the workplace, and women's room for action in the home, in politics, and in social communication. Since publication of this volume, the debate among feminist historians in Britain and Germany has moved on. In both coun-

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tries there is now virtually undisputed acceptance of what in the programmatic essays of Eve Rosenhaft and Ute Frevert is still somewhat cautiously hinted at, namely that gender history should increasingly apply itself to the constructions of femininity and masculinity in discourse and that the identification of the categories 'gender' and 'women' must be abandoned; in other words, 'men's history' also needs to become an issue.

Willibald Steinmetz

[14] RAIMUND LÖW (ed.), *Historiographie der Arbeiterbewegung in Frankreich und Großbritannien. Archive und Institutionen, Stand und Trends der Forschung* (Vienna and Zurich: Europaverlag, 1989), 103 pp.

The greater part of this slim volume is devoted to French labour historiography. A brief essay in English by Henry Baldwin (a pseudonym) provides information about trends in labour history in Britain until the mid-1980s. Included as an appendix is a list of addresses of archives and libraries relevant to this field of research. Altogether, the publication offers no more than an introduction, but even for that purpose there are better aids available.

Willibald Steinmetz

[15] ALEXANDER GAULAND, *Gemeine und Lords. Porträt einer politischen Klasse* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1989), 232 pp.

Over two hundred years of English history are summarized in this book, albeit a history that deals exclusively with the ruling upper class and its social background, the large country estate. Gauland faithfully adheres to the Whig interpretative model in describing the success of England's national history since the Glorious Revolution. The book is not organized by subject matter but provides twenty-one personal biographies and one collective biography in chronological order. The individuals could easily have been extracted from *Burke's Landed Gentry*. They represent a class awareness that ostensibly lived in harmony with itself. The Marquis of Halifax (1633-1695) leads the way, with Winston Churchill (1874-1965) bringing up the rear, though Gauland leaves the reader in no doubt that his history of the rise and fall of the English gentleman actually ends in the trenches of the First World War. The portraits, which are sympathetically drawn, concentrate mainly

on outstanding statesmen such as Pitt, Palmerston, and Gladstone, though Edmund Burke, for example, is also included. However, there are no artists, men of letters, scholars, or representatives of political groups such as the Chartists and the Fabians. Nor are there any businessmen, churchmen, or soldiers, although such people also belonged to the 'political class' and contributed to Britain's sense of political identity. Because of the way the book is conceived, therefore, concentrating on the parliamentary class, a major segment of British society is left out. Basically, the author is not interested in making a contribution to British history based on the latest research. Instead, *Gemeine und Lords* gives an essayistic, occasionally somewhat anecdotal picture of English history. Gauland's account is romanticized, but it conspicuously meets the need to offset the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution with an account of the supposed homogeneity of English aristocratic parliamentarism between 1688 and 1918, underlining the achievements of that tradition. In fact, however, the history of the oligarchy of the Whig families was not by any means as self-contained as Gauland suggests.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[16] ANNE PETRY-EBERLE, *Adel und Landschaft. Der Einfluß des englischen Adels auf die Gestaltung der Kulturlandschaft in Rutland* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang 1990), 559 pp.

This book examines four different estates in Rutland and asks what influence the nobility had on shaping the cultural landscape. Wide in chronological scope, extending from the late eighteenth to the late twentieth century, this study is one of very few which look beyond the architectural features of the hall and grounds in rural England. The dominant perspective of the study is one of historical geography, with a strong emphasis on agricultural relations, developments, and dependencies. Especially useful is its detailed analysis of the four chosen examples over an extended period. Within this chronology, Petry-Eberle distinguishes a number of stages: the first lasts until about 1880 and is characterized by noble landowners exerting a strong influence on the Victorian landscape. It was followed by a phase which saw the establishment of landscape planning by the local authorities and loss of influence on the part of the nobility. Finally, after 1945, economic conditions further reduced the influence of the nobility, who were increas-

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ingly faced with a reduction in land ownership. The book is illustrated with graphs and drawings by the author.

Ulrike Jordan

[17] WERNER HÜLLEN, “*Their Manner of Discourse*”. *Nachdenken über Sprache im Umkreis der Royal Society* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1989), 292 pp.

It quickly became apparent to the protagonists of the seventeenth-century ‘revolution’ in scientific methodology that new science required ‘new’, more efficient means of communication. Otherwise there was a danger that objective results of experimental research might be lost by communicating them in an imprecise language. This book approaches the phenomenon from the point of view of modern linguistics in eight essays, dealing with the following topics: the problems and advantages of a historical approach, Francis Bacon’s linguistic theory, the style of ‘experimental essays’, books on bees (which exemplify the transition from a metaphorical to a ‘scientific’ world view), Thomas Sprat’s *History of the Royal Society*, museum catalogues, programmes for the development of universal languages, and alphabets. Each traces developments from pre-modern to modern times. Even though historians will occasionally be reminded of an attempt to re-invent the wheel (particularly in the first essay) – a feeling linguists will share when reading analogous chapters in books by historians – this study is useful not only for its analyses of the texts concerned, but as a guide to and an edition of some of the more obscure ones, for instance Samuel Quiccheberg’s 1565 outline for a museum.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[18] RONALD G. ASCH (ed.), *Three Nations – A Common History? England, Scotland, Ireland and British History c. 1600-1920*, Veröffentlichungen Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 23 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1993), 298 pp.

For some years now, ‘British history’ has come to the fore again as historians including J. C. D. Clark, L. Colley, S. G. Ellis, H. Kearney, J. G. A. Pocock, and C. Russell have tried to bring out more clearly the connections between the different national histories within the British Isles. The volume *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (ed. by

A. Grant and K. J. Stringer, 1995) underlines this tendency. It is considered important not simply to work comparatively but also to grasp the geographical unity of the British Isles in its historical totality. Among the things that opponents criticize in this approach are its emphasis on political history, with a corresponding neglect of the social and economic components, and the potential tendency for Irish and Scottish history to be used only to furnish further models for explaining the history of England. However, in the final analysis, what needs to be borne in mind for a British historical perspective is that England's influence on Ireland and Scotland was stronger than the other way around. Looked at in that light, it was only their Anglicization that made a 'British history' possible. This anthology (in English), edited by Ronald G. Asch, tackles these questions and in so doing participates directly, from the German point of view, in the latest research trends of British historiography. In his comprehensive Introduction, Asch describes the part played by Ireland and Scotland in British history from the early modern period to the partition of Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century. The problem takes on special significance in his essay on the Irish Protestant Ascendancy, which with the relatively independent if only short-lived parliament of 1782 left a memorial to a merging of Irish-nationalist and British interests. The other essays range chronologically from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Altogether they achieve a balanced distribution of studies focusing on England, Ireland, and Scotland as well as studies focusing on the 'Britishness' of a range of problems such as the Revolutionary period 1640-60, or identity-building demarcation against the outside. Regardless of whether 'British history' is or is not an 'invention of tradition', this book keeps open the conceptual possibilities that might also arise, beyond the 'Three Nations', with the current (cultural-)political implications of this approach.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[19] JÜRGEN ELVERT, *Geschichte Irlands* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993), 526 pp.

Germany has no chair of history specializing in the history of Ireland; in fact, no particular attention is paid to Irish history at all. Yet potentially the example of Ireland could yield some interesting features as regards reconstructing the past, possibly even providing a model for

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the study of history generally. Ireland's greatest historian, W. E. H. Lecky (1838-1903), once said that the history of his country was a series of defeats and lost opportunities; however, for that very reason it was ideal material for a History of the Conquered, opening up to historiography a vast potential for mining fresh knowledge. Lecky regretted that the Romans had declined to conquer Ireland, while unfortunately the Vikings, the Normans, and the English had not. Elvert's book is the first comprehensive portrayal of the history of Ireland in the German language, if we disregard the translation of the Belfast historian J. C. Beckett's Irish history (third edn, 1991), which is written more from the Northern perspective and tends to lack detachment. Accordingly, Elvert's comprehensive and lucid overview seeks to give a fundamentally objective impression of the history of Ireland from its origins to the present day. Rather than dissipating itself in details, it gives a well-researched, chronological account of political, economic, and social developments on the island. A chronological table, a list of Irish prime ministers and presidents and the kings and queens of England, and a good bibliography give this publication the character of a textbook that, while it may need updating from time to time, will be difficult to replace. No doubt because the author set out to write for readers who may not be experts in Irish history, the spotlight is mainly on the facts of political history that will help them understand Ireland better. Particularly in the sections on the twentieth century, which are undoubtedly the best in the book, this principle is followed consistently. On the other hand, cultural history – Ireland's all-important literature, for example – receives comparatively short shrift.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[20] JÜRGEN ELVERT (ed.), *Nordirland in Geschichte und Gegenwart / Northern Ireland – Past and Present*, Historische Mitteilungen der Ranke-Gesellschaft, Beiheft 9 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 573 pp.

When the IRA announced in August 1994 that it was calling a halt to its terrorist attacks, it furnished a key prerequisite for the political solution of the Northern Ireland conflict. Gerry Adams, the chairman of the hitherto despised IRA party, Sinn Fein, was able to declare that decades of division, unrest, and injustice in Ulster might now come to an end. Dublin, too, felt that Ireland was on the threshold of a new beginning in its history. Suddenly, Europe took another look at this

almost forgotten and abandoned fringe of its frontiers, because the peace initiatives between Belfast, Dublin, and London, which had always remained unsuccessful before, must now finally prove themselves without the Catholic and Protestant terrorist threat in the background. This collection of essays (in English and German) on Northern Ireland past and present, edited by an acknowledged expert on Ireland, Jürgen Elvert, could thus hardly have come out at a better time. Elvert brings together twenty-five authors from the most diverse political camps, both Unionist and Nationalist (no mean feat in itself), comprising historians and political scientists working in Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, Scotland, England, and Germany. This alone gives some idea of the complexity of the subject matter.

The first section of the book is devoted to the history of Ireland from the sixteenth century to partition in 1921. It looks at the historical background to the causes of the Northern Ireland conflict, for example, the colonization of Ulster in the seventeenth century and the significance of the formation of Unionism in Ulster before the First World War. The second section is concerned principally with the history of the six mainly Protestant counties of the North, which initially governed themselves through Belfast's Stormont parliament but since the outbreak of the Troubles in the early 1970s have been governed from London. Here, the authors describe in detail how two social systems of different strengths and degrees of privilege developed separately and antagonistically, and how a consensus embracing the whole of society was impossible. At the same time the (in part politically motivated) inquiry into the causes of the conflict began, and the search was on for a constitutional solution, which given the unlikelihood of any serious influence coming from Brussels is chiefly bilateral, between Dublin and London. However, countless numbers of settlement proposals and models reveal the complexity of a problem in which past and present are constantly coming up against each other. The third section presents the various religious, cultural, and historiographical manifestations of the Northern Ireland conflict. A comprehensive chronology completes what is a most instructive volume.

Benedikt Stuchtey

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[21] HERMANN SCHREIBER, *Schottland. Geschichte eines Landes am Rande Europas* (Gernsbach: Casimir Katz, 1990), 387 pp.

Numerous popular national histories have made this author familiar to a wide public in Germany, but his publications fall short of strict academic standards. This purely anecdotal history of Scotland likewise comes with no objective organization of the text, no notes, and no proper bibliography. Moreover, it has the particular disadvantage that, for Schreiber, the history of Scotland from the eighteenth to the twentieth century seems hardly worth talking about. While a full two-thirds of the book takes us no farther than Mary Stuart, everything that happened after 1707 is dealt with in a *tour de force* of superficiality. Not even the chronological table (itself very sketchy) is able to redeem this shortcoming. Lack of detachment from his subject-matter causes Schreiber to idealize medieval Scotland and its people without giving any real account of the passage of time and the modernization of the country. Mist over the moors is well romanticized as a key feature of Scotland's cultural heritage, and 'nebulous' is certainly the word for Schreiber's text. The author's condescending, didactic style and his tendency simply to reel off as many details as possible, often in an unconnected fashion, mean that his book, apart from its failings as regards content, is not exactly a pleasure to read.

Benedikt Stuchtey

Sixth to Fifteenth Centuries

[22] KARL-FRIEDRICH KRIEGER, *Geschichte Englands von den Anfängen bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 1990), 286 pp.

This volume by the Mannheim medievalist Karl-Friedrich Krieger is chronologically the first in a series devoted to the history of England and written for a wide general readership. The final volume in this series was reviewed in the previous annotated bibliography published by the GHIL (ed. Frank Rexroth, 1990). Krieger presents a convincing overview, quite rightly emphasizing England's integration into conti-

mental developments, an aspect of British history which is often neglected. His study is divided into three parts. There are sections on political, economic, and social developments, and each one is thematically and chronologically subdivided. The first part, 'The Basics', spans the time from the pre-Roman period to the end of the twelfth-century civil war which broke out as a result of the struggle for the throne between Stephen and Maud. In common with other modern scholars, Krieger does not present the Norman invasion as a turning point. In the second part, devoted to the flowering of medieval society and medieval power structures, he looks at economic and social developments before turning to foreign policy under Henry II. Krieger's account of constitutional developments is especially convincing. His discussion of the origins and development of Parliament under Edward I reveals exceptionally clear judgement. In the last main part, 'Crises and New Departures', there is hardly an aspect of history that is neglected. Krieger recapitulates the most recent findings on the Hundred Years War, and provides a balanced account of the Wars of the Roses. With admirably brief footnotes, a clearly structured and information-packed bibliography, a helpful chronology, and an index of names and places, this volume provides a highly successful introduction to English history.

Bärbel Brodt

[23] STUART JENKS, *England, die Hanse und Preußen. Handel und Diplomatie 1377-1474*, part 1: *Handel*, part 2: *Diplomatie*, part 3: *Anhänge* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1992), 1265 pp.

This *Habilitation* thesis by the Erlangen historian Stuart Jenks can only be described as monumental. It casts doubt on the need for future investigations of the Hanseatic League and England, at least to the extent that any scholarly work can claim to be comprehensive. The particular attractions of this first really detailed investigation of economic and political ties between the Hanseatic League and England in the late Middle Ages are the author's immense knowledge of the sources, and his willingness to take a new look at empirical documentation which had been regarded (not only since Carus-Wilson/Coleman) as fully explained. Jenks is here interested in clarifying two main issues: the role of Hanseatic traders in England, and the fundamental significance of the Kingdom for the Hanse as a trading confederation. In order to establish what proportion of overall trade the Hanseatic League

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could claim, Jenks goes back to existing Customs Accounts. He analyses each one individually, and looks in particular at the export of cloth. In the process he verifies definitively a number of findings which previous research had suggested. Thus he clearly and convincingly defines the fifteenth-century trade cycles, and points to the mistake made by the Hanseatic League when it did not ratify the Treaty of London (1437). Ultimately, this led to a collapse in the trade, resulting in serious tensions within the League. Tensions were also caused by the different preferences of individual members of the League. Much of what Jenks writes about is neither new nor unresearched, but his treatment of the material is extremely detailed. An Appendix of 368 pages, plus a bibliography of 60 pages and separate indexes for people and places, is a true treasure-trove of sources and references. The list of Hanseatic merchants who went to England is particularly useful.

Bärbel Brodt

[24] KURT-ULRICH JÄSCHKE, *Nichtkönigliche Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen England*, *Residenzforschung*, 2 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1990), 334 pp.

Jäschke divides this large and ambitious study into two main parts. First he asks whether there were 'principalities' in England, looking at this issue from the point of view of their integration into the constitutional development of the Kingdom. He then addresses the connotations of the word 'residence'. Of course, the first main part looks beyond what is described in the older German literature as *Pfalzgrafschaften*. Jäschke describes and analyses titles and forms of address, duties, and office-holders in Cheshire, Durham, and Lancaster, but he also includes Carlisle, Hexham, and Cornwall in his investigation, and it is particularly here that he provides a number of new insights. Jäschke offers a useful overview of the Kingdom's astonishingly diverse political and intellectual centres. In the second part he stresses the significance of the 'representative country or town house' within the range of meanings covered by the term 'residence', and then turns to the changing size of courts from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. He documents how forms of vassalage changed by region and period, and examines the various functions of noble courts. Jäschke's conclusion, which is well supplied with plans and illustrations, discusses the architectural diversity of different types of residence before looking in

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greater detail at the court and residence of Duke Humfrid of Gloucester and the Counts of Northumberland in two case studies. An appendix on non-noble country seats concludes this impressive study, which is provided with a comprehensive bibliography and helpful indexes.

Bärbel Brodt

[25] KLAUS DIETZ, *Ortsnamenwechsel im mittelalterlichen England*, Beiträge zur Namenforschung N. F., Beiheft 39 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992), 278 pp.

This is not a book with popular appeal. To gain much from it, the reader must have a detailed knowledge of the etymological subtleties of the history of place-names since E. Ekwall, and of the investigations, some still ongoing, of the English Place-Name Society. Dietz is mainly interested in the English place-names that were changed or newly conferred in the period up to the sixteenth century, and which Ekwall largely ignores, although he emphasizes that the real watershed is the end of the fourteenth century. The author also tries to develop an improved typology intended to take equal account of form and content. As place-names can change in many ways, such as substitution, elision, addition, or by partially subtractive or additive change, it is not surprising that Dietz draws on vast amounts of illustrative material. This volume testifies to incredible diligence. Fortunately it comes equipped with an index.

Bärbel Brodt

[26] THEO HOLZAPFEL, *Papst Innozenz III., Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich und die englisch-welfische Verbindung 1198-1216* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1991), 334 pp.

In this attractive dissertation submitted to the University of Mainz, Holzapfel looks at the complex and multi-layered political and diplomatic connections between the leading European powers and the Papal Court at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The English-Guelph connection, which takes a back seat in the title, is at the centre of his investigation. In 1198 Otto of Poitou, nephew of King John of England and son of Henry the Lion, was elected German anti-king, and at the turn of the year 1200-1201, Pope Innocent III recognized him against the will of the French king. The struggle for the throne between the

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Hohenstaufen and the Guelphs was not resolved until 1214 at the Battle of Bouvines, where Otto, who was allied with John, suffered defeat by the French forces.

Holzappel's study testifies to a thorough knowledge of the sources. The author analyses contemporary correspondence (of special interest here is that between King John and Pope Innocent III concerning the English-Guelph connection). The document *imperator mandat* is the keystone in Holzappel's re-interpretation of the relationship between Otto and the French king. Holzappel regards Otto's policy as less anti-French than has generally been assumed. The author's incomprehensible decision not to discuss the conflict between England and the Papal Court, even in the briefest possible form, detracts considerably from the value of the study.

Bärbel Brodt

[27] HAUS DER BAYERISCHEN GESCHICHTE (ed.), *Kilian. Mönch aus Irland – aller Franken Patron 689-1989. Katalog der Sonder-Ausstellung zur 1300-Jahr-Feier des Kiliansmartyriums 1. Juli 1989 – 1. Oktober 1989. Festung Marienberg Würzburg*, exhibition catalogue (Würzburg, 1989), 377 pp.

The Mainfränkische Museum in Würzburg marked the 1300-year anniversary of the martyrdom of St Kilian by holding an exhibition in honour of the apostle to the Franks and patron of the Würzburg diocese. The publication accompanying the exhibition is an outstanding example of its kind. In fact, Kilian is a rather thankless subject for historians and historical exhibitions, as no personal documents or real contemporary sources have survived. For this reason, the exhibition organizers decided to concentrate on three significant complexes out of the wealth of possible aspects that they could have chosen to include. The exhibition focused first on the background to and the actual process of Christianization in the Frankish empire, and secondly on the circumstances under which the bishopric was founded and the way in which Kilian and his two companions, all of whom suffered a martyr's death in Würzburg in 689, became its patrons. Finally, by looking at important periods in the history of the diocese, the exhibition documented the way in which the image of Kilian has changed through the centuries. The section of the catalogue devoted to the exhibits is richly illustrated and well explained, and is preceded by a number of essays.

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Johannes Erickson provides an introduction to the idea behind the exhibition. This is followed by a long extract from Andreas Bigelmair's *Die Passio des Heiligen Kilian*, and Hanswernfried Muth's history of Kilian and his companions. Space does not permit me to do justice to all the exhibits, but they include the oldest pictorial representation of Kilian, dating from 1266. A comprehensive bibliography rounds off this catalogue, which gives the reader a good overview of the history of the mission to the Franks, and the development of the Würzburg bishopric.

Bärbel Brodt

[28] ODILO ENGELS and STEFAN WEINFURTER (eds), *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae occidentalis*, Series VI: *Britannia etc.*, Tomus I: *Ecclesia Scoticana* (Stuttgart: Hirsemann, 1991), 91 pp.

The *Series Episcoporum* is essential reading for anyone interested in the ecclesiastical history of the High Middle Ages, and the appearance of a further volume after a considerable length of time is welcome indeed. This volume breaks with tradition by printing the accompanying texts in the vernacular instead of in Latin for the first time. In other respects the volume follows the same mould as its predecessors. It provides a brief history of the Scottish church and its dioceses, and the geographical boundaries of individual dioceses are documented. A survey of sources, an index, and brief biographies of office-holders are appended.

Bärbel Brodt

[29] CHARLES DONAHUE jun. (ed.), *The Records of the Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts*, part ii: *England. Reports of the Working Group on Church Court Records*, *Comparative Studies in Continental and Anglo-American Legal History*, 7 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994), 262 pp.

The aim of the Working Group on Church Court Records is to catalogue ecclesiastical court records of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain and the Continent dating from before 1563. Previous researchers have generally ignored this material. The first volume in this series was published in 1989 and dealt with continental sources. The present publication is an essential aid to the study of the development of English canon law. It starts with a thorough introduction to the organization of the church in England, which is followed by a brief essay on

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'The Records of the Courts of the Judges Delegate in England' by Jane Sayers. By far the major part of the volume is taken up by the catalogue of extant sources, divided by church provinces. As a rule, the content of the sources is indicated in the briefest form possible, and only in exceptional cases is it summarized as a *Regest*. This highly useful volume is completed by indexes of sources used, archives, libraries and manuscripts, as well as names and places.

Bärbel Brodt

[30] KARL M. EISING, *Richard III. Die weiße Rose von York* (Gernsbach: Casimir Katz, 1990), 538 pp.

There are plenty of examples to show that historians are not the only writers capable of describing historical processes and people in a convincing, clear, and interesting way. Unfortunately Eising's book is not one of them. Eising is a lawyer who is proud of his membership in the Richard III Society, whose aim is to rehabilitate the monarch, and the only impressive thing about his book is its length. This is all the more regrettable as Richard III is undoubtedly one of the most brilliant but ambivalent figures of the late Middle Ages in England. Eising clearly has a wide knowledge of the voluminous literature on the fifteenth century and on Richard III. Within his limits, the author attempts to present an objective account, but the reader too often misses clear judgments on the initially loyal Duke of Gloucester, who tried to secure domestic peace in the Kingdom, and his involvement in the developments which led to the execution of his brother, the Duke of Clarence, leading ultimately to Richard's assumption of power. Eising rejects the theory that Richard was directly involved in the death of his nephews. According to Eising Richard, who lost his crown and his life at the Battle of Bosworth, 'could have been the founder of a new era and one of England's great kings ... if he had lived longer'. This volume is marred by the author's stylistic weaknesses, his all too frequent attacks on Thomas More, and his habit of quoting from Shakespeare in cases of doubt.

Bärbel Brodt

[31] MARTIN SCHÜSSLER, *Die Gentry und das Verbrechen im England des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Historisches Institut der Universität, 1989), 338 pp.

Schüßler starts from the premise that fourteenth-century England was a country 'in which crime flourished and nobody's life was safe'. Rather unconvincingly, he attempts to revise this premise, which is controversial to say the least, by comparing crime in England and on the Continent. This Ph. D. thesis centres on the role played by members of the gentry in juries. Although Schüßler tries to present a balanced account of research, there is not enough independent assessment, and added to this are stylistic infelicities. Schüßler's main sources are the three classes of Justice Itinerant Rolls – the Eyre Rolls, the Coroner Rolls, and the Goal Delivery Rolls. The conclusions which the author draws are often extremely general and unconvincing. The statement that juries from the gentry were, almost on principle, hostile to the Crown surely needs revision. This book comprises fewer than 200 pages of text. The rest is made up of a separate section of references, a large number of statistics of variable usefulness, and a highly selective bibliography. An index would have made it easier to use this book.

Bärbel Brodt

[32] ADELHEID JOCHUM, *Die Beschreibung Palästinas in der englischen Cotton Version von Mandeville's Travels (um 1356)*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, XIV/209 (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1990), 262 pp.

Travel accounts are increasingly attracting the interest of medievalists, for they offer access to medieval modes of thought. When medieval travellers compared buildings without regard for architectural structure, for instance, this is obviously a clue to what constituted similarity and difference, and to how processes of abstraction worked at that time (cf. Arnold Esch, 'Anschauung und Begriff: Die Bewältigung fremder Wirklichkeit durch den Vergleich in Reiseberichten des späten Mittelalters', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 253, 1991, pp. 281-312). This English studies dissertation does no more, however, than assemble material for a future study. It provides an abstract of descriptive passages in Mandeville's *Travels*, which is compared with other travel accounts. A summary of features common to these accounts (such as which dis-

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tances were estimated correctly and which were not) is given in lieu of a conclusion.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[33] MARIANNE SCHMITZ, *Lebens- und Arbeitsweise zweier südfanzösischer Kollektoren in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in England* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1993), 264 pp.

This dissertation, written at the University of Hanover under the supervision of Brigide Schwarz, investigates a crucial period in the history of papal finances during the pontificates of John XXII and Benedict XII. By reorganizing the financial administration and introducing new regulations governing church taxes, these two popes considerably increased the Curia's income and covered Europe with a network of well-organized tax districts. Basing her investigation around two Frenchmen, Rigaud d'Assier and Bernard de Sistre, Schmitz convincingly documents the wide-ranging activities of papal collectors in England. Their duties included assessing dioceses for tax, collecting it, and sending the proceeds to the Curia. These two collectors were active in England during the periods 1316 to 1319, and 1335 to 1338 respectively. Schmitz can demonstrate that contrary to assumptions in the older literature, these collectors were by no means the equivalent of modern tax officials. Rather, they were highly qualified officials who possessed good personal connections with the Curia and the English crown. At the same time, Schmitz offers a useful overview of church organization in England in the early fourteenth century, and of the financial resources of individual dioceses.

Bärbel Brodt

[34] JENS RÖHRKASTEN, *Die englischen Kronzeugen 1130-1330*, Berliner Historische Studien, 16 (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1990), 471 pp.

This comprehensive study, whose author reveals a profound knowledge of the sources and finely balanced judgement, fills a gap which has long existed in the research. His subject is the *probatores* or 'approvers', that is, men accused of a crime who spoke out against their accomplices before the King, a judge, and a jury, thus saving their lives and gaining their freedom. Using this system as an example,

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Röhrkasten traces the complex development of English common law over two centuries. The system of approvers which he documents remained a fixed part of English criminal law until the sixteenth century. But Röhrkasten does more than simply show how legal institutions functioned. By analysing the extant statements of approvers, he presents a convincing account of typically criminal phenomena of medieval England. In a chapter rather sensationally entitled 'The Underworld in Medieval England' Röhrkasten provides valuable insights into the structures of criminal gangs and professional crime, and highlights the astonishingly broad spectrum of social backgrounds from which offenders and suspects were drawn. This combination of legal and social history, of theory and legal practice, makes this study especially interesting. An appendix provides statistics, usefully broken down according to county, on the astonishingly large number of people involved in trials of this sort, and on the types of verdicts that were reached. There is a comprehensive bibliography. In addition to a general index, Röhrkasten provides a separate index of approvers, which facilitates the use of this highly successful study.

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Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

[35] HEINER HAAN and GOTTFRIED NIEDHART, *Geschichte Englands vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 1993), 291 pp.

This co-production between the Regensburg historian Haan and his Mannheim colleague Niedhart brings to a successful conclusion the three-volume series on English history from the beginning to the present. Four large chapters are devoted to a convincing presentation of the country's social and economic structure during the early modern period, processes of change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the development of parliamentarism and radicalism during the eighteenth century. The authors place great value on providing brief accounts of historical processes and the research problems associated with them. In the context of the heated revisionism debate on the nature of English society during the early modern period, they warn

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their readers against one-dimensional approaches. In their analysis of the Whig-liberal concept of the Puritan Revolution and the social dynamics of the seventeenth century, Haan and Niedhart argue against putting too much emphasis on the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. In their view the Civil War of the 1640s, the establishment of the Republic, and Cromwell's Protectorate represent the real climax of the Revolution. In the final part of the volume, the authors concentrate on the growth of the pre-industrial economy and Britain's overseas expansion. They conclude with a brief look at the American Revolution, which only temporarily disrupted economic ties between the two countries. Thus they have prepared a successful transition to the last volume in the series. An extensive apparatus consisting of a bibliography of mainly recent literature, brief references, and indexes of places and subjects make this highly successful introduction to the subject easy for every interested reader to use.

Bärbel Brodt

[36] UWE BAUMANN, *Heinrich VIII. mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bild-dokumenten* (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch, 1991), 157 pp.

This volume, kept brief in line with the constraints of the series in which it is published, is divided into three main sections: 'The Young King', 'The Marriage Affair', and 'The Final Decade'. The precision of its account, the balanced judgements of its author, and his profound knowledge of the subject combine to make this book an impressive achievement. Baumann gives a convincing characterization of Henry VIII and his rule, marked as it was by religious and social upheaval. He reports on the monarch's childhood, upbringing, and youth, which were influenced by a tense relationship with a father who had little confidence in the abilities of his second son, originally destined for the Church. Baumann gives a convincing account of the change of sovereign, euphorically greeted by contemporaries, Henry's return to chivalry, and the resumption of the war with France. Equally successful is Baumann's brief survey of 'Britain and Europe 1514-1527'. The author introduces the king's advisers and ministers (the description of Thomas Wolsey is especially convincing), and sums up the most recent research on the separation from Rome. Baumann's analysis of the king's marriages is pleasingly objective. This volume, with its chronology and an extensive bibliography featuring mainly the most recent research, is

an all-round success and provides a good introduction to the life and times of Henry VIII.

Bärbel Brodt

[37] UWE BAUMANN (ed.), *Henry VIII in History, Historiography and Literature* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1990), 327 pp.

In this volume Baumann brings together twelve essays on the life and times of Henry VIII by literary scholars as well as historians. The editor also provides an extensive bibliography, a useful chronology, and contributes two essays himself, namely “‘The Virtuous Prince’ – William Thomas and Ulpian Fulwell on Henry VIII’, and ‘Fact in Fiction: Henry VIII in Modern Historical Fiction’. Historians will find the article by Jörg Engelbrecht, ‘Anglo-German Relations in the Reign of Henry VIII’, interesting. In it, he reassesses the monarch’s continental policies, which have generally been described as a failure. Mention should also be made of the contributions by Beate Lüsse, Rainer Holtei, Hans-Peter Heinrich, Wolfgang G. Müller, and Theo Stemmler, which deal with literary history and the history of mentalities. Beate Lüsse looks at coronation pamphlets by John Skelton, Stephen Hawes, and Thomas More, which she sums up under the catch phrase *laus regis*. She convincingly refutes older views which tended to see them, rather simplistically, just as eulogies. The article by Barbara Bongartz on the image of the monarch in films is refreshingly different. This volume is not intended simply for a specialist academic readership – it deserves a more general audience.

Bärbel Brodt

[38] SABINE APPEL, *Elisabeth I. von England. Die Biographie* (Munich: Bechtle, 1994), 317 pp.

Any historian will have difficulty taking this book seriously, although it is optimistically announced by the publishers as a promising debut. The author’s claim to be presenting a historically substantiated and researched biography contrasts too sharply with the reality of ignorance, a turgid style (the first sentence in the book is: ‘Elizabeth was a child of love’), and serious gaps in an already thin bibliography. Moreover, the author dispenses with substantive, or even just supporting foot-

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notes, revealing a lack of willingness to engage with the scholarly literature on the subject. This is holiday reading – if that.

Bärbel Brodt

[39] HEIDE N. ROHLOFF (ed.), *Großbritannien und Hannover. Die Zeit der Personalunion 1714-1837* (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer Verlag, 1989), 686 pp.

This collection of essays is the result of a research project at the English department of the University of Hanover. It contains twenty-six contributions by graduates and students working on political, dynastic, and cultural relations between Hanover and Britain. Since no comprehensive works have been published on the personal union recently (except the brief account by Philip Koenigs, 1993), for those interested in the topic, this volume offers a wealth of bibliographical and factual information, even though the individual contributions do not necessarily offer anything new academically. In the fields of society, economy, political ideology, church, art, fashion, music and science in particular, there is much that is useful. The volume demonstrates, however, that in these spheres relations between Hanover and Britain were often one-sided, and are far from easy to explain. Those who effected the transfer between the two cultures, their motives, the selection of information and objects, and indeed their adaptation and usage in the new context each constituted a different and complex network of transfer. A close reading of the relevant essays in the volume reveals that colloquial talk about what one 'country' or 'dynasty' had 'given' to the other proves to be distorted by the perspective of the nation-state.

Johannes Paulmann

[40] UTA RICHTER-UHLIG, *Hof und Politik unter den Bedingungen der Personalunion zwischen Hannover und England. Die Aufenthalte Georgs II. in Hannover zwischen 1729 und 1741* (Hanover: Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1992), 195 pp.

This volume looks at the role of George II in terms of his dual responsibilities in Hanover and England. The author concentrates on King George's continental travels and on power and decision-making structures in both spheres. There are few surviving sources for this, especially as regards the monarch's own comments. Nevertheless, Rich-

ter-Uhlig attempts a detailed reconstruction of these structures and offers interesting insights. She finds, for instance, that George II was the decisive factor in the field of foreign policy in both Hanover and Britain. This is more surprising in the case of Britain where Robert Walpole held a powerful position. The author identifies two counter-currents in English constitutional developments: on the one hand, the growth of an independent ministry was facilitated by the monarch's absence, on the other a strong sense of personal dependence on him led to intrigues and failures in the decision-making process. Throughout the book the author also illustrates the mutual dependence of Hanoverian and British power politics in the eighteenth century.

Ulrike Jordan

[41] CHRISTIANE KUNST, *Römische Tradition und englische Politik. Studien zur Geschichte der Britannienrezeption zwischen William Camden und John Speed* (Hildesheim etc.: Georg Olms, 1994), 231 pp.

So far as one can gather from her somewhat confusing introduction, the author is pursuing two goals with this book. On the one hand, she wishes to remind us that in Elizabethan and early Stuart England, alongside the insular 'common law mind' of the legal profession, there existed a rival, more scholarly tradition of viewing the nation's history. The principal representative of this tradition was William Camden, author of *Britannia* (first edition 1586), a scholarly topography of Britain under Roman rule. On the other hand, the author would also like her work to be regarded as a contribution to the history of classical studies in general.

The first part of the book is devoted to a meticulous examination of the internal structure of Camden's *Britannia* and of circumstances surrounding its publication. The author makes clear that in its methodological innovations, for example, the way in which it takes account of archaeological findings, Camden's *Britannia* goes far beyond the somewhat dilettantish passion for collecting that typified the work of most contemporary antiquaries. Camden's historical geography inaugurated a tradition of research that goes as far as the *Victoria County History*. In her second section, the author argues that Camden's promising beginnings in terms of a processing of sources that came close to our modern approach to scholarship were stifled from the early seventeenth century onwards by an increasing politicization of the nation's past.

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Kunst blames this mainly on the view put about by lawyers such as Coke and historians such as Selden that the English common law had preserved age-old customs and legal conditions which had existed long before the Roman Conquest. There was a desire to stress the uniqueness of English institutions which was politically motivated and this, she claims, led to a methodological step backwards and to a 'devaluation of Camden's interpretation of Roman Britain'.

For a modern student of Antiquity, such a point of view may be understandable, but for a historian of ideas it is an inadequate approach. It seems a questionable and scarcely profitable undertaking to use the criteria of modern historical research to divide early seventeenth-century antiquaries and jurists into 'good' and 'less good' historians. This is no way to clarify the function and importance of the Roman tradition in English politics before the Civil War. In that respect, the expectations raised by the title of this book are not fulfilled.

Willibald Steinmetz

[42] GÜNTER BERGHAUS, *Die Aufnahme der englischen Revolution in Deutschland 1640-1669*, vol. 1: *Studien zur politischen Literatur und Publizistik im 17. Jahrhundert mit einer Bibliographie der Flugschriften* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 464 pp.

This book offers scholars interested in early modern Anglo-German relations and the transmission of ideas between the two countries insights into a phenomenon that has so far been neglected: the reception of the English civil wars in seventeenth-century Germany. At the same time it throws light on new aspects of the history of the book. In a painstaking project, the author has compiled a chronological list of 609 publications on the English Revolution of 1640-1669, which were written in German by German authors, or which appeared in German-speaking countries. The majority of publications were *Flugschriften*, consisting of several loose sheets, often illustrated, and written in either verse or prose. They dealt with political and historical subjects, raised legal and theological problems and concentrated especially on the various sects and religious disputes in England. Some publishers collected and bound a number of such tracts, which then re-entered the market as 'books'. The most popular publications, sold very cheaply, were *Flugblätter*, which consisted of two sheets, usually broadcasting sensational news in verse, prose, and illustrations, and *Einblattdrucke*,

which contained proclamations, booksellers' notices, calendars or ballads, and moral teachings. Of great interest is the often neglected *Mundpublizistik* which Berghaus includes in his list. These are written versions of communications such as drama, songs, rhymes, and academic disputations. Due to the sheer quantity of material, newspapers, Meßrelationen, diaries, chronicles, annals, and *Zeitgeschichten* could not be included. However, the author provides a well-founded survey of these and briefly lists the topics they referred to. For each item included in the list Berghaus provides extensive bibliographical information. Each entry is followed by a brief commentary summing up its contents and providing information on the non-German original of the item.

The hitherto inaccessible list of German publications on the English Revolution is complemented by an introduction to forms of communication in seventeenth-century Germany. In the early seventeenth century most German territories were covered by various networks of fast and reliable postal services which carried letters as well as the growing number of newsletters and periodical newspapers – a fact which revises Habermas's characterization of the period as one in which people showed little interest in public affairs and factual news. Often newspaper retailers also dealt in *Flugblätter*, and the two were sent out together through the post. Pedlars and hawkers also distributed them. Printing their news-sheets in a neighbouring territory and sending them, rather than selling them over the counter, helped publishers and authors to avoid censorship. This was of great concern to the authorities, especially in view of the news disseminated about the English Revolution.

But what impact did the Revolution have on Germany? Berghaus offers a first tentative answer on the basis of two examples (Cleves and Kalenberg). Although it is a well-established fact that the development of a parliamentary and democratic tradition in Germany lagged a century behind that in England, there are signs that news of the constitutional disputes in England encouraged the Estates in some territories to fight for more rights and freedoms, and influenced the constitutional debates in Germany. Further research is necessary. This is an altogether rewarding study which not only presents new material, but also sheds new light on various political and cultural aspects of seventeenth-century Germany and the influence of the English Revolution.

Dagmar Freist

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[43] HERBERT GRABES, *Das englische Pamphlet*, vol. 1: *Politische und religiöse Polemik am Beginn der Neuzeit (1521-1640)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1990), 220 pp.

As a literary critic, Grabes attempts to assess the literary and historical value of the English pamphlet from around 1521 to 1640. According to him, German literary critics have neglected this genre until recently, claiming that it could not be classified as 'literature', that it lacked stylistic quality, and that it was not important enough for analysis as an intellectual history text. He rightly argues, however, that the production of English pamphlets from the sixteenth century onwards played a vital role in the formation of opinions and consciousness in the early modern period. In this volume Grabes sets out to present a historical survey of how pamphlets reflected historical events and controversies, and attempts to trace the production of pamphlets in the context of the period. There are many interesting and detailed references to everyday politics, as well as to English foreign policy and events abroad. Grabes refers to the licensing system of each of the periods covered and maps out the rise of what might be called 'government propaganda' under James I.

The book is organized chronologically, concentrating on the reigns of successive English kings and queens from Henry III to Charles I. 'Pamphlets' are defined as 'polemical prose', comprising not more than fifty pages, and dealing with topical political and religious issues. Grabes concentrates on prose pamphlets. He excludes news-sheets and the highly influential politico-religious and social satires that were mainly written in verse and often accompanied by woodcuts and engravings. He thus leaves out that part of the genre most influential for the formation of an early modern 'public' consciousness, since, by couching political and religious abstracts in the familiar images of everyday life, they also appealed to the uneducated. In the light of growing research on publication figures, prices, readership, and distribution networks, which places the analysis of pamphlets in a wider social and cultural context, Grabes's work, with its exclusive emphasis on content, misses some of the historical significance of his subject and, in fact, ignores the growing research on these questions. This is nevertheless a useful and informative survey. An author and title index at the end listing all the pamphlets used are helpful points of reference.

Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

In a second volume, Grabes analyses the 'rhetorics' of pamphlets and offers a typology of the genre.

Dagmar Freist

[44] KASPAR VON GREYERZ, *England im Jahrhundert der Revolutionen 1603-1714* (Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer, 1994), 287 pp.

Seventeenth-century England has become known as the 'century of revolutions', and it has inspired a large number of studies and controversies, dating back to the seventeenth century itself. Titles such as *Rebellion or Revolution?*, *Was there an English Revolution in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century?*, *A High Road to Civil War?*, or *Revisionism revisited* point to the controversial nature of the debate among scholars. In fact, the 'revolutions' seem to have preoccupied historians of succeeding generations, overshadowing the fact that this was also an epoch of great thinkers and writers, such as Thomas Hobbes, John Donne, and John Milton, not to mention the first women novelists like Aphra Behn. Greyerz's book is an excellent and well-written introduction to the complex history of this period. He sums up and comments on the main currents of recent scholarship, and recounts the processes and events that led to revolution and civil war, as well as providing a provocative insight into the various social, cultural, religious, and scientific developments in seventeenth-century England. In just under 300 pages, Greyerz succeeds in interrelating the various phenomena he is describing. He shows, for instance, how demographic data could influence social and economic conditions or gender relations, and how ideological components, structural changes and political factors all played their part in the outbreak of revolutions. The choice of title, and the fact that the survey covers the period from 1603 to 1714, indicates that this is not a narrow analysis of the outbreak and development of the English revolutions with ready explanations, but a comprehensive introduction to a fascinating century. This book will be a welcome reader for students as well as advanced scholars.

Dagmar Freist

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[45] RONALD G. ASCH, *Der Hof Karls I. von England. Politik, Provinz and Patronage 1625-1640* (Cologne etc.: Böhlau, 1993), 450 pp.

This study of the court of Charles I takes us straight to the heart of the ongoing debate about the causes of the English Revolution. Asch follows recent 'revisionist' research in that he does not set out simply to look for factors making the Civil War appear inevitable. Instead, he investigates the mechanisms that despite multiple signs of crisis enabled the early Stuart regime to operate. The fact that the king successfully dispensed with parliament for eleven years, from 1629 to 1640, is reason enough to call into question (so far as the period before 1640 is concerned) the idea of a battle of principle over the foundations of government waged consciously between Crown and parliament. The court assumed particular importance in the period of Charles I's personal rule. Asch shows that the court functioned tolerably well as a 'point of contact' and means of unifying the English political élite until the war against the Scots in 1638-9. He asserts that there can be no question of the court having isolated itself, as some researchers have claimed. The financial resources of the Stuart kings were never quite sufficient to provide all interested parties with court appointments, pensions, or lucrative privileges, but on the other hand, ways and means were always available to ensure that the protests of those factions that lost out did not become obtrusive. In fact, Charles I proved to be thoroughly resourceful when it came to pacifying important interest groups with the grant of monopolies, providing aristocratic patronage brokers with opportunities for exercising influence and making money, and at the same time bolstering his own finances. Asch's case studies on monopolies and more generally on the court's openness to 'projects' for increasing the king's income make good reading and are based on hitherto little-used source material.

An original contribution to research is also made by the other main section of the book, which is devoted to relations between the court and the élites in the English provinces and in the monarchy's peripheral possessions, Scotland and Ireland. Here the limits of the unifying power of the court of Charles I did become clear. Whereas at the beginning of James I's reign Scots had been represented at court in considerable numbers, in later years they were driven from the king's immediate circle by English rivals. And the integration of the denominationally divided Irish upper class failed, partly as a result of Governor

Wentworth's self-willed policy, and partly because Charles I had to close his court to Catholics in order to avoid suspicion in England that he was himself a crypto-Catholic. Thus it was the 'crisis of the three kingdoms' that, for Asch, constituted the crucial problem that court government was unable to overcome, forcing the king to recall Parliament in the absence of any other consensus-forming institutions.

Willibald Steinmetz

[46] FRANK HUGELMANN, *Die Anfänge des englischen Liberalismus. John Locke und der first Earl of Shaftesbury* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1992), 426 pp.

This study concentrates on the historical background of Locke's political writings, especially the *Two Treatises of Government*. Closely entwined with this is an analysis of the political goals and aims of Locke's patron, the first Earl of Shaftesbury. The author portrays Locke's close association with Shaftesbury, and claims that Locke's *Two Treatises* was Shaftesbury's political manifesto. Hugelmann describes the way in which Shaftesbury filled his positions as minister under Charles II and leader of the opposition. In fact, the main thrust of the study is an analysis of the positions which Shaftesbury took within the Whig spectrum from 1678 to the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. In this context, Hugelmann denies that there was any abstract philosophical motivation behind Locke's political writings, but he grants that Locke's *Letters concerning Toleration* after 1686, which paved the way for the separation of state and church, showed a measure of independence. It would be fruitful to put this view of Locke as Shaftesbury's 'assistant pen' into the context of Locke's reception in Europe and America in the eighteenth century. This, however, is a perspective which, like several other possible viewpoints, the author does not pursue.

Ulrike Jordan

[47] MONIKA WIENFORT, *Monarchie in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Deutschland und England 1640 bis 1848*, Bürgertum. Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 275 pp.

In a methodologically well-grounded comparative study of England, Prussia, and Bavaria, the author sets out to analyse the monarchy

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diachronically (1640-1848), as perceived by its subjects. Against the backdrop of the political history of the period, Wienfort concentrates on the 'semantics of monarchy'. The study is based on news-sheets, tracts, pamphlets, and broadsides, in short, mass literature disseminating political satires, sermons, parliamentary debates, and panegyrics appealing to the emerging middle class or *Bürgertum*. Chapters one to three and six cover the perception of the monarchy in England between 1640 and 1848. In particular during the crisis-ridden period up to 1714, the monarchy as an institution and the monarch as a person were constantly challenged on political, religious and constitutional grounds, inviting continuous re-assessment of their function and meaning. Wienfort shows how the perception of the monarchy changed from that of a powerful ruler legitimized by divine and hereditary rights to that of a sovereign whose regal powers were bound by law and expectations, and whose legitimacy depended on his deeds, his virtues, his character, his talent – and on the approval of his people. The monarchy was gradually professionalized. At the same time it was de-politicized and turned into a symbol of integration and harmony. Chapter four traces the discourse on the monarchy in Prussia and Bavaria up to 1750, while chapter five focuses on the emergence of 'modern politics' in these two states in the second half of the eighteenth century, with special reference to the Enlightenment and Frederick II.

In contrast to England, in Germany the discourse on the monarchy was confined to the Estates and attracted little public attention. Consequently, Wienfort has fewer sources to choose from and concentrates on *Leichenpredigten* (funeral sermons), *Huldigungspredigten* (eulogies), *Fürstenspiegel*, political writings, and a few poems chosen at random. Medieval ruler topoi were only gradually modified, and especially in Prussia the picture of a gentle father-figure was complemented by that of a brave and courageous monarch. It was only under the influence of the Enlightenment that a political discourse on the monarchy developed which gradually attracted publicity. The politicization of the people into different factions, however, did not imply immediate de-politicization of the monarchy or limitation of its competence. Instead, the monarch was transformed into a *Bürgerkönig*, who was expected to defend the people's rights against the privileges of the nobility and the clergy, and to agree to a more liberal constitution. Thus a mentality and discourse developed, which, as Wienfort puts it in the concluding

chapter, prevented the overthrow of the monarchy in the 1848 revolution, in contrast to events in England in 1649 and 1688-89.

The main achievement of this book lies in its method. Wienfort's 'topoi analysis' allows her to trace continuities and discontinuities in the 'semantics of monarchy' that cut across party politics, religious outlooks and, in fact, national boundaries. For England she shows that with the emergence of a sophisticated and differentiated political system the topoi defining and legitimizing the monarchy became independent of ideologies, a development which occurred in Germany only a century later. However, despite this book's undeniable achievements, a few problems need to be addressed. There is, for instance, little mention of the absolutist tendencies of George III, or the impact of the American and French Revolutions on the English monarchy. In the case of Germany, the author leaves out the constitutional debates of the Paulskirche in Frankfurt. Furthermore, the definition of the communicative system as 'autonomous' ignores the whole question of how the 'semantics of monarchy' was perceived by the people – unless the contents of pamphlets and the beliefs of the people are held to be identical – and how discourse and practice interacted. There is little attempt to correlate the various genres discussed with their possible readership, or to analyse distribution ratios, and the arguments put forward. This leads to the next problem. The *Bürgertum* as a defined social group or class plays no part in the analysis. It is simply assumed to be the 'readership' of 'mass literature', a presupposition which ignores the influential role of the lower social classes in voicing political protest and their participation in public debate since the mid-seventeenth century. None the less, her study is a vital and welcome contribution to our understanding of monarchy, which will surely inspire further research. This book should find a wide readership among English as well as German scholars.

Dagmar Freist

[48] WOLFGANG RIEDEL, *'Die unsichtbare Hand'. Ökonomie, Sittlichkeit und Kultur der englischen Mittelklasse (1650 - 1850)* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1990), 267 pp.

This study examines the development of the English middle-class mentality, using a literary-historical approach. The author pursues two main themes. Firstly, he asks how an individualistic concept of the free citi-

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zen in Christian states developed from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, and he attempts to explain its rise to become the representative mentality of the middle classes. Secondly, he asks how this moral economy was implanted in society, and how the literature of the time mirrors these developments. The author analyses both aspects in depth, and reaches his conclusions partly on the basis of case studies of English social novels and English philosophers' writings. The areas of philosophy analysed include, for instance, Locke's ideas on individual property ownership, Hume's 'atomized society', Shaftesbury's moral philosophy, and Smith's concept of the citizen in the market economy, extending into the nineteenth century with an examination of Burke's and Bentham's image of the citizen. In the second part of the book, three novels – *Mary Barton*, *Sybil*, and *Hard Times* – are analysed. All in all, this approach produces an interesting, albeit not revolutionary general overview, especially useful for the German reader, though unfortunately it lacks a conclusion. Many interesting ideas are raised, often as a result of the still unusual comparative approach, yet there is no overall argument to be gleaned from this book.

Ulrike Jordan

[49] KASPAR VON GREYERZ, *Vorsehungsglaube und Kosmologie. Studien zu englischen Selbstzeugnissen des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 25 (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 222 pp.

From the late sixteenth century onwards men and women, mainly from the middle and upper classes, took up their pens for a variety of reasons and wrote about themselves. These diaries by lawyers, doctors, and theologians, parliamentary diaries, and autobiographies, often in the form of notes, were not intended for publication, but in many cases were published after the author's death. In the seventeenth century it is noticeable that women wrote more, and that more of their work was published.

According to the Swiss historian Kaspar von Greyerz, self-orientated works of this sort were written in England mainly as an expression of the search for personal salvation. This, he maintains, took the form of critical self-observation and self-disciplining expressed in so-called 'diaries of the soul' or spiritual autobiographies. Such works, written mainly for religious reasons in the late sixteenth and seven-

teenth centuries, are what Greyerz concentrates on in his book. His declared intention is to tap this source, so far neglected by early modern social historians, by approaching it from the point of view of religious history and the history of mentalities. In his refreshingly concise book, the author looks at seven main topics: the development of autobiographical writing in England, Germany and Switzerland, particularly in the eighteenth century; individual and collective aspects of belief in Divine Providence; belief in being among the Elect; astrology and magic; changes in the world-view in the late seventeenth century; and religious experience and scientific revolution. In his concluding remarks Greyerz looks at the early eighteenth-century English novel and the secularization of concepts of Providence.

The focal point of his study is not the question as to the 'factual authenticity of autobiographical works, but rather the religiously-motivated values and conceptions of the cosmological order behind them'. A recurring theme in all of them is the 'presence of God in one's own everyday life, or life-history'. Belief in Providence plays a crucial role in this. The author confronts the beliefs expressed in diaries with evidence from the intellectual history of the time, from the spheres of theology, belief in spirits and magic, dream interpretation, astrology, natural science, and literature. He displays a masterful knowledge of research on these topics. Central to his whole analysis is the dialectic between religious beliefs and the mechanistic world-view that was gradually developing. Greyerz perceives a change in personal testimonies at the end of the seventeenth century. In everyday life a personal God is superseded by the individual's own ethical responsibility and the laws of nature. Greyerz concludes by looking at the various patterns of belief from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. This study yields important findings that will influence further studies on the religious history of the seventeenth century.

Dagmar Freist

[50] CLEMENS PICHT, *Handel, Politik und Gesellschaft. Zur wirtschaftspolitischen Publizistik Englands im 18. Jahrhundert*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 33 (Göttingen and Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 302 pp.

Clemens Picht analyses the entire range of published texts on economic policy between 1715 and 1776. He places these texts within a wide po-

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litical, social, and philosophical context, and thereby establishes their importance as a 'third' area of public discourse in an age when English society was becoming increasingly commercialized. A special merit of this work is that it includes newspaper and pamphlet sources, which are analysed alongside the writings of well-known authors such as Mandeville, Berkeley, Smith, Hume, and Steuart. Picht analyses the leading issues of the day which range from public and private credit and commercial monopolies to agrarian and colonial policies. On this basis he draws wider conclusions about the nature of public debate in the eighteenth century. Picht's findings confirm the close relationship between political and economic crises. The contemporary debate moved from the concept of identity, with its roots in classical republicanism and the idea of the citizen's moral virtue, to an increasing conflict of interests and a marked inability to find compromise solutions. Lack of theoretical models led to a high level of dependence on the contemporary cultural/political context. Nowhere did this become as apparent as in the conflict over the North American colonies. On the whole, Picht's study is a rare achievement, a successful long-term analysis of this phenomenon from a previously almost unknown angle.

Ulrike Jordan

[51] PAUL DENZER, *Ideologie und literarische Strategie. Die politische Flugblattlyrik der englischen Bürgerkriegszeit 1639-1661* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1991), 276 pp.

Influential studies such as Bob Scribner's *For the Sake of the Simple Folk* (Reformation Germany) or Tessa Watt's brilliant *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (England between 1550 and 1640), have convincingly demonstrated the impact of politico-religious broadside lyrics and pamphlets on men and women of various social backgrounds in different historical settings. These were sold very cheaply, and disseminated news as well as ideas and opinions, in conjunction with news circulated by word of mouth or in manuscripts. Although it offers more description than social and cultural analysis, Denzer's survey of 'political broadside lyrics of the English civil wars' is a welcome contribution to a genre which has been neglected for the years 1639 to 1661. The book is based on famous collections of ballads in the British Museum, such as *Roxburghe* and *Euing*, the well-known ballad editions by Rollins, Wright, Wilkins, and Mackay, and the *Thomason Tracts*.

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In the first part of the analysis Denzer shows how political and religious events and controversies of the time, such as the two *Bishops Wars*, the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, the execution of Charles I, Cromwell's reign, and General Monck's role in the restoration of the monarchy are 'mirrored' and judged in ballads. Authors tended to side with one of the conflicting parties, thus, for example, bemoaning the public punishment of the three Puritans Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton in 1637, or rejoicing over the exclusion of the Bishops from Parliament. Denzer notes an increase in Royalist ballads after the King left London in January 1642, warning against 'King Pym' and his radical followers. When the outbreak of war was imminent, there were a few ballads pleading for peace, while others encouraged fighting 'for the defence of the Kingdome', siding with either King or Parliament. 'War-reports' were rarely published in the form of ballads, but more often as verse pamphlets and news-sheets, though ballads did disseminate moral judgements on the conduct of war and the beheading of Charles I. For the modern observer it is perhaps astonishing to find complex political and religious issues 'turned into' ballads, a genre which targeted especially the lower ranks of society, and often relied on performance and dissemination by word of mouth and from memory.

Denzer takes up only a few of these issues in the much shorter second part of his book, where he discusses the forms and conventions of traditional broadside lyrics and their use as political propaganda. He shows how political ballads were modelled on the conventions of drinking ballads or love ballads, with the singer seeking the attention of his audience at the beginning of the presentation, and giving a moral explanation of his story at the end. Refrains were invitations for the audience to join in, and there is evidence of ballad singers walking up and down the country. Denzer distinguishes six 'forms' of ballads used for the dissemination of news in the period under discussion: news ballads, execution ballads, dialogue ballads, litany, elegy, and petition ballads. This is a useful introduction to one of the most popular news media of mid-seventeenth century England.

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[52] MICHAEL GASSENMEIER, *Londondichtung als Politik. Texte und Kontexte der City Poetry von der Restauration bis zum Ende der Walpole-Ära*, Buchreihe der Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie, 28 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), 355 pp.

Michael Gassenmeier set out to place Swift's satires on London within their contemporary context. While it was always evident that these works could only be understood as responses to other texts, these had largely disappeared from memory. Such texts are, however, preserved in various collections, and the author of this monograph has discovered a number of poems praising or vituperating London. It appears that the few satires still known formed part of a body of 'city poetry', consisting of political tracts in verse reflecting the contest between the Crown and the City of London. While this controversy began during the Civil War, it reached its first climax after the Great Fire, when London could be portrayed alternatively as a city punished by God for its sins (and its non-conformist citizens), or as the victim of a papist conspiracy. During periods of relatively good relations between the City and Westminster, for instance in the 1670s, Tory authors would occasionally praise London along with their fellow hack writers of a different political persuasion, but essentially London remained the symbol of opposition and dissent until the Whig hold on municipal offices was broken by the King in the 1680s. Swift's satires and Pope's *Windsor Forest* are amongst the last examples of such 'city poetry'.

It is encouraging that a practically unknown genre can still be discovered in spite of the oft-lamented over-production of the 'English literature industry'. On the other hand, it is easy to guess why this subject has not been tackled so far. A reasonably-sized book on this topic, located somewhere between history and criticism, is bound to leave readers specializing in either subject with a vague sense of disappointment. While historians will appreciate the lack of literary technicalities, students of literature will miss an analysis, as opposed to a summary, of a selection of 'city poetry', all the more so as it is difficult to avoid the impression that it was probably deservedly forgotten. Historians, on the other hand, will miss more detailed information on the authors, publishers, and readers of these poems, the content of which will come as no great surprise. None the less, both will have discovered a field for further study.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[53] GERHARD SCHILFERT, *Die Englische Revolution 1640-1649* (Berlin: Dietz, 1989), 287 pp.

This book forms part of the East German Marxist historiographical tradition of the 1980s. The author understands and interprets the English Revolution as a landmark on the road towards a liberated and socialist society, analysing its history from a strict Marxist socio-economic perspective. In sharp contrast to the differentiated and still highly influential works of Marxist historians of the English Revolution such as Christopher Hill, this study with its narrow analytical terminology – for example, ‘capitalist production’, ‘capitalist exploitation’, ‘bourgeoisie’, and ‘class struggle’ – will be of interest mainly to those studying the history of historiography in the former GDR.

Dagmar Freist

[54] HERMANN EICHLER, *Verfassungswandel in England. Ein Beitrag zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Schriften zur Verfassungsgeschichte, 39 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1988), 91 pp.

This slim but useful volume claims to contribute more to the constitutional history of Europe as a whole than to purely English constitutional history. After all, the first written English constitution in the period under investigation, which came into force during the Republic, was abrogated during the Restoration. Eichler argues that the constitutional idea only re-emerged in the French Revolutionary constitutions and those modelled on them in other countries. He claims that the constitutional initiative of the Commonwealth and Protectorate did not develop further until later, when it took a rather roundabout path. Pointing out that history has rarely repeated itself, the author warns against drawing comparisons between the French Revolution and the English Civil Wars. While emphasizing that history is a part of the constitution, he refers to the significance of Magna Carta for the constitutional discussion of the eighteenth century. Despite some undeniable imbalances in the assessment of constitutional tendencies, this volume is worth reading. Unfortunately the bibliography, which as a whole has a rather old-fashioned air, lacks a number of essential titles – such as, to name but one example, Hans Christoph Schröder’s 1986 study of the British revolutions in the seventeenth century.

Bärbel Brodt

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[55] ROLAND KLEINHENZ, *Königtum und parlamentarische Vertrauensfrage in England 1689-1841*, Schriften zur Europäischen Rechts- und Verfassungsfragen, 4 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1991), 202 pp.

Ministers who abused their power by breaking the law could be impeached by means of criminal proceedings as early as 1341 (the reign of Edward III). Three hundred years later, in the seventeenth century, one of the greatest constitutional and political achievements of the English Parliament was to acknowledge the *political* responsibility of office holders. The *issue of confidence* was born – an institution that was to influence the constitutional history of most European powers. As time went on the growth of ministerial responsibility to Parliament, rather than King or Queen, became evident in institutions such as ‘address to remove from council’, or ‘impeachment’ on political and moral grounds (for example, honesty, justice, utility), rather than on legal grounds.

Kleinhenz traces the hitherto neglected history of the *issue of confidence* from its beginnings in 1689 to 1841, and gives a detailed analysis of its changing political and constitutional significance, the regulations governing speech in parliamentary debates and motions, and the actual practice of conducting an *issue of confidence* in parliament. He convincingly demonstrates how a constitutional model originally based on the King’s confidence in his ministers changed to one in which the confidence of the House of Commons in the ministers appointed by the King was decisive. What looks like a constitutional paradox was rarely one in practice. According to Kleinhenz, ministers usually enjoyed the confidence of both King and Parliament. This is a useful, clearly structured book, which presents its highly specialized topic in a way that is comprehensible to both specialists and non-specialists.

Dagmar Freist

[56] ROBERT VON FRIEDEBURG, *Sündenzucht und sozialer Wandel. Earls Colne (England), Ipswich und Springfield (Neuengland) c. 1523-1690 im Vergleich* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993), 311 pp.

This dissertation, supervised by Wolfgang Mager at the University of Bielefeld, makes a substantial contribution to the religious and social history of the early modern period. The trans-Atlantic comparison it draws also makes it methodologically innovative. Taking *Sündenzucht*

as an example, that is, the prosecution of sins by religious and secular courts as distinct from the prosecution of crime in the narrow sense, Friedeburg investigates social structures and social tensions in three communities. Although their results may not necessarily be very representative, village studies have established themselves as standard in social history research. The two communities in Massachusetts, New England, and that in Essex, England, selected as examples here were linked not only by the origin of their inhabitants but also by the religious orientation of their local leaders. This study is divided into two main parts. The author investigates social change, social mobility, and social differentiation within the three communities, before turning to the significance of the Puritan reform of morals and the imminent change in forms of conflict. He makes it clear that during the late seventeenth century the rural population was increasingly committed to supra-local rather than to local solidarity. Puritanism and the Quakers were effective in transforming social change into a process of village socialization. Von Friedeburg correctly describes this process as 'confessionalization', a term which he deliberately separates from its context in German research. This work is convincing also because of its extensive appendix on the source material. In it von Friedeburg provides a more than comprehensive survey of the relevant sources, which will be useful to anyone working on early modern social history.

Bärbel Brodt

[57] MARTINA MITTAG, *Nationale Identitätsbestrebungen und antispanische Polemik im englischen Pamphlet, 1558-1630* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1993), 261 pp.

This dissertation, basically a work of literary criticism, looks at the crucial role of pamphlet literature within the constantly growing public discourse on the national and cultural re-shaping of Britain. Mittag investigates the significance and impact of pamphlets as a medium in the process of national self-definition, closely bound up with the desire to exclude everything that was 'un-English'. During the reigns of Elizabeth I and her successor James I, the role of antagonist naturally fell to Spain. The reader would have been grateful for greater reticence on the author's part, and not only in the explanations of things that are obvious to the historian. But the author recognizes, correctly, that neither spatial nor temporal limits can be placed on this patriotic rhetoric.

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She has done us all a great service in identifying the authors of a large number of pamphlets, and subjecting their writings to a historical analysis, at least to the best of her ability. However, the extent to which 'public opinion' really had a role in the politics of the time remains a matter of dispute, as does the issue of where to draw the borderline between contemporary patriotism and polemic.

Bärbel Brodt

[58] URSULA MÜHLE-MOLDON, *'Every Prediction is a Twin'. Säkulare Prophetien im England des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Münsteraner Monographien zur englischen Literatur, 11 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1993), 333 pp.

This welcome study closes a research gap which has long existed, for until recently little attention had been paid to seventeenth-century secular prophecy. The author refers to the tradition of prophecy which goes back to the Middle Ages and developed out of resistance to political oppression. She demonstrates convincingly that at the times of their greatest frequency, that is, at times of political crisis, prophecies were used by the opposition as highly political propaganda literature. They could influence public opinion, and gained additional legitimation by claiming visionary qualities. The author could hardly have found a more suitable period for investigation. Her knowledge of the sources is solid, and she substantiates her arguments with cleverly selected extracts on dates of political and theological significance. She also refers to the decline of secular prophecy at the end of the century, which went along with the decline of astrology and an increasing historical awareness. This loss of prestige was expressed mainly in an increase in purely satirical prophecies and attacks on individuals using the cryptic techniques on which prophecy is based. Thus the genre was not only the object of satire, but also became one of its means. This English studies dissertation is an outstanding example of inter-disciplinary research.

Bärbel Brodt

[59] CLAUDIA SCHNURMANN, *Kommerz und Klüngel. Der Englandhandel Kölner Kaufleute im 16. Jahrhundert*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 27 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 312 pp.

This masterly study examines the development and organization of Cologne's trade with Britain in the sixteenth century, concentrating on a few selected trading goods and merchants as examples. The author focuses on the period 1552 to 1580. She rightly sees her work as a case study, and not as a general contribution to the subject of the decline of the Hanse in the sixteenth century, although the Hanseatic connections are never completely excluded. She stresses the variety of goods, such as wine, books, steel, and weapons, which the Cologne merchants exported to England, mainly via the Netherlands and Antwerp. English exports, by contrast, were limited almost exclusively to woollen cloth. Schnurmann makes it clear that the Cologne merchants subordinated their entire trading activities to buying woollen cloth, which brought them considerable profit. She argues convincingly that the various branches of trade developed differently. The book trade, mainly carried by the firm Birckmann/Mylius, for example, was completely destroyed in the 1570s as the result of energetic intervention by the English Crown and the Privy Council. Schnurmann also demonstrates that historians have generally overestimated the significance of Cologne's trade in Rhenish wine with England. She sees the main reason for the decline of Cologne's steel trade with England as human error and mismanagement, although she also rightly points to growing commercial and nationalistic interests in England. The author also sees a generational change in the 1580s as responsible for the incisive changes in Cologne's trade with England. This study is based on a profound knowledge of the sources, and the author's judgements are always balanced. It makes a substantial contribution to economic history in general, and to the history of Cologne's trade in particular. The trademarks reproduced in this volume are more than merely decorative.

Bärbel Brodt

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[60] KARL TILMAN WINKLER, *Handwerk und Markt. Druckerhandwerk, Vertriebswesen und Tagesschrifttum in London 1695-1750* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993), 770 pp.

This dissertation deals extensively with an important aspect of modern society: the printing and marketing of daily news-sheets (pamphlets, newspapers etc.) in London between 1695 and 1750. Once licensing and censorship had been lifted, allowing the first blossoming of modern journalism, public opinion came into its own, with politicians and newspaper proprietors engaged in a 'battle of words'. Unfortunately, the reader does not learn much, if anything, about the latter here. This subject has been reserved for another book. All too often scholarly books in Germany are intended to further an academic career (two books being the minimum requirement), rather than to inform the reader. Otherwise these two subjects, closely interwoven as they are, and as they are shown to be, would have been dealt with as a whole. The most interesting questions are raised in an introduction of ten pages, and in the last three pages, questions, for example, about the nature of the trade (pre-industrial or not) and the market, or the first impact of a free press on society. In between we have a chapter of no fewer than one hundred pages on the mechanics of printing, including the most minute details about the processes of compositing and pressing, working conditions, and payment. There are substantial chapters, too, on individual London printers, publishers, and distributors and their businesses. Important observations have to be handpicked from a mass of factual information. The reader has to plough through a lengthy chapter on distribution in the provinces in order to discover, almost by chance, that government-sponsored newspapers were distributed through the Post Office free of charge, or that the most influential ranks in the country were judged to be the gentry, the clergy, the navy, and the army. There is an abundance of evidence indicating the new needs of the market-place, but no overall assessment of the likely impact of incremental change on the economy as such. Nevertheless, this learned book provides a wealth of information for those who know how to interpret the evidence.

Lothar Kettenacker

[61] MARGRIT SCHULTE BEERBÜHL, *Vom Gesellenverein zur Gewerkschaft. Entwicklung, Struktur, und Politik der Londoner Gesellenorganisationen 1550-1825*, Göttinger Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, 16 (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz, 1991), 529 pp.

This dissertation, supervised by Wolfgang J. Mommsen at the University of Düsseldorf, analyses London apprentices' organizations from the early modern period to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Based on a profound knowledge of the sources, it demonstrates that even before the beginning of industrialization, organized craftsmen had already internalized the features essential to the development of modern economic man. By the eighteenth century, their behaviour was no longer dictated by the traditions of the moral economy, but shaped by the new ideal of rational and achievement-orientated professional work. According to Schulte Beerbühl, the process of internalization was accelerated by a greater fear of social decline into the role of a mere paid labourer on the one hand, and by the prospect of new economic and social rewards on the other. At the same time the final disintegration of the guild system in the eighteenth century forced apprentices' organizations which had been based on guilds to open their doors to a non-guild work-force. Of course, untrained labourers were excluded from unions for another hundred years. Further, the author points to the decline of exclusiveness based on professional status which began in the 1820s, and describes the emergence of a respectable Victorian working class as 'part of the policy of emancipation pursued by the unions' rather than as an innovation specific to the Victorian era. This respectable working class, however, was not in principle opposed to the hegemonial bourgeois culture. Rather, its collective character conferred on it a certain independence *vis-à-vis* the individual respectability of the middle classes.

Bärbel Brodt

[62] ANDREAS SELLING, *Deutsche Gelehrten-Reisen nach England 1660-1714*, Münsteraner Monographien zur englischen Literatur, 3 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1990), 380 pp.

Although presented as a dissertation in English studies, this study is written from a historical standpoint and throws light on a hitherto neglected but nevertheless extremely important aspect of Anglo-German

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relations. The way in which the author confines himself to a single area of academic history, namely travels by scholars, convincingly restricting his time-frame to the period from the Restoration to the Hanoverian accession and concentrating on German scholars, lays the foundations for a full and well-rounded account of the subject. Of a total of over two hundred scholars studied, only a handful are as well-known as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, for instance, who visited London between 1673 and 1676, or Henry Oldenburg, who officiated as Secretary of the Royal Society from 1662 until his death in 1677. A valuable appendix contains brief biographies of these polymaths, who between 1660 and 1714 travelled mainly to London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Selling's study, which rests on a large number of contemporary written sources, approaches the history of scholarship partly in terms of social history. He describes how England did not enter the awareness of German scholars until the second half of the seventeenth century (that is, later than France and Italy) but that subsequently, during the eighteenth century, it came to dominate the attention of such men as Georg Christoph Lichtenberg and Carl Philipp Moritz. The institutionalization of new science in London's Royal Society and the relative openness of English academic life in contrast to its German counterpart played as big a role here as did the famous libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. The author systematically examines his scholars' motives and objectives, while also looking at their biographical and geographical backgrounds. Many of his travelling scholars came from Jena, Altdorf, and Leipzig and included physicians, theologians, and jurists. Conversely, English scholars showed very little interest in contemporary Germany, so that there can be no question of any true exchange taking place during the period under discussion. Selling does not concern himself with the well-known academic figures of the time, but concentrates instead on people who operated on the fringes of scholarly activity. The great merit of this study is that it throws some light on them.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[63] MICHAEL WEINZIERL, *Freiheit, Eigentum und keine Gleichheit. Die Transformation der englischen politischen Kultur und die Anfänge des modernen Konservatismus 1791-1812* (Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993), 224 pp.

This slim *Habilitationsschrift* presented to the University of Vienna enriches the literature on English political culture in the age of the French Revolution by a case study of John Reeves's Loyalist Association, three local studies of important provincial towns, and an examination of the role of the Anglican church. Weinzierl's work is based on a broad range of printed sources and archive material, and he succeeds in offering some new insights into the way early English Conservatism saw itself. The advantage of his study is that he does not simply look at a few well-known figures such as Burke, but devotes most of his attention to the discourse and modes of action of a middle stratum of Justices of the Peace, country parsons, local politicians, and journalists. This enables him to illuminate the specific 'psycho-social climate' that gripped the propertied classes in those years, and which could be described as a siege mentality.

In his first chapter Weinzierl examines the ugly methods used by Reeves and his fellow combatants in order to control what they referred to as the 'lower orders' and stifle political opponents. While the founding of Reeves's Loyalist Association in London in 1792 is shown to have been a skilful, government-backed propaganda *coup*, the subsequent mobilization in the country was very real. The examples of intimidation, informing, manipulation of the law, political terrorization, deliberately inflamed xenophobia, and naked violence cited by Weinzierl shatter the somewhat complacent, played-down image of a thoroughly liberal English political culture so eagerly portrayed by contemporaries as well as by certain historians. On the other hand, Weinzierl does not fall into the error of exaggerating the impact of Loyalist agitation. The so-called 'Loyalist' actions and riots by the lower classes were invariably also the expression of ordinary people's own desire to see a paternalistic, mutualistic order restored. The boundary towards radicalism was a fluid one. Juries occupied by members of the lower middle class did not always prove 'reliable' in terms of the ideology of the gentleman Loyalists. Accordingly, the idea that in 1792-3 the populace gave spontaneous, universal expression to its loyalty to 'Church and King' is presumably something of a myth.

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The second chapter contains local studies on Norwich, Bristol, and Manchester. It shows how economic interests, denominational conflicts, and the particular structure of local government (or, in the case of Manchester, its non-existence) influenced the specific form assumed by political struggles in the three towns. In the third chapter, on the political role of the Church of England, Weinzierl directs his fire mainly against J. C. D. Clark's one-sided idea that until 1832 England was an *ancien régime* in which the patriarchal values of the aristocracy and the Anglican High Church held sway largely unchallenged. Weinzierl points out that the progressive alienation between clergy and people during the eighteenth century had already reached a point where it is possible to speak of a 'structural crisis' afflicting the Anglican Church in the 1780s and 1790s, a crisis that both within the High Church and among Latitudinarians was countered with a defence of the *status quo*. In the years following 1789, this already existing trend towards Conservatism grew in strength and reached hysterical heights among many members of the clergy.

Weinzierl makes no secret of his aversion to the more extreme forms of Conservative ideology and practice. As an expression of personal opinion this is perfectly understandable, but it is out of place in a historical work dealing with the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At several points in the text, Weinzierl asserts parallels to, or even continuities with, the Anglo-American neo-Conservatism of today. These would need to be argued in rather more precise terms to be convincing. However, these digressions do not detract from the historical contribution made by Weinzierl's book.

Willibald Steinmetz

[64] HANS-DIETER METZGER, *Thomas Hobbes und die Englische Revolution 1640-1660* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog, 1991), 323 pp.

For over twenty years the study of political ideas in context has been standard practice in the discipline known as 'history of ideas'. In the English-speaking world, it is above all Quentin Skinner who has impressed this way of tackling the subject on political scientists and philosophers. The writings and arguments of Thomas Hobbes were among the first subjects which Skinner used to demonstrate what was then a new approach. This makes it all the more surprising that, among the

many monographs on Hobbes, none has yet attempted to situate the author's work as a whole within the political and theological discourse of the English Revolution. This is what Metzger has now done, setting standards of accuracy that cast doubt on a number of findings that had seemed quite secure and make others appear in a fresh light.

In his first chapter Metzger shows that Hobbes's *Elements of Law* was a specific intervention in the proceedings of the Short Parliament. However, so radical was Hobbes's recasting of such key concepts as freedom, law, and property that it failed to influence the language of Parliamentarians and Royalists, steeped as this was in English common law. But as the Civil War began to assume the character of Hobbes's 'state of nature' and people increasingly longed for an end to the chaos, politicians and theorists, particularly on the Royalist side, drew closer to Hobbesian theory, though without ever adopting it completely. Within the King's camp, Hobbes's radical approach encountered opposition, which in the case of Edward Hyde escalated into a lifelong mutual enmity. Metzger shows that Hobbes's return from exile in 1651 was mainly due to animosities in the Royalist camp and therefore cannot be interpreted as an act of opportunism *vis-à-vis* England's new rulers.

Departing from Skinner, Metzger also refuses to see *Leviathan* as an overture on Hobbes's part towards the Republican *de facto* theorists. Instead he regards it primarily as offering the supporters of Charles II a theory that, in the still open situation that preceded the decisive Battle of Worcester, might save their consciences whatever the outcome: 'The openness of the *de facto* argument makes the book [that is, *Leviathan*] appear equally suitable for both a conquering Charles II and the hopelessly vanquished followers of the king' (p. 157). Metzger's careful interpretation of *Leviathan* also makes a methodological point. It demonstrates how important it is to pay strict attention to chronology and to take other than purely theoretical contexts into account in order to explain why a text was either accepted or rejected by contemporaries. By placing the works of Hobbes into the context not just of ideas but also of practical politics, Metzger successfully adds to the methods and findings of Cambridge-style 'history of ideas'. One might have wished, however, that he had addressed this methodological difference more directly in his book.

The two concluding chapters, which are devoted to Hobbes's clash with the university theologians in the 1650s, also come up with fresh

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findings. According to Metzger, Hobbes interpreted the situation of England in 1651 as a secular and religious dual revolution that seemed to him to present a unique opportunity to achieve a state that was rational in secular terms, while it also took part in the process of salvation. Altogether, Hobbes appears from Metzger's account to have been a much more isolated figure in seventeenth-century England than recent research in this field has led us to believe.

Willibald Steinmetz

[65] BENNO FREIHERR VON CANSTEIN, *Der Waldeckisch-Englische Subsidienvertrag von 1776: Zustandekommen, Ausgestaltung und Erfüllung*, Waldeckische Forschungen: Wissenschaftliche Reihe des Waldeckischen Geschichtsvereins, 4 (Arolsen: Selbstverlag des Waldeckischen Geschichtsvereins, 1989), 198 pp.

The 'sale' of German soldiers to Britain during the American War of Independence has had a bad press. This Ph.D. thesis, an extremely detailed legal analysis of the agreement between Waldeck and the British Government, seeks to show that, gauged by the norms of the day, these transactions were neither illegal nor unusual. Soldiers were not actually 'bought', but rented by the British, while remaining under the control – however tenuous in practice – of the Arolsen government, and operating under Waldeck law. The lease of Waldeck armies to Britain was only the end point of a more extensive trade, as the soldiers themselves were recruited in a number of German territories. The way in which the terms of the agreement were applied in North America is presented – perhaps too briefly – with regard to court martial proceedings, the payment of fees for the troops, promotion within the Waldeck regiment, and the status and repatriation of prisoners-of-war. It appears that the original agreement was adhered to reasonably closely.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[66] THOMAS SOKOLL, *Household and Family among the Poor: the Case of Two Essex Communities in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, Veröffentlichungen Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 18 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1993), 383 pp.

This revised and expanded version of a 1988 Cambridge Ph. D. thesis (supervised by Peter Laslett) seeks to provide responses to two ques-

tions: to what extent did poor households deviate from the European pattern of the nuclear family, and did the pre-1834 poor relief system truly provide a 'welfare state in miniature'. On a common-sense level, the two possible responses to the first question seem equally plausible. Poor households could be exceptionally small, as households are particularly vulnerable to poverty when they do not have enough breadwinners. On the other hand, poor households could be larger than average, since the poverty-stricken might be induced to pool their resources. Sokoll examines the problem empirically by combining census-type material and lists of recipients of poor relief for two Essex communities, Ardleigh and Braintree, one an agricultural, the other an 'industrial' village. From the careful and intelligent analysis of the available data, which leaves no possibility unexplored and no alternative explanation unconsidered, it appears that census documents alone are inadequate for the study of poverty, as people receiving poor support are likely to be classified according to their former occupation. If the two villages examined are representative, the theory that there is a positive correlation between household size and wealth will have to be abandoned. While the largest households were, in fact, the wealthiest, poor households turned out to be either fairly large or of average size, one-person pauper households being practically non-existent. In part, this may have been a result of the operation of the old poor law, which was fairly generous, considering the proportion of residents receiving support, but may have encouraged elderly single people to move together. Thus the question of whether or not these results hold good for other legal contexts will have to be examined in further case studies. However, Sokoll has definitely demonstrated that the assumptions held at present may very well be the result of misleading data.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[67] JOHN NYREN BUCHANAN, *Marginal Scotland*, 2 vols, American University Studies, 64, 65 (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1989), 709 pp.

This work admirably fills a gap in the research which has long been felt. An outstanding survey of early modern Scotland, it justifiably puts the greatest emphasis on the period from 1560 to 1655. What makes it especially attractive is its balanced account of complex political and religious developments, and the constant comparisons which are drawn with England and the Continent, especially France. Buchanan gives us

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a description which is fully convincing in terms of style as well as content, of a kingdom divided by numerous clans and their changing loyalties. Although it remained nominally independent, in reality Scotland was exposed to strong English influences. Buchanan's account of events during the period 1647 to 1655 is especially convincing, as is his assessment of Scotland's influence on the policies of Oliver Cromwell.

Bärbel Brodt

[68] ECKHARDT RÜDEBUSCH, *Irland im Zeitalter der Revolution. Politik und Publizistik der United Irishmen 1791-98*, Bremer Beiträge zur Literatur- und Ideologiegeschichte, 7 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1989), 308 pp.

This dissertation on the society of the United Irishmen from its foundation in 1791 to its dissolution in the wake of the Irish rebellion of 1798 sees itself as a contribution to political and literary history. The result is very varied in terms of quality. The account of the historical and social background to the emergence of the society contains numerous factual errors and is based on an old-fashioned Marxist interpretative model; however, the later chapters on the political journalism and literary practice of the United Irishmen include many stimulating ideas. The author places this dramatic period of Irish history into the framework of the revolutionary confrontations taking place on the Continent of Europe. Using a wealth of source material, he shows how widely the ideology of the Irish radicals was adopted by the population and what an important part it played in defining the image of Ireland's history and future in the British context. This is discussed in detail using newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, and the general image projected by the United Irishmen in the press. It is also examined looking at the literature they produced – essays, satire, speeches, stories, biography, and poetry. The historical sections of the book do no more than compile a few findings from the secondary literature, abridging to the point of inaccuracy the development of the Irish struggle for independence from Molyneux's 1698 *The Case of Ireland* to Grattan's parliament of 1782. But the chapters on literary history clearly show, through analysis of numerous texts, the relevance that literature and journalism harnessed to political ends had for the revolutionary movement of the United Irishmen. Definitions lack clarity and terms are not used precisely. 'Proletariat', 'plebeian', and 'public', and a wide range

of Marxist terms are woven into the text indiscriminately. J. Swift is described as a 'humanist' and the author claims that the constitutional patriotism of the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy was 'denominational sectarianism'. As a result, the book plunges too deeply into ideologically one-sided arguments, which rather overshadows the interpretations derived from textual criticism.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[69] ROBERT ZIMMER, *Edmund Burkes Rhetorik in seinen irischen Schriften*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Anglistik, 13 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1990), 285 pp.

The literature on the life and work of Edmund Burke (1729-97) is now so vast that one might perhaps have assumed that any fresh historical study would be restricted to evaluating what has already been said about him, rather than drawing upon original sources. However, the present work, a dissertation in the history of literature presented to the university of Düsseldorf, focuses on an aspect of Burke's writings that previous research has neglected, namely his concentration on the Irish problem in the eighteenth century. Zimmer presents his work as the first attempt to understand Burke's Irish writings against the background of their respective rhetorical situations. It seeks to contribute to determining the literary and historical status of the texts themselves, while also setting them in the context of an Anglo-Irish tradition that began with Molyneux in the late seventeenth century and during the course of the eighteenth century produced such eminent representatives as Swift and Berkeley. Zimmer's analysis of Burke's Irish writings produces a complex picture of their author. He makes the initial assumption that Burke was not primarily the forerunner and intellectual fount of the Conservatism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but that, both ideologically and in terms of the history of literature, his writings owed their greatest debt to England's early Enlightenment and to neo-classicism. In his writings about Ireland, Burke argued from the standpoint of his position as a politician and as a Member of Parliament. His goal was to provide a clearly defined statement of political intent. Zimmer examines this situation with the aid of representative literary texts from Burke's pen, starting with his early work (up to 1765), in which Burke, still in thrall to the intellectual tradition of John Locke, expressed himself most fully on the Irish problem. In

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his middle period (1765-82), Burke appeared as an active politician and Rockingham Whig predominantly through his speeches and pamphlets. Burke's political isolation in his final period (1782-97) is brought out clearly against the background of the French Revolution; it was here, too, that his most radical statements about the situation in Ireland were made. The author offers a sensitive textual analysis of those publications written under the influence of the French Revolution, and shows how powerfully Burke argued both as an Anglo-Irish and as an English Whig. Because Burke's historical roots lay in English classicism, he brought to the Irish problem an 'all-British' perspective.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[70] ANDREAS OEHLKE, *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. and 19. Jahrhunderts*, Münsteraner Monographien zur englischen Literatur, 10 (Frankfurt/M., etc.: Lang, 1992), 417 pp.

The beginning of German-Irish relations can be traced back to the Irish-Scottish mission to Germany. One of the main centres of the Scottish church in Germany, the monastery of St Jacob in Regensburg, was still nurturing lively contacts with Ireland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At the beginning of the early modern period, however, Germans had only vague notions of population and geography. Sebastian Franck, who never visited Ireland himself, wrote in his *Weltspiegel* (1534) that the Irish were 'zu Kriegen wolgeschickte Leut' (folk well-versed in war). Subsequently, the Irish warrior dominated German perceptions of the country. Examples are the work of Sebastian Munster, and Albrecht Dürer's first pictorial representation of Irish people in German art. The earliest German travel account dates from 1634, but in it the 'splendid trading city' of Dublin was merely an incidental stop on a journey to Britain. The first proper account in German of a trip to Ireland was written by Karl Gottlieb Küttner (*Briefe über Irland*, 1785). It describes the worsening political situation in the country, exemplified by the increasing radicalization of the two sides in politics and by popular attacks on English trading settlements and merchants. From Küttner onwards, the German travel literature dealing with Ireland was unanimous in pointing out that the poverty of the Irish people was unparalleled in Europe. German eye-witnesses not infrequently contrasted Irish indigence starkly with the lavish life-style and great houses of the English landowners: 'Are not ... three million people in

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rags, half naked and dying of starvation ... a resounding accusation against the English government, and one that beats at the gates of Heaven?' wrote Karl von Hailbronner in 1837, even before the Great Famine of 1845 (p. 94). One of the few Germans actually to witness that famine was Arnold Cölln, who passed through Ireland in 1847 in order to emigrate to America from Cork: 'Women with seven or eight children muttered and moaned for our benefit, possibly summoning their last reserves of strength, in an attempt by word and gesture to move us to pity; it was the darkest hour of my life. Having to look on all that poverty with no possibility of relieving it, I cast anxiously about me in order to distribute what little cash I had to those most in need, but death from starvation was clearly etched on every brow, and I received few looks of gratitude in return for my paltry silver pennies' (p. 99).

Oehlke's worthwhile study examines in detail the image of the Irish people and the Irish 'national character' portrayed in German travel books. There is plenty of material here on the emergence of national stereotypes, which as Oehlke stresses survive as preconceptions (hospitality, good-naturedness, alcoholism) influencing Germans' image of Ireland to this day. An appendix lists the travel descriptions in chronological order. The volume is a veritable treasure-trove for every student of Irish history.

Hermann J. Hiery

Nineteenth Century

[71] BERND-JÜRGEN WENDT, *Beiträge zur englischen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Frank Müller, Frank Otto, and Thilo Schulz, *Historische Forschungen*, 36 (Rheinfelden: Schäuble, n.d. [1994]), 269 pp.

This volume reproduces important essays on British history by Bernd-Jürgen Wendt which have been published in various places since the 1970s. Part I contains his essays on industrial relations: on War Socialism in the First World War, on strike movements in the immediate post-

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war period, on Whitleyism and Industrial Democracy. Wendt's approach to British phenomena is always well founded, theoretically and methodologically. He usually includes the comparative aspect, for example in his essay of 1993 on the different traditions of 'Sozialstaat' and 'welfare state'. Part Two is devoted to Wendt's pioneering work on British foreign policy and foreign economic policy. Apart from the piece on the Cobden Treaty of 1860, the essays all deal with the inter-war period. By examining the strategy of economic appeasement, Wendt opened up what was then a new dimension in research on British foreign policy *vis-à-vis* the Third Reich. He makes it clear how closely domestic, foreign, economic, and social factors were linked with one another. The opportunity to follow his careful analysis of such connections in one volume certainly makes this book worth reading.

Johannes Paulmann

[72] ADOLF M. BIRKE and GÜNTHER HEYDEMANN (eds), *Die Herausforderung des europäischen Staatensystems. Nationale Ideologie und staatliches Interesse zwischen Restauration und Imperialismus*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 23 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 281 pp.

This collection is the result of a GHIL conference entitled 'The National Challenge. The European Order and the British and German Debate'. The book is arranged chronologically. The first four essays deal with national and liberal movements. Sidney Pollard's article is worth reading. He analyses the relationship between ideology and self-interest, by no means a simple one, using economic liberalism as an example. This is followed by several essays on the attempts at founding national states and their consequences. Using the Schwarzenberg and Radowitz Plans as examples, Anselm Doering-Manteuffel shows how between 1849 and 1851 effective changes could be blocked by the understanding of international law which governed the workings of the European system of states, and by the way in which the European states acted in solidarity with each other. Paul W. Schroeder contradicts Alan Sked's statements on Austria's role in the European system. The last essays in the volume deal with the popularization of imperialism and the ideological justification of European expansion.

Johannes Paulmann

[73] ADOLF M. BIRKE and HERMANN WENTKER (eds), *Föderalismus im deutsch-britischen Meinungsstreit. Historische Dimensionen und politische Aktualität; The Federalism Debate in Britain and Germany. A Historical and Political Controversy*, Prince Albert Studies, 10 (Munich etc.: Saur, 1993), 177 pp.

The Prince Albert Society has published a number of volumes on Anglo-German relations, but this one is the first to focus on a controversial issue such as the meaning of federalism. This was an enlightened choice of theme. The Prime Minister of Thuringia, Bernhard Vogel, states that the European Union will be built upon a federal structure, or else it will not be built at all. While the German papers trace the federal elements in German history all the way back to the Holy Roman Empire, most of the contributions from Britain explain why their country appears to have such problems with the concept of federalism. The most relevant contributions are those by Kenneth O. Morgan on the historical development of the United Kingdom and its component parts between 1815 and 1920 and, more pertinently, Murray Forsythe on 'British Suspicions of a Federal Europe'. Due to the supremacy of Parliament (the Crown in Parliament being the true sovereign), British government had been centralized for a long time. Therefore power could only be granted by the centre. The role of Parliament cannot be squared with federalism. And it is on the rule of Parliament that the British idea of sovereignty and identity rests. The most important arguments in this volume are put forward by Forsythe: federalism is bound up with a written constitution and with additional layers of state, both of which are abhorrent to the British. Perhaps in the end the European Union will have to do without a written constitution, or, as the British would prefer to say, a constitutional straight-jacket. And perhaps it will work, since Europe is so unique that it cannot be based on any existing model of government.

Lothar Kettenacker

[74] GEORGE J. BILLY, *Palmsterston's Foreign Policy: 1848* (New York etc.: Lang, 1993), 256 pp.

At no other time in the nineteenth century was European stability more threatened than in 1848. Preventing the revolutionary turmoil in France and central Europe from spilling over into a major conflagration was

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no mean achievement. According to Billy's close examination, this was mainly due to Palmerston's skilful stewardship at the Foreign Office in what, today, would be called crisis-management. The author depicts Palmerston as the most outspoken advocate of *Realpolitik* in the tradition of his predecessors, Castlereagh and Canning. He was guided by what he perceived to be British interest, and nothing else. The year of 1848 was a turning point in that it revealed Palmerston's true colours, or rather his chief concern: maintaining the balance of power and peace in Europe. More often than not this meant securing the *status quo*, and, for instance, stifling German moves towards unification. Alignments and alliances fluctuated constantly, while principles such as national self-determination were abandoned at will. In this way, and by calculated brinkmanship, Palmerston exercised maximum influence with minimum physical force. Not only did Palmerston succeed in preserving peace, his policy, according to Billy, was one of 'the factors which contributed to the failure of the revolutions of 1848-49'. The author, who makes use of Palmerston's previously restricted private correspondence, as well as his state papers, draws attention to the influence of domestic concerns on British foreign policy, for example, Chartism and the fear of revolution at home, Irish nationalism, and the Whigs' dependence on the radical vote in Parliament. In his dealings as an Anglo-Irish landlord Palmerston was as unscrupulous as in his capacity as Foreign Secretary. National and personal interests fully merged in his personality. When it came to the crunch, the champion of constitutional reform and national self-determination in Europe turned out to be a die-hard conservative.

Lothar Kettenacker

[75] ADOLF M. BIRKE and MARIE-LUISE RECKER (eds), *Das gestörte Gleichgewicht. Deutschland als Problem britischer Sicherheit im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Prince Albert Studies, 8 (Munich etc.: Saur, 1990), 189 pp.

This anthology arose out of the Prince Albert Society's 1989 conference on the weight and significance of Germany for British policy from 1815 to the present day. Nine essays by British and German historians (in English and German) illustrate how central the 'German question' was for Britain's assessment of the territorial and political constitution of Europe. The problem of a German nation-state and its implications for

European power relations played a major role in determining the position occupied by Britain and its Empire on political and economic matters. Accordingly, Lord Castlereagh's involvement in the Congress of Vienna was as important for the new European order as it was for the political reorganization of Germany. It is this period between restoration, reform, and revolution that forms the subject of the first paper, by Günther Heydemann. Alan Sked looks at the next phase, from 1848 to the 1870s, which brought Britain to the pinnacle of its imperial power and saw the German states come together to found the *kleindeutsche* Reich, which the majority of British politicians did not oppose. Nor did the Bismarck era and the early years of the New Course lead to any unbridgeable antagonism between Germany and Britain; the foreign-policy interests of the German Reich, being largely confined to the Continent of Europe, were not incompatible with the global pretensions of the Pax Britannica, as Rainer Lahme shows. John Grenville focuses on how, at the height of the imperial period, the scales oscillated between co-operation and the threat of war. The Weimar Republic brought a chance for Britain actively to influence the redefinition of Germany's role within the European system of powers, but according to Marie-Luise Recker the British government was unable, for economic, political, and military reasons of its own, to make use of the opportunity. Instead, Britain's need for security and stability in Europe led to a defensive attitude. David Reynolds deals with British perceptions of National Socialism, which constitute a history of misjudgements. The British policy of appeasement was based on the belief that an agreement with the Third Reich was not only possible but also necessary. The period 1942-46, which is examined by Lothar Kettenacker, saw the development of British plans for occupation rule, in which a huge discrepancy became apparent between theory and practicability. On the other hand, Britain's policy toward Berlin in 1945-50 (Helmut Reifeld) demonstrated an exceptional sense of responsibility in respect of the city and an awareness that the Allies' credibility needed to prove itself here. The final essay, by Fraser Cameron, describes how, from 1949 until the Berlin Wall came down, Britain and Germany once again became European partners. Each essay is accompanied by a summary in German or English, as appropriate.

Benedikt Stuchtey

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[76] ANSELM DOERING-MANTEUFFEL, *Vom Wiener Kongreß zur Pariser Konferenz. England, die deutsche Frage und das Mächtesystem 1815-1856*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 28 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 351 pp.

This study reaches conclusions in two areas. On one level it deals with the attitude of British foreign policy-makers towards German dualism between 1848 and 1856. The author demonstrates that during this period British policy towards Germany was essentially a policy towards Austria. In London the Habsburg monarchy was considered to have declined in relative terms, and it was therefore accorded little more than a geo-political function, that of a buffer between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The one to benefit from this declining image, if not immediately, at least in the medium-term, was Prussia. At another level the study also provides a very stimulating view of the development of the European system of states between 1815 and 1856. The main theme is an attempt to explain the collapse of the Vienna system after 1848. The author maintains that the British were the first to transform foreign policy into pure power politics, and that they therefore disrupted the concert of Europe. Even if this thesis could be disputed, especially if one looks at the book by Paul W. Schroeder that has since been published, Doering-Manteuffel's ideas are certainly worth thinking about – if only because he does not look merely at the attitudes of foreign policy decision-makers to the other country, but also puts them into the context of the international system as a whole. Moreover, the book also contains useful sections on the financial and economic preconditions of the foreign policies of the European powers. It is to be hoped that this book will be given the careful attention it deserves.

Johannes Paulmann

[77] WILLIBALD STEINMETZ, *Das Sagbare und das Machbare. Zum Wandel politischer Handlungsspielräume. England 1780-1867*, Sprache und Geschichte, 21 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993), 413 pp.

Willibald Steinmetz's study is in the German tradition of research on the inter-relation between language and history linked with the name of his supervisor, the Bielefeld historian Reinhart Koselleck. A translation of the title, which reveals his main thesis, is an exercise in intellectual approximation, and runs something like this: *The Limits of Political*

Discourse. A Study on the Scope for Action in England 1780-1867. Steinmetz claims, as does the Koselleck school in general, that the application of language, figures or topoi of speech, and common parlance (today, for example, 'Eurospeak') cannot and should not be dismissed as meaningless rhetoric, but defines the limits of what is politically feasible. Therefore the terms of reference are indeed relevant to the issues at stake, and historically significant. Steinmetz's issues are well chosen, interrelated and at the same time self-contained: the three parliamentary debates on the extension of the franchise in 1782-85, 1831-32 and 1866-67. His sources are the debates in the Houses of Parliament and the private correspondence between the leading figures on both sides of the argument. The questions he asks expose certain assumptions underlying the political discourse, for example about the character of the constitution or what is supposed to be natural, necessary, to be feared or hoped for. Steinmetz is particularly interested in the widening gap between claims and capabilities. He makes no secret of his vantage-point: he surveys the debates with hindsight. The would-be reformers of 1785 had no radical agenda, he claims, and suffered from a deficiency of utopian ideals. They wished to improve the *status quo*, try to calm public opinion, and strengthen their parliamentary position. He then shows how the extension of the franchise was preceded by an extension of the limits of what could be said and acted upon. In other words, the expectations of the electorate, and consequently the demands on the state, were actually raised before the empowering vote was granted. All those who think that language, as such, constitutes power will appreciate the highly original approach of this study.

Lothar Kettenacker

[78] ANDREAS WIRSCHING, *Parlament und Volkes Stimme. Unterhaus und Öffentlichkeit im England des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts*, Publications of the German Historical Institute, 26 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 396 pp.

Habermas's book on the structural transformation of the public sphere of 1962 was not translated into English until 1989. This is surprising since Habermas considered that developments in England were the most similar to his model of structural change in the public sphere. This historical manifestation in England is what Andreas Wirsching has taken as the subject of his study. Not only does he show that the

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English case does not fit the model as well as has been assumed, but he also criticizes the model itself. The book is about the relationship between Parliament and 'people'. In the context of changes between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, he looks specifically at the period from 1812 to 1827, that transitional phase between the first protests and demands for reform before the Napoleonic Wars and the reform crisis of 1830-32.

The detailed first section of the book provides an introduction to the development of the House of Commons and the public sphere in a wider sense. In the second part Wirsching uses concrete parliamentary issues, especially from the economic and fiscal sphere, to illustrate the driving forces behind the public sphere in ideological and social terms. He demonstrates how each particular discourse, sparked off by economic interests at local and regional level, had an impact at the national level, in the central institution of the House of Commons. Specifically, he deals with the abolition of income tax in 1816, the repeal of the Orders in Council affecting trade with France in 1812, the radical reform campaign between 1816 and 1819, and finally the debate on the Corn Laws of 1826-27. In terms of social history the public in the capital and in the countryside, both middle-class and plebeian, was involved in these disputes. In terms of the history of ideas the country ideology, society's self-image as a 'commercial society', and the civic tradition of work, education, and autonomy as the preconditions for participation in politics, play the central roles. Even if these studies of individual cases are not intended to provide a pre-history of the 1832 reform, they all refer to the problem that was central to it: the interaction between the House of Commons as the centre of political power at that time and the 'people' as the source of legitimacy for this power. The public sphere (press, public meetings, petitions and political associations) was thus closely linked with Parliament, which since 1771 had no longer been meeting in secret. Anyone with experience of the everyday workings of these kinds of bodies will be able to follow the conclusions from Wirsching's historical presentation. Thus little remains of the direct connection between legislation and rational discourse for the period at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Contemporaries also had controversial responses to the question as to the rationality of the public sphere, even if they accepted the rational model for it as the guiding ideal. In England's historical reality the public sphere was not the place for a discourse free of domination.

According to Wirsching it was a reform-orientated 'organ of compensation' (p. 352) for those who saw themselves as members of the political community but did not consider that their interests were adequately represented. From the point of view of social history the alleged link between the public sphere and the middle classes cannot be sustained. Nor did the split between state and society, on which the model is based, apply to England. Compared with continental absolutism England was, in this last respect, the exception. Finally, Wirsching's conclusions also contradict Habermas's model in terms of chronology. For rather than the 'decline' of the public sphere in the nineteenth century, the premise should really be that the public sphere was originally ambivalent. The book is recommended to English readers for two reasons: firstly as a contribution to English history, and secondly for its critical stance in the context of the belated response to Habermas in Britain.

Johannes Paulmann

[79] GABRIELE SIEWEKE, *Der Romancier als Historiker. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Geschichte in der englischen Historiographie des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Münsteraner Monographien zur englischen Literatur, 16 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1994), 220 pp.

This English studies dissertation submitted to Münster University looks at the literary aspect of historical writing and the resemblance between fiction and non-fiction; it is thus also a comparative study in the ways in which novelists and historians approach their work. Using as her examples history books for children, chronicles, biographies of major figures, and historical sketches, the author describes the impact of historical thinking on literature. She takes as her basis the view of history propounded in Hayden White's *Metahistory* (1973), which claims to see historiography as narrative and the world as text. Disregarding the widespread criticism and subsequent modifications that White's book has undergone over the past twenty years, Sieweke believes in the validity of the 'historical discourse' of the nineteenth century, which she constantly cites though never clearly defines. She also confuses the 'story' and 'history' dimensions too deeply for any precise comparative and conceptual analysis between historian and story-teller to emerge. The author appears to believe that increasingly professionalized historians are incapable of wielding the novelist's imaginative power. However, the weakness of her argument lies in her failure to

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distinguish between the professionalization of history and making it more 'scientific'. And because she overrates both phenomena during the mid-nineteenth century (the period on which she concentrates), she underrates the various options open to historiography and seeks to replace these with the literary portrayal of history. In consequence, Sieweke examines works by such writers as Dickens, Trollope, Thackeray, and Austen without bringing out with any greater precision how literary influences affected the historical writing of Victorian intellectuals. A well-known example here is the work of Scott as adopted by Macaulay. In other words, Sieweke's prime concern is not with the way in which the two forms borrowed from and influenced each other but with the analogies that she herself posits between novel-writing and historiography. A further key problem in the analysis stems from the starting-point of the mainly English investigation, for which the author has chosen not the development of English historiography and English positivism but German historicism. This, however, did not really affect England until later.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[80] ADOLF M. BIRKE and HERMANN WENTKER (eds), *Deutschland und Rußland in der britischen Kontinentalpolitik seit 1815*, Prince Albert Studies, 11 (Munich: Saur, 1994), 217 pp.

This volume contains essays by historians, political scientists, and diplomats from Britain, Germany and the USA. The introduction raises the question of the basic patterns which are said to have influenced Anglo-German-Russian relations for more than two centuries. Britain, the 'sea power', it is maintained, constantly used 'central Europe' as a barrier, or ally, whenever Russia seemed to pose a threat. On the other hand, when Germany started working towards a position of hegemony, Britain made overtures towards the power on the eastern 'flank'. The first of the essays on these triangular relations is by Paul W. Schroeder, and is well worth reading. Not only does he criticize the thesis that between 1815 and 1848 incipient Anglo-Russian world rivalry began to develop. He also replaces it, as part of a real counter-interpretation of the European system of states that he has meanwhile published elsewhere, with a new concept, namely the notion that the two powers shared a 'passive divided hegemony'. As Schroeder demonstrates, the German Confederation played a crucial role in this. Hermann Wentker

deals with the period between 1854 and 1871 when the relative stability of the system started to crumble. Ulrich Lappenküper recapitulates the fluctuating diplomatic relations between the three powers before the First World War. John Hiden looks at the years immediately after 1918. Bernd Ebersold analyses Britain's peace-time strategies for dealing with the two dictatorships in Germany and the Soviet Union. He comes to the conclusion that the strategy of appeasement relied too much on being a substitute for power, and was bound to fail, given that the enemy had made war into its *prima ratio*. Beatrice Heuser presents the strategic considerations that led to a change from 'forced' co-operation with the USSR to military co-operation with the former enemy, Germany. The volume finishes up with various ideas about the Soviet/Russian position, topical at the time.

Johannes Paulmann

[81] ADOLF M. BIRKE and LOTHAR KETTENACKER, with HELMUT REIFELD (eds), *Bürgertum, Adel und Monarchie. Wandel der Lebensformen im Zeitalter des bürgerlichen Nationalismus*, Prince Albert Studies, 7 (Munich: Saur, 1989), 157 pp.

This volume contains quite a few worthwhile individual essays. F. M. L. Thompson examines the truth of the widespread view that members of the bourgeoisie who became wealthy rose to the nobility, and that younger sons of the nobility went into the economic sector during the age of industrialization. Peter Wende investigates the links between bourgeoisie and nobility not on the level of social history, but by means of a discourse history. He examines the debates of 1848 in the Paulskirche about the abolition of the nobility and indicates certain similarities between the bourgeois and aristocratic mentality. This explains some of the bourgeoisie's attraction to the life-style of the nobility. Manfred Hanisch looks at the relationship between monarchy and nation. He focuses on the attempts by individual German state governments to propagate a special national consciousness linked to the dynasty of the day (especially Bavaria 1848-1864). Pat Thane gives a critical analysis of Wiener's notions about the gentrification of the bourgeoisie in England and its supposed impact on the English national economy. Rüdiger vom Bruch starts off with the strange relationship between Kaiser William II and his subjects. He goes on to discuss the cultural ambivalence of Wilhelminism, illustrated by new develop-

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ments in art and literature, contemporary debates about 'aristocratization' and patriotic festivals, and the social tensions on both sides closely connected with this. Finally, Heinz Gollwitzer presents various arguments on the function of monarchy within a democracy at the end of the twentieth century. Monarchs, he says, are pre-democratic institutions by means of which the conservative elements in a society can be successfully integrated into the democracy.

Johannes Paulmann

[82] MICHAEL WAGNER, *England und die Französische Gegenrevolution 1789-1802*, Ancien Régime, Aufklärung und Revolution, 27 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 348 pp.

This very valuable book attempts a novel approach to an old problem: whether the French Revolution was a unique phenomenon, or whether it was but one instance of an 'Atlantic revolution' (Jacques Godechot), like the American independence movement, and uprisings in Geneva and the Netherlands. If the revolutionary movement was international, it is likely that the anti-revolutionary movement was too, and that Britain was its focal point. Wagner concludes, however, that the evidence he has assembled from a large number of specialist studies as well as manuscript sources does not support this theory, even though it cannot disprove it either. It appears that, even though the British political establishment advocated different approaches to the situation, the only politician who regarded the French Revolution as inherently dangerous to British interests was Edmund Burke, whose influence declined swiftly during those years, and that only British radicals felt the Revolutionary Wars were in any way different from traditional ones. While the British Government was, on occasion, willing to conclude monumentally unsuccessful alliances with royalist groups in France, it would not commit itself to restoring the French monarchy, the Old Regime, or French possessions captured during the war. In effect, until 1802, Britain was fighting against France, as it had done for most of the eighteenth century, not against revolution. Even though the opinions of Edmund Burke, not exactly unknown, are repeated in too much detail at the outset, the remaining chapters of the book offer a well-written account of British activities on all fronts, including, for example, secret service missions and the British government of Corsica.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[83] WILLIAM ROBERTS, *Prophet in Exile: Joseph Mazzini in England, 1837-1868*, Studies in Modern European History, 3 (Frankfurt/M. & New York: Lang, 1989), 149 pp.

This slim volume on the man who, after the Post Office scandal, became arguably the most famous political refugee in England, and who did what he could to remain so, focuses on his relationship with other key figures of his day. After a brief introduction, chapters on his correspondence or personal encounters with Carlyle, Mill, the Chartists, Marx, and Bakunin illuminate unity and dissent within the revolutionary camp.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[84] RAIMUND SCHÄPERS, *Revolutionstfurcht und Reformbekenntnis. Die Stellung der englischen Gesellschaft zum Chartismus im Jahre 1848* (Freiburg: Burg, 1990), 300 pp.

When Alexis de Tocqueville visited England in 1833, he thought a revolution here was quite out of the question. For many foreign visitors, England was the perfect example, both through its history and in its society, of a country with the capacity to avoid revolutionary upheaval. However, some years later Marx and Engels exposed the disastrous situation of the working class, believing that the country at the forefront of the capitalist industrial economy was by no means free of social unrest. Apart from these views, the liberal English writer Walter R. Kelly sought to convince readers of his *History of the Year 1848* (1849) that England had played only a minor role in Europe's 'year of revolutions' and that Chartism at home and the Irish independence movement abroad were unlikely to confront the country with a serious crisis. According to Schäpers in this dissertation submitted to the University of Berlin in 1985, Kelly's assessment is still worthy of discussion today, underlying as it does the common belief that the democratic movement represented by Chartism in England was a failure by comparison with the results (however transient) achieved on the Continent. The book examines the question of whether Chartism failed in 1848 because English society disapproved of its aims, while the upper class tried to stay in the background so far as this particular political debate was concerned. The author analyses a large number of contemporary publications in order to clarify his critique of Chartism, and he

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discusses the practical consequences that led to the movement's ideological objectives. Schäpers's study provides an excellent overview of the Chartist movement of 1848, and he shows how the crisis of the year 1848 was experienced in England, in Ireland, and in continental Europe. He describes how Chartism was perceived in the upper strata of society and how anti-Chartist agitation operated. A chapter is devoted to political and social reforms, such as debates about the franchise and about improved education for the labouring classes. The study rests upon solid analysis of contemporary sources such as books, periodicals, pamphlets, and leaflets.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[85] HERMANN WENTKER, *Zerstörung der Großmacht Rußland? Die britischen Kriegsziele im Krimkrieg*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 30 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 341 pp.

So far there has been no systematic analysis of British war aims in the Crimean War. The author attempts to fill this gap by describing the actions and underlying motives of the leading politicians and diplomats. Parliament, press, and public opinion are not assessed systematically. Wider issues, such as economic or social factors, or the definition of national interest, are explicitly excluded by the author, because he found no references to them in the sources he used. These are basically the diplomatic correspondence and papers of leading ministers (Aberdeen, Clarendon, Graham, Palmerston, Russell, and Wood), and of important envoys (Cowley and Strathford de Redcliffe). This is the basis upon which Wentker presents the emergence and development of British war aims. The differences in attitude between Palmerston and Aberdeen, the bare bones of which are well-known, are examined in detail, and the various reasons behind them explained. Palmerston's desire to demote Russia to the status of a second-grade nation derived from his realization during the 1830s that Russia was a rival in terms of world power. This approach was at odds with Aberdeen's 'out-dated' views about a European system of states based on legitimacy and balance. Although Palmerston became Prime Minister in 1855, only a minority of his government were in favour of his far-reaching political objectives for changing borders in Europe and Asia, which in the end were also blocked by France. Wentker reaches this

conclusion by reconstructing the British government's war aims from numerous sources.

Johannes Paulmann

[86] FRANK SPAHR, *Die Ausbreitung der Cholera in der britischen Flotte im Schwarzen Meer während des Krimkrieges im August 1854: Eine Auswertung von Schiffsarztjournalen der Royal Navy*, Marburger Schriften zur Medizingeschichte, 23 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1989), 178 pp.

Generally speaking, the standard of dissertations on historical topics presented to faculties of medicine in German universities is significantly lower than of those supervised in departments of history. It should, of course, be said in mitigation that the former are usually written in the spare time of an author otherwise engaged in a demanding profession. This being said, however, it would still be gross flattery to call this book merely disappointing. After an introduction to the disease and its present treatment, the main section consists of a summary of the journals of surgeons aboard five British ships serving in the Black Sea in 1854, concluding that they did not treat their patients as well as their present-day colleagues would have done. For those interested in these specific mortality rates and the attempts of the navy's doctors to come up with some sort of treatment, the book may be of value. Anyone interested in what took place beyond the planks of these five vessels – the reviewer not excepted – will be far better served by turning to Richard J. Evans's *Death in Hamburg*, published, by the way, in 1987.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[87] THOMAS SCHAARSCHMIDT, *Außenpolitik und öffentliche Meinung in Großbritannien während des deutsch-französischen Krieges von 1870/71*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, III/575 (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1993), 757 pp.

The Franco-Prussian crisis of July 1870 came as a surprise to the British public. Support for the two contestants was at first equal; while French fears of extensive Prussian influence on Spain were considered justified, it was suspected that both sides had ulterior motives, and refusal to accept what were considered reasonable Prussian terms cost France some support. When war broke out, both states were suspected of sin-

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ister designs on Belgium, and the British Cabinet drew up plans for military intervention accordingly, but the policy of neutrality was not seriously contested. By December, however, the mood had shifted in favour of France. In the press and in the season's pantomimes, Prussia was attacked for unjustified proposals for the annexation of French territory, and the British government was chided for not attempting to mediate, or even, especially by labour and conservative groups, for not intervening in favour of France. The British Government, in turn, was preoccupied with Russia's attempts to extend its power in the Orient, and was toying with the idea of military intervention not against Prussia, but against Russia. The British Cabinet's attempts to defuse tension, assisted by Bismarck's willingness of to compromise on minor points, survived the criticism of popular opinion, which, with the advent of the French civil war, again lost its unified outlook.

This is an all-too-brief summary of the main points of Thomas Schaarschmidt's study of 'public opinion' in 1870-71 in Britain. It is based on a comprehensive reading of the relevant editorials, reports, and 'letters to the editor' in major newspapers, and the British diplomatic correspondence. The book is an improvement on its rather numerous predecessors in that it is the first systematic account of British governmental and press opinion in 1870 and 1871, and, as such, it is excellent. It is also very good on the use of 'public opinion' as a justification for ministers' conduct or as a threat in diplomatic correspondence, even though evidence of this is presented in a more incidental fashion than it deserves, and the phenomenon itself is not as novel as Schaarschmidt appears to believe. The book's argument becomes a little hazy, however, when it comes to public opinion itself. Even though Schaarschmidt is aware of the difficulties of getting at public opinion in pre-opinion-poll days, and devotes a number of pages to reflections on the relation between press and public opinion, he subsequently appears to throw caution to the wind. References to the 'impact' of particular articles or editorials without any explanation of their supposed special influence, or any description of the group to which these statements refer, are frequent.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[88] JÜRGEN SCHULTZE (ed.), *Metropole London: Macht und Glanz einer Weltstadt 1800-1840. Ausstellung Kulturstiftung Ruhr, Villa Hügel, Essen, 6. 6.-8. 11. 1992* (Essen: Kulturstiftung Ruhr; Recklinghausen: Bonders, 1992), 624 pp. / CELINA FOX (ed.), *London – World City 1800-1840* (New Haven etc.: Yale University Press, 1992), 624 pp.

In recent years, the Kulturstiftung Ruhr has presented a series of exhibitions dedicated to major European cities (Dresden, St Petersburg, London, and Paris) in their most characteristic era (baroque, eighteenth century, early nineteenth century and *fin-de-siècle* respectively). It is not unfair to say that the most successful attempt so far to capture the 'culture' of a metropolis, without restricting 'culture' to major works of art and the most accomplished feats of craftsmanship, but including politics and economics as well, was the 1992 exhibition. This is reflected by this extremely valuable catalogue. Its first part consists of fourteen essays on the economy, the coronation of George IV, architecture, Rudolph Ackermann, artistic patronage, science, the tradition of English Liberty, the products and institutions of the 'art scene', the place of London in sentimental and romantic literature, theatre, and the culture of English radicals. The second part of the book contains descriptions (including a bibliography) of all the 750-odd items on display, for the most part with pictures. A general bibliography, and a list of exhibitions on related topics make up the appendix.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[89] ECKHARDT FUCHS, *Henry Thomas Buckle. Geschichtsschreibung und Positivismus in England und Deutschland*, Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung, 9 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitäts-Verlag, 1994), 400 pp.

The English historian and polymath Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862), an almost forgotten figure today, was among the most celebrated and at the same time controversial men of letters in Victorian society. His only work, the two-volume *History of Civilization in England* (1857, 1861), was translated into many languages, but his glorious adoption by America's 'scientific' historians came about only after he had lost much of his importance in English historiographical circles. J. A. Froude and Lord Acton attacked his philosophy of history as passionately as did B. J. G. Droysen, for instance, in Germany. Most of the criticism was

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directed at Buckle's attempt to explain historical processes causally and in terms of types. Drawing on methods employed in the natural sciences and on the sociology of Comte, Buckle sought to make predictions regarding the future in accordance with historical laws. Accordingly, Buckle believed that individuals had no great influence on the historical process; instead, he placed his faith in the universal validity of historical laws and in the progressive advance of civilization.

The present splendid examination by Eckhardt Fuchs fills a gap in the history of English historiography as well as pointing the way for future investigations in parallel areas of study. Not only students of Buckle but all those interested in the attempt to turn historiography into a 'science' in the middle years of the nineteenth century, in the evolution of English positivism, in the debate about theory, in critical methodology, and in the much-discussed question of a history of culture and a history of society will find much to inspire them in this Leipzig dissertation. Fuchs sets Buckle firmly in the intellectual climate of High Victorianism and discusses his liberal social theory, the tension between national history and the history of civilization, and what for Buckle was the very relevant question of his own position between traditional, literary historical writing on the one hand, and modern academic historiography using scientific methods on the other. These innovative chapters are followed by a second section, detached from the person of Buckle, that deals with the German adoption of positivism and the distinction between historicism and positivism. The Lamprecht controversy, famous in Germany, had a precursor in the English methodological dispute concerning the scientific nature of history.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[90] HARTMUT BERGHOFF, *Englische Unternehmer 1870-1914. Eine Kollektivbiographie führender Wirtschaftsbürger in Birmingham, Bristol und Manchester* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 387 pp.

Alongside the works of W. D. Rubinstein and the study by G. R. Searle, Berghoff's book is essential reading for everyone concerned with English entrepreneurs, their economic and political significance, and their assessment of themselves in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also provides an impressive example of the interpretative power of quantifying prosopographical research as well as proof that

it is possible to present the findings of such research in a highly readable fashion.

Historiography has always looked at the period after 1870 in terms of the relative decline of the British economy. Even among contemporaries, a search began for culprits and mistakes, and this continues in the controversies of the present day. One theory, championed with some force by M. Wiener, sees a collective failure of the employer class as the principal cause of Britain's gradual loss of supremacy. Wiener claims that by aspiring to an aristocratic life-style, acquiring land, and adopting the ideal of the gentleman as taught in the public schools, the sons and grandsons of the early Victorian generation of manufacturing pioneers had lost their business sense and more generally any desire to become involved in the industrial sector. Closely related is the feudalization theory, according to which the industrial middle class put more effort into gaining acceptance by the still dominant aristocracy than into stripping it of its power. Lastly, it is often contended that there was a huge gap in wealth and prestige between London's merchants and bankers on the one hand and provincial manufacturers on the other, and that this was detrimental to middle-class cohesion generally and meant that national economic policy was unilaterally dictated by the financial interests of the City.

Using a sizeable sample of 1,328 provincial entrepreneurs from Birmingham, Bristol, and Manchester, Berghoff subjects these theories to thorough examination. His sources are contemporary collective biographies, directories, obituaries, and probate calendars. Berghoff investigates in detail the regional, social, and religious backgrounds of his entrepreneurs, their educational and vocational careers, their family and social connections, their choice of where to live, their involvement in local and national politics as well as in trade associations and philanthropic and other societies, their opportunities as regarded acceptance by the nobility or London 'society', and finally their wealth and their aspirations to own land. The findings are clear and show that the various versions of the theory of a 'decline of industrial spirit' as well as the feudalization theory need to be dismissed. The English business élite in the provinces, while open to entrants from the adjacent middle strata and to immigrants, was primarily recruited from its own ranks and continued to live in the vicinity of the family firm. Only after about 1860 did the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge start to become more attractive, and there are no verifiable cases of companies

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having to close because their proprietors or their proprietors' sons turned to other interests or opted to live on unearned income. Political influence at national level remained relatively slight, access to London networks was difficult, and there were no effective national lobbies before the First World War. The big industrialists at the apex of the provincial employer class were no less wealthy than London's high financiers but otherwise had few connections with them. In other words, there are grounds for assuming that a strict division existed between the financial world of the capital and the manufacturers of the provinces, a division that made it hard for the latter to assert their interests at national level. In terms of political activity, provincial entrepreneurs were largely restricted to their respective local spheres, but there they combined considerable public prestige with promotion of their own business interests. They sought and received recognition from the aristocratic upper class; indeed, after 1880 they were not infrequently ennobled. But that did not imply any abandonment of bourgeois values, and only in exceptional cases did they become large landowners.

In the light of all this, there can presumably be no further talk of an objective failure on the part of English entrepreneurs prior to 1914. But the question is still open as to whether this means that the controversy about Britain's economic decline has now been settled in favour of the 'optimists', that is, those who see the crucial mistakes as having been made only after the First World War or even later. Actually, Berghoff's work points indirectly to a whole series of structural shortcomings and delayed learning processes (particularly in the fields of education and promotion of economic activity by the state) that might support a 'pessimistic' view. But what Berghoff does do is thoroughly to refute simple interpretative models that propound a change of mentality purely on the basis of a string of selected quotations.

Willibald Steinmetz

[91] JÖRG FILTHAUT, *Dawson und Deutschland. Das deutsche Vorbild und die Reformen im Bildungswesen, in der Stadtverwaltung und in der Sozialversicherung Großbritanniens 1880-1914* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1994), 227 pp.

Using the example of the career of William Harbutt Dawson (1860-1948), Filthaut traces the ups and downs of British interest in German solutions to socio-political problems prior to 1914. After spending some

time in Germany in the 1880s, Dawson worked as a journalist and wrote numerous books and articles about the system of social insurance brought in by Bismarck and about other developments in Germany that he considered exemplary. During those years, the German Empire began to take on greater importance as a point of reference for the development of reforms. Dawson was one of the journalists who helped to propagate an idealized view of Germany in which the idea of efficiency occupied centre-stage. In 1906, his expertise on the subject opened the door to a career as a senior civil servant at the Board of Trade, the Treasury, and finally the National Health Insurance Commission. Filthaut shows how an approximate knowledge of Germany's experiences played a certain role in English educational reforms, in town-planning measures, in plans for a reorganization of local taxation, in the preparation of the Workmen's Compensation Acts of 1897 and 1906, and in the debate about old-age pensions. However, in all these areas British politicians subsequently pursued courses that were more easily adaptable to existing institutions and to the attitudes of the interest groups concerned. Accordingly, Filthaut can produce little evidence of any direct involvement on Dawson's part in these decision-making processes. The decisive turn of events and the only real instance of Dawson's influence came with the drafting of the National Insurance Act of 1911. This law adopted the German principle of compulsory insurance against sickness and extended it to cover the problem of unemployment. Together with other advisers to Lloyd George, notably Braithwaite and Beveridge, Dawson took a leading part in working out this reform and implementing it politically. Otherwise, however, Filthaut's study goes no further than the standard works on the subject by E. P. Hennock and Gerhard A. Ritter. In a way, narrowing the perspective to a single actor, namely Dawson, is a methodological step backwards. Indeed, for substantial portions of his book Filthaut succumbs to the temptation of over-identifying with the pro-German stance of his 'hero' and measuring the intelligence of other British politicians by how far they agreed with Dawson's positive assessment of German models. This is clearly an example of how not to write the history of inter-cultural transfers.

Willibald Steinmetz

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[92] THOMAS HOLLENBACH, *Lob und Kritik der industriellen Revolution in England und Deutschland 1800-1848* (Frankfurt/M.: Haag & Herchen, 1990), 76 pp.

This slim volume analyses the crucial half-century of the Industrial Revolution between 1800 and 1848 from a comparative Anglo-German perspective. The main emphasis is on the perception of change in both countries which the author evaluates as similar in scope and relevance. In a not altogether fortunate attempt at comparison, developments in the field of social change, such as industrial development and the role of capital and the industrialist, are presented in juxtaposition. This work is too small to give a satisfactory introduction to the topic or the huge scholarly literature, yet it points the way towards a methodological approach that could be useful if applied to less general questions. As it stands, the limits of comparative history, especially in the highly complex era of the first half of the nineteenth century, are highlighted.

Ulrike Jordan

[93] DAGMAR KIFT, *Arbeiterkultur im gesellschaftlichen Konflikt. Die englische Music Hall im 19. Jahrhundert* (Essen: Klartext, 1991), 240 pp.

In Germany, studies of working-class culture mostly deal with the culture of organized workers. This book, however, concentrates on the English Variety or Music Hall, which was a commercial undertaking. Industrial urban workers' needs for entertainment and conviviality were met by this institution in a unique way. In the Music Hall workers, both male and female, established a distinctive identity *vis-à-vis* other groups in society. It soon became the most popular, albeit controversial, institution in English workers' culture. The author succeeds in portraying this development in an interesting, illustrative way, while at the same time treating broader issues involved in the relationship between workers and society. The chapter on controversies surrounding the Music Hall in various cities, manifested in conflicts with city councils, highlights these topics particularly well.

Ulrike Jordan

[94] HERBERT A. STRAUSS (ed.), *Hostages of Modernization. Studies on Modern Antisemitism 1870-1933/39*, vol. 3, part 1: *Germany – Great Britain – France*; part 2: *Austria – Hungary – Poland – Russia* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 681 pp. and 747 pp.

'Interest in antisemitism is not only a scholarly subject for Jewish history: antisemitism has proven above all a symbol of the crisis of European civilization, a problem of general history.' This is the idea behind the four-volume series *Current Research on Antisemitism*. It is published by the Institut für Antisemitismusforschung at the Technical University of Berlin, which has been studying the phenomenon of anti-Semitism using an interdisciplinary approach since 1982. The first two volumes deal with social and psychological mechanisms. The third, which is in two parts, is edited by the former head of the institute and looks exclusively at historical research on anti-Semitism. The first part presents a collection of analyses on Germany, Britain and France, the second on Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Russia/Soviet Union, thereby reflecting the whole range of research on this subject. These are mainly shortened versions of texts, where necessary translated into English, which have already been published elsewhere. Strauss introduces each section with a survey. There are thirty essays in all, covering the period from the second half of the nineteenth century, when political and socio-economic upheavals transformed traditional anti-Judaism into modern, ideological anti-Semitism, up to the Shoa in the Second World War. According to the editor, his selection of texts provides a comparative view of anti-Semitism in the seven countries where the majority of the Jewish population lived before and after the Shoa. This should make it possible to trace differences and similarities in developments throughout Europe. To this extent the volume is a useful textbook, best suited for teaching purposes.

Dagmar Freist

[95] IMKE ECKERT, *Die Geschichte des Kanaltunnels im Wandel der anglo-französischen Beziehungen*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, 31/257 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1994), 138 pp.

Even Queen Victoria was taken with the idea because it would spare her the miseries of sea-sickness when travelling to the Continent. Supporters of free trade were also keen on the project, not only because it

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would make the transfer of goods much easier, but especially because they thought it was something that would promote peace. We are talking about a tunnel linking the British mainland with the Continent. This degree thesis (*Diplomarbeit*) by a student of English presents the history of the various projects from the early nineteenth century to just before the tunnel was opened. The book is based almost exclusively on secondary literature and offers, in German, a chronological survey of the main projects. It is completely untouched by any analytical probing.

Johannes Paulmann

[96] MARTIN WEIMER, *Das Bild der Iren und Irlands im Punch 1841-1921. Strukturanalyse des hibernistischen Heterostereotyps der englischen satirischen Zeitschrift dargestellt an Hand von Karikaturen und Texten*, Angelsächsische Sprache und Literatur, 268 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1993), 817 pp.

Long before *Mentalitätsgeschichte* on the one hand and Foucault on the other had made their influence felt on British historiography, some of its practitioners had already picked out as a central theme the image of the foreigner and the outsider in the history of English literature and journalism. L. P. Curtis's two studies, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts* (1968) and *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (1971), examined Irish stereotypes in the Victorian world-view, catching up with new approaches in colonial historiography that, at a time when British soldiers were marching into Northern Ireland, sought to draw attention to differences between Ireland and England in terms of the development of ways of thinking. Here historiography coincided with politics. The Oxford historian R. F. Foster, currently one of the greatest experts on Ireland, examined this phenomenon in his 1991 publication *Paddy and Mr. Punch*, in which he modified Curtis's theories and stressed the ambivalence of the terms 'Celt' and 'Saxon', as corroborated in *Punch* cartoons. This lengthy Mainz University dissertation not only fails to adopt this supremely detached, topically revisionist view of Ireland's past, which shows both sides of the coin without in any way glossing over British rule in Ireland; regrettably, it also takes no account of Foster's books.

Weimer sets out to deal with the picture of Ireland reflected by *Punch* between the magazine's foundation in 1841 and the partition of Ire-

land in 1921. He takes as his starting-point the classic features of *Punch's* prejudiced view of the people of Ireland: irrational, emotional, fanatical, lawless, economically dependent, politically immature, and so on. An interesting section of the book deals with attribution and stylization, for example, the respective roles played by the harp, the potato, and whiskey in caricature, and the models on which the pictorial forms of predetermined types were based. The concluding section discusses the politico-cultural intention and impact of the predominantly negative clichés of Ireland propagated by *Punch*. The book is vividly illustrated and reveals the author's sound knowledge both of *Punch* and of the social history of Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century. But for all his far-reaching analyses (which incidentally use excessive amounts of foreign terminology), Weimer himself is too close to the old approach, based on Curtis, of thinking of Ireland and England in terms of blocs, and he believes it is still necessary today to appeal for the dismantling of prejudices to begin. Of course *Punch's* image of Ireland was predominantly negative, particularly in periods of political crisis, but at the same time it was also very sophisticated politically and not so easily reduced to a common denominator as this study suggests.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[97] ALFRED ZELLER, *Irische Agrarbewegungen 1760-1880* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1989), 366 pp.

This 1988 Munich dissertation sets out to 'portray the agrarian-policy dimension of an important period against the background of the economic and social circumstances of rural Ireland' (p. 12). The period studied is bounded by the emergence in 1760 of the Whiteboys, the first agrarian secret society, and the year 1880, when the Land League acquired national importance. Zeller seeks to challenge the cliché of the conservative, apolitical country dweller. He sees the Irish agrarian movements as grass-roots movements, comparable in structure and methods to modern mass movements. However, he warns against placing excessive theoretical weight on his ideas – in the form, say, of a general theory of agrarian movements: 'Ireland makes an unsuitable model for such an undertaking' (p. 317). It is remarkable how early and how extensively patterns of political action and organization usually associated more with industrial societies emerged in rural Ireland.

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Zeller sees Ireland as having played something of a pioneering role in the development of political parties. Because the group of Irish MPs, with their nationalist demands, were in fact something like a people's party, they made a substantial contribution to the institutional transformation of parties in England, where they were still dominated by notables. If we take the degree of individual involvement in political events as the yardstick of a society's modernity, Irish peasant society was astonishingly modern. This was, of course, in marked contrast to the socio-economic condition of a society characterized by colonialism, large-scale land ownership, and late-feudal structures. It is a contradiction Zeller feels unable to resolve. Without wishing to criticize the author for his justified reservations, it should be pointed out that in recent years historians have ceased to view the term 'modernity' in so wholly positive a light as was once the case. Seeking to evaluate past structures in relation to present models has always been a very dubious undertaking. In demonstrating the practical impossibility of such an approach so far as Ireland is concerned, Zeller may have made an important contribution to historiography in a way that, going beyond his interesting and worthwhile study of Irish rural history, achieves general historical importance.

Hermann J. Hiery

[98] HELGA WOGGON, *Integrativer Sozialismus und nationale Befreiung. Politik und Wirkungsgeschichte James Connollys in Irland*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 24 (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 517 pp.

There has never been so full an account of the life and work of James Connolly (1868-1916) and of his importance in both the political history of Ireland and the international labour movement as this one by Helga Woggon. Brilliant both in substance and method, it is at the same time beautifully written. The period covered is more or less that dealt with by Peter Alter in his study *Die irische Nationalbewegung zwischen Parlament und Revolution* (1971). Here, however, the subject is not Irish constitutional nationalism but the conflict between nationalism and Socialist agitation. Woggon's Berlin dissertation is much more than simply a political and intellectual biography. For anybody working in this field in future, this will be a seminal study in the development of Irish Socialism and of active Socialist politics between the twin magnets of

internationalism and nationalism. Beyond that, it deals with the specifically Irish Socialist movement in addition to Catholicism, Republicanism, and Unionism, with the history of trade unions in Connolly's day, and with the historical repercussions of his practical and theoretical political achievement. The core of that achievement consisted in integrating Socialism into Ireland's national tradition and transforming nationalism into a revolutionary Socialist movement. As one of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising, Connolly paid with his life for his political aims, and the Irish labour party he had helped to found and the labour movement he had headed jointly with James Larkin were severely weakened in consequence. The author analyses Connolly's numerous inflammatory writings in the context of his politics and goes on to look at the way in which Connolly's ideas were taken up and continued to be influential after his death. Her work is also an important study on certain aspects of a subject that has been almost completely neglected hitherto, namely the history of Irish historiography.

The book draws on both Irish and British archive material, the newspapers published by Connolly himself, together with his private papers and correspondence, the newspapers put out by the labour movement, and selected nationalist publications of Connolly's day and of the period that followed. As a result, Woggon's contribution in what is in every respect a thoroughly convincing work is to have qualified the 'martyr' myth that has grown up around Connolly since 1916, partly by subjecting his achievements to the appraisal of historical science, while also developing a model that may stimulate further analyses, going beyond the Irish example, of the chances for Socialist policies in circumstances of colonial and national dependency.

Benedikt Stuchtey

Twentieth Century

[99] CLEMENS A. WURM (ed.), *Wege nach Europa. Wirtschaft und Außenpolitik Großbritanniens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 19 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992), 213 pp.

The theme of this volume of essays by German and British authors is Britain's 'Odyssey' to Europe. From the start of his voyage home the 'hero', who arrived in 1973, was never really sure whether he actually wanted to return. The particular historical experience of the British nation, its role as a world-power, and the self-perception of its élites are usually given as reasons for the length of this journey. The editor stresses, however, that after 1945 there were also special economic factors, in particular the country's foreign trade, which could explain British reticence. Bernard Alford and Roy Church discuss the causes of Britain's relative economic decline, and whether the country caught up with its competitors after the Second World War. Robert Boyce and Kathleen Burk examine the special role of the City in this. Gottfried Niedhart analyses the fundamental dilemma between claims to world power and limited economic resources in general, while Ursula Lehmkuhl focuses on the economic connection between the Commonwealth and European policy. Wolfram Kaiser looks at the British reaction to the Messina initiative of 1955. According to Harm Schröter, Britain's 'Sonderweg in der Außenwirtschaft' came to an end in the 1960s when there was a drastic reorientation of British foreign trade towards the European market, even before Britain's entry into the European Community. Jörg Leitolf demonstrates this by taking the example of the chemical industry. This should really have been the end of the Odyssey. But as we know, some loyal followers of Odysseus are still toying with the idea of setting off again. They should read this book.

Johannes Paulmann

[100] SIEGFRID BÜNGER and HELLA KAESELITZ, *Geschichte Großbritanniens von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart* (East Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1989), 350 pp.

This book is a historical document. It is a synthesis of twentieth-century British history by two East German historians, published in 1989.

One can see from it that the literature the authors were able to use was out-dated and one-sided, and how much the few sections on social history were influenced by political history. Naturally enough, it is also quite obvious where the authors' sympathies lay and, indeed, what their main interest was: 'the far-reaching and ongoing process of decline' in the first capitalist society. The book is no longer available.

Johannes Paulmann

[101] GEORG BINZENBACH, *Die Social Democratic Party im politischen System Großbritanniens* (Münster and Hamburg: LIT), 1993, 321 pp.

In this dissertation the author reviews the political profile of the Social Democratic Party after nine years of existence (1981 to 1990). The aim of the study is to show how this party is integrated into the British political spectrum. Predictably, Binzenbach reaches conclusions about the breakdown of the Social Democratic Party and its failure to establish itself as a permanent factor in British politics which coincide with widespread general impressions. Foremost amongst these is that the British electoral system prevented the Social Democrat-Liberal Alliance from gaining enough seats to reflect its percentage of the nationwide vote in both 1983 and 1987. Another major obstacle to an increase in SDP and Alliance influence, according to the author, was the outbreak of the Falklands conflict, which enticed a number of wavering Conservative voters back to their party, and meant that conditions were not favourable to the Alliance in the 1983 general election. Nor did it prove feasible to draw sections of the Labour Party into a union with the SDP. In addition, the SDP failed to establish a broad basis of support or to become a presence within the country's political spectrum. The author also analyses the deepest roots of the SPD's failure, namely ideological differences within the 'gang of four', that is, Roy Jenkins, Shirley Williams, David Owen, and Bill Rodgers. Oscillating between old Labour ideas and Keynesian economics and, most importantly, ambivalent about an alliance with the Liberal Party, the SDP never really stood a chance. All in all, the author has produced a clear, readable account of the SDP's history, although the lack of interviews is surprising. It is also possible to argue that the source material he draws upon is narrowly based.

Ulrike Jordan

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[102] HANS-CHRISTOPH SCHRÖDER, *George Orwell. Eine intellektuelle Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 1988), 392 pp.

George Orwell undoubtedly stands out among English writers of the recent past. He provided insights into the human condition in the modern age that achieved significance far beyond his own culture. This is all the more remarkable since Orwell, more than any other, also helped to define what 'Englishness' and 'being an Englishman' meant in the twentieth century. Ambiguities, about-faces, and shifts of emphasis dictated by events typify Orwell's work, and yet there are certain constants in his thinking that were present throughout his life. The strength of Schröder's intellectual biography is that while he shows that many of the things Orwell said as a journalist and commentator were very much bound up with their time, he also brings out clearly how original Orwell was as an author. A further positive feature of Schröder's book is that it does not portray Orwell purely as a far-sighted genius; we also see him as an occasionally mistaken and confused thinker, in other words as an ordinary person in a bewildering 'age of ideologies'.

Schröder's method consists in interpreting Orwell's famous texts alongside his lesser-known writings in a number of contexts. As well as describing the immediate situation in which a piece was conceived, he refers constantly to earlier experiences that had left their mark on Orwell, and to traditions of English and European social and political thought in which his work is embedded. Schröder organizes his book into broad subject areas that approximately correspond to the various segments of Orwell's life and to the principal works, but with some overlapping in terms of time. An early phase, strongly marked by anti-imperialism and criticism of the English class system, was followed by the crucial experience of the Spanish Civil War with its shocking lesson in the depths of mendacity and violence to which totalitarian movements were capable of sinking. Orwell directed his critical fire, even more fiercely than against Fascists and Stalinists themselves, against the hypocrisy of the western European intellectuals who, from positions of safety, worshipped power and 'generously' overlooked its violent deeds. Nazi Germany's threat to the relative freedom and more civilized way of life in England reinforced Orwell's already innate patriotic tendencies. Hopes of a social revolution accelerated by the war were curiously combined in him with a markedly anti-intellectual, almost Burkeian Conservatism and an idealization of the 'common sense'

and 'decency' of the British working class. When the expected revolution at home failed to materialize, petering out in the malaise of the British post-war period, pessimism once again took hold of Orwell. He now became the great admonisher against the totalitarian tendencies of the modern age, as which he is best-known outside Britain.

The conclusion and also the best part of the book is Schröder's interpretation of *1984* in the contexts of the Utopian tradition, the literature of totalitarianism, the critique of capitalism, psychoanalysis, and contemporary personal experiences as recorded in diaries and letters. Schröder thus opens up aspects of the novel that have remained hidden to literary criticism. Whether Orwell actually knew of all the authors mentioned by Schröder cannot always be established. In some instances, Schröder is able to cite clues; in others, all he can find is a coincidence in time. The important thing, however, is that in the book Orwell appears as a representative of certain thought patterns and collective obsessions that characterized his time. What made him unusual was the intensity of his perceptions, and the combinations in which these thoughts were expressed. Both made him, for the majority of his life, an outsider. All in all, Schröder's book is more than simply an intellectual biography of George Orwell: it looks beyond the man to collective beliefs and fears that were shared by many of his contemporaries. Thus Schröder has also given us a study in twentieth-century British and European history of mentalities.

Willibald Steinmetz

[103] BARBARA OLSCHIEWSKI, *Humanistische Bildung und Gesellschaft in England: Zur Geschichte der altsprachlichen Bildung von 1902 bis 1965*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, XV/44 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1990), 297 pp.

This Ph.D. thesis seeks to explain why Classics remained an important part of the curriculum in state-run English secondary schools in the period between the 1902 Education Act and the reform of the British school system by post-1965 Labour governments. Olschewski argues that the successful defence of Classics was a result of propaganda by pressure groups such as the Classical Association. It was a defence, on the one hand, against attacks from 'realists', who demanded more instruction in the sciences in the face of the German economic and military threat, and, on the other, against the demands of the state, inter-

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ested in a universal system of education not confined to the élite. In addition to exercising considerable influence on the reports of various government commissions, classicists managed to disarm critics by reducing the time allotted to Greek and Latin grammar in favour of the study of texts (read partly in translation), providing lectures for the working classes, joining forces with the representatives of other disciplines in the humanities and sciences in vilifying education focused exclusively on material gain, and stressing the numerous parallels between the development of Greece and Rome and the British Empire. Thus they were able to demonstrate that Classics were an essential part of the political education of every British citizen. According to Olschewski, the price paid for the survival of the subject was its transformation into Classical Studies, where knowledge of Latin and Greek was of little or no concern, and the subject's 'critical potential' was neglected. Unfortunately, this conclusion is based on a comparison with Germany which is less than convincing. This may be due to the fact that the study does not go beyond the debate on Classics, and has little to say about what was actually taught at school or university in either country.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[104] MICHAEL TRETTER, *Die Konservative Partei Englands vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg und ihre Auseinandersetzung mit der politischen und gewerkschaftlichen Arbeiterbewegung* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992), 277 pp.

The election defeat of 1906 plunged the Conservative and Unionist Party, which had grown accustomed to governing, into a crisis from which it did not emerge until the First World War. Tretter examines the Conservatives' perception of themselves and their domestic political enemy during those years. He not only focuses on the radical groups and leagues on the far right of the party, but also attempts to reconstruct, as it were, the mind of the party as a whole and of the leadership in particular. His sources are the papers of Balfour and Bonar Law, speeches, minutes of party conferences, as well as newspaper articles, and election communications. The account is largely chronological and reveals the Conservative Party of those years as preoccupied with reacting to individual events and to the skilful manoeuvres and provocations of Lloyd George's policy of reform. The crucial change, according to Tretter, took place in 1911, with the reform of the House of Lords

and Balfour's resignation. Hitherto the party had pursued a somewhat pragmatic strategy based on its programme of tariff reform and with the aim of winning back the working-class vote. From this point on, however, prompted by a feeling of political impotence, the Conservatives committed themselves to an increasingly radical brand of political rhetoric, and in the Home Rule crisis this went so far as to embrace civil war as a means of action. Party unity was guaranteed chiefly by constructing a vague picture of the enemy in which anti-Socialism and protection against continental imports (intellectual as well as material) formed the lowest common denominator. Tretter's account rarely rises above the Conservatives being steamrollered by events, and this makes it hard for the reader to find a consistent theme. But the principal weakness of the study lies in the way quotations are too often simply trotted out one after another, clearly in the hope that they will speak for themselves and somehow serve to convey a collective Conservative mentality. However, in order to reveal such a mentality in particular instances, more precise methods of analysing political language are called for than Tretter employs for much of his account. The interesting chapter on Socialist ideas and their functions within Conservative ways of thinking suggests what form such analyses might take.

Willibald Steinmetz

[105] ARND BAUERKÄMPER, *Die 'radikale Rechte' in Großbritannien. Nationalistische, antisemitische und faschistische Bewegungen vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis 1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 383 pp.

The achievement of this study is to provide information in context about a large number of extreme right-wing leagues, clubs, movements, and splinter groups in Britain between the 1880s and 1945. Many of those groups have never been examined in such detail before: the National Service League, for example, or the Navy League, the Imperial Maritime League, or the Anti-Socialist Union. Regarding the best-known of Britain's right-wing movements, Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, Bauerkämper is able to add fresh material to what we know, including some from German archives. For the period before 1918, the work is based on secondary literature. The long-term perspective of Bauerkämper's study has the advantage of bringing to light the personal ties and connections between groups in the years before and af-

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ter the First World War. It also shows up the continuity of certain patterns of argument, conspiracy theories, and conceptions of the enemy. But what is also striking, particularly in comparison with Germany, is the short-lived nature, poor organization, and inconsistency of most far-right movements in Britain. Even in periods of tension such as the years 1911-14 or the economic crisis that began in 1930, none of the groups studied by Bauerkämper was able to exert any lasting influence on the political agenda. Although some had quite substantial membership figures and their ideas had a public echo beyond the circle of their immediate supporters (particularly through certain sections of the British press), the established parties and British political culture as a whole proved resistant to them.

This leads Bauerkämper to the crucial question of the structural conditions that might account for the different degrees of penetration achieved by Fascist movements in twentieth-century European states. Summing up in his final chapter, Bauerkämper cites a series of factors behind the relative lack of success of nationalist, xenophobic, and genuinely Fascist groups in Britain: the unemployment of the inter-war years was particularly concentrated in certain regions, and this made it less explosive as a political problem; the Communists were of only marginal importance in Britain, which contributed towards the internal stability of the Labour Party and the trade unions, and also meant that the middle classes felt less threatened than was the case in Germany or France; the Conservative Party exerted a unifying influence in that it conceded many demands originating from the right (for example, stricter immigration laws) while consistently defending parliamentary institutions; and finally, authoritarian experiments, violent protests, and xenophobic excesses were considered 'not respectable' and 'un-English' and failed to draw support from the country's élites, even where those élites might be in sympathy with specific goals. Bauerkämper sees all these things as indications that Britain between the wars enjoyed a political culture which was fundamentally characterized by deference.

Willibald Steinmetz

[106] ANGELA KAISER, *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik 1920-1926* (Frankfurt/M., etc.: Lang, 1989), 696 pp.

Edgar Vincent Lord D'Abernon was the first British ambassador to Berlin after the First World War. Astonishingly, not much attention has previously been paid to what he did. Angela Kaiser has now plugged this gap. In so doing she has made an important contribution to the history of German-British relations during the first half of the Weimar Republic as well as to the history of Weimar's foreign policy.

D'Abernon was not a product of the Foreign Office hierarchy. Accordingly, his initiatives regularly met with mistrust in Whitehall. Kaiser sees the British Foreign Office as championing a policy that, so far as its attitude towards Germany was concerned, continued to cling to the idea of an Anglo-French entente. D'Abernon, on the other hand, wished to give priority to Britain's relations with Germany; he was prepared to listen to German demands for a review of the Treaty of Versailles, and he painted France as the real 'trouble-maker' in Europe. For this last claim, Kaiser is able to cite some dramatic evidence, a particularly prominent example being D'Abernon's warning, delivered in late 1921, of the consequences of too close an alliance with France: 'involving us in all sorts of responsibilities and dangers without adequate advantage – notably it might involve us in the defence of Poland against Germany and Russia – a contingency not very remote' (p. 454). However, where it was a question of actively siding with German interests, as in the controversy about the partition of Upper Silesia, for example, the British ambassador refused to entertain German ideas (in this case, even a personal appeal from the President of the Reichstag was unavailing).

On the other hand, possibly Kaiser views the Foreign Office's close reliance on a policy of entente too much through D'Abernon's eyes. Britain's scathing disapproval of France's support for the so-called 'autonomists' in the Rhineland and in the Palatinate in 1923-4 was formulated by the Foreign Office in London, not by the British ambassador in Berlin. We must agree with her, though, when she states that the influence of the British ambassador was nevertheless very considerable. D'Abernon had powerful patrons and was in the privileged position of being able to present his views directly to the British Cabinet. He played a crucial part in the conclusion of the Treaty of Locarno and in Germany's admission to the Council of the League of Nations; at

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Stresemann's request, he delayed his departure from Berlin until after Germany's entry into the League of Nations had been made official.

Hermann J. Hiery

[107] HANS-WERNER WÜRZLER, *Großbritanniens Interesse an der west-europäischen Stahlverständigung und die Gründung der Internationalen Rohstahlgemeinschaft (1923/24-1926/27)* (Bochum: Brockmeyer), 1991, 453 pp.

This study looks at the international cartellization of the steel industry during the inter-war years in a wide context, and not merely from a bilateral perspective. It links German and French policies in the 'economic corollary' of Locarno with the British standpoint. Against the background of the structural crisis in the British steel industry during the Black Decade and its lack of competitiveness, this study highlights Britain's vested interests in maintaining the International Steel Community because of its stabilizing features and its potentially beneficial influence on worldwide price developments. Britain's ultimate refusal to become part of this international agreement once it was clear that even minimal British demands would not be met is traced using an impressive array of sources. From another perspective, the author delineates the indirectly catalytic impact of Anglo-German agreements, combined with Franco-German antagonism over fixed contingents, on the ultimate liberalization of the world trade system. All in all, Würzler succeeds in shedding new light on the British role in this crucial field of economic policy.

Ulrike Jordan

[108] ROLAND SCHOPF (ed.), *England und die Engländer in Schulbüchern des Kaiserreichs und der Weimarer Republik: Texte mit Kommentar*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschunterrichts, 3 (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1990), 343 pp.

This is a collection of extracts from textbooks published between 1865 and 1932 and used in teaching history, German, and geography in German schools. It presents the different 'images' of Britain and the British conveyed in German classrooms. As is to be expected in a country where state influence on education was strong, these images reflected the state of Anglo-German relations. The brief commentary and the

organization of the material suggest that five views of Britain were conveyed to German pupils at different times. While Britain was presented in favourable terms in the 1860s, and largely ignored during the early days of the Wilhelmine Empire when France occupied a far more prominent place, it was considered increasingly dangerous in the days of imperialism. During and after the First World War, Britain was classed as 'perfidious Albion', before appearing in a more neutral or even sympathetic light in the second half of the 1920s. The topics taught were those one would expect: the English ideal of the 'gentleman', Britain's commercial and industrial success, generally considered in a positive light; and Britain's supposedly excessive emphasis on trade and commercial gain, a shortcoming regularly remarked upon.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[109] FRIEDRICH WECKERLEIN, *Streitfall Deutschland. Die britische Linke und die 'Demokratisierung' des Deutschen Reiches, 1900-1918*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 34 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 451 pp.

This book is about the attitude of the British left, conceived of here in a wider sense than just the Labour Party and the trade unions, to Germany. It actually concentrates on the period of the First World War, but goes into questions which extend beyond Germany. First, Weckerlein presents the image of Germany held by British left-wingers. As with other political allegiances, he discerns the development of the two well-known viewpoints which found expression in the thesis of the undemocratic character of the Germanic race and belief in the existence of a 'better Germany'. The author follows developments chronologically from the start of the war, to the events of 1917, to the revolution in Germany. He discusses in detail the positions of the various groups on the left. The debate about Germany was in many respects not only about a specific opponent, but also about basic issues. Thus Weckerlein is able, secondly, to outline the development of the foreign policy programme of the British left. During the war notions were developed of a future peace-time order that was to be structurally stable. This is where the book departs from its theme in the narrower sense. Weckerlein pursues the repercussions of 'Streitfall Deutschland' still further when he looks, thirdly, at how the views held by particular groups affected their standing within the party. Thus he sees the controversy over Ger-

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many as a substitute debate on developments within the Labour Party as such. Finally Weckerlein also looks at Labour's attitude within the International.

The general question thrown up by this book is: what effect did the debate on Germany really have? It certainly influenced perceptions of Germany in the medium-term, and also the development of the party programme, even if the German factor here was only one of many more fundamental controversies. What is debatable, however, is whether the role played by the various groups within the party was really determined by their attitude to Germany. Weckerlein's study deals competently with the sources. It shows that the role of the debates on foreign policy and on Germany for the development of the Labour Party should not be underestimated.

Johannes Paulmann

[110] CHRISTIAN FÄLSCH, *Rivalität als Prinzip. Die englische Demokratie im Denken des wilhelminischen Deutschland 1900-1914*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, III/462 (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 1991), 293 pp.

This book describes how British democracy was perceived by the German public shortly before the First World War. A special source was used for this purpose, namely influential, political periodicals publishing articles by scholars and well-known writers for educated readers. Various pamphlets and contemporary books are also considered. Newspapers (with the exception of the *Kreuzzeitung*) are excluded. There is an introductory chapter on periodicals in general. Then follow sections on the following topics: England as the new rival and unwilling relation; Anglo-German economic rivalry; British parliamentarism and German constitutionalism; the English national character; and a special section on Marxist assessments. The author sees the public as a 'mood-barometer accompanying politics'. Beyond presenting opinions expressed at the time, he can therefore only conclude that Germans had no consistent image of Britain, and that before the First World War in German eyes rivalry was a far more dominant factor than any notion of Britain as a possible role-model.

Johannes Paulmann

[111] PETER ALTER (ed.), *Im Banne der Metropolen. Berlin und London in den zwanziger Jahren*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 29 (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 374 pp.

What binds admirers and opponents of big cities together is their shared inability to free themselves from the spell of the metropolis. Not only is the object of their attention the same, but also the intensity of their feelings about it. This collection of sixteen essays by noted English, American, and German historians examines the metropolis phenomenon using the examples of Berlin and London in the 1920s, concentrating particularly on the 'everyday' or 'mass-cultural' aspects of big-city life. In fact, some of the essays on Berlin logically go beyond the so-called Golden Twenties to deal with the National Socialist period. The informative Introduction by Peter Alter and Afterword by Hagen Schulze set out the book's current time-frame, starting with the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the new German and European order, the question of the German capital, and hence the future integration of Berlin into the great cities of Europe. Following a general study by James Joll of the symbolic nature of the metropolis between progressiveness and decadence, the book is divided into three subject-areas. First, the achievements of the big city are portrayed in terms of town-planning, film culture, the role of the new department stores and the urban anti-Semitism associated with them, and the importance of leisure; then regional and municipal urban politics are discussed; lastly, critics and admirers of metropolitan culture are portrayed, men like Oswald Spengler and Werner Sombart, for example, or on the other hand the Deutsche Werkbund and the Bauhaus. Here the tension between reaction and modernism to which cities were exposed in the 1920s comes out with special clarity. Berlin and London have very different histories and perform very different functions within their countries. For that very reason historical examination of them is instructive, while comparing them opens up fresh perspectives, as illustrated, for example, by Paul Weindling's essay on their respective public-health policies. Ultimately, part of what makes studying these great cities so compelling is no doubt the fascination they exude. This is communicated vividly to the reader by this book.

Benedikt Stuchtey

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[112] ANDREAS FLEISCHER, *'Feind hört mit!' Propagandakampagnen des Zweiten Weltkriegs im Vergleich*, Imaginarium, Texte zur historisch-politischen Bildkunde, 2 (Münster and Hamburg: LIT, 1994), 260 pp.

Fleischer sets out to reappraise 'warnings against treason' in Britain and Germany. His investigation centres on the Second World War campaigns, 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' and 'Feind hört mit'. A great many posters and texts are examined in detail and descriptions given of their origins, their 'inventors', and the circumstances in which they came into being. This book also provides detailed analyses of the effectiveness of pictorial and textual statements. The author sees the principal difference between British and German propaganda campaigns in fundamentally different attitudes to the individual. While British propaganda appealed to personal responsibility and the threat to others' lives, National Socialist propaganda operated purely by intimidation. 'From this point of view, the shadow-man symbol of an enemy who pursues the system like its own shadow is a final visible token of the impossibility of erecting, on the mass-psychological basis set out in chapter six of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, a workable, durable system capable of adjusting in time to the conditions of technological development and organizing its population accordingly' (p. 208).

Hermann J. Hiery

[113] ANGELA SCHWARZ, *Die Reise ins Dritte Reich. Britische Augenzeugen im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland (1933-1939)*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 31 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 435 pp.

Angela Schwarz's study of the British perceptions of National Socialist Germany, seen through the eyes of visitors to the country, provides many new insights into the topic. After the first part which analyses the historical and psychological preconditions for British perceptions of Germany, the work concentrates on the confrontation with Nazi Germany. The author reaches a number of conclusions. First, the myth of the 'objective' and critical observer from Britain, whose attitude could be characterized as one of scepticism, if not opposition, can no longer be upheld. Closer proximity led to a change in perspective from foreign to domestic policy issues. Whereas ideology can be ruled out as common ground between Germans and Britons at that time, the posi-

tive reaction of many visitors from across the Channel to German social institutions and concepts of people's solidarity mirrored certain social and psychological dispositions on the British side. Taking the whole picture into consideration, Schwarz concludes that the visitors grossly under-estimated the dangers of Nazi Germany's policies, both foreign and domestic. On the other hand, the author concludes that the terror within Germany, anti-Semitic policies, and the constant surveillance of individual citizens caused a feeling of alienation from the host country. Clichés such as that of the particular susceptibility of Germans to authoritarian rule and mass organization were the most common resort in these instances. Angela Schwarz analyses the deeper foundations of these reactions and reaches the conclusion that Britons' reactions to Hitler's Germany were determined by their picture of the Weimar Republic, and whether they saw it from an anti-modern or a modernist viewpoint. This is a most important addition to the history of perceptions of the Third Reich.

Ulrike Jordan

[114] ALICE and GERHARD ZADEK, *Mit dem letzten Zug nach England. Opposition. Exil. Heimkehr* (Berlin: Dietz, 1992), 284 pp.

This is one of numerous first-hand accounts of Jewish emigration to Britain, and is particularly interesting because of its political implications. Alice and Gerhard Zadek came to London from Berlin and were active for eight years in refugee aid organizations. Both came from a Jewish working-class background and had already been involved in the anti-fascist resistance group around Herbert Baum. They were members of the Zionist youth organization Haschomer Hazair. In 1947 they returned to Germany and initially worked in the GDR before being expelled as 'West emigrants'. Although this is not strictly an academic work, it is a valuable eye-witness account.

Ulrike Jordan

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[115] WERNER E. MOSSE *et. al.* (eds), *Second Chance. Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, 48 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1991), 654 pp.

This collection of papers given at a conference in Cambridge in 1988 deserves as much publicity as can be mustered. If this conference marked the first systematic attempt at assessing the German-Jewish impact on Britain as Peter Pulzer claims, then this enterprise was long overdue. The volume contains no fewer than thirty-six essays, the bulk of which are devoted to 'the social and cultural impact' (chapter 2) of refugees arriving after 1933. A number of articles deal with the attitudes prevailing in the host country, as well as with procedures of acceptance. A balance-sheet drawn up by Werner Mosse evaluates the contribution of this unexpected influx of highly gifted and skilled refugees from continental Europe. While banking and commerce might have been chief occupations of Germans in Britain, both Jewish and non-Jewish, before 1914, this was not the case with the 55,000 emigrants forced out of Germany by Nazi persecution. They represented the whole spectrum of middle-class society, with particular emphasis on the professions (doctors and dentists forming the largest group). As a consequence, the whole of British society was to benefit from their ambitions to recreate their former life. The cultural impact was strongest in areas such as art history, publishing, music, psycho-analysis, and the natural sciences. A great many of these refugees had made the German Protestant work ethic and intellectual thoroughness their own. Indeed, today's German readers will be struck by their intense German identity at a time when they are told, even by their own President, that there is no such thing as national identity. Mosse's conclusion that German Jews made 'a modest contribution towards Britain's partial "Europeanization"', the breaking down of historical insularity, is an example of British understatement.

Lothar Kettenacker

[116] MATHIAS GREFFRATH (ed.), *Die Zerstörung einer Zukunft. Gespräche mit emigrierten Sozialwissenschaftlern* (Frankfurt/M. and New York: Campus, 1989), 317 pp.

This excellent selection of lengthy interviews with emigrants working in the social sciences, all eminent representatives of their respective fields, is a veritable goldmine of information about the background and specific conditions of emigration. The interview technique used by Mathias Greffrath brings to light a variety of aspects, since his broad and yet well informed questions are ideally adapted to each of his interview partners. The students' revolt of the 1960s brought the names and teachings of eminent German social scientists, who had become the victims of Nazi policies, back to German universities. Only after this length of time, decades after the end of the Second World War, are they again being discussed in Germany, in an academic as well as a general context. The interviews edited in this valuable volume deal with a number of topics, including the effects of emigration, fascism, and Stalinism. This develops into an analysis of the relationship between social theory and social movements, and the role of political illusions. For example, Marie Jhoda talks about the disintegration of socialist hopes and Hans Gerth about Weber's theories. Binding all these talks together are general questions as to continuities, both academic and political, as well as personal disillusionments, which require an analysis of today's society. Along with those already mentioned, Greffrath also interviewed Günther Anders, Toni Oelsner, and Alfred Sohn-Rethel.

Ulrike Jordan

[117] KLAUS-JÜRGEN MÜLLER and DAVID N. DILKS (eds), *Großbritannien und der deutsche Widerstand 1933-1944* (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1994), 268 pp.

This collection of essays by German and British historians on Britain's reactions to German resistance during the Nazi period derives from conferences in Leeds (1986) and Hamburg (1989). The volume is an extremely useful introduction to the current state of research on the many questions raised. Emphasis is given to the following issues: the significance of German resistance for British policy, the 'foreign policy' of resistance circles themselves, British psychological warfare and the

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role of the secret services *vis-à-vis* German resistance, and finally the importance of strategic bombing for the German opposition to Hitler. A variety of methodologies is used. Traditional biographical approaches are juxtaposed with social history analyses of aspects of mentality.

Ulrike Jordan

[118] JOHANNES PAULMANN, *Arbeitslosigkeit in Großbritannien 1931-1939. Sozial- und Wirtschaftspolitik zwischen Weltwirtschaftskrise und Weltkrieg* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1989), 164 pp.

This study takes a detailed look at plans and measures to combat unemployment under the Conservative-led National Government. It focuses on the attitudes towards state intervention taken by the politicians involved and their critics. The principal sources are Parliamentary Papers and other official publications. In the inter-war period there were three fields of activity in which politics directly or indirectly affected the labour market: reform of the system of unemployment relief, monetary and budgetary policy, and measures to promote workforce mobility and training and to deal with 'depressed areas'. Following a brief initial phase in 1931-2 marked by a policy of strict cost-cutting and aimed entirely at budgetary consolidation, the government, with varying degrees of reluctance, pursued initiatives in all three fields. Paulmann shows how these were not conceived as interconnected but grew out of distinct and in part mutually contradictory considerations. In addition to the fiscal motive, the goal of securing Britain's export-policy position, the dogma that the state should so far as possible keep out of private enterprise, tactical party considerations, and the pacification of interest groups repeatedly played a role here.

What gives Paulmann's work its particular quality is the clarity with which he sets out the complexity of the conditioning framework within which politicians acted. For example, it was not simply rigid adherence to the dogma of economic laissez-faire that led to the rejection of the large-scale state-financed investment programmes put forward by Oswald Mosley, J. M. Keynes, and Lloyd George, among others. The funds potentially available to central government were in fact far too small to achieve anything worth mentioning. Effective investment programmes would have been possible only in collaboration with local authorities, which would have required either an enormous outlay on negotiations or a reform of local government, and for political reasons

the Conservative government had no wish to get involved in either. A similar mixture of motives dictated the government's actions over reforming the system of unemployment relief. The initial response to the looming financial crisis was to cut payments, but following protests these were quickly restored. By making this concession, the Conservatives were able to rescue the rest of their reform programme: reintroduction of the means test after twenty-six weeks and the creation of central boards for administering unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance in the hope of deflecting responsibility from local authorities as well as government and Parliament. If anything like a consistent pattern of action on the part of the National Government is to be found, it lies in the attempt to divide the unemployment problem into separate, individual questions, thus shielding the political system from new types of demands and criticisms. In this respect, the British politicians of the 1930s were thoroughly successful; however, a drastic reduction in unemployment was achieved only in the very different circumstances of the Second World War.

Willibald Steinmetz

[119] JOHANNES PAULMANN, *Staat und Arbeitsmarkt in Großbritannien. Krise, Weltkrieg, Wiederaufbau*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 32 (Göttingen and Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 477 pp.

Building on his earlier study of the political approach to unemployment in Britain between 1931 and 1939 (see previous review), Paulmann here looks at employment policy as a key field of political action up to the early 1950s. In addition to Parliamentary Papers and official publications, his account is based mainly on Cabinet Office and Ministry of Labour documents, and on the records of the British Employers' Federation and the TUC. The book is divided into three main chapters, arranged chronologically. The first chapter, on the inter-war period, examines measures to enhance mobility of labour and the beginnings of a successful regional policy from 1934. The second chapter, covering the Second World War, looks at the organization of the labour force for wartime requirements, and at planning for employment policy after the war. The third chapter deals with demobilization and the place of labour market policy in economic planning during the post-1945 Labour government.

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Paulmann looks beyond the period demarcations customary in British historiography. This enables him to gauge more precisely not only the impact of the Second World War on the process of renewal, but also how patterns of political action were established. On the whole, Paulmann believes that in the period under consideration the British political system was sufficiently flexible to meet the challenges of the manpower shortage during the war and the transition to a peacetime economy. While there could be no question of a consensus between interest groups and political parties, the government did manage to bring about a cessation of hostilities between employers and unions without resorting to large-scale coercion. However, there were delays. For example, it was the middle of 1940 before the entire labour force was fully mobilized for war. The government's respect for the independence of management and trade unions, and its desire to gain their co-operation on a voluntary basis, took its toll. As a result, the industrial relations system remained unreformed during the war. Afterwards, there was a similar delay in demobilization. Impressed by the undoubted successes of state manpower-management during the war, the Labour government nevertheless underestimated its ability to influence the situation in this respect, and for a long time stuck to the tried and tested measures for controlling the labour market. Not until 1947-8 did a more realistic assessment prevail.

Unlike some British historians, Paulmann does not comb the history of the 1930s and 1940s in search of people to blame for mistakes that only later became apparent. Instead, he looks at what led politicians to their own subjective assessments of their scope for action, and at the objective boundaries that they came up against sooner or later in implementing their ideas. The decisive step in the direction of a public undertaking by the government to secure high and stable employment was taken in 1944 with the White Paper on Employment Policy (Cmd. 6527). Although this document had all the hallmarks of a negotiated compromise, Keynes described it as 'a revolution in official opinion'. William Beveridge's even more ambitious programme, promoted with much publicity as *Full Employment in a Free Society*, ensured that henceforth politicians of all parties felt committed. A return to the policy of the inter-war years, which had amounted to no more than *ad hoc* measures aiming mainly to depoliticize the problem of unemployment, was no longer possible at the end of the Second World War. Paulmann's detailed analysis of discussions of the White Paper in the government,

in Parliament, and in the public arena is the best section of his book. Clearly, views about implementing the promise diverged widely between parties, interest groups, and individuals even in 1944. However, British politicians were fortunate in that their declaration of intent was not seriously put to the test until the mid-1970s. Compared with the sustained mass unemployment that followed the First World War, the temporary manpower shortage in certain industries after 1945 was a problem easily solved, and the affluence that set in from 1950 onwards allowed employment policy to become a subordinate branch of government activity.

Willibald Steinmetz

[120] LOTHAR KETTENACKER, *Krieg zur Friedenssicherung. Die Deutschlandplanung der britischen Regierung während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Publications of the German Historical Institute London, 22 (Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 578 pp.

British post-war planning in the Second World War pursued the same goals as pre-war diplomacy had done, that is, to secure a lasting peace and Britain's great-power status. Lothar Kettenacker's study illustrates this continuity within British foreign policy, while at the same time examining the role played by planning staffs and civil servants within the process of political decision-making. Based largely on hitherto unpublished sources, this study deals mainly with the Whitehall bureaucracy's methods for securing peace. This involved the construction of models designed to maintain Britain's status as an imperial power. Ultimately, this anonymous and bureaucratic planning for post-war Germany failed in the face of a different reality. The special merit of this book lies in its detailed reconstruction of the decision-making process in government and the civil service.

Ulrike Jordan

[121] MARTINA KESSEL, *Westeuropa und die deutsche Teilung. Englische und französische Deutschlandpolitik auf den Außenministerkonferenzen von 1945 bis 1947* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1989), 324 pp.

This dissertation, submitted to the university of Munich in 1988, demonstrates that research on contemporary history completed before the

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watershed of 1989-90 has not necessarily been rendered useless, let alone worthless. Kessel's insights, gleaned mainly from archives in the Public Record Office, pose a serious challenge to hitherto accepted commonplaces about the partition of Germany.

For instance, the author refers repeatedly to the leading role played by Britain in the development of the post-war system. The policy pursued by London contributed decisively to German partition becoming established. Much more than France, more strongly even than the Soviet Union, Britain insisted on a fixed position, making the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conferences almost inevitable. There was nothing London feared more than the spectre of the new Germany conjured up by a Soviet offer of German unification. The British view was that such a unified Germany would relatively soon threaten to become an economic rival as well because of the greater efficiency (*sic!*) of the Soviet planned economy. Britain did what it could to prevent this at a very early stage. In the autumn of 1945 it was already dissociating itself from the German central administrations contemplated at Potsdam, which were to constitute the decisive step towards a new, unified German state. In rejecting the plan, however, Britain very cleverly took cover behind French opposition. As Kessel shows, compromise solutions to the most controversial questions among the Allies (notably the problem of reparations) were entirely within the realms of possibility; what ultimately scuppered them every time was the British veto. Bevin stubbornly refused to separate potentially soluble individual problems from Britain's maximum demand regarding Germany. This envisaged the annexation of the other zones to the Bizone as the only way to set up a new German state. A third way, namely the total elimination of all zonal boundaries, was ruled out. 'The failure of the Moscow Conference in the spring of 1947 meant the success of the British plan, and subsequent British policy was dictated by a policy of productivity [for the Bizone] that should not, however, lead to renewed German economic supremacy' (p. 300). For the future, Britain hoped to see the two German states successfully integrated into their respective blocs, and itself to enjoy a relaxed relationship with the Soviet Union. From the British angle, it was a policy designed to achieve a rupture within Germany as the only way to create the conditions for peaceful co-existence.

Compared to Britain, France's policy towards Germany was more flexible. The war had challenged French positions, particularly with

regard to Germany, in a much more profound way than British ones. Kessel states that the French were concerned from the outset not to repeat the mistakes of Versailles. Immediately after the Libération, the long-term goal of integrating Germany economically was seen as the solution to the German problem. The French model of anchoring Germany in Europe was based initially on 'co-operative control' of Germany by the London-Paris axis. Bidault's repeated attempt 'to secure British co-operation for this project foundered ... on Britain's detachment from the Continent' (p. 297). The special Franco-German relationship that subsequently emerged was therefore almost a logical consequence of Britain's rejection of French offers. This gave rise in West Germany to an attitude (based, as the author remarks, on French models) in which the political goal of European union became a substitute for ideology and part of the Federal Republic's self-image.

Hermann J. Hiery

[122] KONRAD W. WATRIN, *Machtwechsel im Nahen Osten. Großbritannien's Niedergang und der Aufstieg der Vereinigten Staaten 1941-1947* (Frankfurt/M. and New York: Campus, 1989; textbook edn, 1992), 598 pp.

Not to beat about the bush, this is one book you can do without – in every respect. It neither contributes anything new, nor does it present what is known already in an improved or more readable form. This applies from the foreword on. Actually, there are two forewords, because in addition to the author the President of the German-Arabic Society has contributed a few words. Of course, it is not only journalists such as the author who have a problem with the shifting public reputation of a 'prominent' figure, but what ex-minister Möllemann comes out with here is simply awash with platitudes and commonplaces. Mr Möllemann's sweeping criticisms embrace Americans ('once bitten twice shy in the East'), Russians ('Moscow's red star', which 'never really rose properly in the Middle East'), and the 'Anglo- or Francophile' Arabic élite. Finally, according to Möllemann, the Germans are 'still steeped in the ideas of Karl May'. If the purpose of forewords by 'big names' is to give more weight to a scholarly publication, this example could scarcely have fallen wider of the mark.

Unfortunately, not a great deal more can be said of the substance of the work itself. Everywhere, illusion takes precedence over reality. Plati-

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tudes and commonplaces in every chapter are introduced by quotations whose connection with the main text often remains unclear. Quotations receive asterisks rather than footnote numbers. There are footnote numbers in the text, but not for quotations, which figure numerous here as well. Finding the references is hard work. The effect of these quotations, often taken out of context, is to make the reader feel like a European tourist in an Arab bazaar: a lot of shouting, much jostling for attention, and in the end one is left empty-handed, or rather, what you get you don't want, and what you want you don't get. As if not quite sure of what he is saying himself, the author also quotes from Shaw, Joseph Conrad, and Anaïs Nin – with the possible intention of flaunting his knowledge of world literature in order to brand every potential critic of his book an illiterate. Still, the mass of quotations from alleged or genuine authorities does provide a diversion from the text itself.

Descriptive beyond the dreams of tedium, this text is also extravagantly sprinkled with foreign words (two of my favourites are *Explorationserfolge* and *britische Aporie*) that serve the same smoke-screening tactics as the quotations, obviously intended to steer the reader away from the vacuity of what is actually being said (while at the same time, by obliging him to have frequent recourse to the dictionary, teaching him a proper respect for the author). The language that remains is the closest approximation the author achieves to academia: dull, antiquarian, sesquipedalian.

In a book of almost six hundred pages, surely an index would have been appropriate? The requisite space could very usefully have been saved elsewhere. There is really no shortage of books on the Middle East. Anyone wishing to find out from German scholars about the recent interconnected history of Arabs, Jews, Egyptians, French, Americans, and British will still be better served by Helmut Mejcher (whose work, *Die Arabische Welt. Aufbruch in die Moderne*, Stuttgart, 1983, does merit a quotation, complete with asterisk, but is not mentioned in the bibliography), or by Wolfgang J. Mommsen (for Egypt). The book ends, inevitably, with a quotation. But Toynbee's consolation ("There is nothing to compel us to feel that we are doomed") is likely to strike most readers, if they have got this far, as pure mockery.

Hermann J. Hiery

[123] BERND EBERSOLD, *Machtverfall und Machtbewußtsein. Britische Friedens- und Konfliktlösungsstrategien 1918-1956*, Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte, 31 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 447 pp.

This is an ambitious attempt to survey Britain's foreign and security policy between the zenith of its imperial power and the Suez debacle in 1956, which marked the definitive end of imperial grandeur. The title and subtitle reveal the chief topic: Britain's declining power and the strategies adopted by a status-conscious élite in an attempt to slow down this process. In other words, it is the often-told story of imperial over-extension and strategic over-commitment explained once more for the German reader. The author's perspective is that of a political scientist with hindsight, who resorts to a large arsenal of models, concepts, options, and so forth (for example, 'antagonistic co-operation' with the Soviet Union), rather than that of the historian looking at the nitty-gritty of implementing policies. The reader is constantly presented with contradictions, supposedly the result of conflicting strategies, when in fact Britain is engaged in crisis-management all the time. In this way, Ebersold succeeds in covering a large range of areas and topics: appeasement and the inter-war period, the policy of the Grand Alliance, the transition to the Cold War, containment in both western Europe and Asia, and the failure to curb Arab nationalism. The approach is somewhat reminiscent of Paul Kennedy's masterly survey, except that the latter explains more, on fewer pages, in more readable and jargon-free language. Ebersold's analysis brings out the dilemma of British decision-makers, faced with so many conflicting demands on their resources. He is right to stress the continuity of appeasement under different circumstances, and to point out – if only he would not repeat himself so often – that Britain's desperate struggle to hold on to power world-wide contributed to its loss of influence where it mattered most, in Europe. Perhaps the chief merit of Ebersold's study is to emphasize that there is more, indeed much more, to British foreign policy than redressing the balance of power, as most of his German colleagues tend to believe.

Lothar Kettenacker

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[124] HELMUT RECHENBERG, *Farm-Hall-Berichte. Die abgehörten Gespräche der 1945/46 in England internierten deutschen Atomwissenschaftler. Ein Kommentar* (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1994), 97 pp.

This slim volume provides a commentary on the Farm Hall Transcripts. These are the records of conversations held between ten German nuclear scientists during their internment at Farm Hall estate near Cambridge from 3 July 1945 to 3 January 1946, and bugged by British Intelligence. The transcripts were released on 25 February 1992 and published in both the English original and in German translation. A well-researched commentary on these documents is certainly needed, but this is not, unfortunately, what Rechenberg's book delivers. The author attempts to fill in the historical background, from the German uranium project during the war to the final homecoming of the famous physicists. He goes on to describe the nature of the material contained in the American and British section of the transcripts, and adds the main results of the eavesdropping in four more sections. However, the information and interpretation provided fall short of what historians would expect for such an important source edition. More analysis is needed, especially as regards the role of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s. The author sums up his findings thus, confirming previous readings of available documents: 1) there was never a serious German effort to build an atomic bomb, 2) almost none of the Farm Hall internees were Nazi partisans, 3) the scientists involved in the work considered their efforts to be valuable contributions to the economic, scientific, and technological future of Germany, and 4) relations between prisoners and their guards were very good. Further publications on this controversial issue are called for.

Ulrike Jordan

[125] ELISABETH KRAUS, *Ministerien für das ganze Deutschland? Der Alliierte Kontrollrat und die Frage gesamtdeutscher Zentralverwaltungen*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, 37 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1990), 375 pp.

Now that the division of Germany has been overcome, it makes even more sense than ever – and this book was conceived and written before the *Wende* – to ask how and why it happened in the first place. Why were the East Germans not spared forty years of misery? There are no easy answers, as this book makes plainly and painfully clear.

One of the crucial turning-points was the fulfilment (or otherwise) of the Potsdam Agreement to establish 'certain essential German administrative departments, headed by State Secretaries'. The latter were to function under the Control Council to ensure, as also stated at Potsdam, 'uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout Germany'. The original British proposals for the Allied Control Council, and Berlin as a separate zone, had been conceived as counterweights to the division of Germany into zones of occupation and different spheres of interest.

Kraus's painstaking analysis traces all the elements on the various levels of decision-making which account for the failure to set up 'German ministries' as a binding mechanism to hold the country together. The previous assumption was that France, not present at Potsdam, obstructed any progress towards central German agencies. This Kraus does not dispute, but she reveals that matters were much more intricate than that. The Americans were the only ones really determined to fulfil the Potsdam Agreement. Both the Russians and the British wavered, the Russians because of their desire to create *faits accomplis* in their own zone without any interference, the British because they did not wish to antagonize the French or cause the Americans to relinquish their responsibilities in Germany. One of Kraus's main conclusions is that the Soviets were able to remain totally inactive without giving themselves away because the French were already doing their dirty work and wrecking a common policy. Interestingly, each of the three 'stalling powers' feared that German authorities in Berlin were bound to move the whole of the country into the other camp, and thereby upset the balance of power.

Lothar Kettenacker

[126] ROLF STEININGER, *Ein neues Land an Rhein und Ruhr. Die Ruhrfrage 1945/46 und die Entstehung Nordrhein-Westfalens* (Cologne: Kohlhammer, 1990), 358 pp.

This is the first comprehensive account of how and why the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, a purely British brainchild, came into being, and it is almost exclusively based on British records, some of which are annexed in translation. As a matter of fact, it is the popularized version of the author's scholarly introduction to his massive documentation of the Ruhr question in 1945-46, published by the prestigious 'Kommission

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für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien' in 1988.

The creation of this most industrialized and populous of the German states is arguably the outstanding British contribution to the successful development of post-war Germany and its economy. As Steininger shows, none of the other occupying powers could be trusted to act in a similarly disinterested and far-sighted manner. What, in retrospect, seems to be the most natural solution, turns out to have been arrived at very late in the day, and against all odds.

Imposition of some kind of international control over Germany's armaments industry was one of the earliest and most important Allied war aims. It fell to Britain, as the power that came to occupy the Ruhr area, to decide how to handle this vexing question. Satisfying both the French and the Russians, who kept up the pressure, proved to be an impossible task, the French advocating a totally separate state, the Russians demanding their share in the control system. As the Cold War gathered momentum with the transformation of East Germany along the lines of the Soviet model, the last thing the British wanted was for Stalin to have a foothold in the Ruhr. Depriving the Soviet Union of any influence over the Ruhr without going back on Potsdam and the economic reconstruction of Western Germany were the chief motives behind British planning. In the end, the creation of North Rhine-Westphalia as a parent for the Ruhr industries turned out to be the first sign-post in the direction of a separate West German state. Public control of heavy industry in one *Land* was one thing (and one which made sense), a nationalized economy in the hands of a Berlin government, possibly under Soviet supervision, was quite a different proposition.

Lothar Kettenacker

[127] ADOLF M. BIRKE and EVA MAYRING (eds), *Britische Besatzung in Deutschland. Aktenerschließung und Forschungsfelder* (London: German Historical Institute London, 1992), 196 pp.

This volume documents a conference held at the German Historical Institute London in June 1992. The topic was British occupation policy in Germany between 1945 and 1955, and it provided an opportunity to introduce the Institute's project of editing the Control Commission for Germany (British Element) material held at the Public Record Office London. This book is indispensable for both archivists and scholars of

the post-1945 period. It provides a reliable over-view of current research on a number of key topics such as British administration and aspects of the 'chaos society' after the Second World War. Moreover, the contributions by members of the project team introduce the archivist and historian to the methodology and scope of the edition. Many aspects of post-war history, for example, the devolution of power from British to German institutions, British democratization and denazification policy, and a number of specific issues such as the police in the British zone, will have to be re-evaluated in the light of the Control Commission material. The project is now complete and the edition is available in eleven volumes from Saur Publishers, Munich. The volume under review here is available directly from the German Historical Institute London.

Ulrike Jordan

[128] RALPH UHLIG, *Confidential Reports des Britischen Verbindungsstabes zum Zonenbeirat der britischen Besatzungszone in Hamburg (1946-1948). Demokratisierung aus britischer Sicht*, Kieler Werkstücke Reihe A: Beiträge zur schleswig-holsteinischen und skandinavischen Geschichte, 8 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1993), 201 pp.

This slim edition contains twenty-one documents of the British Liaison Staff to the Zonal Advisory Council in Germany, covering the years 1946 to 1948. Its merit lies in the unique insight it gives into a little-known aspect of Anglo-German relations during the occupation period. Ever since editorial work on the Control Commission material began in the late 1980s, studies have been produced on a multitude of topics. However, many paths still remain untrodden, not least the intricate workings of local liaison work. Uhlig's annotated edition helps close this gap, since the Confidential Reports printed in this volume provide an interesting perspective on the British view of Germany's capacity for reform, the trustworthiness of German politicians, and actual co-operation with the generation of German politicians of the immediate post-war period. These reports should be read in conjunction with the German archival material on the Zonal Advisory Council and the *Länder* Council in Stuttgart, and may provide the basis for new historical interpretations.

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[129] HEINER WEMBER, *Umerziehung im Lager. Internierung und Bestrafung von Nationalsozialisten in der britischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands*, 2nd edn (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1992), 430 pp.

This carefully researched book fills an important gap in post-war historiography. It describes the foundations of post-war planning in the field of internment policy, then goes on to provide a detailed analysis of this policy between 1944 and 1949. Within this time period, chronological divisions as well as policy objectives are explored. The dominant slogan in the period from 1944 to April 1946 was 'arrest first, check later'. The second year of internment brought a degree of consolidation, while between 1947 and 1949 internment showed signs of fading out. Wember succeeds in blending general information with specialist case studies of individual internment camps and reaches several interesting conclusions that effectively expand our knowledge of this aspect of occupation policy. The study is also an excellent example of a dual German/British perspective, since it includes the difficult topic of *Spruchgericht* hearings in the British Zone. The author addresses certain fundamental questions, for example, the extent to which British internment policy succeeded in sowing the seeds of democracy in the minds of the internees, and the degree to which there really was a 'change of heart', one of the key concepts of British occupation policy.

Wember draws a number of interesting conclusions. First, a clear distinction must be made between denazification and internment. Although at first glance internment could be seen as the strictest form of denazification, it also offered privileges in the form of physical and emotional refuge not afforded to the rest of the population at the time. In Wember's view the British concept of 're-education', that is, encouraging the Germans to abandon their old ideas on the basis of a new world view, worked very well. Secondly, the author concludes that the occupation authorities, above all the Intelligence Division, maintained a static view of internees who were potentially dangerous politically. This turned out to be especially unfortunate since intelligence personnel manned the Review and Interrogation staffs in the internment camps. Wember concludes his comprehensive overview by looking at the re-integration of internees, a process which was greatly facilitated by German policy in the early 1950s. He takes a decidedly critical view of these years, advancing the interpretation that integration came dan-

gerously close to renazification. Critical of both sides in this highly complex issue, Wember succeeds in maintaining an independent voice.

Ulrike Jordan

[130] GUSTAV SCHMIDT (ed.), *Großbritannien und Europa – Großbritannien in Europa. Sicherheitsbelange und Wirtschaftsfragen in der britischen Europapolitik nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Veröffentlichungen Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 10 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1989), 387 pp.

The overall theme of this volume is Britain's role in defence and economic policy within Western Europe. The essays, written predominantly as a contribution to diplomatic history, cover the period from 1944 to the late 1980s. The ambitious conference theme and the lively discussions are reflected in this collection of papers, which brings together a number of eminent authors on the topic, for instance, Gustav Schmidt, Stuart Croft, Roger Williams, Helmut Reifeld, and Clemens Wurm. Arranged in loosely chronological order, the essays have a British and Anglo-American perspective in common. Schmidt's introduction provides a valuable summary of the main themes of post-war British involvement in European defence policy, ranging from its influence on national security policy, British global strategy, problems regarding nuclear power status, and Britain as outpost of the USA, and the founding of NATO, to topics like Britain's interest in European integration ('Western Union' plans), the Schuman Plan, and the collapse of the European Defence Community. A conclusion to all the essays assembled in this interesting book, as well as a general index, would have been desirable, and a more Europe-centred contribution would have created an interesting balance.

Ulrike Jordan

[131] FRIEDRICH D. BACMEISTER, *Die Reform des deutschen Kommunalverfassungsrechts durch die britische Besatzungsmacht. Wiedereinführung einer demokratischen Stadtverfassung in Lüneburg 1945 und die Neufassung der Deutschen Gemeindeordnung 1946* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1988), 277 pp.

This study deals with British occupation policy in a very important field: the revision of communal government structures in post-war Germany. Although the author has chosen to write a local case study

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of Lüneburg, he also provides a broad historical background, including British war-time planning and developments in Germany since the Weimar years. Building on the thorough work of Lothar Kettenacker, Ulrich Reusch and others, Bacmeister tackles the issue from a legal point of view. Concentrating on the key concepts of British occupation policy – democratization, decentralization, and re-education – he reaches the following conclusions: the British vision of a renewal of German communal government was developed as late as July/August 1945 by the Control Commission for Germany (British Element). The emphasis shifted from decentralization to the idea of democratization and ‘re-educating’ German civil servants. Following these principles, the civil service was to be reformed along the lines of ‘municipalization’, which most of all meant accountability to political representatives and the devolution of powers. As a result, communal structures in Germany were to a certain extent modelled on the main features of British local government, whereby the former administrative duties of the mayor were split. Yet many ideas were not realized, for instance the devolution of responsibilities and powers to the local level or the tapping of new tax sources. In addition, the author concludes that the democratization of governmental structures came to replace the intended democratization of the civil servants. His final verdict is that the British concept of responsibility shared between non-political civil servants and political representatives failed. The picture looks different in the field of decentralization, where according to Bacmeister the occupation influence brought an insight into the possibilities of self-government. Contemporary debates on local government reforms, especially in North Rhine-Westphalia, document the lasting influence and interest of these questions.

Ulrike Jordan

[132] KURT JÜRGENSEN, *Die Briten in Schleswig-Holstein 1945-1949. Aus nächster Nähe beobachtet und mit Erinnerungen versehen vom Kieler Filmproduzenten und Kameramann Gerhard Garms* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1989), 167 pp.

Reproduced here are 182 contemporary photographs from the private papers of the German press photographer for the British army newspaper *Kiel Journal*. They show the everyday life of the British occupying force, and the destruction and reconstruction of Schleswig-Holstein

in the first years after the war. Though largely of regional historical interest, the pictures clearly illustrate the chaos that existed in Germany in the early post-war period: German pin-up girls, the Archbishop of York conducting a confirmation in Schleswig-Holstein, May Day demonstrators who have not yet acquired that fixed, civil-servant look, men and women employed in clearing up rubble from bomb-damage, refugees from the East, and the opening of the first *Landtag*. Kurt Jürgensen provides a historical introduction, which gives an excellent account of the current state of research.

Hermann J. Hiery

[133] ROLF LUTZEBÄCK, *Die Bildungspolitik der Britischen Militärregierung im Spannungsfeld zwischen 'education' und 're-education' in ihrer Besatzungszone, insbesondere in Schleswig-Holstein und Hamburg in den Jahren 1945-1947*, 2 parts (Frankfurt/M., etc.: Lang, 1991), 1,408 pp.

Be warned: this is a dinosaur of a book. 'With Kantian punctuality, the author's working day proper began in the rural idyll at a quarter past nine and finished, every day except Sunday, at ten o'clock in the evening. During this period my wife ... and daughter undoubtedly received short shrift. My thanks to them here for an ordeal that was nevertheless patiently borne.' Unfortunately, the reviewer is unable to summon up the same kind of selfless devotion, wondering instead how an admittedly interesting subject (centring on the policy of the first head of the British Military Government's Education Department, Donald Charles Riddy) could have come to be addressed in so unfocused a manner. In his study of the planning, implementation, and environment of British 're-education', including 'efforts for German youth', religious instruction, and adult education, Lutzebäck gives us virtually everything he found in the archives. Consequently, what matters is totally swamped by a mass of trivia. Yet the author can spare only seven and a half pages to summarize and analyse his findings. Whether the result – Riddy 'demonstrably achieved very much more than has been assumed hitherto'; his policy was 'consistent, constructive, and reasoned' – really does constitute a challenge to previous research (Halbritter, Paschkies), as is claimed, remains questionable, to say the least. Moreover, the author has left the sources in the Public Record Office untouched. So there is plenty of material left for him to do a *Habilitation* thesis on the subject.

Hermann J. Hiery

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[134] HORSTWALTER HEITZER, *Die CDU in der britischen Zone. Gründung, Organisation, Programm und Politik*, Forschungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, 12 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1988), 814 pp.

Heitzer's book (a Cologne University *Habilitationsschrift*) is a standard work that cannot be overlooked by anyone studying the CDU, the history of party politics in the Federal Republic, or the early years of that Republic. The author has consulted virtually everything in national (Bundesarchiv Koblenz, Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Public Record Office London), municipal, and private archives (notably the papers of Konrad Adenauer, Jakob Kaiser, Hermann Pünder, and Hans Schlange-Schöningen) that is of any relevance to the foundation phase of the CDU. Heitzer analyses the historical foundations of the new party and such associated phenomena as the famous essay by Julius Bachem, the *Volksverein* (already thoroughly covered by the author in an earlier study), and the Christian trade unions. He also examines the founding of Christian parties in the Rhineland (Cologne, Düsseldorf, Wuppertal), Westphalia (Dortmund and Paderborn), and north Germany (Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, and Bremen), as well as the development of state branches and the various attempts at pan-regional collaboration. These did not come to fruition until relatively late on, in October 1950 (that is, after the assumption of governmental responsibility at federal level), in the formation of the German Christian Democratic Union. Predictably, Heitzer devotes an entire sub-chapter to the most outstanding politician of his day, namely Konrad Adenauer. The author sees the successful dismantling of traditional denominational reservations and the establishment of a Christian-oriented popular party that was above denomination as the greatest party-political achievements of the first Federal Chancellor.

The chapter on Adenauer is to some extent complemented by a section dealing with the CDU's relationship with Britain as an occupying power. The author shows how the British adopted a curtly dismissive attitude to the CDU chairman in their zone and were still contemplating placing a limited ban on his political activities in 1947. The differing positions within the CDU (economic liberals on the one hand, Christian Socialists on the other) led influential British figures to toy with the ideal of splitting the CDU into a 'progressive' wing close to the SPD (and hence to Labour) and a conservative wing around Adenauer. Once the Soviets had eliminated Jakob Kaiser in late 1947 (who, as

Heitzer demonstrates, aspired to the rank of CDU *Reichsvorsitzender*), the way was clear for Adenauer to reign supreme. The decision was far more than a personal one; it was even more than party-political: 'While Kaiser saw himself as a potential party leader of a unified state, Adenauer saw his leadership pretensions as relating only to the West. [Kaiser's] intellectual orientation towards national politics not only disturbed Adenauer's Western concept but was regarded by him as unrealistic and therefore dangerous' (pp. 277-8).

Hermann J. Hiery

[135] BERT BECKER, *Die DDR und Großbritannien 1945/49 bis 1973. Politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Kontakte im Zeichen der Nichtanerkennungspolitik* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1991), 366 pp.

This dissertation (Bochum University, 1990) traces the relationship between the GDR and Britain from 1945/49 to 1973. In the period under consideration, that is, the time of non-recognition, Britain played an important role in the conceptualization of Cold War non-recognition policy. Yet the author illustrates that from 1955 Britain assumed a more passive role within this policy. Although there were certain bilateral economic contacts, they were never strong enough to alter the tenets of non-recognition. Apart from these aspects, Becker concentrates mainly on the failure of GDR foreign policy, which, flexible as it was, never succeeded in changing the basic parameters of British-GDR diplomatic relations. The diplomatic and international, as well as cultural, economic, and generally isolationist reasons Becker offers for this failure do not add to our knowledge of East-West relations in the decades under analysis. Moreover, it is surprising that Becker seems to ignore very important interpretations of GDR history from the British point of view, for instance Mary Fulbrook's earlier and recent works.

Ulrike Jordan

[136] ADOLF M. BIRKE and GÜNTHER HEYDEMANN (eds), *Großbritannien und Ostdeutschland seit 1918*, Prince Albert Studies, 9 (Munich, etc.: Saur, 1993), 151 pp.

This volume, published in the excellent Prince Albert Studies Series and dedicated to Kurt Kluxen on his eightieth birthday, seeks to reappraise the history of relations between Britain and the eastern part of

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Germany. John Hiden corrects the popular view of Britain as the mediator between Germany and France in the inter-war years. Indeed, London had very substantial interests in eastern Europe that made any support for Germany's position dependent on Britain's own ideas for the region. Not least, Britain and Germany were arch-rivals for the vast market represented by the Soviet Union. Marie-Luise Recker asks whether Germany's 'drive towards the East' was about creating formal or informal imperial supremacy there. The latter course, thinks the author, might have had the approval of the British government. "The precondition of this kind of strategy of "economic appeasement" was the calculation that concessions in the economic area [by Britain] would influence the political behaviour of the opposing party [Germany] and trigger a political transformation there' (p. 51). As one of Germany's principal trading partners, Britain hoped to gain economic advantages, too. When he marched into Prague at the latest, Hitler compromised such a strategy on Britain's part. From then on, the balance swung towards who were against Britain tolerating an informal German *imperium* in eastern Europe. The re-opening of hostilities against Germany went hand in hand with a hardening of Britain's attitude towards German interests in the East, as Lothar Kettenacker demonstrates.

As early as October 1943, the British Cabinet approved the cession of East Prussia, Danzig, and at least the whole of Upper Silesia to Poland. This included the 'transfer of German populations'. As the war dragged on, this attitude hardened even further. According to Kettenacker Britain's refusal to recognize the annexation of Germany's Ostgebiete under international law did not reflect any real reservations on London's part about Polish actions. Britain was merely seizing a final 'pledge' *vis-à-vis* a country that was now dependent on Moscow and was not governed in accordance with Western democratic ideals. In total opposition to the Americans, the Foreign Office was prepared to abandon these reservations in the spring of 1947. But 'the British could not afford to upset their American allies; they had to bow to the new leading power in the West' (p. 78). As Günter Heydemann shows on the basis of new British sources on the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany, this made little difference to Britain's *de facto* recognition of the *status quo*. As early as autumn 1946, the British were assuming a future partition of Germany. This view dictated policy in their zone. The repercussions of this early British *de facto* recognition of the *status*

quo are examined by David Childs and Colin Munro. These included an idealized image of the GDR among supporters and representatives of the Labour Party on the one hand, and international recognition of East Germany at the earliest possible moment on the other ('SED propaganda and West German support led Britain on occasion to overestimate the durability of the GDR', p. 129). A similar view is taken by Gordon Smith, whose account of Germany's reunification process is somewhat dressed up with positive reactions and 'heart-felt and immediate' sympathy in Britain. That is really going too far, as the author himself eloquently illustrates in his essay. Also, to attribute British 'unpreparedness and lack of sensitivity' *vis-à-vis* Germany to Margaret Thatcher alone is dubious to say the least. Finally, the paradoxical ambivalence ('multivalence') of Allied responsibility for *Gesamtdeutschland* is described by Werner Link.

Hermann J. Hiery

[137] FRANK A. MAYER, *The Opposition Years. Winston S. Churchill and the Conservative Party, 1945-1951* (New York etc.: Lang, 1992), 187 pp.

This study looks at Churchill's role as opposition leader during the period 1945 to 1951. It can be seen in the context of a number of recent studies which aim to re-evaluate Churchill's post-war role, for example Klaus Larres's book *Politik der Illusionen* (1995). The questions under review deal almost exclusively with domestic policy and the revival of Conservative fortunes, from the landslide Labour victory in 1945 to the Tories' gaining ninety additional seats in 1950. This study does little to link the years between 1945 and 1951 with Churchill's earlier career, and thus fails to provide a historical context. Factual, rather superficial, and thinly researched, it cannot claim to offer a novel interpretation of Churchill's opposition politics.

Ulrike Jordan

[138] ANGELIKA VOLLE, *Großbritannien und der europäische Einigungsprozeß*, Arbeitspapiere zur internationalen Politik, 51 (Bonn: Europa Union, 1989), 77 pp.

Angelika Volle has been a keen observer of Anglo-German relations ever since her post-graduate days. She is a fellow and editor at the Research Institute of the German Foreign Policy Council (Deutsche

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Gesellschaft für auswärtige Politik e .V.). This booklet, published by the Institute, covers British relations with the European Community from the early 1950s to the end of 1988. It is a highly informative, painstaking survey, with summaries in German, English, and French. What is most astonishing (or perhaps not) is that so much has changed in the world since 1989, except for British attitudes towards Europe. These seem to be more or less the same as those expressed by Clement Attlee as long ago as 1951: 'We are willing to play an active part in all forms of European co-operation on the inter-governmental basis, but cannot surrender our freedom of decision and action to any supra-national authority.' Attlee's brief to the Foreign Office could have been subscribed to by all his successors and constitutes a kind of leitmotif in Volle's survey. It is therefore by no means out of date. Volle makes it quite clear that Britain is very co-operative as far as the extension of the foreign market is concerned. In spite of all her reservations about European integration, Margaret Thatcher was an unequivocal supporter of the Single European Act, which served that very purpose. Sovereignty of Parliament and inter-governmental co-operation seem to be the two principles that are not negotiable, as though they constitute the essence of British national identity. The author puts it very succinctly on page one: union, yes, unity, no. However, the survey also shows that Britain always adopted a fairly pragmatic attitude towards Europe, which has drawn it closer and closer to the Continent over the last forty years. The speed of this process may change from time to time, but not the direction.

Lothar Kettenacker

[139] HANS-HEINRICH JANSEN, *Großbritannien, das Scheitern der EVG und der NATO-Beitritt der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992), 297 pp.

This study attempts to assess the role played by Britain in the autumn of 1954 when Germany joined NATO, the successor to the European Defence Community of 1952. The author also takes the US perspective into account. Unlike the British, the Americans remained steadfast in their conception of the European Defence Community as a supranational body. Eden, on the other hand, had from an early stage advocated an alternative solution on the basis of NATO. The outcome of British strategy under Eden *vis-à-vis* European defence policy was

somewhat ambivalent. Britain emerged from the controversy over the European Defence Community as neither its saviour nor its destroyer, thereby keeping British options open for increased influence on the French in this question and for playing an active role in working out a new formula. Eden worked successfully towards Germany's national rearmament and membership of NATO and the Brussels Pact, thereby anchoring Germany firmly in the West despite objections voiced by France under Mèndes. In this respect, Adenauer's views were very close to Eden's own, which must also be evaluated in the light of his controversy with Churchill. This study is an exceptionally clear outline of the development towards the NATO solution, conceived and written as a contribution to diplomatic history.

Ulrike Jordan

[140] HANS KASTENDIEK and RICHARD STINSHOFF (eds), *Changing Conceptions of Constitutional Government. Developments in British Politics and the Constitutional Debate since the 1960s*, Veröffentlichungen Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 24 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1994), 179 pp.

This volume examines the state of the debate on changing conceptions of constitutional government in Britain since the 1960s. In this attempt to evaluate how the 'Westminster Game' (Sir Ralf Dahrendorf) stands, the collection brings together British and German experts and covers an impressive array of topics in a refreshingly slim volume. To start with, three essays are devoted to the main issues under consideration, namely constitutional reform and the territorial state, the scope of state activity, and the role and rights of the individual under the British constitution. After this exposition of the problems, two chapters tackle the possibilities of institutional restructuring as opposed to comprehensive constitutional reform. No final or unanimous answer was intended or can in fact be expected to these questions, which are still an integral part of the ongoing discussion, and are bound up with questions of national sovereignty. None the less, this provocative collection of essays is a welcome addition to the literature, albeit mostly of interest to political scientists.

Ulrike Jordan

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[141] BERND-JÜRGEN WENDT, *Die britischen Gewerkschaften heute. Strukturen und Strategien*, Themen unserer Zeit, 17 (Rheinfelden and Berlin: Schäuble, 1991), 242 pp.

This is the first compact and lucid presentation in German of British trade union structures before and after the arrival of Margaret Thatcher. In contrast to most learned articles and collections of essays on this topic, it is well-written, free of jargon, and enriched by many graphic details and English terms. Moreover, Wendt appeals directly to the German reader by constantly referring to the situation in the Federal Republic, if only to illuminate the differences. It certainly makes sense that this topic should be tackled by a historian, not a political scientist. The book tells the story of the enforced modernization of the old industrial economy through legislation, that is, privatization of nationalized industries and the imposition of the rule of law (rather than custom and practice) on labour relations. The chapter on Thatcherism, turning on the strange phenomenon of authoritarian leadership for the sake of a neo-liberal economic philosophy, is particularly revealing. It explores the historical dimension of this approach, the reinstatement of Victorian values such as thrift and self-help, which goes a long way to explaining its apparent success. The more obvious explanation for Thatcher's breakthrough is, of course, the agony of the British economy over the preceding twenty years. The miners' strike of 1984-85, or rather the dramatic battle between Arthur Scargill and Margaret Thatcher, marks the climax of the whole book. Wendt rightly assumes in his last chapter that Thatcher's trade union legislation, arguably her greatest achievement, is here to stay, not least because it is now also perceived to be in the interests of the unions themselves.

Lothar Kettenacker

[142] HENNER JÜRG BOEHL, *Der Britische Bergarbeiterstreik von 1984/85. Entscheidung eines Konflikts um Recht und Regierbarkeit* (Bochum: Brockmeyer), 1989, 190 pp.

This dissertation by a jurist and political scientist offers a clear and concise assessment of the miners' strike of 1984-85. Boehl's analysis presupposed a third election victory by Margaret Thatcher, and thus did not need any substantial alterations prior to publication. The author analyses the miners' strike and the failure of the National Union

of Mineworkers to achieve its objectives on the basis that the strike aimed to destabilize the elected government of the day and discredit its main political guidelines. He puts it into the context of the earlier strikes of 1926 and 1972-74 and sees similarities between all three in their potential to undermine the government's sovereignty at home. In this respect, the union's defeat in 1984-85 answers the basic questions raised by the earlier strikes. Moreover, it settled the long-term conflict between 'new realism' and syndicalist 'Scargillism' within the British union movement in favour of the former. One of the main reasons for the defeat was isolation. There was a lack of internal support because the strike ballot had been circumvented, and public sympathy was lost by outbreaks of violence. Another was the government's preventative measures and non-application of the new union legislation, which prevented large-scale solidarity within the union movement. Boehl interprets the events of 1984-85 in the context of a lasting shift from 'collective *laissez-faire*' in industrial relations to the establishment of a legislative framework in this crucial field.

Ulrike Jordan

[143] ANDREAS BOHLEN, *Die sanfte Offensive. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung politischer Euphemismen in britischen und amerikanischen Printmedien bei der Berichterstattung über den Golfkrieg im Spannungsfeld zwischen Verwendung und Mißbrauch der Sprache* (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang), 1992, 278 pp.

This study analyses the use of euphemisms in war journalism by looking at Gulf War reportage in the United Kingdom and the USA. While cultural and linguistic studies can contribute much to historical understanding in our deconstructivist world, this book provides no detailed insights into the political language used in war reporting. Nor has a balance been achieved between theoretical exposition of the key terms and their application to the case in hand. None the less, the author draws some interesting conclusions about the use of euphemisms in political language. These conclusions are based on his lengthy definition of this term as a concept whose meaning has been widening since the 1960s. For example, the author compares the frequency with which euphemisms occur in daily and weekly newspapers, distinguishes between 'traditional' and 'occasional' euphemisms in the print media, and analyses their various communicative, syntactic, and se-

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mantic functions. Not surprisingly, the author defines the use of euphemism in the case of the Gulf War reporting as a disguise deliberately employed by journalists in a process of self-censoring. The sources for this analysis are rather meagre and emphasize the subjective quality of the study. However, the appendix, including the author's main arguments and linguistic examples, is quite useful for further thought on this important topic of political discourse.

Ulrike Jordan

[144] EGBERT KIESER, *Margaret Thatcher. Eine Frau verändert ihre Nation. Eine Biographie* (Munich: Bechtle, 1989), 422 pp.

Impressed and taken in by the achievements and personality of Margaret Thatcher, Egbert Kieser attempts to draw a political portrait of her life, starting with the immediate pre-history of her rise to the leadership of the Tory party in 1979. He sees her as the sole force for political change in Britain, and glorifies the Thatcher Revolution as a miracle. Critical voices pointing, for instance, to the growing gap between rich and poor are dismissed as opposition propaganda. Kieser sees the sources of Thatcher's personal success, energy, and will power in her childhood, her upbringing in a middle class, Christian family where the emphasis was on learning and activity, her ambitions at school and university, and in her early political career. In fifteen short chapters, the author presents a somewhat biased picture of how Margaret Thatcher met the various political challenges in her first ten years of government, among them the economic crisis, privatization, the struggle with the trade unions, the Falklands War, questions of 'law and order', poverty, and Europe. Kieser provides an account of Thatcher the politician, and political, economic, and social developments in Britain during the first ten years of her government. At the beginning of his study he acknowledges that the Prime Minister did split the British nation into friends and enemies (of her politics). Kieser certainly belongs to the 'friends'. Without annotations or references, and written in a popular narrative style, this book will serve the general public rather than academic research.

Dagmar Freist

[145] ROLAND STURM (ed.), *Thatcherismus – Eine Bilanz nach zehn Jahren*, Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung, 15 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1991), 414 pp.

After a decade of the Thatcher government many felt inclined to take stock of its impact on Britain. In 1988 the annual conference of the Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung was on 'Thatcherism – An Assessment after Ten Years', and the present volume is a collection of the papers given at this conference. The essays throw light on fundamental aspects of political, social, and economic life during the Thatcher era. The editor gives an introduction to current research on the phenomenon of Thatcherism and sums up the main characteristics of the Thatcher government and her reform politics. In the first part the authors tackle the relationship between government and parliamentary party, the ambivalence and contradictions at grass-roots level, and the impact of Conservative politics on the changing image of the Labour Party. Part two looks at a number of economic and social sectors, analysing the effects of Thatcher's economic policy, especially privatization, on all of them, for example, nuclear power, telecommunications, the National Health Service, and housing. Two of the essays in this section take a more general stand by looking at the trade unions, relations between employers and employees, and economic policy as a whole. Part three is devoted to the question of 'authoritarian populism', state intervention, and the most recent developments in Britain under the influence of Thatcherism. In the light of three cabinet reshuffles within five months, the editor and one of the contributors reflect on the 'end of Thatcherism?' in a postscript, thus joining the public debate in Britain on the future fate of the then Prime Minister. The essays are well informed, often presenting facets of daily politics and public opinion through newspaper articles and statistics, and the book, along with its selective bibliography, gives readers an insight into the main features and debates of ten years of Thatcher government.

Dagmar Freist

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[146] MANFRED BREUER, *Nordirland. Eine Konfliktanalyse*, Heidelberger Studien zur internationalen Politik, 6 (Münster and Hamburg: LIT, 1994), 110 pp.

This study gives a brief but richly informative and detailed overview of the Northern Ireland problem. The author's credentials are his contacts with the liberal, non-denominational Alliance Party of Northern Ireland. Following a historical introduction to the Anglo-Irish conflict, he describes the political system of Northern Ireland, the electoral system (rightly stressing the significance of the property qualification for local politics as regards Unionist dominance), election results (from 1969 to 1992, including council elections), and the political parties. In the case of election results, one could have wished that information about numbers entitled to vote, numbers actually voting, and spoiled ballots had also been included. In this case particularly, political conclusions drawn purely on the basis of valid votes cast would seem to be of limited usefulness. A brief introduction to the parties in Britain and the Irish Republic mainly serves as a guide for the less well-informed German public. Finally, the author gives an equally concise account of previous attempts to solve the problem; these focus on the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement but also take in the Downing Street Declaration of December 1993. Following the same pattern, the 'actors' in the Northern Ireland conflict are introduced: the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the British Army, the Ulster Defence Regiment (founded in 1970), the Irish Republican Army, the Irish National Liberation Army, and on the Protestant-Unionist side the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force. There are also some very useful diagrams showing, for example, the type and frequency of terrorist activities, the number of deaths connected with terrorism, and the fight against terrorism between 1969 and 1991. Finally, the author looks at the role and importance of the religious denominations. An appendix details the most important 'further reading' and lists the 'prime ministers' of Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland ministers, the prime ministers and presidents of the Republic of Ireland, and the British prime ministers since Gladstone. Though small, this is a handy and clearly presented publication. Anyone in Germany wishing to become informed about the Northern Ireland conflict could scarcely find a better introduction.

Hermann J. Hiery

[147] JÜRGEN ELVERT, *Vom Freistaat zur Republik. Der außenpolitische Faktor im irischen Unabhängigkeitsstreben zwischen 1921 und 1948*, Veröffentlichungen des Arbeitskreises Deutsche England-Forschung, 12 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1989), 438 pp.

This dissertation, which was supervised by Michael Salewski and Kurt Jürgensen, analyses Irish foreign policy from 'independence' until shortly before the Second World War. Elvert's investigation focuses on Dublin's efforts to convert the status accorded on 6 December 1921, which in international law was not entirely clear, into a truly unambiguous, internationally respected independence. He calls this 'revision by transformation'. Foreign policy was used for this purpose. Under William Cosgrave and his foreign ministers FitzGerald and McGilligan, the main aim of Irish foreign policy was to integrate the country into the League of Nations. The Irish Free State was admitted to the League of Nations on 10 September 1923. Elvert looks in detail at the steps that lead up to that moment. One British precondition was acceptance of the Irish constitution, over which London had ensured its own extensive rights of influence. While Dublin was unable to prevent this, formal application for admission to the League of Nations was deliberately made not by the Executive Council of the Irish Free State as a member of the Commonwealth but by the government of the independent Saorstát Éireann. By appointing its own envoy to the United States in October 1924, Dublin set a precedent for the other dominions. Structures and procedures within the Commonwealth were bound to change as a result, as Elvert demonstrates. With the Balfour Declaration of 1926, the Free State finally achieved a status that was accepted by the British and also took full account of the indigenous Irish demand for independence. Cosgrave's foreign policy of theoretically observing but in practice steadily undermining the 1921 treaty is seen by Elvert as paving the way for the later successful redefinition of Ireland's international status beyond the former shackles of the treaty. Under de Valera – and now renamed Éire – Ireland acquired a virtually republican character. In place of a treaty, all that henceforth linked Ireland with the Commonwealth was a simple law. British opposition to this development, including the imposition of economic sanctions, remained unavailing. De Valera himself, as Elvert shows, was prepared to swap the goal of Irish neutrality for a British offer of Irish reunification. London was deaf to such approaches. Subsequently, the

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Taoiseach (as the Irish prime minister has officially been named since 1937) stuck to his course of neutrality and refused to be diverted from it even by massive Anglo-American reprisals during the Second World War. When Ireland formally withdrew from the Commonwealth after the war, it was merely the final, almost logical step in a lengthy development.

Elvert's study provides an excellent insight into the evolution of the foreign policy of a country that only gradually matured into independence. His clear account of Ireland's gradual emancipation from the colonial mother country ought not to be disregarded by historians analysing other decolonialization processes.

Hermann J. Hiery

[148] DIETMAR HERZ, *Frieden und Stabilität. Die Nordirland-Politik der Republik Irland 1969-1987*, Veröffentlichungen des Arbeitskreises Deutsche England-Forschung, 13 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1989), 298 pp.

Herz looks at the Northern Ireland policy of the principal parties and interest groups in Eire as well as at public (but not published) opinion in the Republic concerning the problem of Northern Ireland. According to various opinion polls, the population of Eire does not see Northern Ireland as a particularly important topic. However, similar poll findings in West Germany before the collapse of the GDR suggest that such surveys should be interpreted with care. Herz rightly points out that a tacit compromise prevailed among the parties in the Republic to keep the subject of Northern Ireland off the electoral agenda. But successive Dublin governments succeeded in overcoming London's original resistance ('internal matter') to the Republic's involvement in finding a peaceful solution for Northern Ireland. Indeed, the part played by the Republic in attempts to find a solution to the Northern Ireland problem has 'grown immeasurably' (p. 282) since 1969. However, the author's claim that Irish reunification is no longer a possibility (p. 278) has since been challenged by the Dublin and London agreements. What the constitutional future of Northern Ireland will be is still an entirely open question.

Hermann J. Hiery

[149] CHRISTIANE KRUSE, *Der Nordirlandkonflikt im Focus journalistischer Schemata. Eine Analyse der Berichterstattung ausländischer Tageszeitungen unterschiedlicher Distanz*, Beiträge zur Kommunikations-
theorie, 1 (Münster and Hamburg: LIT, 1993), 249 pp.

Kruse's study deals with foreign reporting of the Northern Ireland conflict. She selects the following five 'quality newspapers', as she puts it: the *Irish Times*, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the *New York Times*, the *Times of India*, and *The Hindu*. The author does not provide a particularly plausible justification of this somewhat curious choice (notably as regards the dominance of the Indian press). The *Irish Times*, the principal paper of Ireland's Protestants (the author sees no bias in the fact of its Protestantism), was chosen because Eire is the 'nearest foreign country', as she says, to Northern Ireland. As to why no British newspaper was included, the author is silent. The period of the investigation (20 August to 23 November 1988) is a very narrow one, but for the author it encompasses 'both extremely violent events and significant political changes' (p. 98). Her overall purpose is to demonstrate, among other things, that 'the farther a foreign newspaper is away from the Northern Ireland conflict, the less the extent and depth of its reporting on the conflict' (p. 11).

In evaluating her 'sources', the author then reaches the astonishing conclusion that the Northern Ireland conflict does indeed receive most attention in the Irish newspaper studied and least in the Indian press. However, she sees her 'initial lead hypothesis' as only 'broadly' confirmed, since the data from the *New York Times* and the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 'in part' contradict it. She goes on to suppose 'that a newspaper's concept is a key factor in shaping its foreign section' (p. 161), which she sees as confirming the ideas of Josef Trappel. However, she adds cautiously: 'How far this assumption turns out to be justified will need to be tested in further investigations – ranging beyond the framework of the present work' (*ibid.*).

Possibly it is an advantage for specialists in German studies and communications that historians are not involved in assessing the academic merits of their projects. A historian is also likely to be less impressed by the fact that the *New York Times* 'to some extent' reports the Northern Ireland conflict in greater detail than the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. How about the author adding one more to her many proportional tables? A comparison of the number of Irish emigrants in Switzerland

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with the number in the United States might prompt further astonishing findings.

Hermann J. Hiery

[150] DIETRICH SCHULZE-MARMELING and RALF SOTSCHKEK, *Der lange Krieg. Macht und Menschen in Nordirland* (Göttingen: Verlag die Werkstatt, 1989; 2nd edn 1991), 383 pp.

This is a work of journalism. It is well and readably written and includes many background details of the sort for which one searches in vain in the usual historico-political analyses of the conflict. Virtually every aspect of this bloody confrontation is dealt with – the emergence of the civil-rights movement, Bloody Sunday, the hunger strike, the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, the role of the churches, the position of women in Northern Ireland, and even ‘sport and revolution in Northern Ireland’ (chapter heading: ‘Bomben, Bälle, Hurling-Schläger’). The book also contains informative brief biographies of Northern Ireland’s leading politicians. An appendix includes ‘Tips and Suggestions for Tourists’ (this book having gone into a second edition in two years, the number of German-speaking visitors to Northern Ireland between 1989 and 1991 must have been greater than is commonly supposed), a Chronology from December 1920 to April 1991, and a Glossary of the Northern Ireland Conflict from ‘Alliance Party’ to ‘Workers’ Party’.

Even for an outsider, it is hard to remain ‘neutral’ in such a conflict, particularly if a person has links with the region. One of the authors taught German in Belfast in 1976-7 and has been a freelance correspondent in Dublin for the *tageszeitung* since January 1985. His colleague served on the academic staff of the Greens in the German Bundestag until March 1988. Not that the two authors uncritically champion the views of the IRA, but Unionist supporters should be warned before reading this book. If they really are as the authors take them to be, this account will certainly annoy them.

Hermann J. Hiery

[151] MARK J. HURLEY, *Blood on the Shamrock. An American Ponders Northern Ireland 1968-1990*, *American University Studies*, IX/91 (New York etc.: Lang, 1990), 384 pp.

The blurb hails the author as a second Reinhold Niebuhr. Of that there can, of course, be no question, and not only because the historical content of this work consists of a mere summary of events since 1968 in chronological order. Hurley, a Franciscan monk regarded as one of the hundred most influential Irish Americans, here attempts 'to be as objective as possible' about developments in Northern Ireland. The sources for his account are Irish, British, and American newspapers. The author hopes his venture will constitute a kind of American peace initiative for Northern Ireland. Our hope is that his passionate plea for reconciliation may reach a wider readership than that primarily addressed here (the American public).

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[152] URSULA LEHMKUHL, *Kanadas Öffnung nach Asien: Der Colombo-Plan, das "New Commonwealth" und die Rekonstruktion des Sterlinggebietes 1949-1952*, Kanada-Studien, 8 (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1990), 377 pp.

For a brief period after the Second World War, the Canadian economy was the world's third strongest. Though of far less importance than those of either the USA or Britain, Canadian activities were of greater relevance at that time than at any other point in history. Therefore Ottawa's decision to back the Colombo Plan, a programme for aiding Commonwealth countries in Asia, might be interpreted as a shift of Canadian foreign policy from Dominion to great-power politics. Whether this was the case is the question Ursula Lehmkuhl investigates on the basis of a most impressive array of primary sources, including interviews with participating politicians and senior civil servants. After describing the Colombo Plan and its administration in Canada, Lehmkuhl reconstructs the context in which this measure was developed, focusing on the response to Communism, economic aims, and the course of negotiations. Her answer turns out to be largely negative. Canadian foreign policy assumed the role of a mediator between its powerful southern neighbour and the former mother country throughout. However, the economic ties that bound it to the USA ultimately proved stronger than those reaching across the Atlantic. Among other things, this was due to the fact that because the Canadian currency was not linked to the pound, Britain would have had to deplete its slender reserves of hard currency further to purchase Canadian goods, a problem exacerbated by Britain's promises to Commonwealth countries to convert their sterling accounts to gold or US currency on request. In this context, the Colombo Plan appears as an attempt to close the 'currency gap' between the sterling area and the rest of the Western world (not provided for in the Marshall Plan) by supplying hard currency to Asia to meet the needs of Commonwealth countries there without recourse to London sterling accounts. Far from indicating any independence of Canadian foreign policy, the episode bears witness to its dependence on both partners. One is inclined to wonder, however, whether domestic politics were not more relevant than is suggested here. In particular, the existence of the Francophone minor-

ity, brushed aside perhaps rather too cavalierly as a 'problematic group', surely had some influence on the options available to Canadian politicians. It made close co-operation with the USA in cases that required large-scale military operations, and full membership of a British-dominated Commonwealth speaking with 'one voice' difficult, if not impossible.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[153] HARALD ROSENBACH, *Das Deutsche Reich, Großbritannien und der Transvaal (1896-1902): Anfänge deutsch-britischer Entfremdung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 52 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 360 pp.

As stated in the subtitle, the Anglo-Boer War marked a decisive turn for the worse in British-German relations. It might be assumed that this was due to German support for the Boer cause – namely the notorious Krüger Telegram – but this Bonn dissertation, based on extensive research in British and German archives, demonstrates that the process was more complicated. At the time of the Jameson Raid, the German government's sympathy for the South African Republic was indeed great, with good reason: Germans constituted a large, at times the largest, group of immigrants to this territory; Germany possessed colonies in southern Africa; and even though German trade with the region lagged far behind that of Britain or the USA, it had the fastest rate of growth. However, Germany also had interests in other regions, and German companies active in the Transvaal favoured either the British or the Boers, depending on whether they produced gold or dynamite.

Germany tried to use the conflict in South Africa to blackmail Britain by offering neutrality in exchange for a division of the Portuguese possessions (finally agreed to in a secret treaty of 30 August 1898) and concessions in other regions. Even though Germany adhered scrupulously to the obligations of neutrality, Rosenbach argues that this policy of unprecedented honesty was to have the tragic result of reinforcing British speculations about Germany's ulterior motives. The Foreign Office attributed French and Russian plans for a continental alliance against Britain, communicated to London by German diplomats, to German manoeuvring behind the scenes. Even though this particular

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charge was unfounded, there was increasing friction in South Africa regarding German volunteer corps, the searching of German ships, and the role of German consuls. There was also fierce opposition in Germany, from the extreme right and the extreme left, to the betrayal of 'Boer brothers'. This was welcomed by the imperial government since it could be used to muster support for naval armament, effectively undermining the agreement reached in 1898 as well as the possibility of a lasting Anglo-German alliance.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[154] AXEL T. G. RIEHL, *Der "Tanz um den Äquator": Bismarcks anti-englische Kolonialpolitik und die Erwartung des Thronwechsels in Deutschland 1883 bis 1885*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte, 1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1993), 886 pp.

After several decades of controversy, the motives behind Bismarck's rather sudden and short-lived conversion from anti-imperialist to imperialist in 1884 are still something of a mystery. As the empirical basis of most general interpretations of German imperialism has been chipped away recently, it may indeed be time to go back to basics. What exactly prompted the man responsible for German foreign policy to join the race for colonial possessions, even though he was well aware that they were a hazard to European peace and an economic burden? The basis of this detailed study is what Riehl calls the 'crown-prince hypothesis', derived from statements by Otto von Bismarck's son, first proposed by Erich Eyk in the 1940s, and since then never entirely forgotten, but never taken entirely seriously either. Riehl is able to demonstrate, on the basis of an exhaustive study of official and private papers, that this hypothesis goes very far toward explaining the Chancellor's conduct. When William I's health deteriorated in the early 1880s Bismarck, whose power rested on the monarch's support alone, faced the prospect of being dismissed by the Crown Prince who, at that time, seemed in good health. Desperate to destroy the Liberal Party favoured by Frederick, Bismarck dismissed high-ranking officials whose loyalty to him was uncertain, sought constitutional reforms, and tightened his grip on the foreign ministry while resigning from other offices. He then embarked on an anti-British foreign policy in order to make a re-orientation of German foreign policy impossible and to make himself indis-

pensable. Had Frederick, who was married to Queen Victoria's daughter and very impressed by all things English, dismissed the Chancellor when relations with England were strained, he would have been vulnerable to charges of unpatriotic behaviour. By the summer of 1885, the Liberal Party had been weakened, relations with the Crown Prince and his wife had improved, and the dreaded project of a marriage between Frederick's daughter Victoria and the King of Rumania had finally been abandoned. Assured of his hold on power, Bismarck was free to restore cordial relations with Britain, and to drop colonial projects, increasing the admiration of the imperial family's second generation by doing so. Of course, this book will not answer all questions about German imperialism. However, it demonstrates that at the root of it lay not some pressing economic or psychological necessity, however much that may explain the hold of the imperial ideology on popular opinion, but the short-sighted power politics of an imperial court in daily expectation of the end of a reign.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[155] GREGOR SCHÖLLGEN, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht. Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage 1871-1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 501 pp.

This is the textbook edition of a post-doctoral thesis first published in 1984. The focus is on German foreign policy from unification in 1871 to the outbreak of the First World War. The author concentrates not only on Germany's relations with the European great powers France and Russia, but also on those between the German Reich and Britain. London inevitably saw German naval expansion, the economic prosperity of the Reich, and Germany's interests in the Middle East as a threat to the balance of power in Europe and to its own position as a world power. This study looks at the Middle East to examine Germany's claim that it *wished* to pursue world politics and that in the context of the imperialism of the European great powers it *had* to do this, albeit 'be-latedly'. There is also a detailed discussion of Britain's alternative plans in the increasingly competitive struggle for influence in the colonies, and of its efforts, backed by a policy of alliances, to restore the balance of power, first in outlying regions and subsequently at the heart of Europe. The failure of Germany and Britain to reach a balance of interests based on compromise is examined not only in terms of the rel-

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evant political, diplomatic, military, and economic facts but also against the background of the deep-seated mutual distrust that existed between an imperial world power and a European great power. Schöllgen describes this tension-filled relationship, using the example of the 'Eastern question' in general and the construction of the prestigious Baghdad railway in particular. A key role in the analysis is played by the subdivision of Germany's Eastern policy into chronological stages. The author shows that it became especially explosive after 1890 and the start of the New Course. The account proceeds in largely chronological order. It examines the Eastern question as a core problem of Anglo-German relations from an initial *rapprochement* and readiness to agree politically on the basis of common economic interests to the eventual outbreak of war.

Schöllgen's study is based on extensive evaluations of the files of the political department of Germany's Auswärtiges Amt and the British Foreign Office. The author has also sifted through quantities of parliamentary records, papers of politicians and diplomats, War Office, Admiralty, Board of Trade, and India Office files, and Cabinet Papers as well as, on the German side, the rich historical archive of the Krupp company in Essen, for example. Like the Deutsche Bank, Krupp wielded enormous influence in the trade with Turkey and the construction of the Baghdad railway, and one of the author's concerns is to stress the economic aspects of the imperial rivalry between Germany and Britain in the Middle East.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[156] BARBARA SCHWEGMANN, *Die Protestantische Mission und die Ausdehnung des Britischen Empires*, Epistemata. Würzburger Wissenschaftliche Schriften; Reihe Gesellschaftswissenschaften, IV/1990 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990), 413 pp.

The very title of this Kiel University dissertation is programmatic: what is at issue is not merely the consolidation of the British Empire, but its expansion. The English historian John Robert Seeley formulated this programme as early as 1883, following the British occupation of Egypt, in a book called *The Expansion of England*. Andrew Porter, in his recent *European Imperialism, 1860-1914* (1994), draws attention to the distinction between pressure for expansion on the one hand and the need for imperial control on the other. He shows that so far as Britain was con-

cerned there was no great desire to add to the country's existing commitments in the colonies. The present study touches on the same subject with its account of the conflicts facing nineteenth-century missionary societies between their missionary aspirations and the realities of the political situation. Schwegmann examines the role of (Protestant) missionaries in the expansion process, which they pursued and sought to influence in ways not unconnected with politics and economics. Yet although the government benefited from the missionaries' presence (with their excellent local knowledge, they were an invaluable source of intelligence), it nevertheless declined to support missionary endeavours by political means. Just as the government regarded the work of the missions as a private, religious matter, missionaries themselves took the view that while the government ought to promote the evangelization of the colonies, it ought not to interfere in the internal affairs of the missionary societies. Only when the missionary effort went hand in hand with strategic or economic factors did it receive a greater degree of government attention. The London Missionary Society, for example, adopted the principle of involving itself as little as possible in secular concerns. Consequently, as this study shows, missionaries stuck mainly to their task of spreading religion and civilization and interpreted the expansion of the British Empire in terms of the God-given primacy of Britain. However, the missionary effort forms an inseparable part of the complex imperial process, and if it was not causally related to the expansion process, it nevertheless played an important part in encouraging it. To that extent, the missionary attitude to politics was an ambivalent one. The present account of this whole problem uses a number of Protestant missionary societies as examples. What is on the whole a well argued study based on extensive source material is slightly marred by too many quotations, which often follow one another virtually without comment as if they were self-explanatory.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[157] STIG FÖRSTER, *Die mächtigen Diener der East India Company. Ursachen und Hintergründe der britischen Expansionspolitik in Südasiens, 1793-1819*, Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegegeschichte, 54 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 416 pp.

This post-doctoral thesis presented to the University of Düsseldorf goes to the heart of the debate about British India policy as well as making

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an important contribution to the theory and definition of imperialism. It deals with the period between 1793 and 1819 (the dates themselves indicating that the author is as interested in events in Europe as in events outside it), that is, from the outbreak of war between the British and the French to the end of a second wave of expansion in 1819, by which time almost the whole of the Indian subcontinent was under British control. The war against France (until 1815) increased the threat to British India from Britain's European rivals and inevitably influenced the course of its expansion policy. At the same time, that process of expansion took place for the most part under the conditions of Britain's trading monopoly in India, with the East India Company performing the dual function of territorial overlord and holder of that monopoly. Here the problem of imperial continuity, whose roots lie in the eighteenth century, comes into focus, and the concept of imperialism as a phenomenon that cannot be related to one period alone becomes relevant. This places Förster's work at the centre of recent British research in that it analyses imperial structures and characteristics of expansion policy, bringing out the universal historical dimension of imperialism as well as the continuity of its claims, secured by the use of power, to markets and strategic advantages.

It is thus possible, even in the transitional period covered by this work, to demonstrate the continuity of British imperialism and to develop a model for the forces behind the policy of expansion at the periphery, in other words, the process from setting up indirect control to establishing direct colonial rule. The sub-imperialism of the 'men on the spot' played an important part in this connection and is examined by the author using the examples of Wellesley and Hastings. What is more, Förster is careful not to take them out of the context of their socio-political links with Britain. Accordingly, the book deals with the process of expansion in all its complexity, and Förster's account mainly follows the chronological course of events. The work is based on an evaluation of large numbers of British and Indian records. A central concern is the question of the mechanics of the transition from informal to formal rule in India, and whether sub-imperialism was not the real driving force behind expansion. The latter theory consigns the economic factors of imperialism to the background and highlights the political, military, and personal motivations of East India Company staff. To that extent sub-imperialism constitutes one of the most important lines of continuity that Förster develops in his brilliant analy-

sis. This makes his book an exceptionally important contribution to research on the origins of British colonial rule.

Benedikt Stuchtey

[158] MICHAEL MANN, *Britische Herrschaft auf indischem Boden. Landwirtschaftliche Transformation und ökologische Destruktion des 'Central Doab' 1801-1854*, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Südasien-Institut/Universität Heidelberg, 148 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 240 pp.

This Heidelberg dissertation is as thought-provoking in content as it is convincing in technique. From the late eighteenth century on, British rule in India was directed towards expanding the Second Empire, with the East India Company constituting an important tool for the purposes of fiscal policy and the restructuring of Indian agriculture. British preconceptions regarding the Indians' inability to govern and administer themselves led to direct administrative control of a radical agricultural transformation, so that the exercise of colonial power over the population was accompanied by a fundamental intervention in the natural economy of the region. Using the example of the Central Doab region in the period 1801 to 1854, the author portrays this parallel process of British administration, financial and fiscal policy, and environmental destabilization up to and including its catastrophic consequences in the form of famine, drought, and demographic decline. Militarily and economically, this was a highly lucrative region so far as the East India Company was concerned. Extending the cotton-growing area promised large Indian tax revenues, with the result that traditional methods of planting were abandoned, large expanses of forest were cleared, and eventually what had been autochthonous village structures were destroyed. Mann gives a vivid and very learned portrayal of the far-reaching social and ecological repercussions of the establishment of British power in the Doab. As the climate in the area became hotter and hotter and its fertility declined, famine, cholera, and malaria followed, traditional village communities were annihilated, and the Indian economy became wholly dependent for its finance on the City of London. At the same time, much of the land passed into private ownership, which also brought about a change in legal relations. On the lowest rung of the social ladder stood the Indian peasant farmers, for whom there was no escape from the coercive situation arising out of British tax collection, increasingly intensive cash-crop

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farming, and the restructuring of indigenous agriculture. They financed the conquest of their own land while contributing to the capitalization of the mother country. Basing his study on a mass of archive material and a large number of contemporary publications, the author illustrates these connections in an extremely convincing manner. He has returned to this subject in an expert contribution to J. Osterhammel (ed.), *Asien in der Neuzeit 1500-1950* (1994).

Benedikt Stuchtey

[159] KLAUS LINOW, *Die Farce von Ottawa. Indisch-britische Verhandlungen an der Empirewirtschaftskonferenz von Ottawa im Jahre 1932*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, III/483 (Frankfurt/M. etc.: Lang, 1991), 233 pp.

Klaus Linow is one of a growing number of scholars to question the extent of Britain's moves toward decolonialization in the inter-war period. Put briefly, they argue that Britain sought to maintain its dominance in the all-important economic domain, while political concessions remained largely symbolic. The position of India at the Imperial Economic Conference held at Ottawa in 1932 is a convincing example of this, as this was the first time India was represented by a delegation of its own, supposedly independent of British influence. This pretence of 'independence' is the 'farce' of Linow's title. At Ottawa, British civil servants from Delhi were negotiating with British civil servants from London. Various restraints placed on communications between the Indian delegation and India, as well as pre-negotiations between the 'Indian' and 'British' delegations on the passage to Canada were sufficient to ensure that no serious differences would emerge at the conference. This was essential, as India played a central role in the British economic system. Before the First World War, Indian trade produced a surplus sufficient to make up the deficit incurred in Britain's trade with other nations. However, the raising of import duties for revenue purposes in India, as well as the restructuring of global markets after 1918, had undermined this system, and it was one of the purposes of the Ottawa Conference to re-establish it. As far as the acceptance of British goals went, the conference was a success; as far as long-term economic effects were concerned, it was not. While as the conclusion makes clear, this is not a new finding, the book has the merit of providing an amply documented case-study of one episode in Anglo-Indian relations.

Andreas Fahrmeir

[160] ROLF TANNER, 'A Strong Showing'. *Britain's Struggle for Power and Influence in South-East Asia 1942-1950*, Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegegeschichte, 60 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 299 pp.

According to Churchill, the fall of Singapore was the greatest disaster in British history. In this book the author examines Britain's attempt (partially successful, in his view) to restore the lost myth of invincibility, along with its damaged prestige in South East Asia. In London's eyes, a return to British rule following the end of the war between Europe and the Pacific was as much a matter of course as was the restoration of French and Dutch colonialism. The main logic behind this programme of colonial restoration advanced by Britain was its fear that a collapse of French or Dutch colonial rule would have a direct impact on the British colonies as well.

It was the Americans who were the problem. They looked with suspicion at the restoration of European colonial rule in South-East Asia (and elsewhere, too). In the cases of Malaya, Indochina, and Indonesia, Britain appeared to be getting its way at first, but Burma was lost by mid-1947. In Thailand the 'special relationship' broke down as early as June 1945 in the face of totally different attitudes on either side of the Atlantic. The British wanted to 'punish' Thailand for declaring war. In his quest for a legal justification for the claim to reparations (in the form of deliveries of rice), Mountbatten did not shrink from discouraging a rebellion against the Japanese planned by the Thai regent Pridi, in order to be able to exert a stronger moral hold over the Thais later. The Americans, on the other hand, saw Thailand as a victim of Japanese aggression and the guarantor of American strategic interests in the region.

Because of its raw materials, Malaya played a key role in Britain's attempt to regain political (and economic) great-power status on the back of its colonies. Malaya 'had to be held at any price' (p. 259). Tanner believes that Britain did indeed achieve a kind of colonial 'come back' here. On the one hand, the ethnic diversity of the region and the fact that all indigenous camps were more or less at odds with each other was exploited in a strategy of 'divide and rule'. On the other hand, from May 1946 local élites were given an increasing say in their government, though without Britain letting go of any of the real political strings. The outcome was (and still is) the uninterrupted dominion of the Sultans. Tanner believes this was the first real British handover

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of power – even before India. The fact that as a result of this strategy an anti-British national liberation struggle turned into one of the bloodiest post-colonial civil wars, as Kubitschek (of whom Tanner appears to be unaware) has rightly pointed out, finds no mention here, any more than does the ‘ethnic cleansing’ perpetrated mainly against Chinese in the wake of the Briggs Plan.

At times, the author quite uncritically adopts the language of the Foreign Office, chastising ‘French intransigence’, ‘militant nationalists’, or ‘the stubbornness and incompetence of the Dutch’. Some of what he says is highly dubious or downright wrong, such as the statement that, with the exception of Burma, the British ‘liberation’ of South-East Asia went off peacefully. (Britain’s direct military intervention in Indonesia, not to mention the consequences for the civilian population, receives no more mention than does the bloody civil war in Malaya.) We learn nothing new about the connections, addressed by various authors, between Japanese occupation policy and its political and economic consequences. The analytical clarity of, say, Toni Schönenberger’s volume in the same series, *Der Britische Rückzug aus Singapore 1945-1976* (1981), is not achieved here. There is no index.

Hermann J. Hiery

[161] ROLAND BLESS, *‘Divide et impera’? Britische Minderheitenpolitik in Burma 1917-1948*, Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, 45 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 376 pp.

The history of Burma is to a large extent the history of its minorities. The present work devotes a separate sub-chapter to each of the seven largest (Karen, Mon, Arakanese, Shan, Karenni, Kachin, and Chin). Britain built its colonial rule in Burma on the basis of the indigenous minorities, playing them off against the majority Burmese. Only by pursuing such a policy was it able to maintain its position in the country.

The author’s central claim is carefully supported in the text. The historical documents he so impressively cites and the social statistics he provides effectively strengthen his argument. Yet Bless cannot be accused of measuring everything against the same yardstick. For instance, he traces the over-representation of the minorities in the administration back to developments in the early nineteenth century, that is, before the establishment of British colonial rule. However, in other

areas of public life the British policy of giving deliberate preference to the minorities was abundantly clear. For example, the minorities were armed by the British, while the Burmese were not. The army drew its recruits from Karen, Chin, and Kachin – and increasingly from Indians, whose forced immigration, brought about by the colonial administration, further fuelled the potential explosion of racial conflict. The official justification was that the Burmese were not a 'martial race'. But even this alleged quality was of no help to them during the First World War, when they were sent to fight in the Middle East. Immediately after the war, again virtually only Karen, Chin, and Cachin (who in 1931 constituted 9.3, 2.4, and 1.0 per cent respectively of the population) were enlisted. The military police, set up by the colonial overlords in 1891 to maintain public order, was made up exclusively of Karen. Subsequently, Indians came to dominate, but the Burmese were once again passed over. The same can be said of colonial education and training departments: minorities were preferred, Burmese disadvantaged.

Ethnic differences were also deliberately aggravated at the ideological level. In line with recent research in religious anthropology, Bless points out that the Karen decision to embrace (Anglican) Christianity was itself prompted by political motives. Religion was regarded as an important ideological pattern of identification, placing ethnic distinctness from the (mainly Buddhist) Burmese on a higher plane. While this was an indigenous decision on the part of the Karen, the author produces particularly dramatic evidence from the Anglican mission field in support of his general theory. The flames of ethnic conflict were actively fanned in the hope of gaining some advantage. The conversion of Burma failed, but potential tension between ethnic groups was increased. This tension was repeatedly discharged in race riots, the first of which occurred in May 1930 when Burmese workers used by the colonial power to break a strike by Indian coolies were all sacked after the Indians returned to work. There were further racial clashes in 1931 and 1938.

When the Japanese attacked, the colonial regime fell apart, with only a single Karen company remaining loyal. In the precipitate collapse, more than half a million Indians (1931 total: 800,000 or 5.8 per cent of the population) fled the country in panic. Several tens of thousands lost their lives, either in that flight or in subsequent anti-Indian massacres. Around the same time there were Burmese massacres di-

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rected against the Karen in the mountains. The atrocities did not end until the Japanese (sic!) restored order in 1942. The Chin and Kachin, who were largely outside the Japanese sphere of influence, remained loyal to the British. Bless contributes much that is new on Japan's support for the Burmese independence movement, which had begun before the invasion itself with a small group of Burmese on Hainan Island. After what he has to say, it is at least doubtful whether the Japanese initiatives that culminated in the proclamation of a nominally independent state of Burma on 1 August 1943 can continue to be interpreted simply as attempts to enlist native collaborators (Bless declines to comment here). Certainly, the Burmese did not see themselves as collaborators.

The restoration of colonial rule foundered on Burmese resistance and on the delicate military situation in which the British found themselves as India became increasingly insecure. At independence talks held in London in January 1947, the views of representatives of the minorities went unheard. The Colonial Office had meanwhile changed its policy to one of non-intervention. A petition from the Karen to Attlee, reminding him of their traditional solidarity with the British, was referred by the Prime Minister to the Burma Office, which flatly refused to back Karen demands. Once Britain saw that its position in Burma was untenable, it also abandoned its traditional policy towards the minorities.

Roland Bless has here produced a book that the reviewer has no hesitation in describing as the finest history of Burma currently available – something that can be said of only a few works in German about non-European countries. The book includes an extremely useful index.

Hermann J. Hiery

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