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CONTENTS

Contents

Conference Reports

Noticeboard

Library News

ARTICLES

CLOSE MARRIAGE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLASS SOCIETIES

Leonore Davidoff

'It was the family that married, and one married a family.'
Pierre Bourdieu

I

On 13 November 1838 the physician Robert Darwin wrote to his wife's brother, Josiah Wedgwood, the pottery owner whose own parents had been cousins. The occasion was the engagement of his son, Charles, to Josiah's youngest daughter, his cousin Emma. This was the second time these two fathers of large broods had exchanged felicitations on a marriage between two of their offspring. Only a year earlier, Robert Darwin's older daughter, Caroline, had married Josiah's oldest son (also Josiah, usually called Jos). Thus Emma and Charles were united not only as first cousins, but also in an exchange of siblings. In addition, Jos's and Emma's brother, Henry, had already married Jessie Wedgwood, a double cousin through both his mother's and father's side. Two years later their younger brother, Hensleigh Wedgwood, had married his maternal first cousin, Frances Mac-Intosh. Thus four out of the five of Josiah Senior and Bessy's nine children who married had chosen first cousins as their spouses.[1]

[1] Barbara Wedgwood and Hensleigh Wedgwood, *The Wedgwood Circle 1730–1897: Four Generations of a Family and their Friends* (London, 1980).

The response to the decision by the cousins Charles Darwin and Emma Wedgwood to marry was enthusiastic. Charles's father wrote that 'Emma having accepted Charles gives me as great happiness as Jos having married Caroline'.[2] When Emma told the news to her various relatives she reported that 'they were very full of joy and sympathy'.[3] Emma's favourite maternal aunt exclaimed: 'I knew you would be a Mrs. Darwin from your hands; and seeing Charles did not come on . . . I began to fear it was Erasmus [Charles's indolent older brother]. Everything I have ever heard of C. Darwin I have particularly liked, and have long wished for what has now taken place, that he would woo and win you.'[4]

While the marriage between the cousins, Charles Darwin and Emma Wedgwood, has often been cited, little significance has been given to another aspect of the Darwin–Wedgwood connection, sibling exchange marriage, where a sister and brother from one family marry a brother and sister from another, as they did here. Double sibling marriage, where two sisters marry two brothers, was also widespread. Taken together with cousin marriage, these have come to be known as 'close marriage'. Such practices flourished among bourgeois families from the mid eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries across Europe, America, and their colonies, including the marriage of Sigmund Freud, whose oldest sister, Anna, had married Eli Bernays, when Sigmund then married Martha Bernays, Eli's sister: sibling exchange.

The Wedgwood and Darwin pattern of marriages and their acceptance as normal, far from being an anomaly, was a typical, if somewhat more extreme, example. Yet only very few cases of this pattern have been noted aside from the Darwins, most notably the Rothschild family who, from the late eighteenth century, used close marriage strategically placed all over the capital cities of Europe. Of the twenty-one Rothschild marriages in the nineteenth century, no fewer than fifteen were of this type.[5]

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[2] Henrietta E. Litchfield, *Emma Darwin: A Century of Family Letters 1792–1896*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1915), ii. 2.

[3] Ibid. i. 278.

[4] Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin: A Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1995, 2002), i: *Voyaging*, 391.

[5] Niall Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild*, 2 vols. (London, 1998–9), i: *Money's Prophets 1798–1848*, 184.

The reasons for the neglect of these phenomena are complicated. For a start, there are no parish records or census statistics to use as sources. The incidence of close marriages can only be reconstructed from laborious, and boring, genealogies plus internal evidence from diaries and letters. Cousin marriages through the maternal line are particularly difficult to chart since women changed their name on marriage. Obviously the more literate and those committed to their family history will be over-represented in any study.

Intra-familial marriage has been noted among certain other populations, for example the European nobility, some peasant communities, and among immigrant groups. But it is also beginning to be recognized that there was a rise in these practices among Western bourgeois and artisan populations from around the mid eighteenth century that reached a high point around the end of the nineteenth century. Here there are two points to stress. In the English case these marriages were based on the free choice of partners, although carefully monitored by family and friends. Secondly, these marriages across Europe seem to have made up about 2 to 5 per cent of all unions. This was the case even where cousin marriage was officially banned, such as in Roman Catholic societies, but dispensations were commonly granted. Interestingly, however, where the middle strata was less in evidence, in the Orthodox East, for example, which was strict about enforcing the ban, cousin marriage remained rare.

Actual incidence of cousin, double sibling, and sibling exchange marriages may represent only a small proportion of the total. Yet the impetus to create such kinship links between families and their consequent alliances among these groups implies fundamentally rethinking the development of modern society. Far from confirming the usual received wisdom about the 'decline of the extended family'—a key element in social theories of 'modernization' from Herbert Spencer and Max Weber to Talcott Parsons—the long nineteenth century is beginning to emerge as 'kinship hot' in the view of David Sabean and his colleagues. Their 2007 comparative study of European kinship states:

> The transition to the nineteenth century is characterized by the construction of systematic, repeated alliances between families . . . over many generations, [who] contracted repeated marriages, creating tight bonds of reciprocity, extensive overlap-

> ping kindreds, and networks of kin recognition well beyond what most of us can imagine for ourselves today. At the heart of the system was cousin marriage, and cousins were repeatedly turned into brothers- and sisters-in-law and spouses.[6]

My local British data found 'close marriage' among Anglican and Nonconformist clergy, farmers, manufacturers, publicans, physicians, bankers, attorneys, shopkeepers, and prosperous artisans. Instances of these marriage patterns nationally can also be found widely among the families of many well known nineteenth-century names, including in what Noel Annan long ago called the 'intellectual aristocracy', that is, the public school and Oxbridge educated civil servants, scientists, educators, and writers.[7] It is paradoxical that these dense kin linkages seem to have been reaching their peak in the mid to late nineteenth century, just when meritocratic reforms had begun in the civil service and the military. While some managers and executives in larger commercial firms had begun to be recruited outside the family, the way they were educated, financed, and recruited relied on kin resources for several generations.

Why should these seemingly rather quaint customs be of interest to anyone except anthropologists and historians like me with a bee in their bonnet? In the first place, the general emphasis on marriage itself was a key part of the class and gender order of this period, creating an idealized domestic life based on the division of labour between the husband/father provider and the housewife/mother. Secondly, intra-marriage was a specific device creating the web of kinship that provided a form of security in binding together not only families, but also members of middling groups in local, regional, and national networks in a dense matrix of overlapping and doubling of in-laws as well as aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents at a time when there was a dearth of commercial, professional, and financial infrastructure as well as vulnerability to disease and early death. Familial relations became a touchstone of commercial as well as personal probity and trustworthiness, using cultural capital in terms of education

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[6] See David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Jon Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Developments (1300–1600)* (Oxford, 2007), 20.
[7] See Noel Annan, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy', in J. H. Plumb (ed.), *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan* (London 1955), 243.

and the paraphernalia of status as well as material and financial resources.

The survival of individual proprietor firms—the vast majority at this time—was conditioned by their capacity to raise capital and personnel from family members. Partnerships, too, were not recognized in law but regarded more as a 'personality' that rested on the reputation of the partners, the most common forms being fathers and sons, brothers (Jones and Son; Smith Bros), or uncle and nephew, male in-laws. Farmers and professionals without even this level of formality often joined forces in similar arrangements. In any case, all families might benefit from the skills, inside knowledge, and contacts of their kinfolk. A further reason for favouring close marriage was as a counter to centrifugal tendencies, since the usual practice in these groups, as opposed to the aristocracy and much of the gentry, was equal inheritance to all children, although the forms of property inherited might differ between sons and daughters.

As an example, the Courtauld silk-manufacturing fortune was based on the inter-marriages of Samuel Courtauld and William Taylor, who had served apprenticeships together in the late eighteenth century, plus William Bromley, the young solicitor who acted for their fledgling business. Close marriages continued among their descendants over more than a century. Thus kin as well as neighbourhood and religious networks now seem to provide the nodules from which a class society emerged. As Jon Mathieu has written: 'kinship endogamy formed the nucleus of class endogamy.'[8]

A word of warning, however: in the recent revisionist enthusiasm, historians may be falling into a functionalist trap. The negative effects of dense kinship networks should not be overlooked within family and kin networks and also when interacting with commercial or professional organizations. There were times when feuds could tear families apart, or duty to kin become a burden on resources by extracting commitments that might not have been in the best interests of an enterprise or professional practice. In any case, with the introduction of limited liability from the 1860s, and as profit and more expansionist aims came to predominate over family concerns in enterprises, the seeds of decline were slowly being sown.

These changes are also linked to that other *fin de siècle* 'great transformation', the fall in the birth rate spearheaded by these same mid-

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[8] Sabean, Teuscher, and Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe*, 225.

dle-class groups. Up to now, most of the discussion of cousin marriage, such as it is, has been from literary sources, with little thought about the structure of family and kin. Yet it is obvious that a basic prerequisite for the presence of close marriage on any scale is simply possessing enough relatives. Through the mid nineteenth century high fertility combined with declining child mortality for the better off meant that there were families with six or seven up to a dozen or more children who survived to adulthood. Thus there simply *were* more siblings to exchange marriage partners with; more aunts and uncles to produce more cousins to choose from. In some families, including the Wedgwoods and Darwins, there could be more than fifty first cousins, and innumerable others of varying degrees.

A feature of these 'long' families was the spread of ages of the children, which could include siblings of twenty plus years apart. Their offspring, in turn, could produce cousins spanning an even wider range, as in, for example, the Huxley family, where first cousins were born almost forty years apart, a feature increased with the children of second marriages. This created a situation in which uncles and aunts could, in fact, be younger than their nieces and nephews. James Strachey, the youngest of ten children was known as 'Uncle Baby' by his older nieces and nephews, and Freud himself was an uncle whose favourite playmate when he was a young boy was his half-nephew, John, a year *older* than little Ziggy. The ambience of such fluid relations when generation did not necessarily equate with age has to be understood as a central core of bourgeois emotional experience and culture.

Attachments of all types, including the erotic, were a product of the range of intimate, less age-graded family members. Charles Darwin, who had lost his mother in middle childhood and had a difficult relationship with his father, spent much of his early life at the Wedgwood's neighbouring home. His older sisters, now in charge of the Darwin household, were close friends of the older female Wedgwood cousins. As mentioned, the Wedgwoods became Charles's in-laws through his older sister, Caroline's, marriage to his cousin Jos (Josiah Wedgwood III). In his bid to undertake the voyage on the *Beagle* Charles had relied on his Uncle Josiah II to intervene with his father for permission to go. As he began to consider marriage, the two youngest female Wedgwoods, Fanny and Emma, were obvious choices. But by the time Charles returned to England, Fanny was

dead from cholera, so Emma became the choice. There were other ties that made the Wedgwood connection a vital milieu for Charles. He and his cousin, Hensleigh Wedgwood (Emma's brother), were of similar age and upbringing. The two men were also not only first cousins themselves, but in-laws twice over. Hensleigh's wife, Fanny Macintosh Wedgwood, was also not only Hensleigh's, but also Emma Wedgwood Darwin's, maternal first cousin.

After Charles and Emma's marriage in 1837, they settled in London, four doors down from Hensleigh and Fanny Macintosh Wedgwood, who had married five years earlier. As Emma wrote: 'we find it a constant pleasure having them so near. . . They often walk in to drink tea with us and vice versa.'[9] The Hensleighs already had four children, ending up with seven, while the young Darwins quickly overtook them with their eventual ten. The two families shared the same social life, had the same friends, and read the same books as well as having ties and obligations to the same sets of parents, siblings, and other relatives.

Biographers have been aware of how important both Charles's older brother Erasmus and his cousin Hensleigh were to the development of his ideas. Hensleigh himself was working on a major project, *The Dictionary of English Etymology,* that was eventually published in the same year as Charles's similarly long-gestated *On the Origin of Species*. These two cousins/brothers-in-law/neighbours had been able to discuss the progress of their mutual projects, and Charles found Hensleigh a crucial listener with whom to ponder his doubts about biblical authority.

What is missing in most biographical accounts is the embracing kinship milieu in which Charles Darwin was mired; not only by his own wife and quiverful of children, but also by the web of relations who were almost as close to him emotionally. Charles was deeply fond of his cousin Hensleigh's wife, Fanny. But she, even more than his wife, Emma, was devoutly Christian. Charles Darwin's torment over the implications of his scientific research has to be understood within this context in which he, Hensleigh, and his brother, Erasmus, shared more liberal views whilst the women closest to them, not only his wife, but in the whole kin network, held fast to their religious faith.

[9] Wedgwood and Wedgwood, *The Wedgwood Circle*, 236–7.

II

With our greater understanding of genetics, the idea of cousin marriage as incest seems clear cut, but this is even now far from clear. Until the twentieth century, when sexual behaviour began to be separated from reproduction and parenthood, incestuous relations had been defined in terms of marriage. The Church was the arbiter of who could marry and thus have sex and reproduce legitimately with whom. Because in the Bible marriage was believed to literally create 'one flesh' between husband and wife, all in-laws were included in incestuous relations. Thus if it was wrong for a brother and sister to marry, it must be equally wrong to marry a husband's brother or a wife's sister. Marriage to a deceased wife's sister was actually outlawed by Parliament in the 1830s. As one High Church Anglican wrote: 'a married couple by their oneness incorporates each into the family of the other.' Although Canon Law had forbidden marriage between cousins, this prohibition had been revoked by Henry VIII to suit his own purposes. From then on, Protestants were technically free to choose cousins as partners, while Catholics were left to follow Canon Law but with generous dispensations, while Jews have always allowed cousins to marry. Given their small number, this was often encouraged.

Though no longer prohibited by the Church and untouched by the state, in some quarters the belief persisted that cousin marriage was morally wrong and might lead to defective offspring, for moral character was considered to be inherited, and the idea of divine retribution still lingered. Scientific arguments, mainly among agriculturalists, vacillated between recommending the rewards of interbreeding between different strains and advocating breeding stock 'in and in'.[10] Medical men highlighted fears about 'blood lines', especially connected to hereditary diseases afflicting the European nobility. For them, concern over moral as well as physical attributes favoured marriage between opposite temperaments and constitutions,

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[10] See Staffan Müller-Wille and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger (eds.), *Heredity Produced: At the Crossroads of Biology, Politics, and Culture, 1500–1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007).

despite the personal practice of many.[11] It might seem straightforward to us that as physicians and scientists came increasingly to understand how inheritance worked, this position would be strengthened. Yet despite the scientific community's unease, close marriage alliances reached a peak in the second half of the nineteenth century.

For Darwin himself, an undercurrent of worried self-interest ran through his researches into plants and animals, for he was never sure if reproduction between close relatives might inadvertently bequeath to the offspring a series of innate weaknesses, infertility, or a tendency towards disease, including within his own family. In his 1862 volume, *The Fertilization of Orchids,* he had stated categorically: 'Nature tells us in the most emphatic way that she abhors perpetual self-fertilization.'[12] Charles's friend and neighbour, the MP and anthropologist Sir John Lubbock, was convinced that inbreeding was harmful and, with Darwin's support, introduced a Bill to have a question concerning cousin marriage entered into the 1871 census. Although almost all who had spoken on the Bill, including several doctors, were in favour, it was rejected by the majority (amidst hilarity) on the grounds that it would stigmatize certain marriages, not least Queen Victoria's to her first cousin, Prince Albert. But in the interests of science, a few years later, urged by Charles, his son, George Darwin, carried out the first statistical enquiry into incidence of cousin marriage. He had supported arguments for race improvement through selective breeding as advocated by Francis Galton, his father's second cousin and a pioneer of 'eugenics'.[13] From the sparse evidence available to him, however, George Darwin could not prove any deleterious effects and he felt that the evil 'has been often much exaggerated'.[14] His father, ever the good scientist, then backtracked and cut his firm statement from the second edition of *Orchids.*

[11] See John C. Waller, 'Ideas of Heredity, Reproduction and Eugenics in Britain, 1800–1875', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science,* Part C: *Biology and Biomedical Science*, 32/3 (September 2001), 457–89, at 464–5.
[12] See Steve Jones, *Darwins's Island: The Galapagos in the Garden of Eden* (London, 2000), 106.
[13] Nancy F. Anderson, 'The "Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill" Controversy: Incest Anxiety and the Defense of Family Purity in Victorian England', *Journal of British Studies*, 21/2 (Spring 1982), 67–86, at 62.
[14] See George H. Darwin, 'Marriages Between First Cousins in England and Their Effects', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 38/2 (June 1875), 153–84, at 153.

In fact, approval of inbreeding fitted well with many turn-of-the-century eugenicists. For them cousin marriage represented merely the most intense purity of bloodlines and was encouraged as a means of 'race improvement'.[15] This position had been set out in 1877 with the publication of Alfred Henry Huth's influential book, *The Marriage of Near Kin*, a work whose impetus, no doubt, related to his own cousin marriage. For him, marrying outside one's own group was a form of miscegenation and produced 'half-breeds' almost always inferior to their parents. It should be kept in mind that with the expansion of Empire, the relationships of Britons to 'native peoples', and the unrecognized liaisons these had produced, had become an uncomfortable, if mainly unspoken, issue. An 1875 article on 'Kin, the Marriage of the Near' stated that 'God made white men and God made black men but the Devil made half-castes'.[16]

This reference emphasizes how understanding the *context* of beliefs and practices around close marriage helps to explain the shift in attitudes that began to colour the generations from the late nineteenth century onwards. These changes were gradual and older beliefs, if not practices, lingered through to the middle of the twentieth century. But commercial and professional life had begun to be based on more individual recruitment to offices, jobs, and other positions, so that eventually the use of kinship ties began to be negatively defined as nepotism. The second, not unrelated, shift was in the reduction in the numbers of children in a family through a combination of late marriage and contraceptive practices.

By the third quarter of the century attitudes to cousin marriage were affected by more open discussion of issues around sexual behaviour, including homosexuality and the different standards applied to men and women. In this milieu the issue of cousins as spouses was raised in the continual debates over the repeal of the 'Deceased Wife's Sister' legislation. As Viscount Gage told Parliament in 1873: 'It is a curious idea to call it incest to marry an alien in blood when it is not to marry a first cousin.' This culminated in 1908 with the Punishment of Incest Bill, the first official definition of incest, when the union between full and half siblings as well as father

[15] See Frances Galton, *Hereditary Genius: An Enquiry into its Laws and Consequences* (2nd edn. New York, 1892).

[16] See David Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries* (London 1865), 150.

and daughter, whether inside or outside marriage, was made criminal. In many of these discussions the focus was on fears of incest among the poor. This is not surprising at a time of economic distress, labour unrest, and an increasing gap between the continued large working-class families and the markedly fewer children among the middle and upper classes.[17]

It is also possible that middle- and upper-class legislators, churchmen, and scientists were still not eager to pry too closely into these issues. All forms of marriage between kin raised the spectre of possible underlying erotic attraction not just between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but between brothers and sisters themselves. Middle-class sisters and brothers married late; many had been cared for by older siblings and in turn cared for younger ones; they often shared homes together as young adults. The friends of brothers and sisters were a prime source of marriage partners while the culture of Romanticism, Evangelical beliefs, and pornographic themes in very different ways emphasized the sibling relationship. In fiction and fantasy, too, cousins could become stand-ins for a brother or a sister. Little wonder that it had taken so long before this can of worms was even tentatively prised open.

In the early decades of the twentieth century it was clear that moral as well as scientific views began to highlight 'blood' or physiological relationships as the significant factor in the forbidden. Concerns around liaisons increasingly centred on the supposed blood element in racial and ethnic 'inter-breeding'. Anthropologists, who by the twentieth century had achieved more of a professional status, were the specialists concerned with forms of kinship, especially cousin marriage, which was generally regarded as an exotic practice irrelevant to civilized Western society. To the influential American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (who had married his first cousin), cousin marriage eventually began to resemble 'animal-like behaviour' only fitting for primitive peoples.

During the inter-war period a series of Parliamentary Acts gradually lifted the ban on prohibited categories of marriage partners, most of these of in-law status. These legal changes reflected as well as contained what was happening in people's lives. From the mid-Victorian average of six live births per married woman there had been a steady

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[17] See Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1995).

decline over the generations to the mid twentieth century, when the two-child family had become the overwhelming norm.[18] The pool of potential close marriage partners had shrunk to unworkable levels. Marriage with close kin was simply no longer a practical option, quite aside from its 'unnatural' overtones. By the start of the Second World War there was a feeling that, at the very least, 'there is nothing very romantic in marrying one's cousin'.[19] This attitude has continued until recently. At present, with the exception of the custom continuing in immigrant communities, in the very rare cases when it occurs in Britain, marrying a cousin seems somehow to be a last resort for those incapable of otherwise finding a spouse.

Within a century, the contrast between the taken-for-granted status of intra-familial marriage and the unease it now evokes is illustrated by a story that reached the cover of a Sunday broadsheet magazine in 1999. Blazoned across the cover was a photograph of a family worthy of note because in 1986 the sisters Johanna and Camilla Awdry had married the brothers Wilf and Philip Stephenson. Their six children were thus double cousins. The article accompanying the picture highlighted the 'spooky symmetry' surrounding the families. They had met when Camilla, the younger sister by two years, was involved with Philip, whom she had met at university. After graduating he was sharing a flat with Wilf in London, the brothers living close by the sisters, the two couples joining in various activities. But Camilla claimed that 'a romance between Wilf and Johanna was the last thing on my mind; it would have seemed incestuous'. Johanna agreed that at the time, 'if I had thought about it at all, it would have seemed like fancying my cousin'. Wilf and Johanna felt the situation was so fraught that they almost gave up the idea of marriage.[20]

<div align="center">III</div>

After the experience of fascism and the Second World War, eugenics had become discredited and concern over genetic results of marriage

[18] Royal Commission on Population Report (1949), quoted in Simon Szreter, *Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain 1869–1940* (Cambridge, 1996).

[19] B. S. Bramwell, 'Frequency of Cousin Marriages', *The Genealogists' Magazine,* 8/6 (1939), 305–16, at 306.

[20] See S. Allot, 'Sister Act', *The Telegraph Magazine,* 7 Aug. 1999, 34.

selection faded. The effects of nurture and family culture on offspring were emphasized in explanations of achievement as well as failure. But by the 1960s and 1970s the fears aroused by fascist eugenics policies were receding and new developments in genetics emerging. The first rumblings of what became behavioural genetics and evolutionary psychology began to return 'mating behaviour' to a biological base.[21] The focus had shifted, however, from prohibited degrees of marriage to the presence of erotic desire among family members and where this might lead. In many ways the range of responses in these discussions echoes the nineteenth-century debate between Freud (intra-familial relationships inevitably evoke erotic desire) and the anthropologist Westermarck (relatives have an in-built aversion to mating).

In the 1960s the anthropologist Robin Fox was one of the earliest to throw down the gauntlet with the notion of 'instinctive avoidance', a crucial part of the socio-biological understanding of the incest taboo as a cornerstone of cultural evolution.[22] Yet by the twenty-first century we have the opposite 'discovery' of instinctive and compelling erotic desire between long separated brothers and sisters, or even mothers and sons, based on genetic affinity, popularized as GSA (Genetic Sexual Attraction).

With the almost complete separation of sexuality and reproduction evident in increases in pre-marital sex, co-habitation, and new reproductive technologies, interest has narrowed to concern with reproductive potential assumed to be driven by genetic forces. Nevertheless, despite the aggressive stance of the evolutionary scientists, unease remains about the role of culture. Gradually the work of geneticists themselves has begun to undermine the basis of evolutionist arguments as more accurate understanding of physiological inheritance is arrived at and disseminated to the public. In 1996 the professor from University College London in charge of a 'revolutionary database' is reported as saying that the overstatement of the risks for cousins marrying is often more to do with tradition and religious

[21] See Anne Kerr and Tom Shakespeare, *Genetic Politics: From Eugenics to Genome* (Cheltenham, 2002).
[22] See Carroll McC. Pastner, 'The Westermarck Hypothesis and First Cousin Marriage: The Cultural Modification of Negative Sexual Imprinting', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 42/4 (Winter 1986), 573–86, at 573.

practice than scientific fact.[23] In these discussions, the Rothschilds and the Darwins are constantly cited as evidence of both negative and positive effects on their offspring.

In contemporary society the focus has shifted from what is now considered the old-fashioned notion of incest to a concern with child abuse, not necessarily among genetic relatives. For example, 2003 legislation re-introduced a prohibition on sexual relations between step-siblings under the age of 18 living in the same household, despite the obvious lack of a genetic relationship, while discussions have opened about legitimating non-reproductive sex between adult brothers and sisters.[24] Such thinking is part of a paradoxical situation in which, on the one hand, some scientists would have us believe that genetic drives are behind more and more of our behaviour, while on the other, sexual desire, reproduction, and its social corollary, marriage, are more than ever seen as matters of free, personal choice.

Contradictory positions are not new, whether garnered from scriptural authority, folk ideas, or medical/scientific findings. The nineteenth-century case considered here echoes more general tensions found in most societies. As the anthropologist Robert Simpson has said, there is on one side 'a tendency to genetic essentialism; on the other, the possibility that kinship relations can be made and creatively re-ordered. . . . The bare facts of biology are incidental to the primary business of making and maintaining relationships of one kind or another.'[25]

This complicated and emotionally fraught subject, that is, the rules dictating who may legitimately reproduce with whom, reaches into the most fundamental organizing principles of any society. To sum up: expectation of negative effects from certain unions (deformed offspring) then becomes a basis for forbidding them; expectation of positive effects (intra-kin solidarity) promotes them. Once rules have been laid down, having available the requisite pool of those defined as desirable potential partners becomes a secondary factor in the feasibility of sticking to them. In the long run, this situation may conspire to change the rules themselves, as with the dramatic fall in fertility in the West at the turn of the twentieth century cutting short

[23] 'Gene Bank Cuts Risks for Kissing Cousins', *Observer,* 20 Oct. 1996.
[24] Sexual Offences Act 2003, Ch. 42 s. 27.
[25] Robert Simpson, 'Scrambling Parenthood: English Kinship and the End of Affinity', *Anthropology Today*, 22/3 (2006), 3–6.

the supply of partners. This implies that when a fall in the birth rate eventually begins to take hold in societies organized around extended families and clan structures based on a high rate of close marriage as, for example, in the Middle East, Pakistan, or Afghanistan, the implications for political, economic, cultural, or even religious change may be more immense than can now be imagined.

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EUROPEAN REMIGRATIONS
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

ANDREAS GESTRICH and MARITA KRAUSS

Twentieth-century Europe witnessed migration on an enormous scale. Economic hardship, revolutions, political upheaval during and after the wars, and outright political and ethnic cleansing forced millions of people—individuals and families—out of their homes and countries. Many did not migrate only once, but passed through several countries before they could find somewhere to settle permanently. Others returned home as soon as circumstances allowed. This applies particularly to the remigration of political émigrés who, after their return, were often able to exert significant influence on the social and political development of their respective countries.[1] Whenever a war is lost, an occupying force pulls out, or a revolution succeeds, a fundamental change of elites is likely. This opens up chances for those waiting in the wings at home, but also for those who had fled or been driven out. Political émigrés mostly take a clear stance against the old regime when they leave their homelands. The knowledge of different cultural and political systems they laboriously acquire in exile seems to predestine them for positions in which they can help to shape new beginnings.

The experience of living, or even growing up, in a different society, however, tended to change the lives of the emigrants so profoundly that they became 'different people', and returning to their former home countries was often more a renewed emigration than a remigration. In fact, most remigrants returned to what had become a

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[1] Much research has been done on the significance and problems of political emigration in twentieth-century Europe. As far as remigration is concerned, the more systematic comparative approaches focus almost entirely on return migration in the context of economically motivated emigration. For an overview see Edda Currle, 'Theorieansätze zur Erklärung von Rückkehr und Remigration', in Informationszentrum Sozialwissenschaften/Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (eds.), *Sozialwissenschaftlicher Fachinformationsdienst 'Migration und ethnische Minderheiten'*, 2 (2006), 7–23.

foreign country to them.[2] Remigrants were also treated very differently, depending on the country and the situation of crisis. The spectrum ranges from a triumphant welcome to a sceptical wait-and-see attitude, rejection, and resistance. Charles de Gaulle, for example, was celebrated as a liberator in the Paris of 1944, while Willy Brandt and others who returned to Germany faced lifelong prejudice. Some returning political activists ran into severe difficulties with the new political structures and their elites after returning 'home', and had to face trial or flee again. Others were able to exert considerable influence on the future development of the country they had had to leave and to which they wanted to return in order to make it a better place.

In 2012 the German Historical Institute London, in cooperation with the Department of Local and Regional History at the University of Augsburg, hosted a conference on the comparative history of remigrations of political émigrés to and from Europe in the twentieth century.[3] It focused on the turning points of 1945 and 1989, and on the remigration of political and cultural elites. In the context of the conference, one evening was devoted to a public panel debate on the individual biographical backgrounds of different experiences of emigration, exile, and return. Three prominent émigrés were invited to take part: a historian; a journalist and filmmaker; and a politician. Two of them, the journalist and filmmaker Georg Stefan Troller,[4] and the historian Edgar Feuchtwanger,[5] fled from Austria and Germany

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[2] Marita Krauss, *Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land: Geschichte der Remigration nach 1945* (Munich, 2001).

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

[4] Georg Stefan Troller (b. 1921) is an author, journalist, and filmmaker. He fled from Austria in 1938, going via Czechoslovakia and France to the USA, served in the US army, and tried to return to Austria after the war. Troller finally settled in Paris, from where he worked extensively for German radio and television stations. His autobiographical prize-winning film trilogy, *Where To and Back*, is best known under the title of its third part, *Welcome in Vienna*, which was shown at Cannes in 1988. Among his many prizes and awards is the 2005 Theodor Kramer Prize for Writing in Resistance and Exile.

[5] Edgar Feuchtwanger (b. 1924) fled with his family from Munich to Britain in 1939, after his father had been detained by the Nazis in Dachau for several weeks during the *Kristallnacht* pogrom in November 1938. In Britain, Feuchtwanger studied history at Magdalene College in Cambridge. He received his

as children during the Nazi period. The third panellist, the politician Jan Kavan,[6] left his native Czechoslovakia after the Soviet invasion of 1968. Kavan returned after 1989 and quickly rose to high political office, both nationally and internationally, but also encountered much hostility at home, and was certainly not welcomed by all. Troller returned to Germany with the American forces in 1945, went back to the USA to study, and then returned to Europe again, while Feuchtwanger stayed in Britain and pursued an academic career as a historian at British universities. He never returned permanently, but was a frequent visitor to Germany and formed an important link between British and German historiography.

These three panellists, all from a Jewish background, represent three different ways of emigrating, returning, and engaging with the country that expelled them. The panel debate provided insights into many facets of the general topic which were relevant beyond these individual cases, and could be linked to several other papers delivered at the conference. As a framework for the individual perception of emigration, the discussion began by touching on the traumatic experience of emigration and the deep personal turning point it represented in the lives of these three men. In a second section the debate concentrated on the reasons for returning (or not returning), the difficulties involved, and the impact the returnees had on their home societies. Finally, the members of the panel were asked what the experience of emigration and integration into a new society meant for their personal development and how they approached their past and their return. This article draws on the personal contributions by

doctorate in 1947 and became Professor at Southampton University. Feuchtwanger decided not to return to Germany, but accepted the offer of a visiting professorship at Frankfurt in 1981/82. In 2003 he was awarded the Federal Republic of Germany's Order of Merit.

[6] Jan Kavan (b. 1946) was born in London as the son of a Czech diplomat and a British teacher. After his return to Czechoslovakia, his father became a victim of the infamous Slansky show trials in the 1950s. Jan Kavan was an active student leader during the Prague Spring and had to re-emigrate to Britain after its suppression in 1969. In exile he was editor of the *East European Reporter* and Vice-President of the East European Cultural Foundation. Kavan returned to Prague in 1989. He became Foreign Secretary (1998–2002) and President of the United Nations General Assembly (2002–3). He has received several honorary degrees and human rights awards.

Edgar Feuchtwanger, Jan Kavan, and Georg Stefan Troller to present some aspects of this conference.[7]

Trauma, Identity, and Engagement with the Past

In her book on remigration to Germany after 1945, Marita Krauss argues that the experience of hurried emigration or outright flight from persecution generally resulted in severe traumas which affected migrants for the rest of their lives,[8] and this was a recurring topic at the conference. Feuchtwanger and Troller vividly described their flight from Nazi persecution. Both experienced *Reichskristallnacht* as the turning point that brought constant threat and fear to the centre of their everyday lives. 'The events of *Kristallnacht* in November 1938 had a traumatic impact on my family', writes Feuchtwanger.

> It was nothing short of a miracle that my father escaped alive from his six weeks in Dachau. Had it become known to the SS camp guards that he was the brother of Lion Feuchtwanger, for Hitler and Goebbels Public Enemy No. 1 among the Weimar intelligentsia, my father would have been killed without a doubt. . . . Even as a not yet fully grown adult I knew that we as a family were in great danger, though no one knew as yet that Jews remaining in Germany would almost all be wiped out. I knew enough to feel that I was escaping from what would years later be called 'an evil empire'.

Similarly, Troller experienced *Reichskristallnacht* in Vienna, hidden in the cellar of a bookbinder's shop with a window overlooking

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[7] After the conference, Edgar Feuchtwanger and Jan Kavan provided written autobiographical statements. The quotations in this paper are taken from these authorized statements. Except for a few quotations from a short autobiographical text by Georg Stefan Troller, *Wohin und zurück: Die Axel-Corti-Trilogie* (Vienna, 2009), 7–14, his words in this article are all taken from transcripts of the recorded panel debate. The quotations from the published text are referenced and printed here with the kind permission of the Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft. For Edgar Feuchtwanger, see also his recent book *Erlebnis und Geschichte: Als Kind in Hitlers Deutschland – Ein Leben in England* (Berlin, 2010).
[8] Krauss, *Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land*.

a police station. His father was amongst the Jews who were randomly arrested and maltreated there.[9] Shortly afterwards, he and some members of his family started their odyssey across Europe, going via Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Italy to France, and then finally to the USA. What he remembers as the dominant experience of this time is constant fear,[10] and the emotional emptiness caused by the loss of all that his world had consisted of until then:

> The sudden loss to a 16– to 17–year–old boy, as I was, of relatives, of home, the boys you went to school with, was an incredible shock. [You experienced a] loss of feelings, because you didn't know what to attach your feelings to. The world had been part of our feelings. At that age, things consist of your own feelings to them. [If] that is gone then [there is] no justification for your life. What are you living for? What are you surviving for? It doesn't make sense. Yes, you might as well have not survived.

Having escaped the immediate danger, this loss of home was a strong motive, especially for young emigrants, or expellees, as Troller rightly points out,[11] to 're-invent' themselves and change their identity. This was particularly noticeable in the case of Feuchtwanger, who was only 14 years old when his family left Germany:

> I was born in Munich in September 1924 and left Germany when I was 14 years old in February 1939. At that age I was, in those days, nearer to being a child than an adult. I was just young enough for a complete change of identity, language and background. The motive for making such a change could hardly have been stronger. . . . Once I had made this great change, one could almost call it a second birth, there was never in practice a chance that I could go back to Germany. By the time the

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[9] Troller, *Wohin und zurück*, 8.

[10] Ibid. 10: 'The main feeling at that time, one that did not leave us day or night, was: fear. Fear is in the bones of refugees; it marks them out for ever.'

[11] Ibid. 7: 'The word emigrant, however, hardly appears in the screenplay. We were not emigrants, but expellees. Emigration presupposes not only a certain degree of voluntariness, but also the existence of a country to which one intends to migrate. This intention was present among very few of us.'

war ended six years later I was an undergraduate at Cambridge. To make another switch from my identity as it had by then evolved would almost have necessitated a third birth.

Troller approached this problem of identity change more indirectly, partly, perhaps, because he did not fully succeed. He rejected the idea, however, that he might have perceived himself as an exile. It was clear for him that he would not return. He wanted to start a new life and initially had little interest in taking part in the reshaping of post-war Austria or Europe.

> We never saw ourselves as exiles, but as immigrants. The word exile never entered our thought. Exiles were people like Brecht or Thomas Mann who we knew were going to come back, or various politicians, socialist party politicians and so on, who obviously intended to come back and play a role in post-war Germany or Austria. That was not our case. . . . I came to America in 1941 after various (the usual) difficulties getting there. I never thought about going back.

That is, however, exactly what Troller did. He was drafted into the US Army in 1943 and was sent, via northern Africa, Italy, and France to Munich, where he served

> as a part of the American military government as a journalist, first working for Radio Munich which was an American propaganda station and then . . . for the *Neue Zeitung*, edited by Hans Habe, which was also an American propaganda medium, on a higher level, so I was a returnee in 1945 in post-war Germany from day one.

Although Troller returned to the USA after the war to study, he felt somehow bound to Europe, and the German language:

> I was studying at the University of California. I was very happy as a student. I was deep into Shakespeare . . . and the professor asked us what we saw our future as. . . . Language I felt, at least for me, was the only possible road towards identity, towards feeling at one with myself. I had to write in my lan-

> guage and my language, much as I adored English and I still do, could not be that. It had to be the childhood language, it had to be the language into which every word corresponded to a feeling or ten feelings.

Hardly any older than Feuchtwanger, Troller was old enough to have served in the US army and fought against the Nazis. And although he was perfectly fluent in English, Troller remained attached to his old 'home' through his language and the need to express himself in German, and therefore also to a German-speaking audience. At the same time, however, he felt that the German language had been corrupted, and that it was sometimes easier 'to talk' in pictures. That is why he was drawn to film as a medium, and why he preferred to speak about, and to, Germany from outside, from Paris:

> The other way of dealing with this returnee question, was my personal way, of that I have lived in Paris now for sixty years and that I became a sort of Paris specialist to the German public. Paris was, after the war, what Rome was at the time of Goethe, it was some sort of paradise of easy living, good cooking and great sex and so there was Troller talking about Paris. So by the detour of filming and talking for ten years or more in a show that was called *Paris Journal*, I could talk about the things I was personally interested in . . . whilst still everyone thought I was only talking about Paris.

Our third protagonist, the Czech politician Jan Kavan, was born after the war (1946), but his family had been deeply affected by it, the Nazis, the subsequent Soviet domination of the Eastern Bloc, and the Cold War confrontation. He describes his family background as a chain of forced emigrations and returns:

> I was born during highly political times into a very political family. My Czech father had to escape from the Gestapo in March 1939 in the then occupied Czechoslovakia. He was pursued by the Gestapo as a leading Jewish official of the youth organization of President Masaryk's National Socialist Party (a leftist party not to be confused with the German namesake). After fighting in Poland and France he was transferred with

other Czech soldiers to England. As a soldier émigré he met my English mother here but returned to the front after D-Day. He was wounded during the siege of Dunkerque and sent for treatment to England where he married my mother before returning to fight in France and Germany. At the end of the war he returned (remigrated in current terminology) to Prague and my mother emigrated with him. He was soon posted to our Embassy in London where I was born in 1946.

In 1950 Kavan's father, by then a convinced Communist, was recalled and soon afterwards arrested and sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment in one of the Stalinist political show trials. His father's fate profoundly affected Kavan's political orientation:

> I was brought up as a son of a Czech traitor and an English imperialist mother. As a young teenager I became preoccupied with the need to find out the truth about those trials and also with the need to ensure that judicial murders cannot ever be repeated and more generally with the need to protect justice, human rights and the rule of law and to project ethical values into political decision-making.

It is not without tragic irony that in many respects, Kavan's life eventually came to resemble that of his father.[12] Emigration, return, and hostility towards the returnee at home repeated itself in a series of surprising parallels. Kavan was involved and influential in the Prague Spring of 1968. He was an active student leader and promoter of the passive resistance to Soviet occupation and the subsequent concessions made by the Czech government. In order to avoid persecution he left the country in 1969.

> In May 1969 some of the remaining supporters of Dubček and his socialism with a human face helped me to travel to England where they thought I could stay until the worst repres-

[12] On the general context see also Sarah Scholl-Schneider, *Mittler zwischen Kulturen: Biographische Erfahrungen tschechischer Remigranten nach 1989* (Münster, 2011); ead., '"Die Remigration ist schwieriger als die Emigration": Die Rückkehr tschechischer Emigranten in ihre Heimat nach 1989', in Jasna Čapo-

sion died down. But the repression accelerated and so in August 1970 I was faced with a decision to return and face the possibility of a prison [sentence] or to stay in England and become a political émigré. This was an extremely difficult and quite traumatic decision which I was unable to make on my own. I therefore decided to travel to Prague illegally (using my British passport and a change of name) to consult my political friends. A majority of them asked me to escape again and help the new opposition from England by 'meeting their needs' as they would define them. I did precisely that. I became a Czech political émigré which is a more accurate description than a return of a 'long lost son' back to his English motherland or that I 'remigrated' to the UK.

It is interesting to note that Kavan was not willing to make the decision whether to stay in Britain or to return to Prague on his own or with his family, but only in close consultation with his political allies at home. Thus his return to England became a clear case of exile, almost an official mission to organize an effective network of supporters for the opposition at home. He lived in Britain, always with the intention of returning to Czechoslovakia as soon as possible. His problems were not of identity, but of how to earn a living and support family, friends, and political allies at home.

I did not face any loss of identity. But I had no job, no money and my four years of unfinished Czech studies were no longer recognized (as they were a year earlier). I therefore started my university studies again from scratch. A year later I helped to smuggle my mother out of Czechoslovakia, only a week before the police came to arrest her for her support of the opposition. . . . In order to preserve my political independence I refused to accept support from any intelligence agencies or similar institutions. This meant that I was going from debts to even greater debts.

In Britain Kavan built up a wide network of friends, mostly on the Trotskyite left, joined the Labour Party, and became a prominent member of the circle of Czech and Eastern European dissident émigrés. But his life seems to have revolved entirely around organizing and supporting the opposition movements, most importantly by providing them with literature, printing the pieces they produced, and publicizing them internationally. Kavan was the founding editor of the *Eastern European Reporter* which published, for example, all the Charter 77 documents. He was British, but did not want to become it in the sense of abandoning the purpose of his life in exile, which was political reform in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe.

Returning Home?

Why did emigrants return to the country that expelled them? What were their motives and timings? What types of remigration were there, and what happened to remigrants after their return? How did the returnees engage with their former environment, their former friends and colleagues, and society at large? There are various ways of returning and reconnecting, and the members of the panel reflected on these questions, drawing upon their individual histories.

Moving back to Germany and resettling there was not an option for Feuchtwanger. However, he became an important intermediary and a regular visitor to Germany, which, since the 1950s, was the place where his extended family seems to have met most regularly:

> Broadly speaking, my contact with things German was intermittent after I came to England in 1939, but was through the presence of my parents never wholly lacking in the 1940s and early 1950s. . . . I returned with my mother to Munich for the first time in 1957 and frequently thereafter, even after my marriage in 1962. My mother's elder brother, who lived with a housekeeper in a flat overlooking Central Park in New York, spent the summer months on the Starnberger See. Many other relations returned to their former haunts from America, Israel and elsewhere. There was often quite a gathering of the clans, but permanent remigration probably never entered their minds nor was it a practical option for any of them. The only

> member of the Feuchtwanger family who remigrated was my third cousin Walter, who came from the banking branch of the family and reopened the bank in the early 1950s.

Revisiting old family holiday places, often in Switzerland or Italy, was a not uncommon way of re-engaging with Europe and the family's past in more normal times. For many years Feuchtwanger's interest in Germany did not go beyond these irregular visits. In his early academic career he concentrated primarily on British history, writing his Ph.D. thesis on Disraeli and the Conservative Party,[13] and subsequently publishing on Gladstone.[14] In the late 1960s, however, he was commissioned to write a book on Prussian history, which was translated into German.[15] It was mainly through this research that he re-established academic contacts with German colleagues.

> It was at this time that I re-established contact with my German cultural background. I was commissioned to write a book about Prussia, which for many in the English-speaking world was still the villain of the piece in German history. I wrote a book which was not so much a history of Prussia, for which there was hardly the available space, as an exposition of the Prussian ideology. It was published in 1970 under the title *Prussia: Myth and Reality* and also translated into German. In 1968 I first went to the University of Frankfurt and became involved in setting up a link which continued for some thirty years, with annual joint seminars and later staff exchanges

Feuchtwanger was awarded the Federal Republic of Germany's Order of Merit for his engagement in Anglo-German academic understanding. He received the award from the German Ambassador in London on 30 January 2003: 'Exactly 70 years earlier and at the same hour Hindenburg had appointed Hitler *Reichskanzler*.'

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[13] Edgar J. Feuchtwanger, *Disraeli, Democracy and the Tory Party: Conservative Leadership and Organization after the Second Reform Bill* (Oxford, 1968).
[14] Id., *Gladstone* (London, 1975).
[15] Id., *Prussia. Myth and Reality: The Role of Prussia in German History* (Chicago, 1970).

Despite this engagement with bilateral academic relations and frequent family visits, Feuchtwanger always kept Germany and German politics at a certain distance:

> It never occurred to me that I could or would want to influence German affairs. Even when I first went back to Germany in the 1950s I never experienced much of the feeling that met some returnees, namely, that they had somehow contracted out of the national fate. Perhaps I occasionally heard 'Wir haben auch gelitten', which always seemed to me an inappropriate remark. Not that I wished to blame everybody who had remained in the Third Reich for what happened, but exiles like myself had had to flee at the peril of our lives.

Even though he fostered close relationships with many colleagues, Feuchtwanger did not want to cross the border and become a German academic. He continued to publish primarily in English. Most of his books also appeared in German, but in translations by others.

Troller returned to the USA after his first period in Munich with the American Army, but came back to Europe shortly afterwards. At first he tried to return to Vienna, but this soon proved impossible for him, as he was unable to cope with the hypocrisy and false friendliness of all the Nazi bystanders and perpetrators in the years after the war.

> I went back to Austria first and I wanted to study theatre art . . . to my amazement, the Director of the Theatre Arts Department was Professor Kindermann, who had been a terrible Nazi in the war years and everyone knew about him. So being a specialist, they kept him on. And then there was a list of . . . those important German or Austrian dramatists that we were going to deal with, and to my amazement I found that the Nazis were mixed in with the non-Nazis, or the anti-Nazis, or the emigrants without making any difference. They were all authors, they were all writers, they all suffered in their souls didn't they? And I rebelled against that . . . Then I went to France. France had her own problems, God knows, also her own problems under the German occupation, but it was not the same kind of people.

Troller's return to Vienna resulted in a confrontation with the old Nazis who continued in office and remained culturally influential. Much as he loved his native Vienna, this was not where he wanted to stay. To be in Europe, however, seemed important for Troller. Had he returned to the USA he would have had to change identity to become an American writer and journalist. That was a direction he could not, and did not want to, take.

Even though Troller did not want to see himself as an exile when he left, he in fact became one during emigration and felt a strong need to return to an environment which would allow him to use his mother tongue. Working from Paris for German-language newspapers and radio and television stations appears to have been the compromise. What did Troller want to write? Did he have an agenda, a mission as a journalist, writer, and filmmaker?

> Did I want to improve the German mentality, if that is what we are going to be talking about? . . . Germany, as I found it in 1945, was a deeply corrupted country. Even a non-Nazi, and everyone was a non-Nazi, we know that, even they were deeply corrupt and some of them still are. . . . Yes, I wanted to influence that, but I did not want to influence that by preaching or by politics, I am sorry it is not my way, but by truth talking, also by showing myself as I was with all my faults and weakness.

In a moving introduction to his autobiographical film trilogy *Where To and Back,* directed by Axel Corti, Troller explained this approach of 'truth talking', including his own weaknesses in more detail:

> I show the refugees not as heroes, but as fugitives, running away. We might be blamed for this. Some people tried to rescue a bit of self-respect from the catastrophe; others didn't. Most of us were not fighters. Who was there to inspire us, organize us? . . . We were in countries that watched a rearmed Germany with fascination, even admiration. How did we look by comparison? 'German spirit in exile', don't make me laugh. After all, the big names, people we admired too, had stayed on in Germany: Hauptmann, Richard Strauss, Furtwängler,

30

>Gründgens, Jannings, Albers, Benn, Barlach, Weinheber, Fallada, Jünger, Kästner . . . Those on our side suddenly seemed small and petty, except, at best, Einstein, Brecht, and the equivocal Thomas Mann. Who were we meant to emulate? For the world, and for ourselves, we were a bunch of 'Jews and Communists', just what Hitler had called us. Exile—we weren't in exile. We hadn't even thought of the term. In an undignified way we scurried from office to office, committee to committee.[16]

Troller's way of engaging with the German public was not by trying to turn the mass of refugees into heroes, but to show their vulnerability and suffering, their complex mixtures of love and hate, and the frequently hostile reception they received as often unwelcome 'guests' in the countries where they sought refuge.

Unlike Feuchtwanger and Troller, Kavan was never really in any doubt that he was in exile and that he would return as soon as circumstances allowed. He was the type of political émigré who lived in exile, but with such close connections to home and such strong political networks that he was never really in any danger of changing identity and going native in his host country, Britain. Ironically, in Kavan's case, this was indeed the country of his birth and citizenship. But he had not grown up there, and it was not where his political identity had been formed.

>When the Czechoslovak Communist government began to crumble it took me only a few minutes to decide to return to what I have always regarded as 'home'. The purpose of my emigration to the UK was fulfilled. It made no sense to stay here any longer. And I was the first re-émigré to return on 25 November 1989.

Kavan is aware, however, that compared to other émigrés, his uncompromising focus on political activities and goals was exceptional, and came at a price, one he was prepared to pay.

>At the beginning of my emigration I wrongly assumed that the so-called repressive 'normalization' in Czechoslovakia would

[16] Troller, *Wohin und zurück*, 12.

31

last only about the same time as the worst time after the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, that is, about six years. (Incidentally six years was the period my father spent abroad during the war.) Six years is too short a time to start a new life, a family which I would later have to uproot. Most of my émigré compatriots decided to cut their umbilical cord to their countries in order to firmly integrate into their new host country. There were no half-way houses. The life of a political émigré is not an easy one. The feeling of certain isolation, occasional bouts of doubt concerning a hopeless struggle, lack of any professional career, all of that and more was simply the price I was prepared to pay.

The life of a political émigré is not an easy one, but returning home was not easy either as Jan Kavan was soon to experience. His fate not only frighteningly resembled that of his father, but was in many ways symptomatic of the problems faced by the exiled political elites on their return. Some received them as returning leaders and, to a certain extent, saw them as the legitimate political authorities. Others met them with hostility and distrust. Jan Kavan experienced this ambivalence from day one of his re-entry to the country, and gave a sharp analysis of the mechanisms behind it:

I was detained at the airport and interrogated for about sixteen hours. The interrogators called me one of the protagonists of the change which was then unfolding. They came the next day to detain me in the hotel and questioned me in one of their special conspiratorial villas for several hours. They secretly filmed the interrogation on a video which was later used in order to discredit me.

I was immediately elected to the leadership of the 'revolutionary' Civic Forum and seven months later to the Federal Assembly. However, a few months later I was accused of being a former agent of the Communist Secret Service StB. It took me five years of struggle in courts to clear my name. During those five years I was the main target of the media which was dominated by young almost fanatical rightists. That vicious campaign left a lasting impact on the people to date irrespective of the final court's decision.

Kavan interpreted this campaign against him primarily as an attack of the political right on attempts to introduce any kind of reformed socialism into the country. To have cooperated with the left in Britain or elsewhere was therefore considered suspicious. But there was also a general mistrust of those who had spent time abroad in exile, while others at home had endured the hardships of the regime, although mostly without taking the risk of rebelling against it.

> First of all, most émigrés were perceived as people who escaped from the misery the majority had to live in. And people believed that émigrés lived in the prosperous West as rich and successful people while the rest of the nation suffered. The reality was, of course, frequently different. And, therefore, a certain envy coloured peoples' perceptions. The only returnees (remigrants), who were welcomed and decorated were those émigrés who had a history of fully supporting the USA, i.e. the victors of the Cold War. A possible cooperation with the CIA would have been very helpful. . . . But émigrés who have been in the West associated with the Left were automatically very suspicious. People were asking me how could I escape from Communism and then join the Labour Party and become critical of Maggie Thatcher when the Iron Lady led the courageous and victorious struggle against the evil Communists?

The three panellists represented three types of return: the intermittent return, as a visiting professor or similar, of those who had decided to pursue their careers abroad;[17] the failed return of the homesick (which resulted in their taking up domicile in a neighbouring state); and the full return of the political activist (which, as was so often the case, also partly failed). Types one and three were the most frequent; type two, that is, Troller's way of returning, was the least common. It seems to have been intellectuals such as Troller, in particular, who preferred this distanced closeness, returning not to Germany or Austria, but to Switzerland (for example, Thomas Mann

[17] On this topic see Marita Krauss, 'Exilerfahrung und Wissenstransfer: Gastprofessoren nach 1945', in Dittmar Dahlmann and Reinhold Reith (eds.), *Elitenwanderung und Wissenstransfer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Essen, 2008), 35–54.

and Carl Zuckmayer) or France, from where they were still able to exert considerable influence on post-war Germany.

Taking Personal Stock of Living in Exile

People who were driven out of their home countries on political or racial grounds mostly had to endure a great deal: leaving family and friends behind or losing them altogether; abandoning their homes and property; having their professional qualifications and status questioned; and retraining and starting a new career in order to make a living. They could also, however, gain much to which they might have not have had access without emigrating: wealth and social mobility; insight into different cultures; the advantages of an informed view, from outside, of their society and culture of origin; and moral authority as an intellectual or political leader. Yet in general it seems difficult, at least for émigrés such as our panellists, to come to a clear overall balance.

The Feuchtwanger family had lost much by leaving Munich, where they had been at the centre of intellectual life. The father had been academic director of one of the most distinguished academic publishers, Duncker & Humblot. Unlike his father, who was never able to put down roots in Britain, Edgar Feuchtwanger changed identity and became 'what years later a friend of mine, an Old Etonian retired ambassador, called "an honorary Englishman" '. This was primarily a way of surviving, but, of course, it was also a gift of the host society which accepted the immigrant as one of theirs. In later life, however, Feuchtwanger increasingly re-acquired an affinity with Germany and especially his native Munich, giving rise to something like multiple identities, which he can now see as an asset rather than a burden.

> I have to recognize that I have spent so much of my long life, from my days as a schoolboy in a major English public school down to the present, in an ambience that makes me a bit of an outsider in Germany, so that it would have required another major transformation to live there permanently. Yet not a complete outsider either. Where I was born and brought up, Munich, Upper Bavaria, I can still feel a special affinity, possi-

bly more so than many Germans who come from other and very different parts of Germany. On the whole I think it is an advantage, in our globalized world, to have multiple identities.

For Troller, this phenomenon of multiple identities is more ambivalent. He stresses the price the expellees had to pay for their involuntary cosmopolitism. Always to be somewhere in between; not able fully to identify with one society or the other; and not being entirely accepted anywhere were traumatic experiences that, to the present day, run through his autobiographical writings and general thinking on the fate of refugees.

> This is the most heart-breaking thing. The refugee suffers home-sickness for a country that he may no longer call his home. He lives in a different country, and is en route to a third, and a fourth — to countries that he will never really call his new home. He knows this already. He loses one culture and language (from now on he speaks 'Emigranto'), without ever really mastering another. Essentially, he loves the people that drove him away, and cannot unconditionally love that which allows him at least to exist. He finds himself in an intermediate realm where — because one can never really return — he will stay for ever. He will never really belong anywhere again. . . . He is rootless, 'cosmopolitan'. What, in the full awareness of belonging, people like to praise as the future condition of humanity, the refugee has already experienced, when what he wants, deep down, is something quite different: internationality.

Yet Troller does see ways of alleviating this rootlessness. His work as a journalist, especially on the TV show *Paris Journal*, which he worked on for more than ten years, making fifty programmes, allowed him to come to terms with the city and its people, especially the poor and apparently weak. It permitted him to approach them and to learn, at first hand, of their everyday heroism.[18]

18 'At first, this city was a Babel, something that scared me, and *Paris Journal* gave me a chance to overcome all that. This programme was what first allowed me to become human at all.' See <http://www.wdr.de/wissen/wdr_wissen/programmtipps/fernsehen/11/12/11_0030_w.php5>, accessed 8 Mar. 2013.

It was only after his return home to Czechoslovakia that Kavan appears to have fully suffered from the ambivalence of having been in exile. The fact that he was accused of being an agent of the Czech Communist secret intelligence service and that, like his father, he had to stand trial after his return, hurt him immensely. It not only undermined his standing and career as a politician, but also drove a wedge into his former circle of friends and allies, which seems to have been his most important and motivating bond during his years abroad.

> Even when I was elevated to some of the highest positions in the country (Foreign Minister, Deputy Prime Minister) I was still perceived as being different. Later even President Vaclav Klaus questioned my loyalty to the country given my close association with the UK. Suspicion and/or envy prevailed. . . . While it is possible to clear one's name formally in courts, it is impossible to wipe off the suspicion of peoples' minds.

This hostility and suspicion against the returnee is why Kavan's final assessment of what he and his political work gained from his first-hand experience of British democracy and political culture in Britain and elsewhere is somewhat ambivalent and melancholy. He concluded his biographical sketch as follows:

> On the other hand returnees (remigrants) are definitely capable of helping their countries to learn from the achievements of their host countries. However, in many instances their experience was in vain and the countries went on to commit many (probably unnecessary) mistakes (wild privatization without any legal rules, for example, against laundering of dirty money, corruption, etc.). . . . There are no simple, black and white models of behaviour. There are many stories that may resemble my own but there are also stories of people whom their Western acquired skills and excellent language abilities helped to become successful in their former homelands. With some notable exceptions, many of them enjoyed their wealth and prosperity but deliberately kept their heads down not wishing to draw too much attention to themselves and thus risk outbursts of envy and distrust.

There can be no doubt that post-war Germany and the post-Communist countries of the former Soviet sphere of influence profited immensely from returning exiles and were deeply influenced by their input and experience,[19] but individual migrants tend to take stock of their time in exile in a more reluctant and ambivalent way. Even in cases such as that of Kavan, whose efforts and endurance during exile seem to have been rewarded by the ultimate success of the political opposition and the regime change in Eastern Europe, the personal cost of spending so many years abroad was still very high. This was felt even more when the delight of returning home and being appointed to high political positions was marred by a renewed wave of suspicion, distrust, and hostility. Whatever the other, less politically focused refugees might have gained by being forced to get to know the world, the feeling of loss remained a strong and prevailing emotion throughout their lives.

[19] On this topic see e.g. Marita Krauss, 'Exil, Neuordnung und Erneuerung Deutschlands: Jüdische Remigranten im politischen Leben Nachkriegsdeutschlands', in Hans Erler, Arnold Paucker, and Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich (eds.), '*Gegen alle Vergeblichkeit': Jüdischer Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 388–406; ead., 'Deutsch-amerikanische Presse- und Kulturoffiziere als Teil der Besatzungsbehörden', in Arnd Bauerkämper, Konrad H. Jarausch, and Markus M. Payk (eds.), *Demokratiewunder: Transatlantische Mittler und die kulturelle Öffnung Westdeutschlands 1945–1970* (Göttingen, 2005), 129–55.

Articles

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REVIEW ARTICLE

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON AN OLD STORY:
THE EARLY MODERN HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
REVISITED

Stefan Ehrenpreis

Ten years after German reunification, the history of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation became a focus of European policy. Referring to the federal tradition of German history, French Minister of Defence Jean-Pierre Chevennement accused the German government of holding up the Holy Roman Empire's political system as a model for European constitutional structures in order to use a weakening of national powers to favour German interests. In reply, German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer delivered a speech at the Humboldt University in Berlin on 12 May 2000 in which, in the context of the EU enlargement process, he called for a transition from an association of states to a European federation. In the European

Parliament, people as different as Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Otto von Habsburg came together in defence of Fischer's idea.

This political debate reflects the scholarly consensus on the Holy Roman Empire achieved in the 1980s. Historians such as Heinrich Lutz, Karl Otmar von Aretin, Volker Press, Winfried Schulze, Heinz Duchhardt, Heinz Schilling, Johannes Burkhardt, and Alfred Kohler had created an image of the Holy Roman Empire that, in the context of the French Revolution's *Bicentennaire* in 1989, emphasized a historical contrast with revolutionary France. While Western Europe underwent a revolution, Central Europe was dominated by federal structures, the participation of the Estates, the granting of legal rights (including to subjects), and corporate self-administration, even if the monarchical principle and the privileges of the aristocracy remained untouched. A research programme drawn up by Peter Moraw and Volker Press in 1974, which aimed to link the social and constitutional histories of the Holy Roman Empire, provided the foundation for research on the early modern period in Germany for more than twenty years. The findings of this middle generation of historians of the Empire were both pragmatic and abstract. The Empire was defined, as it already had been by the eighteenth-century German imperial constitutional law, as a constitutional structure *sui generis* that could not be compared with any other early modern polity in Europe.

This interpretation in German historiography was resolutely ignored by international scholars, largely because of two factors. First, German historians did not really succeed in embedding their image of the Holy Roman Empire in a European research context. And secondly, English- and French-language research hardly considered the Holy Roman Empire as a political organism. Instead, scholars in Britain and the USA studied the Reformation and confessionalization in 'Germany', that is, the social and religious history problems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were investigated taking the German territories as examples.

With some delay, however, changes have become apparent in German research since the start of the twenty-first century. These have sought to adapt views of the Holy Roman Empire to a changed perspective on German and European history. The interpretation of the Holy Roman Empire as the antithesis of French absolutism has declined since the late 1980s, as the concept of absolutism itself has

come under scrutiny. The special emphasis on social disciplining as a basic feature of early modern societies also disappeared, making way for views of other social and cultural practices. And the idea of seeing early modern rule as a process of negotiation and interaction between princes and subjects laid to rest widely held views of the developmental stages of state power.

Instead of this, a group of younger historians of the Empire, including, among others, Georg Schmidt, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, and Horst Carl, has put forward two new interpretations. First, the Jena School sees the Holy Roman Empire as a complementary *Reichs-Staat*. It argues that this was the state form typical of Germany in the early modern period, one in which statehood was divided between the Empire and the territories. The imperial state represented the federally constituted nation of the Germans, whose national awareness was no different from that of other European nations. In the discussion of these arguments, Schmidt's critics returned to the older concept of the imperial system, and pointed out that the Empire can only be described as a partially modernized, pre-national semi-state.

Over the last ten years a second movement has emerged around Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger and her research group at the University of Münster. They pursue a cultural interpretation of political rule in the Holy Roman Empire, in which symbolic acts and rituals are seen as giving rise to political community and producing a hierarchical order. This interpretation is less interested in institutions and the resources of rule than in forms of political communication among the Empire's elites. It argues that what unified the Empire was not so much political strategies as the representations, rituals, and ceremonies that celebrated solidarity between the Emperor and the imperial Estates. While the Jena School's argument, built on the complementary imperial state, aimed to bring the history of the Empire closer to what was seen as the 'normal case' of a Europe of nation-states, the second movement places greater emphasis on the unique features of the Empire's constitutional structure which, it suggests, was not comparable to any other early modern state form and was typically pre-modern. Both interpretations stress that long after the Holy Roman Empire came to an end in 1806, the idea of the Empire exerted a powerful influence on intellectual history as a political programme.

The three volumes under review here show that the recent debates and the newly awakened interest in the history of the Empire have

also found an echo among British and American scholars. In many places they pick up on and explain current research controversies, and take their own position, or suggest solutions for methodological problems. This welcome international response can be traced back first to a crisis in the traditional model which pitted Atlantic Europe against Central and Eastern Europe; today we tend to look more for structural comparisons. And secondly, it can be attributed to a new interest among British and American researchers in the different forms of state and society in early modern Europe, the impact of ideas such as 'law' and 'nation', and the practices of rule and cultural forms of communication. Neither old patterns of explanation nor isolated approaches built on the modern nation-state are any longer convincing. The common position of the authors of the books under review here is that the Holy Roman Empire was not static and had not become ossified in unreformable rituals; rather, it created a dynamic political framework (Coy, Introduction, pp. 2–3). All the volumes are based on a thorough knowledge of the German and international research literature, and take account of historiographical models explaining the typology and development of the Holy Roman Empire.

The authors of the three works under discussion, however, approach the problems of interpretation in different ways, have different aims, and address different readerships. Peter Wilson's textbook, published in the series Studies in European History, is a heavily revised new edition of a work originally published in 1999. In it, Wilson dispenses entirely with the history of events, concentrating instead on political structures and how they changed. To start with he provides a historiographical survey of the research discussion on the character and development of the Holy Roman Empire. In four sections in chapter two, Wilson presents the years 1495 to 1521, 1555 to 1590, 1648 to 1653, and 1740 to 1806 as periods of change in the early modern constitutional discussion. Two further chapters describe the responsibilities and functions of imperial institutions and interpret fundamental concepts such as absolutism, patriotism, communications revolution, political symbolism, and issues in the culture of remembrance.

The essays collected in the volume edited by Coy, Marschke, and Sabean were written for a conference organized by the German Studies Association in San Diego, and present the basic arguments and research practices of an approach that sees the Empire as a sys-

tem of communication. The contributions are divided into three sections: the first looks at 'physical presence, political performance and written communication' (Coy, Introduction, p. 3); the second at 'the symbolic construction of meaning, identity and memory' (Coy, Introduction, p. 4); and the third examines the role of imperial institutions, the significance of confessional aspects, and power relations. The individual contributions mostly present local, regional, or institutional case studies, and extend back to the Middle Ages.

The two volumes by Whaley, by contrast, represent an academic life's work which has grown over many years. The author, who in 1985 published an investigation of religious conditions in Hamburg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and has, in recent years, dealt with fundamental questions of the history of the Empire, here presents an overall account whose methodological reflection, thematic range, and wealth of detail are unparalleled. It can be assumed that these two volumes will quickly become standard works on the Holy Roman Empire in the English-speaking world, although their particular form, combining sections on historiography and methodology, structural history and the history of events, has no counterpart in the German-language historiography either. Over more than 1,500 pages, Whaley presents the development of the Holy Roman Empire from the late Middle Ages to its dissolution, debates older and more recent models of interpretation, identifies thematic priorities, and describes lines of historical development without passing over individual events. The text also presents a wealth of regional features and episodes in context which demonstrate the author's outstanding grasp of the detail of both imperial history and German regional history. The main focus, however, is clearly on the political history of the Holy Roman Empire and its member states in a European context, with its changing coalitions of power and areas of conflict.

Both volumes follow a similar pattern, opening with structural history chapters. In the first volume this chapter presents the geography of the Empire and late medieval history leading up to the imperial reform of 1495. The text is then divided into large chapters on the reigns of the various emperors, which discuss the main problems of the period, the political groupings, and the policies of the actors. Whaley does justice to the large social and economic differences in Central Europe by inserting structural history sections into chapters on political history, for example, about the different agricultural sys-

tems and the structural problems of government and society at territorial level.

The main focus for Whaley is the self-understanding and practice of government, not so much as it relates to political actions and reactions, but seen as the basic opportunities for action, the aims and means used by actors. What was regarded as politics was not always the same from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Similarly, ideas about the tasks of government, and who had to fulfil them, were changeable. For the emperor and the imperial Estates, therefore, 'imperial politics' and 'territorial politics' were inseparable, and neither could be separated from ideal concepts of rule. Whaley repeatedly returns to contemporary interpretations of imperial constitutional law and shows how it evolved from Johann Jakob Moser's legal positivism to Johann Stephan Pütter's adaptation of natural law. After 1750 Pütter modernized the Empire's constitutional law, emphasizing the limitations of power which the office of emperor imposed on the imperial Estates. He drew on the argument of the *systema imperii*, which was undoubtedly not a monstrosity as Pufendorf had claimed, but a composite state. In the following, examples of the problems addressed in each of the three works will be used to illustrate their methods and findings.

Definitions of the Political Space and Periodization of the Holy Roman Empire

Since the publications of Georg Schmidt, the reduction of the history of the Holy Roman Empire to its German heartlands, to *Reichstagsdeutschland*, has often been discussed. This topic is mentioned by Wilson and Whaley, but they do not expand upon it. Contributions to the volume edited by Coy, Marschke, and Sabean do not address the topic of the Empire's political space at all, and deal exclusively with the German-speaking areas. The books by Wilson and Whaley are different, however. The maps in the books already make clear that they include the Burgundian circles of the Empire, the Franche-Comté, and Imperial Italy, although Whaley does not come back to the Italian parts of the Empire in his text. Wilson's survey, by contrast, contains a brief section on 'Imperial Italy', which is also listed in the bibliography. At the beginning of his first volume, Whaley pro-

vides a geographical and political overview of the borders of the Empire and how they changed. He points out that the population of the Empire consisted of a 'multinational mixture of groups' (Whaley, vol. i, p. 20) and that borders were fluid. With the exception of Savoy, Imperial Italy sent no representatives to imperial institutions, paid no imperial taxes, was not subject to imperial jurisdiction (Whaley is mistaken here concerning the Imperial Aulic Council), and belonged to an area whose dynastic interests over time became, increasingly, purely Habsburg. Whaley sees Bohemia as an exception that was integrated into the Empire by the Habsburgs. He speculates that a dynasty which was not so strongly oriented to the east as the Habsburgs might have been able to transform the Holy Roman Empire into a more clearly national monarchy (Whaley, vol. i, p. 24).

On the general periodization of the Empire, by contrast, the three volumes are unanimous. All dispense with the older division which separates the history of the Holy Roman Empire into periods before and after the Peace of Westphalia. The solutions it provided are not presented as a dislocation, but are seen as fitting into the continuity of the constitutional discourse since the late sixteenth century, for example, in the debate about majority procedures in the Imperial Diet. Whaley follows Winfried Schulze here. After 1648, Whaley sees the consolidation of the emperor's role and the rise of territorial rule as among the basic features of the period. In line with current research he rejects the notion of 'princely absolutism', suggesting instead two specific developments as an explanation: a strengthening in the role of the courts and the court society associated with them; and an expansion in the classical areas of governmental action (Whaley, vol. i, p. 191). Rather than the internal turning point of 1648, both Whaley and Wilson stress the restructuring of the Empire achieved by the Imperial Diet of Worms in 1495, which, they point out, laid new foundations. Some of the essays in the volume edited by Coy, Marschke, and Sabean, by contrast, draw lines of continuity to the medieval Empire, which both Whaley and Wilson neglect to do.

State and Nation

There is a long historiographical tradition which sees western European history in terms of state-creation that led, via a critique of abso-

lutism, to an evolutionary (Britain) or revolutionary (France) development which produced popular sovereignty and parliamentarianism. In a parallel movement, national ideas were transformed into demands for participation and equality in order to delegitimize the older feudal social structures. This view can be found in Whaley and Wilson for the eighteenth century, although both relativize the relevance of the national idea for the political history of the Empire. The national idea is interpreted as one, but not the major, factor in imperial politics.

Whaley, along with the most recent research, sees the period of Reformation and Humanism as representing an early phase of the national idea. The rule of Maximilian I, territorial diversity, and Humanism are at the heart of his chapter on the Empire around 1500. Interest in the national question led to a brief but intense discussion of the rediscovered text of Tacitus's *Germania* and the ecclesiastical *Gravamina* which, along with the Reformation book market, are seen as characteristic of an overarching reform debate. This first national debate, however, ended in the second half of the sixteenth century, being displaced by the emergent discourses on imperial constitutional law. Whaley mentions the language societies of the seventeenth century as elements of continuity, but ultimately their significance was small. He sees a new debate about nation, Empire, and German culture as taking place in the Enlightenment societies and literary associations of the second half of the eighteenth century (vol. ii, p. 183). German national awareness, however, was by no means incompatible with regional identities and territorial affiliations, which also existed (and still do) in other European nations. Rather, as Wilson also points out, contemporaries saw the basic feature of the Empire's political system as freedoms that were typically German, as opposed to authoritarian, tyrannical Spanish and French political cultures. This sort of patriotism, which related both to the Empire and to a territory, did not change until the end of the eighteenth century, when 'a new ranking of values' (Wilson, p. 107) revitalized national ideas.

Thus neither Whaley nor Wilson see any contradiction between loyalty to the system of the Empire's political institutions and the ideology of German patriotism. The volume edited by Coy, Marschke, and Sabean takes a contrary view. André Krischer's conclusion (pp. 265–70) sums up an idea common to many authors in his provocative statement that 'the character of the Holy Roman Empire was essen-

tially fictive . . . it existed as such in the perceptions and the actions of its contemporaries' (p. 267). Questions of statehood are not posed here: the political order of the Holy Roman Empire was not early modern, but pre-modern. The symbolic representation of the Empire, according to Len Scales (pp. 73–92), began after the end of the Staufer imperial dynasty in the thirteenth century. Apart from a permanent process of negotiation between the imperial Estates and the emperor, other essays in the volume, for example, those by Elizabeth Harding and Andreas Kalipke, show that provincial diets and the Imperial Diet's Corpus Evangelicorum also established structures of communication that carried on the older, particularist discourses.

What the contributors to the edited volume have in common is that they see institutions not only in terms of their functions, responsibilities, or decision-making powers, but investigate the mechanisms of communication that worked through institutions, and see symbolic representation as an integral part of state-building. Identity-creating ideas are seen primarily as cultural and performative. Political communication in the Empire was not only structured through imperial institutions, but also created a framework for the elites to exert influence within the territories (see Trossbach in Coy et al., p. 209 n. 18).

Religious Identities

The multi-confessional nature of the Empire has attracted increasing attention in recent years. The question of religious diversity could not really be solved until 1806, although there were no more violent clashes after 1648. In none of the volumes under review here, however, is religion a central theme. Whaley sees the usual three elements as bringing about the Reformation: Humanist criticism of the church, social tensions, and the success of book printing. He casts doubt on the famous posting of the ninety-five theses, and regards the reaction of the Catholic authorities as the most probable trigger for the split in the church. The success of Protestantism under the imperial Estates went against Charles V's imperial policy, which explains his attempt to suppress it violently. When this policy failed, the way was open for the confessions to co-exist. The political basis of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) fell apart in the years that followed, but

according to Whaley the cause was not new conflicts about religious policy (whose relevance he underestimates), but the crisis of the Habsburg dynasty. In general, though, he emphasizes that the period from 1555 to 1618 was one of relative political peace in central Europe compared with conditions in western and northern Europe, although it was threatened by the struggle for independence in the Netherlands.

In the edited volume, David M. Luebke looks at the relationship between religious conflicts and the 'fiction of consensus', which pervaded political communication between the provincial diets and territorial rulers (pp. 145–61). The symbolic expression of the shared values and common bonds of society, which was expected and repeatedly re-enacted by both sides, was a lever that could be used to achieve toleration for confessional deviation. Other essays pose more fundamental questions regarding the creation of confessional identities. Ralf-Peter Fuchs's essay, entitled 'The Production of Knowledge about Confessions: Witnesses and their Testimonies about Normative Years In and After the Thirty Years' War' (pp. 93–106), deals with the problem of how we can know about confessional differences and religious and church practices among rural populations in the northwest of the Empire. Witnesses had astonishingly little knowledge about confessional differences and described their membership of the church as a social group identity which was not oriented by the liturgy or confessional doctrine. Many local Protestants followed traditional community practices, even if these involved Catholic rites. This makes it difficult to define the confessional status quo at any particular time in the past (normative year 1624). Both contributions suggest that there was some leeway in the religious struggle for minds. Religious identity was not a predominant feature that allowed political and social divisions to recede into the background, but was inextricably linked to them.

Whaley also emphasizes that after 1648 political conflicts were connected with the continuing split of the imperial Estates into religious factions, especially in the disputes between Austria and Prussia from 1740. But, he argues, there was no threat of a reconfessionalization of the Empire. Confessional orientations by no means obscured political identities, he suggests. Rather, they strengthened existing loyalties to territorial authorities or to the emperor, when he assumed the role of protector of religious minorities. Whaley, however, stress-

es the continuing existence of religious–cultural boundaries, which he explains by reference to the problems of acceptance which publications from Catholic imperial territories experienced in the eighteenth century. But, to stress this again, he does not see the religious question as the cause of major political conflict.

One political issue, however, cannot be separated from the question of religion: the secularization of the ecclesiastical territories. While this process appeared to have been prevented by the Peace of Westphalia, it entered the realm of possibility in Charles VII's plans to finance his imperial rule. Until the end of the Holy Roman Empire, Whaley points out, the idea of destroying the imperial church always surfaced when fundamental imperial reforms were being planned. Wilson also recognizes this in a subsection on the imperial church (pp. 93–7).

All three books pay relatively little attention to religious minorities. Whaley deals with the Jews, Huguenots, and Protestant refugees from Catholic territories in a few paragraphs (Whaley, vol. ii. pp. 263–9). Neither of the other two works goes into this. Contemporary fascination with the conversions of princes, migrations of religious refugees, biconfessionality, and the protection of religious minorities might also have deserved greater attention.

Factors of Integration

Just as these three books have different basic arguments, they also evaluate the factors for integration that held the Empire together differently. Whaley emphasizes the institutions of the Empire, the office of emperor, the imperial circles, the imperial law courts, and the Imperial Diet. He sees them as connected with the important political movements of imperial history: national, confessional, and the enemy images associated with the Turkish threat. At times, actors considered strengthening the office of emperor as a way of integrating the Empire. For example, plans for a revolt of the Frankish–Thuringian nobility under Wilhelm von Grumbach in 1567 (Whaley, vol. i, p. 393) made provision for setting up a stronger imperial centre. Whaley also sees the Habsburg family, whose vision of rule shaped the empire for centuries, as an important factor for integration. He regards the Habsburg dynasty's significance for the Empire

as lying not only in its strong power base, but also in the model that the governmental and administrative structures of the Habsburg territories and the imperial centre provided for all the imperial territories.

Whaley repeatedly comes back to contemporary discussions of imperial constitutional law. He finds a specifically German tradition in the debates about the limits that the liberties of the Estates, corporate rights, privileges, and personal freedom placed on monarchical power. After 1648 demands for material welfare were also heard in both Protestant and Catholic areas. In the eighteenth century, 'improvement' became the ubiquitous Enlightenment catchphrase, committing governments to improving economic and living conditions, for example, by developing transport and communication infrastructure, standardizing coinage policies, and making provision for food supplies. This was achieved by cooperation at the level of imperial circles. Numerous smaller territories also took part, and a minimum of good governance became established in them as the political standard.

Overall, Whaley presents the position of the Habsburg emperors as the central element in the imperial policy of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Since the rule of Charles V, he sees the Habsburg understanding of politics realized in the imperial idea, which he repeatedly investigates in specific political contexts in these three centuries. The imperial dimension was often linked with dynastic claims or prospects of inheritance, for example, in the election of Maximilian II as King of Poland in 1573. An imperial strategy was also displayed by Rudolf II and Matthias in the constitutional crisis of 1600 to 1618 (Whaley, vol. i. p. 439), and later by Leopold I and Franz I Stephan.

Wilson sees the (real or imagined) danger of monarchical absolutism as the essential and lasting point of contention in relations between the emperor and the imperial Estates, but also emphasizes the old feudal relations enshrined in feudal law (pp. 11–15). Rather like Whaley, he describes the institutions and offices of the Empire essentially as factors of integration, but also briefly mentions the role of the media (Wilson, pp. 110–12). Wilson ties the symbolic representation of the Empire in signs, rituals, and ceremonies that lies at the heart of the book edited by Coy, Marschke, and Sabean, to institutions and locations. But none of the three books under review here

any longer attribute any special significance to specific ideologies of Empire or the notion of the *translatio imperii*.

These positions on factors of integration can also be found in the debate on the end of the Empire in the Napoleonic era. Whaley criticizes the 'old master-narratives' (vol. i, p. 9) of the decline of the Empire and its helplessness in the face of Napoleon's system of order. Although he also emphasizes the new international situation after 1763 and the lasting antagonism between Prussia and Austria, he, along with Rousseau and Mably, describes the Empire as 'stable' and forming 'the centre of the European order' (Whaley, vol. ii. p. 394). According to Whaley, the Empire had lived on its role as defender against the Ottoman Empire and France for two hundred years, a situation which gave way to a deceptive peace after 1763. It was not the lack of a willingness to reform, but the failure of a number of reform projects, especially under Joseph II, that created the worst possible conditions for the warding off of an external threat. Yet the Prussian–Austrian dualism created a balance of power which preserved the Empire from falling apart under the dominance of one of these parties: 'it is not inconceivable that such a Reich could have survived' even beyond 1806 (Whaley, vol. ii, p. 431). He mentions the cooperation between imperial circles in developing transport infrastructure and organizing food supplies as an example of successful progress towards integration in the eighteenth century. In addition, many regions of the Empire had managed to establish commercial contacts with the prospering Atlantic trade in the second half of the eighteenth century. Finally, after 1790, a series of reforms were implemented: 'the Reich and its institutions underwent a notable revival' (Whaley, vol. ii, p. 560). Its dissolution was more the result of an immensely difficult ten-year war against revolutionary France. Financial burdens and territorial compensation plunged the imperial order into chaos.

Wilson, by contrast, sees the War of the Austrian Succession as already weakening the Empire. The quarrel between Austria and Prussia, he suggests, turned into a dangerous new structural antagonism, which all the other powers had to accommodate; the 'internal balance' was irretrievably destroyed (Wilson, p. 57). The dissolution of the Empire, however, can be attributed to large-scale shifts in European power politics, he claims, and not to factors within the Empire.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that there are themes and problems which none of the volumes under review addresses, although they are highly influential in the present-day European research landscape. Thus the books say little about the current debate on early modern political economy which, using the concept of the fiscal–military state, also discusses a type of European state and its developmental problems. Even Whaley's detailed account gives little space to the Empire as a zone of regionally diverse societies with an all-embracing corporate constitution. Proto-industrialization, literacy, and demographic shifts are hardly mentioned. A second theme of current research, cultural history, appears as an analytical tool only in the approach taken by the essays in the volume edited by Coy, Marschke, and Sabean. Whaley only briefly mentions the literary discourse and the part it played in the creation of a national consciousness, the imperial style in the palace architecture of the ruling houses, the history of universities and academies, and the court culture of the Empire's large aristocratic dynasties. Developments in intellectual history from the early Enlightenment are only touched upon in all three volumes. The Empire's special position in the contemporary production of knowledge about cultures outside Europe, human anthropology, and nature, could also have been discussed, as Alix Cooper and Emma Spary have recently demonstrated.[1] The examination of the development of natural philosophy and the philosophy of law is rather brief and concentrates too strongly on constitutional law (Whaley, vol. ii, p. 200). In general, it can also be said that too little account is taken of economic and social processes, which are connected with the new interest in questions of political culture and communication.

The various approaches taken in the three books make clear that, rather like the classic combination of constitutional and social history that dominated the 1970s and 1980s, today we need a combination of social history and research on political culture if we want to relate

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[1] Ursula Klein and Emma Spary (eds.), *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory* (Chicago, 2009); Alix Cooper, *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), both mostly dealing with Germany.

institutions, political ideas, social practices, and cultural patterns of interpretation to each other. To have worked this out is a great achievement. The remarkable renaissance in Anglo-American research on the Holy Roman Empire to which these volumes testify thus also points to problems of reception which continue to exist in international historiography and to blind spots affecting all of European history. A history of social orders in the early modern period which, for the Empire, would also have to encompass the development of feudal law, remains a gap for the whole of Europe.

Finally, these three books demonstrate that any interpretation of the statehood and constitutional character of the Empire must be measured against European comparisons. Whaley expresses this most clearly: 'The Reich was distinctive, but not unlike other European polities of its time' (Whaley, vol. ii, p. 650). Following on from this, one could ask whether a systematic investigation of the Holy Roman Empire as an empire and the embedding of its history into comparative research on empires would be fruitful. Problems of centre and periphery, competing ideologies of integration, privileged minorities close to the centre, and many others were common to other early modern empires as well. In the political culture of all early modern polities, status differentials, group-specific privileges, and political practices aiming for integration represented complex fundamental problems and were treated differently in law and in politics. The need to legitimize rule is not limited to national or feudal models of order. Early modern composite states were, as John Elliott pointed out more than twenty years ago,[2] characterized by different political spaces and an alternation of unity and difference.

[2] See J. H. Elliot, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past and Present,* 137 (1992), 48–71.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The search for the German nation has been shaping German medieval history ever since its beginnings as a modern academic discipline in the nineteenth century. First in the aftermath of Napoleon, then in the wake of the German Empire forged by the Prussian kings, medievalists were strongly invited to play their part in explaining the history of the German nation and thus to contribute to the shaping of contemporary German identity.

This earlier work on the German nation and its identity considered the German people an almost timeless entity that would inevitably push for its proper political habitat, a powerful (nation-)state. The Ottonian, Salian, and Staufen kings and emperors were seen as having taken the right direction down that road—except, perhaps, for their repeated expeditions across the Alps, wasting important resources in Italy that could have been deployed much more usefully in building up a powerful monarchy at home. With the end of the Staufen dynasty in the mid thirteenth century, however, this road came to an end; particularism and princely egoism prevailed over central monarchical power and hindered the formation of a powerful German kingdom.

These traditions of thought exercised notable influence far into the twentieth century, until the catastrophe brought about by German nationalism reconfigured the mental framework of the search for the (medieval) German nation. It was only in the 1970s that the (German) nation was put back on the agenda of German medievalists. The interdisciplinary research programme NATIONES, supported by the German Research Foundation, set out to investigate the emergence of the European nations in the Middle Ages. Contemporary political developments were no less influential in shaping this research than they had been in the nineteenth century. The promotion of a united 'Europe of Nations' and especially the partition of

Book Reviews

Germany into two independent states at least in part motivated this renewed interest in medieval nations. Walter Schlesinger's thoughtful outline of the research programme (finished in January 1976, published in 1978) is remarkably frank on this.[1] It is telling that the last volume of the NATIONES series appeared in 1991, one year after the reunification of Germany.[2]

Interest in medieval nations had by no means disappeared, but they were no longer considered a central issue. At first, the idea of a 'Europe of Nations' was increasingly replaced by the concept of a 'Europe of Regions', shifting the emphasis from nation to Europe. This has recently been modified again by the increasing visibility and viability of globalization and its consequences. Approaches with names incorporating terms such as 'global' or 'trans-' jostle for centre stage. Thus today the issue of the medieval German nation and its identity no longer gives German medievalists a permanent headache. This particular trauma has become a thing of the past.

As a result of the NATIONES research programme, we now see the making of the medieval German nation differently from our predecessors in the nineteenth century. The Germans are no longer considered a timeless entity that created its realm. On the contrary, analogous to developments in France, political processes are seen as providing the framework within which the German nation and its identity came into being. The Empire preceded the nation.[3] Chronologically, this formation process took place between the ninth and the

[1] Walter Schlesinger, 'Die Entstehung der Nationen: Gedanken zu einem Forschungsprogramm', in Helmut Beumann and Werner Schröder (eds.), *Aspekte der Nationenbildung im Mittelalter: Ergebnisse der Marburger Rundgespräche 1972–1975*, Nationes, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1978), 11–62.

[2] Thomas Eichenberger, *Patria: Studien zur Bedeutung des Wortes im Mittelalter (6.–12. Jahrhundert)*, Nationes, 9 (Sigmaringen, 1991).

[3] See in particular the articles on the subject by Joachim Ehlers, many of which are conveniently assembled in Martin Kintzinger and Bernd Schneidmüller (eds.), *Joachim Ehlers: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1996), notably his 'Die deutsche Nation des Mittelalters als Gegenstand der Forschung', 344–98; more recent publications are Joachim Ehlers, 'Erfundene Traditionen? Zum Verhältnis von Nationsbildung und Ethnogenese im deutschen und französischen Mittelalter', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich, Heiko Steuer, and Dietrich Hakelberg (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung 'germanisch-deutsch': Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (Berlin, 2004), 131–62; Joachim Ehlers, 'Imperium und Nationsbildung im europäischen Vergleich', in

eleventh centuries. It did not, however, absorb all other processes which shaped group identities within the realm. Nor, of course, did these developments come to an end in the central Middle Ages.[4] In fact, as Joachim Ehlers has noted, the late Middle Ages produced a much more articulated consciousness of a German nation than had existed before.[5] Yet except for the fifteenth century, the late Middle Ages have received comparatively little attention in the quest for the German nation. Regional identities have been of greater interest. Curiously, it is an English scholar who seeks to redress this imbalance.

In his impressive monograph, Len Scales examines the shaping of the German identity between 1245 and 1414. Given the background of more than a century of sometimes hard-fought German scholarship on this topic, he seems almost like a psychiatrist who provides his patient with an outside view. But the German patient can safely lie down on Dr Scales's couch. Scales listens carefully before speaking himself. His first chapter, 'Modern History: Inventing the Medieval German Nation', analyses in some detail the mostly German historiography on the subject. The reader gains a fairly good impression of how the topic developed in changing political circumstances. Scales also identifies the early and central Middle Ages as the predominant testing ground for German nation-making. While he is perhaps a little too pessimistic about the results of this work — there is good reason to believe that at least some steps occurred in the formation of an identity — he is certainly right to ask what the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would have to offer if they were subjected to the same scrutiny.

In doing so, Scales addresses questions relating not just to German medieval identity, but also to processes of medieval nation-making in general. He doubts whether the model developed for the western monarchies can be applied across Europe: namely, that the nation came with the emerging medieval states characterized by a

Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (eds.), *Heilig — Römisch — Deutsch: Das Reich im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Dresden, 2006), 101–18.

[4] Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Reich — Volk — Nation: Die Entstehung des deutschen Reiches und der deutschen Nation im Mittelalter', in Almut Bues and Rex Rexheuser (eds.), *Mittelalterliche nationes — neuzeitliche Nationen: Probleme der Nationenbildung in Europa* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 73–101, esp. 97–101.

[5] Joachim Ehlers, 'Die Entstehung der Nationen und das mittelalterliche Reich', in Kintzinger and Schneidmüller (eds.), *Ehlers*, 399–413, at 409.

growing bureaucracy centred on a strong monarchy. Chapter two sets the scene for Scales's challenge to this view. He unfolds at length the argument entangling state-making and nation-making. He then describes the political situation in Germany, with a special focus on monarchy and royal government. In contrast to the western monarchies of England and France, the post-Staufen era is portrayed by Scales as lacking a strong monarchy and a penetrating royal government. He therefore asks what other possible channels there were by 'which king and people might be brought together' (p. 97), thus forging a German identity.

If there was no omnipresent royal government, if there were large areas that hardly ever saw the king or one of his officials, what force did the idea of monarchy have? To what extent was it present in the minds of people living in the vast and diverse German lands? What methods of communication were available and used to disseminate political ideas? These questions are tackled in chapter three. Scales musters a large body of evidence to show that the monarchy was talked about in Germany. Even if the vast German lands did not constitute a single coherent area of communication, ideas about the monarchy and knowledge of it could span them. It is much more difficult, however, to assess the quality and significance of this type of communication. Scales himself is cautious, but believes that overall the situation in the Empire differed less from that in Western Europe than has hitherto been believed, a statement that is easier to accept for France than for England. What remains to be seen is whether this communication developed a discourse centred on the German nation or on the Empire, the dynasty or the territory.

Scales addresses these questions in the following three chapters. First, he turns to the issue of the German *regnum* and shows that if there was a tendency to conceive of a German kingdom in the years after Frederick II's deposition—some very isolated views even considered the breaking-up of the Empire—this soon gave way to the older line of thought, inextricably linking *regnum* and *imperium*. Here, perhaps slightly more attention could have been paid to the role of the imperial princes in preventing a break-up of the Empire. It was the princes, in particular the electors, who maintained the idea of a realm constituted and governed by a king and the princes. Against the background of a strongly perceived princely responsibility for the *imperium/regnum*, the count palatine of the Rhine was able to create

the office of vicariate during the Interregnum. The imperial princes, as much as the king himself, were instrumental conduits of ideas concerning the nature of the realm.

Within this realm, as Scales convincingly argues, 'Germany came first' (p. 191). The imperial monarchy was perceived to be a German institution. This, again, owed much to the imperial princes, as Scales rightly points out in his later discussion of the subject in chapter six. It was the German aristocracy that took care of the affairs of the Empire. To be sure, in the thirteenth century there was some controversy as to the position of the Bohemian king. Some did not consider him a German, and hence regarded him as unable to elect the king. But he, too, as Scales nicely puts it, was 'drawn beneath the Germanising mantle of the electoral college' (p. 276). He was a German prince because he was an elector: this was the fourteenth-century doctrine, an argument Alexander of Roes had already deployed in the late thirteenth century to explain the electoral rights of the three Rhineland archbishoprics, all situated left of the Rhine and hence in ancient Gaul. On an ideological level the connection between the Empire and the German princes was created by the various variants of the tale of the *translatio imperii*. It was the responsibility of the Germans to carry on the Empire.

Yet the idea that the *imperium* was more than just the German princes or their lands was never lost from sight in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Despite, or perhaps because of, the shortcomings of royal power and the obvious lack of imperial triumphs the idea of the *imperium* firmly retained its place in contemporary political thought. The Empire's uniquely superior rank and its intertwining with the history of mankind itself made it far too potent to be discounted or even forgotten. Compared to this, questions of territorial power were indeed trivially terrestrial. And just as the struggle with the papacy in the eleventh century had brought the notion of a German kingdom to lands of the Empire north of the Alps, the conflict between Louis IV and the *curia* in the first half of the fourteenth century brought the Empire closer to the German lands. Louis's defence sharpened awareness of the *imperium* and its inseparable link with the king chosen by the electors. Moreover, forcing people to take sides also helped to spread political ideas among a wider public. This was another reason why people perceived the Empire as German, while the idea of the *imperium* itself remained Rome-centred.

59

Having examined the respective roles of monarchy, Empire, and princes in shaping German identity, Scales turns to other factors traditionally identified as crucial in the process of nation-making. Chapter seven deals with origin myths. Here, too, Scales redresses the balance. He shows that besides strong regional traditions, there were also 'notions of a larger common past' (p. 352) sporting such heroes as Caesar or Charlemagne. For the Germans the *translatio imperii* provided an important cornerstone on which to found a national myth, even though it perhaps never quite achieved the power of the French equivalent. The Germans were chosen for the imperial dignity. Why people in the thirteenth and fourteenth century thought this was so, and, more generally, what they thought constituted the German character and how much it meant to them, are the subjects of chapters eight and nine.

Scales first looks at how literate Germans dealt with this matter. For them, the Germans stood out for their military superiority. They were the best warriors, the best knights in Europe. It is for this quality that the Germans, rather than the feeble French, were entrusted with the Empire. Yet some also considered the *furor Teutonicus* as the reason for the political disorder within Germany. Here there was much to be learned from the more sophisticated ways of their western neighbours. In chapter nine Scales turns from theory to practice and looks at the (self-)perception of the 'Germans' trading, living, and settling in the Slavonic areas to the east of the *regnum Teutonicum*, examining in particular the roles of the Teutonic Order and the Hansa. He sketches a rather reductionist view of a German identity in the east. It 'was grounded in locality, and anchored by grants of law and privilege' (p. 445), but overall it remains hard to detect. The Teutonic Order or the Hansa may have provided Germans for the region (although it remains to be seen whether a Teutonic Knight or a travelling merchant considered himself German, or Franconian, or a member of the civic community of Lübeck etc.). But they neither promoted nor were subjected to projections of any sense of Germanness. The assumption, therefore, is that the German identity was just one among many in the east, varying in importance from locality to locality, social group to social group, and time to time. In light of this rather silent evidence, Scales is rightfully cautious in drawing a clearcut picture. The starkness of one of his conclusions, therefore, is striking: that for some, 'German identity offer[ing] a basis for social action

to keep members of native society down, and out' (p. 446) was a key development shaping relations for centuries to come. There may be rather much hindsight in this judgement of its long-term consequences; but then again, he may well be right.

Anyone who deals with the eastern settlements is almost automatically drawn to the question of the extent of the German realm. Scales shows in chapter ten that people had a much clearer idea of what constituted the German lands than has so far been thought. If there was still some degree of uncertainty, this had less to do with their alleged insignificance than with the sheer extent of those lands. Here the lack of a strong monarchical government repeatedly reminding the inhabitants of the borders of the kingdom was dearly felt. Scales rightly points out that people thought of German lands rather than of a German land; here regional identities, perhaps in part reaching back to the early medieval *regna*, were clearly visible.

And what about the German language? Identified by older scholarship as the common denominator of Germany par excellence, it has been relegated to secondary importance at best by more recent scholarship on the making of the German nation in the early and high Middle Ages. In chapter eleven Scales takes a middle stance. While the Empire was multilingual, the German language was closely associated with the monarchy. When its chancery decided to put documents into the vernacular, German was almost always its choice. Thus the German language certainly played a part in shaping the German nation, but it was not a key one. It had some major significance in the border regions; otherwise 'it was a rather abstract notion, whose application was largely passive and descriptive' (p. 503).

Having started his book with the monarchy and the Empire, Scales ends it by looking at the region and regional identities. This is, of course, a crucial theme because the development of a strong German nation and identity were supposedly prevented by regional identities centred on dynasties and their territories. If anything, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries fostered identity-formation at regional level. With the confidence of having demonstrated the shaping of a German identity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries over the preceding 505 pages, Scales has no difficulty in admitting to the existence of such regional identities and their strength. They did not, however, overlap with, or prevent the formation of, a national

identity. Stressing the congruent character of collective identities, Scales confirms more recent German scholarship on this subject.[6]

This book has been long in the making, and it shows. Scales musters a wide range of printed source material and ably uses the rich German scholarship to develop his own carefully thought-out argument. His book is clearly structured and very well argued. Few will read this massive volume from cover to cover in one go, but its careful design allows the reader to return to it again and again. Its immense richness will doubtless stimulate a whole series of fruitful discussions on the shaping of the German identity in particular and processes of (medieval) identity-making in general.

Scales's target audience is English, not German. This may be a surprising conclusion to draw about a book on medieval German identity totalling more than 600 pages in length. But by showing that a national identity could be developed within the framework of a comparatively weak monarchy, he forces English and French historians to rethink their assumptions about state-making and nation-making. In the end they may still maintain that in the west state-making and nation-making were closely entangled, but they can no longer claim this as a general rule. We must also bear this non-German readership in mind when we consider the lengthy portions on German historiography and the history of the Empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For the German reader they contain much that is familiar and hence appears to be redundant. But Scales not only tackles an enormously complex subject; he also has to introduce most of his readership to a whole, largely unknown, world of scholarship and source material. He achieves this diligently and patiently: English and German scholars alike should be extremely grateful to him for this additional effort to bridge the gap between two academic cultures.

The German patient, too, can leave Dr Scales's couch satisfied. The alleged lack of a late medieval German nation no longer needs to

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[6] E.g. Schneidmüller, 'Die Entstehung', 99; id., 'Friesen—Welfen—Braunschweiger: Träger regionaler Identität im 13. Jahrhundert', in Rainer Babel and Jean-Marie Moeglin (eds.), *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du moyen âge à l'époque moderne: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université Paris XII-Val de Marne, l'Institut universitaire de France et l'Institut historique allemand à l'Université Paris XII et à la Fondation Singer-Polignac, les 6, 7, et 8 Octobre 1993* (Sigmaringen, 1997), 305–24.

trouble his mind. There was a medieval German nation, and the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were a crucial period in shaping its identity. In matters of identity it is extremely difficult, not to say dangerous, to identify continuities. But there is, I think, good reason to assume that there was at least a basic continuity between the early, high, and late Middle Ages. The princes played a crucial role in ensuring this continuity. They carried over the idea of princely responsibility for the affairs of the realm from the high to the late Middle Ages. Against this background, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries appear not so much as the period when a medieval German nation originated, but as a second phase, one that provided more than straightforward continuity.

Scales convincingly argues that the relative weakness of royal government between 1245 and 1414 caused the German identity to be thoroughly developed and shaped. Yet he does not offer his German patient an easy answer to all his questions. If he listens carefully, he will find that Scales provides a picture of a bewildering multitude and complexity of collective identities available to the people living in the lands of the Empire north of the Alps. The German identity was only one among many, and its attractiveness to people outside the royal and princely courts and literate circles remains diffuse. Towns, lordships, principalities, even the Empire itself provided frameworks for other, not necessarily less attractive, options. Moreover, these identities were evidently not mutually exclusive. Which one came first for the individual in question depended very much on the occasion. This picture, of course, fits very well into the contemporary narrative of a 'Europe of Regions', providing the individual with a multitude of collective identities ranging from the family, the local football club, the region, and the nation to Europe. Yet Len Scales puts a very convincing case that this was also a late medieval German reality.

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Book Reviews

*Conquest: Episcopal Elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou, c.1140–
c.1230* (2008) and *Der Rang der Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein: Die Gestaltung der
politisch-sozialen Ordnung des Reichs im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (forth-
coming 2013).

DAVID MATTHEWS, *Writing to the King: Nation, Kingship, and Literature in England, 1250–1350*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 77 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 221 pp. ISBN 978 0 521 11137 9. £50.00. US$85.00

In the book under review here David Matthews looks at various forms of political literature which he locates in a grey area between literary writing and chronicles. His main argument is directed against the widespread view that Middle English only became interesting with Chaucer. He wants to show that in the decades before Chaucer, Gower, and Langland, there were texts in Middle English that influenced these writers (p. x). In an introduction and five chapters he examines how the English language conveyed political satire and instruction in these works. He also asks to what extent these writings to and about kings related to a political community in England, or wanted to create one through writing by contemplating ways of achieving political harmony.

In his first chapter, 'Defending Anglia', however, Matthews begins by discussing Latin texts that originated around 1250. But he assumes that there was an English tradition of political satire at this time, citing the 'Song Against the King of Almaigne'. His second chapter, 'Attacking Scotland: Edward I and the 1290s', focuses on Langtoft's chronicle, which provides a commentary on Edward I's invasion of Scotland. Matthews looks at this text in the context of the discussion about the emergence of an English national self-consciousness. The third chapter, 'Regime Change', discusses texts written in connection with the deposing of Edward II that reflect on kingship and justice in the context of the political turbulence of the years between 1307 and 1330.

Chapter four, entitled 'The Destruction of England: Crisis and Complaint *c*.1300–41', looks at texts written around 1337–40 in reaction to Edward III's (domestic) political difficulties, including William of Pagula's *Speculum Regis Edwardi III* and English poems such as 'Against the King's Taxes' and the 'Song of the Husbandman'. These texts complain about the burdens placed on peasants by direct taxes and the purveyance (the right of the crown to requisition goods and services for military purposes). The rural population suffered from high levels of abuse, especially of the purveyance. The mood was so tense in parts of the kingdom that some observers

thought a revolt was likely. William of Pagula, for example, appealed to Edward III to stop the abuse of the purveyance and to instruct his officials to treat the peasants fairly. As William pointed out, Edward was responsible for the actions of his officials and needed to fear for the salvation of his soul if he did not force them to behave appropriately. He also reminded the king of Edward II who, through his own stupidity, had allowed many bad things to happen in the land. In the end, he had been deposed. Matthews suggests that this sort of language and advice were not necessarily welcome, and that the independent, critical thinking displayed here must have required courage (p. 111). Even if we do not know whether William's letter ever reached Edward III, Matthew believes that this letter represents the voice of the 'little man' who had found ways of dealing with the authority of the king, or even criticizing it (p. 113). Other texts which give voice to the political views of the 'little man' include poems such as 'King Edward and the Shepherd'. These poems demonstrate that even simple subjects had access to the king and could make their complaints directly to him. But because the king appears in disguise in these poems, his subjects mostly only notice too late who they are talking to, and are unable to grasp the chance offered. In these poems, the king controls the situation.

In this chapter Matthews also looks at poems which deal with the experiences of disappointed royal officials, such as the 'Outlaw's Song of Trailbaston'. (Trailbastons were itinerant judicial commissions first set up by Edward I but also used frequently by Edward III until well into the 1340s, and were highly unpopular among the people.) The narrator in the poem had been in the royal service, was unjustly dismissed, and now has to live as an outlaw in the forest, where he purports to have composed the poem. According to Matthews, the poems do not advocate active resistance to improve the situation. In fact, they have no solutions at all to offer. As Matthews points out: 'Where reforming documents fail, when writing is worth nothing, the only answers are transcendent' (p. 119).

Chapter five, 'Love Letters to Edward III', focuses on Laurence Minot's (1300–52) positive presentation of Edward's leadership in war and his successes. Minot praised the close connection between king and people/nation, and generated an aggressive feeling of English national identity. Minot's poems, dating from 1333 to 1352, were not written for the court; his world was that of the northern

English gentry. For him, the victories of the English army, led by Edward III, against the Scots and the French (for example, at Crécy in 1346) were important. He was not interested in praising chivalrous behaviour, but emphasized the victory of English warriors over those of other empires (p. 138). Matthews interprets Minot's eleven poems as a connected narrative about the war, as they were all written together in 1352 or shortly thereafter, and appear as a coherent text in the only surviving manuscript. This argument goes against current scholarly opinion, which suggests that the poems were composed in stages, as a direct reaction to political or military events (p. 143). But whatever the case, the poems can be seen as a political narrative. For Minot, threats to the English kingdom came from abroad, from the Scots and the French. Unlike William of Pagula and the husbandman of the song, Minot's theme is not domestic conflict. As far as Minot was concerned, Edward's rule only began properly with his victory over the Scots at the Battle of Halidon Hill (1333); this was revenge for Bannockburn (1314), and was able to erase unsavoury memories of the English monarchy's history between 1324 and 1330.

Matthews regards Minot's poems as an expression of English nationalism in the mid fourteenth century. Minot, he argues, saw Edward III as the personification of nationalism in that he described his military and political actions as embodiments of the deed (pp. 148–9). He described the French and the Scots as members of an out-group in order to develop a specific idea of what distinguished them from the members of the English in group. This brings Matthews up against Benedict Anderson, who argues that nationalism is only conceivable with the spread of printing and the end of strong monarchy. Matthews responds that there was a culture of pamphlets, and that while printing accelerated the spread of ideas, they had already existed in the fourteenth century.

Whether Matthews has succeeded in his attempt concerning an archaeology of Middle English before 1350 must be decided by literary scholars. But historians can certainly read his book with profit because he discusses texts that are significant for an understanding of English political culture in the late Middle Ages. It remains for historians to draw on these texts more often than they have done in the past when analysing politics. It may well prove to be worthwhile.

Book Reviews

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ANUSCHKA TISCHER, *Offizielle Kriegsbegründungen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Herrscherkommunikation in Europa zwischen Souveränität und korporativem Selbstverständnis*, Herrschaft und soziale Systeme in der Frühen Neuzeit, 12 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2012), 338 pp., ISBN 978 3 643 10666 7. €29.90

In 1985 Konrad Repgen, in an article published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, introduced the 'war declaration' as a source for the study of war in early modern history. He argued that although war declarations were the product of propaganda, they still deserve our attention. Despite the fact that they do not convey the 'real' motives underlying a war, these statements, which were apparently viewed as important for other people to be aware of, contain explanations of why war was being waged. Anuschka Tischer has broadened the scope of the subject by considering the war declaration as part of a process of communication between the sovereign, various authorities, governing bodies, subjects, and other (hostile) states.

War declarations were informally prescribed as an announcement before starting war, while manifestos were the accepted means of expressing official views. It is Tischer's opinion that war declarations, manifestos, and other official publications expressed the values of a particular political nation. The sovereign or government issuing these proclamations used them as an instrument in a public political discourse. Princes and governments had an authoritative position in public discourse and could take the initiative by publishing manifestos at any time they considered suitable. They therefore had the chance to direct and dominate the communication process. According to Tischer, war declarations and manifestos exerted a profound influence. By way of analogy she refers to Peter Burke's well- known study of the representation of Louis XIV and the impact that it had on our view of the Sun King.[1] To sum up, war declarations and manifestos contained important messages which played a leading part in the communication process of early modern societies and the statement of basic values.

About 350 official publications, carefully listed in an appendix, are studied in this book. The first one dates from 1492, the last from 1795. There is an emphasis on German declarations and declarations from countries outside Germany as far as they were relevant to the

[1] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992).

German states. The first half of the book looks at the communicative function of the war declaration, the second half at its content. The author has collected material from several European libraries and her study is well documented. She states, with good reason, that the traditional idea of early modern politics as carried out secretly by a sovereign corresponds neither to the practice of publicly explaining war aims, nor to princes' attempts to comply with the aims and values shared by the society they represent. War declarations and manifestos had the important aim of mobilizing the state's political institutions and its community. They consisted of a limited number of key concepts, such as 'religion', 'nation', and 'freedom', as a framework for the successful transfer of a specific message. Tischer has much that is new and very illuminating to say about this subject.

As Tischer explains in her introduction, she has left the contexts of war declarations and especially how they functioned out of her study. This isolated treatment of the war declaration and manifesto, however, is not really satisfying. They were meant to function—internally and externally—in a specific context and a limited space and time. For instance, they played a part in often complicated relations with various political entities and bodies, where their specific meaning was understood. But Tischer draws very general conclusions based on documents covering three centuries and half a continent. Sometimes the gap between specific declarations and general conclusions seems rather wide. To give one example, Tischer mentions a 1673 Dutch manifesto, addressed to King Charles II of England, as an example of the polite and respectful presentation of arguments which, she suggests, became common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even between states waging war against each other. This may be so, but I think that a strategic reason may also be plausible: the States General wanted to separate the English king from his ally, the French king, knowing that the war against the Dutch Republic was highly unpopular with the English Parliament, which had to decide on war expenditures. So the manifesto was formulated carefully and prudently.

The lack of context is still more problematic in Tischer's claim that public declarations by princes and governments contributed to communication and discourse about war and common values, and that in this respect the government played a steering and dominating role. But how can we know this, as the communication process itself is not

the subject of study? And especially, why does the author assume that prince and government dominated the discussion? Is it not possible that a government manifesto was the final stage of a public discussion with various participants? Examples are William of Orange's *Apologie* (frequently cited by Tischer as an important example of a manifesto) and the *Acte van Verlatinge* (Act of Abjuration of Philip II; not listed by the author), both key documents in the Dutch Revolt and published in 1581. According to one specialist,[2] they had no new arguments to offer, but expressed the conclusions of a debate to be found in many learned works and pamphlets. Of course, Tischer is right that a prince or government was in a position to influence the debate considerably, and that their initiatives had an impact. Further, I am sure she is aware that documents related to the Dutch Revolt as quoted (by herself) were at the centre of a broad and thorough discussion of political obedience and resistance. But instead of taking the statement that princes and governments directed and dominated the discourse as the point of departure for her argument, why not make it a question? In this respect the reference to Peter Burke's *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* is only partly correct. Burke emphasized that representation was the outcome of interaction between prince and subjects, and that is why he put forward some objections to the use of the concept of propaganda, a term frequently used by Tischer. The same argument can be found in several of Kevin Sharpe's publications, developed, for instance, with a substantial theoretical introduction, in his *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*.[3]

Tischer provides a clarification and competent discussion of an important type of document which is essential for understanding the position and arguments of early modern princes and governments. Because her study is so convincing in this respect, the reader is anxious to know how these war proclamations functioned in their specific environments. Perhaps this study would have gained if the author had added two or three case studies to her treatment of the war manifestos to show how they really worked. Greater insight into the actual meaning of the war declaration might have strengthened this book.

[2] Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 4.
[3] Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2009).

Book Reviews

DONALD HAKS was Director of the Institute of Netherlands History in The Hague before he took up a post as Lecturer at Leiden University in 2010. His fields of interest are the social and cultural history of the Dutch Republic, especially family history, news and public opinion, and autobiographical writing. His study of the forms of public communication that surrounded the wars between the Dutch Republic and France in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries will be published in the spring of 2013.

The right to set international norms, as Carl Schmitt once memorably remarked, was the key to hegemony in the modern world. We also know that knowledge is power. Combine the two—normative hegemony and the expansion of knowledge—and we are clearly dealing with power of quite an extraordinary order. It is in this spirit that Julia Angster's highly informative *Erdbeeren und Piraten: Die Royal Navy und die Ordnung der Welt, 1770–1860*, approaches the subject of the British empire's global reach in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Thanks to its naval superiority, she argues, Britain ruled not only the waves, but also 'ordered' the world—normatively, legally, militarily, and in terms of explanatory categories. Conformity was rewarded with the possibility of admission to civilized society, deviance punished by massacre or incarceration or simply an unflattering classification as 'backward'. What follows is thus conceived as 'cultural history of the political' (p. 22).

The author begins with a detailed introduction to the Royal Navy around 1800, which she persuasively portrays as an essentially meritocratic, and in some ways intellectually open, institution. Ability was recognized and scientific expertise highly valued. Against this background, the great British exploratory voyages, such as those of the legendary Captain James Cook, played as important a role in the growth of British imperial power as the brute force of the ships of the line. It was not just the ordnance carried across the seas, but the knowledge garnered by a little army of cartographers, ethnologists, botanists, and other experts who made landfall, which kept so much of the world in line. It is thus no surprise that the work of Patrick O'Brian, in whose novels the ship's doctor Maturin's botanical enthusiasms jostle for attention with the derring-do of Captain Aubrey, feature in Julia Angster's diverse bibliography, and rightly so. In part, the motivation here was economic, such as in the case of the production of breadfruit, which was intended to feed plantation workers. More generally, however, the British scientific–naval complex, to coin a phrase, was preoccupied with discovering, understanding, classifying, and thereby bringing ever greater swathes under control, or denying it to others. Against this background, as

the title of the book implies, even such innocent plants as strawberries took on a significance well beyond the purely culinary.

It was not just landscapes, flora, and fauna that were 'ordered', but people. The author shows how scientists and colonial administrators struggled to improve the populations they encountered. Here Angster provides some interesting comparisons with attitudes closer to home, for example, the experience of enclosure that drove many landless labourers off the commons and into the cities at around this time. The author refers to them as the 'indigenous English population', which is not so much an anachronism as a heuristic shock tactic to get the reader to think about the parallels between 'native' groups in metropolis and empire. Unlike the English poor, however, many of the populations colonized by the British refused the 'opportunity' for improvement offered to them. In the case of the Tahitians and other Pacific islanders, their manifest aversion to western conceptions of work, and perhaps to any form of sustained physical labour, led their rulers to consequently decry them as 'lazy'. These experiences certainly expedited the growth of racialized theories of difference against the previously more prevalent historical view of progress, which held out high hopes that 'primitive' peoples would join civilized society as soon as they had the chance to do so, or had been exposed to its merits. On this reading, the British obsession with eradicating piracy is read also as an attempt to impose a new legal order on the non-European world, which the locals perceived as fundamentally alien (and perhaps also inexplicable).

That said, nobody can come away from this book without realizing that the experience of colonialism was anything but traumatic for most of the populations involved. Sometimes this was just misunderstanding, as when Samuel Wallis opened fire on what was almost certainly a welcoming party on Tahiti, causing great carnage. Sometimes it was a matter of the wars and massacres with which British imperial history is replete. More often than not, however, 'the west' killed unintentionally, through the alcoholism and diseases it brought, and the weapons which it hawked to natives eager to kill each other more efficiently. It was not all exploitation and oppression, of course. Angster also engages with Britain's initiative in ending the international slave trade.

The boundaries between the domestic and the international are as blurred throughout the text as they were in historical reality. For

example, Angster sees the Royal Navy not just as an instrument of British power but also as a reflection of the society in which it was rooted. Similarly, the British moved into large swathes of the extra-European world not merely to exploit or civilize them but also, some would argue primarily, to deny them to outside powers. The author sees this sentiment at work with regard to the French and the Dutch over what later became Australia. One might add that the search for a 'Northwest Passage' is best understood in the context of imperial rivalry with Russia. Angster concludes her story by arguing that the year 1860, or thereabouts, marked a shift from a naval and normative concept of empire to a more territorial approach which involved the occupation of great landmasses rather than wide oceans.

All this makes for extremely interesting reading. Angster writes well, with a good turn of phrase. Her approach is 'critical' certainly, but also moderate and humane; she tries to explain and understand rather than simply to unmask or condemn her protagonists. The argument is based on a deep engagement with an impressive range of primary sources, located in archives across two continents. Her book also has the undoubted merit of incorporating the substantial German-language contribution to the world-history she practises, which goes beyond that of the ubiquitous Jürgen Osterhammel. Because the author does not read Inuit, Maori, Polynesian or any of the other native languages, she modestly makes no claim to writing real 'global history' (p. 25), but her book is nonetheless to be understood within that framework. The analysis ranges across oceans, down rivers, above and below decks, and into the minds of the (British) protagonists.

This also means, however, that Angster's approach suffers from some of the drawbacks of the genre. For a start, it is too broadly conceived. The author has tried hard, but it is impossible to do justice to the global sweep of British naval power over the course of ninety packed years, which include most of the Seven Years War, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars as well as the Crimean War, *and* the scientific, legal, and cultural underpinning of this hegemony in fewer than 300 pages. In this context, some of the excursions into the deep historiographical background—such as the literature on cartography (pp. 116, 142)—of the various topics covered might have been cut in favour of more detail on the history itself. For example, a look at Ireland, which some see as a kind of internal colony and where

similar arguments have been made about British cartographic enterprises, would have provided a useful comparison. Here the work of John Andrews, one of the few relevant authors not listed in the bibliography, is particularly pertinent, even if his findings give little comfort to the devotees of the 'colonial' model.

The main difficulty, however, is that the author does not really recognize that Europe lay at the heart of the British global order not so much culturally as strategically. As the work of N. A. M. Rodger has shown, the main focus of the naval effort was consequently in Europe generally and in home waters in particular. John Brewer's fiscal–military state—which Angster misunderstands as less bureaucratized and efficient than its continental counterparts (he argues the exact opposite)—was designed to sustain this massive military operation. Likewise, the preoccupation with the imperial dimension leads the author to claim erroneously that the new worlds were important sources of naval goods for Britain, whereas most of what was needed came from the (relatively) nearby Baltic. This being so, the caesura Angster sees in 1860 seems questionable: Britain was by no means as globally focused before then as she makes out, and less oriented towards Europe thereafter. Indeed, her periodization would strike international historians as odd, given that no less a figure than Disraeli announced in the following decade that Britain was no longer primarily a European power but an overseas one. These caveats aside, the author has written a good book which would benefit from an English translation in order to receive the attention it deserves from the audience to which it is addressed.

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SARA PUGACH, *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814–1945* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), xiv + 303 pp. ISBN 978 0 472 11782 6. US$80.00

This long-awaited and intriguing book by an American scholar of German history is the first English-language monograph devoted to the bizarre history of German academic research on Africa. It complements the works published in German by Holger Stoecker (2008), dealing with African studies in Berlin from 1919 to 1945, and Felix Brahm (2010), comparing African studies in Germany with those in France between 1930 and 1970.[1] Like these, it is based on the intensive use of many different archives and an enormous body of research literature.

The book is made up of seven main chapters. Chapter one discusses the 'pre-history' of African studies in Germany (1814–87). This is followed by an account of the creation of a seminar for 'Oriental languages' in Berlin, where Carl Büttner was recruited and by the early 1900s Hausa, Herero, and Swahili were taught. Chapter three is devoted to the linguist Carl Meinhof in the period up to 1909, when he left Berlin for Hamburg. In the following chapter Pugach describes how Meinhof collaborated with the ethnologist Felix von Luschan to develop what became known as the 'Hamitic hypothesis'. Chapter five deals with the emergence of Hamburg's Colonial Institute in the period 1908 to 1919 and Meinhof's work there, including the creation of a phonetic laboratory. In chapter six, a kind of excursus, Pugach discusses the role of African teaching assistants in Berlin and Hamburg over the whole period from 1889 to 1919. Finally, she turns in chapter seven to the influence of Meinhof and others on South African linguistics and ethnology between the end of the First World War and 1945. Clearly there are threads that link all these chapters, but one might also regard this book as a collection of essays written around several related themes.

One such theme is the emergence of race as an academic category in a discipline originally dominated by missionary notions of 'equal

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[1] Holger Stoecker, *Afrikawissenschaften in Berlin von 1919 bis 1945: Zur Geschichte und Topographie eines wissenschaftlichen Netzwerkes* (Stuttgart, 2008); Felix Brahm, *Wissenschaft und Dekolonisation: Paradigmenwechsel und institutioneller Wandel in der akademischen Beschäftigung mit Afrika in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1930–1970* (Stuttgart, 2011).

before God'. In the mid nineteenth century, Pugach shows, missionary linguists worked in a field 'that people of various ethnicities, European and African, traversed', and if the term 'race' was used at all, it referred to 'a cultural and linguistic category', like 'nation' (p. 43). Towards the end of the century, however, partly in response to the growing popularity of biological racism in Europe, linguists began to emphasize 'the superiority of inflecting languages spoken mainly by light-skinned groups' (p. 88).

In describing the development of linguistics among Pietist (mainly Prussian or Swabian) missionaries in the early nineteenth century, Pugach points to a key dilemma. Was the aim to achieve universality through Christ, or to define ethnic particularity through language (p. 29)? The book goes on to show that while both ideas were continually present in the emergence of African studies within the context of the development of comparative philology, it was the second—ethnic particularity—that was to become dominant, largely because most agreed that 'a native language . . . was the only tongue suitable for expressing the gospel to Africans' (p. 37).

Another theme is the shift from intellectual towards more practical concerns within the academic world, accompanied, paradoxically, by increased distance from the African 'field'. Although German Africanists differed in their opinions on colonialism, the creation of African colonies in the 1880s and the emphasis placed upon language proficiency by the German administration created a need for language training, to which Berlin and then Hamburg responded. Remarkably, three future colonial governors attained proficiency in an African language, surely something unparalleled in other colonial administrations. Yet when Meinhof published his monograph on the Bantu languages, he had never even been to Africa; and although oral texts were viewed as a 'living' alternative to the written texts hitherto used in comparative philology, it was the written transcription of such texts that became the main focus of academic research, as can be seen in the scholarly journals founded by Büttner and Meinhof. Pugach offers amusing illustrations of how political considerations impinged upon academic research. When Meinhof at last decided (apparently in 1902, judging from the endnotes) to visit Africa himself, he managed to secure a travel grant from the Reichskolonialamt, which, of course, meant travelling to East Africa rather than South Africa. Thus, we learn, 'East Africa became the potential

Bantu cradle for political reasons—because it was part of the German Empire, and South Africa was not' (p. 79).

A third theme is the importance that was attached to classification. Pugach is good at showing how this obsession fitted in with nineteenth-century academic goals as well as with Christian thinking, and she rightly emphasizes that the classifications proposed were 'grounded in both racial and cultural precepts'. This leads her to argue that '*Afrikanistik* allowed Africa to be parcelled out into discrete, easily definable categories that could then be hierarchically arranged' (p. 193). There is much to be said for this view, especially if we consider a book like Hermann Baumann's *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre tradtionellen Kulturen* (1975, 1979). Yet was the German-speaking world really so special in this respect? It might have been useful to discuss the role of classification in the International African Institute's multi-volume *Ethnographic Survey of Africa,* or in G. P. Murdock's *Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History* (1959), and to see to what extent these, too, were based in the last resort upon contemporary linguistic knowledge.

We learn a great deal about Meinhof, a scholar who would like to have evaluated African languages on their own terms but 'was so deeply enmeshed in the European academic context that this was all but impossible' (p. 80). His 'quintessentially metropolitan' approach gave preference to language training in the metropolis rather than in the field. It is in this context that we should view the attempts made by Meinhof, von Luschan, and others to reconcile linguistic and anthropological knowledge. In retrospect, the efforts of these two men to study what they supposed must once have been a 'Pygmy language' by submitting members of a *Völkerschau* to 'a battery of tests', or to clarify the linguistic position of the Fulbe and Hausa by looking at their role as 'cultural overlords' appear absurd; yet Pugach helps us to understand how tempting it was to assume that linguistic and anthropological research must somehow 'dovetail', an assumption which is echoed in today's platitudes about interdisciplinarity within African studies.

The chapter on South Africa will be of interest to many in its own right, representing as it does a somewhat exceptional case. Pugach justifiably explains this in the context of the German Africanists' difficult situation following the loss of the colonies and the expulsion of German missionaries after the First World War. One reaction was a

greater willingness to collaborate with 'colonial' scholars from other countries, notably under the aegis of the International African Institute. Yet, as she shows, Meinhof in particular found this an uncomfortable compromise, and it was partly in the hope of Germany regaining its colonies that, although not anti-Jewish, he joined the Nazi Party at an early stage, to be followed by others. We are given a clear picture of the common, predominantly paternalist assumptions that Meinhof shared with South African students who went to Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s, including Werner Eiselen (later the architect of 'Bantu education') and N. J. van Warmelo (soon to become the chief government ethnologist). Pugach emphasizes the extent to which such thinking differed from the functionalism of British social anthropology that attracted Meinhof's rival, Diedrich Westermann, although it would be possible to point to overriding shared preconceptions, notably with regard to the perceived danger of 'detribalization'.

Pugach displays considerable knowledge about Africa, but occasionally she slips up: the Wakamba/Kamba were never subjects of German East Africa (cf. p. 66), and it is anachronistic to say that Krapf in the 1850s and 1860s 'repeatedly asked to have Ethiopians [!] fluent in Oromo come to Württemberg' (p. 144). I was also puzzled by her use of the term *Hilfswissenschaften* to mean two disciplines helping each other, rather than one of them being a mere auxiliary to the other.

Although few academic publishers do this nowadays, it would have been helpful to have had the endnotes on the same page as the text, instead of having to keep one finger in the endnote page. Some of these endnotes contain fascinating information, whilst others do not really tell us what we would like to know. When we look up the author of the intriguing quotation about the need to train Africans to be 'self-aware Negroes, who after many generations would be in the position to manage their own affairs' (p. 166), all we find is an undated reference which might or might not indicate the International African Institute.

Occasionally I wondered whether the evidence given really justifies the claims made. It would be pleasant to think that the African *Lektoren* and *Sprachgehilfen* 'had substantial influence on the development of *Afrikanistik*' (p. 159), but is this what the documents reveal? To me it is not even clear from what Pugach tell us that '[the German]

Africanists had a set notion of race' (p. 169). And one wonders whether the website of a single German institute, accessed twelve years ago, is sufficient evidence for the sweeping statement that 'The present definition of *Afrikanistik* is still largely linguistic' (p. 193).

There are quite a few things in this book with which one might take issue. But that is one of its strengths. It does not purport to settle everything once and for all. Rather, it takes the discussion forward, providing a great deal of new information, raising important ideas that go far beyond the narrow field of *Afrikanistik*, and challenging us to develop alternative interpretations.

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LARS PETERS, *Romances of War: Die Erinnerung an die Revolutions- und Napoleonischen Kriege in Großbritannien und Irland (1815–1945)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2012), 348 pp. ISBN 978 3 506 77410 1. €49.90

'Since Bonaparte', the military theorist Carl von Clausewitz observed in the early 1830s, 'the character of war has changed completely.' Clausewitz was referring not to the emperor's undisputed military genius, but to the way in which war had become the business of whole nations since the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. This insight remains pertinent, as historians still debate whether the twenty-three years of almost uninterrupted fighting (1792–1815) and their far-reaching political, social, economic, and cultural impact on populations around the globe amounted to the first total war in modern history. A subject that has been attracting increasing interest, owing to the memory boom and an agglomeration of important bicentenaries in recent years, is how the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period has been remembered by posterity. Whereas older scholarship often tended to concentrate on its impact on nineteenth-century nation-building, newer work in the vein of the Anglo-German collaborative project 'Nations—Borders—Identities' (NBI) led by Alan Forrest and Karen Hagemann has been more sensitive to nuance and transnational entanglement in the transmission of memory. The study under review, a doctoral dissertation completed under the auspices of NBI, is one such contribution to this paradigm shift.

Lars Peters uses historical novels published during the heyday of the British Empire (1815–1945) to interrogate how British and Irish reading publics retrospectively imagined the places, events, and people associated with the French Wars. Although scholars of Romantic literature are no strangers to this subject matter, Peters rightly notes that we still know far too little about Napoleonic historical fiction in relation to the evolving cultural norms of British society, as reflected in their topical gradations. To provide a broader impression of the literary canon over the *longue durée*, Peters presents a quantitative and qualitative evaluation of 534 novels (the seemingly arbitrary number reflecting the unevenness of extant sources). His analysis challenges the thesis propounded by Linda Colley in *Britons* (1992) that a common hatred of France welded English, Scots, and Welsh together as a British nation between 1792 and 1815; he suggests instead that a

national master-narrative emerged only much later, in the mid nine-teenth century, when communicative memory, that is to say, the first-hand experiences of war survivors, gave way to cultural memory, whose diminishing cognitive immediacy opened up opportunities for a selective commemoration of the past. Peters argues that the fus-ing of fact and fiction in historical novels became a catalyst of this transition. To support his thesis, he does not examine novels in isola-tion, but also draws on contemporary art, non-fiction, and Charles Darwin's theory of evolution to create a multi-dimensional impres-sion of the changing historical discourse. Peters convincingly shows that the French Wars provided the backdrop for so many novels because their memory evoked a sense of nostalgic distance from the age of sail, receding ever faster, while also achieving a timeless rele-vance because many modern phenomena, including the Industrial Revolution, British imperial expansion, and the political troubles in Ireland, traced their origins to this era.

Peters's monograph is divided into two segments that make for enjoyable reading since the author eschews unnecessary jargon and writes to the point. The first part focuses on the emergence of a liter-ary mass market for middle- and working-class consumers in Britain, fuelled by the entrepreneurial acumen of pioneer book traders like Charles Edward Mudie, W. H. Smith, and Edward Lloyd. One of the most interesting features of this exposition is the statistical data pre-sented in the chapter 'Cycles of Memory'. This shows that the pro-duction of novels about the French Wars correlated closely with tem-poral shifts in collective memory. Productivity petered out in Britain towards the middle decades of the nineteenth century, as Napoleon's contemporaries were slowly passing away and national attention turned to the Crimean War. Yet it picked up swiftly with the coming of the great battle centenaries, only to be depressed again by the out-break of the First World War. What is remarkable about this pattern is the contrast with Germany and Russia, where the output of Napoleonic novels spiked at diametrically opposed times—the late 1840s to 1870s, the First World War, and the inter-war period. Peters proffers the explanation that the mid-nineteenth-century peak may have been the result of German nationalists' fixation on the anti-Napoleonic *Befreiungskriege* to legitimize their cause after the failed revolution of 1848, just as German and Russian novelists apparently felt less constrained than their British counterparts by the reversed

alliances in the First World War to exploit the victory over Napoleon for propaganda purposes. Even after Germany's crushing defeat, Peters adds, publicists of the Right in Weimar and Nazi Germany saw no reason to abandon the Napoleonic heritage because they 'rediscovered' the charismatic emperor as a role model. Though tantalizing, these claims will need more research to substantiate them because the inconsistent timing of the spikes in the three countries seems to be at variance with the cosmopolitan upbringing of Britain's most prolific genre authors and the pan-European inter-referentiality evident in historical fiction during the nineteenth century.[1]

The second half of *Romances of War* engages in detail with the geography, protagonists, and themes that dominate British novels about the French Wars. Peters recognizes four spaces of memory: the sea, the Iberian Peninsula, Britain, and Ireland. Each of these environments was linked to different central characters and problems of identity. Nautical stories featured naval officers (and officer-cadets) who embodied a new type of masculinity. Following John Tosh, Peters contends that whereas eighteenth-century polite society lionized the gentleman of independent means, wit, and culture, the protagonists of Frederick Marryat's popular novels *Frank Mildmay* (1829) and *Mr Midshipman Easy* (1836) distinguished themselves by their physical strength, practical intelligence, and courage in battle, thus rising above the previous class-based underpinnings of manliness. Peters illustrates, however, that masculinity never evolved into a stable category. Marryat's heroes had personal weaknesses and viewed the martial prowess of their French adversaries with respect (even if the British cause was made to appear as the only just one). The sailors in G. A. Henty's youth literature, on the other hand, fastened upon Christian virtue to underline Britain's superiority over other nations at the *fin de siècle*.

The Iberian Peninsula engendered a prolonged negotiation of just what Britishness meant in concrete terms. Agreement on whether Englishmen, Scots, Welsh, and Irish had all fought for the same nation was slow to materialize in novels. Based on his reading of Christian Isobel Johnstone's *Clan-Albin* (1815), Peters demonstrates that Scots could well be depicted as brave warriors without thereby

[1] On cultural borrowing in European historical novels see Brian R. Hamnett, *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Representations of Reality in History and Fiction* (Oxford, 2011).

necessarily endorsing the political union with England. Only the popularization of Highland culture later in the century generated a national consensus of sorts. This rested on the mutual acceptance of Scottish distinctiveness under the umbrella of the British Empire, as exemplified by James Grant's *The Romance of War* (1846). Otherness came to reside in the 'backward' inhabitants of the Peninsula, Peters believes. If that was the case, the reader is left guessing as to how foreign enlistees, who augmented the thinning ranks of the redcoats in Spain, were perceived relative to ethnic Britons. Peters mentions Grant's dismissive attitude towards the German auxiliaries in just one short paragraph, but does not enquire further whether xenophobia was the prevalent feeling in Britain. After all, many memoirs written by Napoleonic veterans after 1815 drew them in a favourable light, as did Thomas Hardy in *The Melancholy Hussar of the German Legion* (1890). In disregarding these sources, the study misses a promising opportunity to explore manifestations of cultural transfer in British historical novels.

The final two chapters of *Romances of War* sensibly round off the discussion by taking a closer look at the war at home in Britain and Ireland. Peters approaches this difficult subject by examining the literary representation of how sailors were impressed into the Royal Navy. Although opinions diverged concerning the lawfulness of forced recruitment, he finds that the Navy enjoyed great respect because of its pivotal role in national defence. The positives and negatives of naval life combined to pique the fancy of novelists such as Elizabeth Gaskell and Hardy, who employed impressment as a stylistic device to portray the effect of war on ordinary people. The last chapter reminds us, however, that the war effort against Britain's hereditary enemy France was not the only source of inspiration for novelists. It underscores that the rebellions of 1798 and 1803 exercised the Irish public imagination more than any other subject in the modern period, despite, or more likely because, Protestant and Catholic authors never arrived at a bipartisan interpretation of the two failed bids for Irish independence. While this conclusion hardly seems surprising given the persistence of sectarian divisions in Ireland to the present day, reviews quoted from literary journals provide a welcome glimpse of contemporary readers' responses to novels.

The term 'glimpse' is chosen advisedly because *Romances of War* has, on the whole, little to say about the social context of reception.

Peters expertly marshals reviews and sales figures, but are these indicators ultimately sufficient to gauge the performance of historical novels as 'European landscapes of memory' (p. 216)? Cultural theorists have long argued that the relationship between text and audience plays an idiosyncratic part in the production of meaning. Intermediary media like the literary review are an ambivalent guide because their authors brought political, artistic and religious assumptions to bear on works of prose which may or may not have coincided with the expectations of the end consumer, the common reader.[2] It stands to reason that an upper-class English child who read Marryat's nautical stories along with Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* in the early 1880s experienced the French Wars differently from, say, a young cocoa broker who read Marryat in combination with treatises on socialism in the 1920s. In other words, a closer engagement with the subjective autonomy of literary consumption would have enhanced Peters's analytical approach to the mnemonic shaping power of literature, especially since the Reading Experience Database hosted by the Open University (UK) in collaboration with international partners is now making it easier for scholars to pursue this line of enquiry.[3]

The above conceptual shortcomings aside, *Romances of War* successfully corrects the impression created by some scholars that British writers and poets were agents of a 'romantic militarism' after 1815.[4] The issues they covered, as Peters makes clear, were far too diverse for such a one-dimensional objective. The study therefore achieves something important. It invites further reflection on the convergence of politics, art, religion, class-consciousness, and transna-

[2] In fact, the aftermath of the French Revolution created a reviewing discourse which deliberately aimed to polarize. See Zeynep Tenger and Paul Trolander, 'The Politics of Literary Production: The Reaction of the French Revolution and the Transformation of the English Literary Periodical', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 24 (1995), 279–95.

[3] The two examples are those of W. Somerset Maugham and Gerald Moore. For their and other people's reading experiences, visit <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/>, accessed 24 Jan. 2013.

[4] J. R. Watson, *Romanticism and War: A Study of British Romantic Period Writers and the Napoleonic Wars* (Houndmills, 2003); Philip Dwyer, 'War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the "Experience of War" in the Nineteenth Century', *European History Quarterly*, 41 (2011), 576.

tional entanglements in post-Napoleonic collective memory. The next step will be to build on this foundation through multi-country comparisons (which other members of NBI are already in the process of doing) and to seek a more holistic understanding of imported influences in Britain's remembrance of the French Wars. In the meantime, readers will no doubt derive much profit from Peters's skilful navigation of Anglo-Irish history against the background of the momentous changes wrought in the European imagination by what Reinhart Koselleck called the 'axial age of modernity'.

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BONNIE EFFROS, *Uncovering the Germanic Past: Merovingian Archae-ology in France, 1830–1914*, Oxford Studies in the History of Archaeo-logy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), xxiv + 427 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 969671 0. £80.00

The history of nineteenth-century archaeology has seen significant growth over the past few years. Moving beyond former trends which simply saw the nineteenth century as the 'birth' of modern archaeo-logical concepts and practices, it has connected the development of the discipline to important themes in social, cultural and political his-tory.[1] Driven forward by provincial learned societies, integrative states, and aspirational metropolitan authorities, archaeology has been presented as an important new intellectual force in the period. Archaeological excavation was entangled with experiences of moder-nity, being based on new techniques of comparison and collection, often taking advantage of railway and building projects which un-earthed vast numbers of artefacts, and becoming tied to new dis-courses on the preservation of the tangible past. And the ancient peri-ods studied, ranging from strange and formerly unknown prehisto-ry, already esteemed Roman antiquity, and migration period and medieval societies, have also been shown as vital constituents within local and national identities, as these became based around a distinct 'sense of the past'. However, while this literature has been extensive and speaks to issues of wide interest to historians of modern Europe, it has not been as closely drawn into the broader historiography as it possibly should. There still seems to be something of an assumption that it is primarily of interest to archaeologists rather than his-torians—and the fact that much of it has been published in archaeo-logical journals and edited collections ensures that it still sits slightly outside the mainstream.

This ensures that wide-ranging systemizing books in this field, such as Bonnie Effros's *Uncovering the Germanic Past*, are especially welcome. This work examines the rise and problematic reception of Germanic archaeology in France across the length of the nineteenth century, tracing how the remains of the Burgundian, Visigothic, and

[1] For key works, see Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (Oxford, 2007); and ead. and Timothy Champion (eds.), *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London, 1996).

(especially) Frankish invaders of late antiquity were uncovered and interpreted by new disciplinary formations and (to a lesser extent) wider political and national culture. In doing so, the author, a specialist in Merovingian archaeology, has produced a book which deals with an important case-study and ties together the above processes. The result of deep research in a wide range of archives and libraries in France and Germany (including departmental, national, and museum), it presents a huge store of information. Organized in a series of thematic chapters, it traces the institutional, methodological, and political implications of Germanic archaeology in France and beyond, examining: learned associations and state institutions; methods of archaeological excavation, instruction, and arrangement; the role of museums and expositions; and archaeology's impact on the popular media. In many of these fields (and particularly the chapters on learned society operations and changes in archaeological methodology), it is probably the most detailed study yet produced for any country, and is very well illustrated and documented, replete with lively anecdotes, photographs, and document images.

As a result, there are numerous agendas in this book. The most interesting by far to historians are the social and political dimensions. The relationships between provincial and metropolitan scholars in building the sense of the past in modern Europe have been covered in other works.[2] However, the view which emerges here of the frequent messiness of this project, is refreshing within a literature that has historically (although much less so nowadays) presented itself in terms of drives of professionalization, institutionalization, centralization, and the casting away of early modern stereotypes. Bringing a penetrating expert eye to the methods of nineteenth-century archaeologists, Effros is able to highlight the deficiencies as well as the gains within these new trends. The French state is shown to be relatively inactive in protecting ancient monuments, supporting archaeological instruction, and gathering material, while local agencies are often seen

[2] Particularly Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Sociabilité et érudition: Les sociétés savantes en France XIXe–XXe siècles* (Paris, 1995); Stéphane Gerson, *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 2003); Georg Kunz, *Verortete Geschichte: Regionales Geschichtsbewusstsein in den Deutschen Historischen Vereinen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2007); and Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness: New Forms of Collective Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 2000).

to be less than effective, despite their importance on a regional level. Showing blockages and resistance in discipline-formation and institutionalization, it contributes a great deal to deepening the literature.

These themes continue with regard to the role of the Merovingians (and Germanic elements more generally) within French national identity. A key element presented throughout is that these periods of Germanic invasion were intrinsically problematic for the 'official view' within French society, which preferred to focus on more amenable Republican virtues and use ancient Gaul as its integrative founding myth. As a result (perhaps contrary to the title), much of this book tells a story of either implicit or active marginalization of the Germanic past—an important hidden theme. This involves a sustained comparison and entanglement with contemporary developments within the German lands, which saw similar archaeological interest in similar Germanic periods, but in a much more historically valorized manner, as the tribes of the *Völkerwanderung* became seen as integral heroic ancestors.[3] This becomes especially interesting given that the international dimensions in Germanic archaeology are drawn out well and effectively. The relations between French archaeologists and their German and British equivalents are examined throughout the various chapters (with a particularly close look at Ludwig Lindenschmit's work in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz). This investigation of the concrete operation of transnational connections and influences gives a highly conducive international dimension to the work, making it of relevance to those more widely interested in cross-national connections and entanglements in the nineteenth-century human and historical sciences.

There are, however, some drawbacks to the work, the primary being that it sometimes does not engage with the contextual frame as closely as a historian of modern Europe might like. One issue concerns the relationship of Germanic archaeology with other approaches to the past and potential 'ancestors'. This is acknowledged as crucial in a variety of areas, especially in one of the final chapters, which surveys the influence of Merovingian motifs in popular education,

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[3] This has been traced in Hubert Fehr, *Germanen und Romanen im Merowingerreich: Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie zwischen Wissenschaft und Zeitgeschehen* (Berlin, 2010); and Ingo Wiwjorra, *Der Germanenmythos: Konstruktion einer Weltanschauung in der Altertumsforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt, 2006).

historical literature, and the media. However, the lack of sustained observation in the bulk of the work of other means of knowing the past (such as history-writing) or other potential views of history means that it is often difficult to place the reception of the Germanic peoples within wider contemporary historical conceptions. Particularly problematic is the interpretation of Augustin Thierry's *Récits des temps mérovingiennes*, which is persistently cited as the 'dominant historical narrative' of the Germanic period in France, providing an overall negative image of the Merovingians as barbaric oppressors. In a curious omission, however, Effros does not investigate this work in depth, and leaves much of this interpretation to (quite old) secondary works, which means that Thierry's complex attempt to integrate the Merovingian period into modern French history in line with his romanticist vision of the nation's development is not given the nuance it deserves. Another potential gap is that the sharp conflicts in contemporary French society over the past are occluded: as works by Christian Amalvi, Eugen Weber, and others have shown,[4] elements drawn from Frankish history were a key part of Catholic and conservative discourse throughout the century (tending to trace the origin of France back to the baptism of the Merovingian Clovis as the nation's first Christian monarch). The question of how or whether Merovingian archaeology interacted with this central motif of the 'other France' is hinted at occasionally, but left largely unanswered.

Yet despite this, the close focus and attention to detail bring benefits in a wide range of areas, providing a deep investigation of national and local consolidation of scholarship, transnational connections, and the relationship of new disciplines to popular ideas and nation-building projects. That this is shown to be problematic rather than of 'key significance' is highly refreshing and convincing, implying that more studies of difficult areas would lead to similarly interesting results. Paying close attention to all aspects of the archaeological project within a closely identified theme, this should become a key text not only on the development of French archaeology, but also wider European approaches to the past in the nineteenth century.

[4] Eugen Weber, 'Gauls versus Franks: Conflict and Nationalism', in Robert Tombs (ed.), *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889–1918* (London, 1991), 8–21. Christian Amalvi, 'Le baptême de Clovis: heurs et malheurs d'un mythe fondateur de la France contemporaine, 1814–1914', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 147 (1989), 583–610.

Book Reviews

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DAVID CIARLO, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany*, Harvard Historical Studies (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), xvi + 419 pp. ISBN 978 0 674 05006 8. £36.95. US$49.95

Between the mid 1880s and 1914, two distinct developments took place in Germany: the country became not only an imperial power but also a consumer society. Both aspects had huge reverberations for the realm of advertising. In his well-structured and richly illustrated book *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany*, historian David Ciarlo argues that the rise of modern advertising culture and the subjugation of colonized people were closely intertwined. With the help of an extensive visual archive, the collection of trademark registration rolls of the Imperial Patent Office (*Warenzeichenblatt des Kaiserlichen Patentamts*), the author traces the emergence and increasing racialization of black figures in German visual culture around the turn of the twentieth century. Echoing the work of scholars such as Anne McClintock,[1] Ciarlo's book attempts to answer the question of 'why . . . these natives, or these black figures with enormous red lips, oversized eyes and ears, and bumpy heads, [should] be reasonably expected to inspire a German viewer—a German viewer of 1900, but *not* earlier—to purchase the product?' (p. 11). The analysis that the author lays out through the following six chapters demonstrates that it was 'learned', among other things, by imitating the advertising cultures of the USA and Britain. Ciarlo argues that visual imagery was inherently transnational; certain visual conventions and traditions were transferred from the USA to Britain and Germany, and required only slight alteration to fit into the national culture.

The first chapter, 'Exotic Panoramas and Local Color: Commercial Exhibitions and Colonial Expositions', deals with exhibitions and expositions in Germany that set the stage, literally, for the fusion of colonial fantasies with commercial imagery. It focuses on an exhibition in Bremen in 1890 that is described in great detail, from the setting of the stages, the parties involved, to the way it was advertised. The exhibition catalogue encouraged visitors to take the opportunity to 'educate themselves' about European colonies in the light of colo-

[1] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, 1995).

nial politics. Certain commodities were visibly displayed to show the benefits of trade with the colonies (though many products were not actually from Germany's colonies). Ciarlo states that 'there can be no doubt that the laying out of commodities at the commercial exhibition indeed set the pattern for modern advertising, in that it provided one of the first means by which commodities became infused with larger cultural meanings that were intentionally produced' (p. 60).

The following chapter, 'Impressions of Others: Allegorical Clichés, Panoptic Arrays, and Popular Savagery', looks at a variety of visual material, such as advertisements for colonial commodities and 'people shows' (*Völkerschauen*), posters, trade cards, and trademark registration rolls. Ciarlo argues that there was no direct link between German colonialism on the one hand, and 'people shows' or colonial advertising imagery on the other—or at least that this was not the only and strongest connection. Rather, in the mid 1880s there was a growing interest across Europe in all things considered 'African'. This interest was intensified by the rising mass media, which encouraged enthusiasm for colonialism rather than resulting from it. Yet the sheer numbers of posters, trade cards, painted walls, and so on, according to Ciarlo, formed a visual 'template of Africa' (p. 107). The depiction of 'exotic' peoples was appealing not only because of their physical differences, but also because they were seen as the virtual embodiment of the distant lands they (allegedly) came from. Moreover, the depiction of African bodies became a visual metaphor for labour itself—and the fruits of that labour could then be consumed by the German people. Throughout this chapter, Ciarlo resorts to the notion of authenticity ('printed representations were often anything but authentic', p. 68), for instance, when discussing the image of the 'Moor' (*Mohr*) in German culture (p. 70). Ciarlo characterizes authenticity as a 'veneer of edification for middle-class readers' (p. 79), yet without problematizing the claim to authenticity or providing a definition of it. Here his discussion would have benefited from a critical engagement with the very idea of the 'authentic', for it would have exposed the colonial fantasies at work in the visual materials as well as the techniques by which 'authenticity'—clearly a sales argument—was to be achieved.

The third chapter, entitled 'Masters of the Modern Exotic', discusses the emergence of advertising as a profession in Germany, pay-

ing particular attention to the increased dissemination of mass-produced visuals. Given the linkage between advertising and colonialism that Ciarlo establishes at the beginning of his book, a close alliance between professional advertisers and colonial enthusiasts would be expected. Interestingly, though, the author demonstrates that 'far from cooperating in some larger, overarching colonial project, advertisers and colonialists would emerge as competitors in the 1890s, at least indirectly in the cultural realm, over who would become the masters of the modern exotic' (p. 114). This rivalry also meant that advertisers oriented themselves by American advertising, seen as 'archetypically modern' (p. 134). The reference to American and British advertising, which were equally influential, was also a strategic means used by advertisers to legitimize their profession. By pointing to the ubiquity and prevalence of advertising cultures in the Anglophone world, German professionals tried to make their business seem relevant and important. Advertising was still regarded with indifference or even hostility by the business community and the wider public in Germany.

One challenge for advertisers, graphic artists, and caricaturists was to catch people's attention while remaining within the bounds of what was considered good taste. As racialized and caricatured images of black people were used to sell a plethora of products, the visuals could not be repulsive or disturbing, because they were intended to encourage consumption. And as caricaturized depictions of racial difference imported from Britain and the USA began to be increasingly common in the Germany of the 1890s, advertising was literally transcultural. It spoke to a Europe-wide colonial project. Most brands, such as Liebig, Stollwerck, and Palmin, were sold not only in Germany, but also in France, Italy, and England, so the advertising needed to be interesting and 'neutral' in the sense that it could work in various countries. As the author shows, even though the visual language differed slightly from country to country and certain forms of caricature became a signature of German advertising, images essentially travelled across the Atlantic in myriad ways; they were stolen, copied, plagiarized, bought, or borrowed.

'Packaged Exoticism and Colonial Rule: Commercial Visuality at the *Fin de Siècle*', the fourth chapter, describes the popularization of black figures in the realm of advertising. Practical reasons for this were that human figures personalized an advertisement, and that a

human figure could be easily recognized even without much detail. The emergence of 'the African native' around the turn of the century, however, 'did not correlate with ongoing efforts to extract resources from Germany's African colonies. Even by 1900, the colonial economy remained insignificant to that of the German metropole' (p. 157). Before 1900 the Orient was seen as the quintessential source of luxury goods, but the new century witnessed a shift to Africa, and this fantasy was affixed to goods such as chocolate, coffee, tobacco, dye, and cigarettes. According to the author, this change illustrates a more aggressive stance on colonialism and colonial rule, regardless of the commodities actually obtained from the German colonies. Depictions of 'African natives' thus served as the literal embodiment of distant lands and 'exotic' products. As a result of the large increase in the use of such imagery, Ciarlo convincingly shows, depictions of 'African people' became more and more standardized; they were often portrayed wearing huge necklaces and earrings, with bare feet, and clothed only in tattered shorts.

The fifth and the sixth chapters make up the core of the book's argument and show how signifiers of racial difference emerged, circulated, and became hegemonic in the sphere of German visual culture. To Ciarlo's own surprise, 'the racialization of advertising imagery in Germany did not emerge in lockstep with official or scientific colonialism. . . . The construction of a racial—and ultimately racist—imaginary of colonialism in Germany can be traced instead to preoccupations with a land far removed from the German colonial orbit' (p. 215). This land was the USA, and the imaginary the minstrel shows and imagery imported into German commerce.

Many of the visual examples that Ciarlo shares with his readers are reminiscent of US depictions of African Americans, for example, stereotypes such as the 'black dandy', the 'black coon', or 'Sambo'. As this form of advertising was imitated and black figures were increasingly used to sell commodities because of their sheer range and visibility, it became absolutely 'normal' to have black figures advertising all kinds of products. And although images of black figures were used to advertise products such as ink, shoe polish, and cocoa, no 'natural' connection was seen between a product and the skin colour of Africans. This relationship was established by reiteration and eventually came to seem 'natural'. At times, Ciarlo's reference to the influence of US culture gives the impression that German advertisers

innocently borrowed and copied racialized imagery. But it appealed to them not only because it was American (and thus 'modern'), but also because there was a tradition of racist imagery and exoticism to which these visuals alluded. Ciarlo actually makes this point later with reference to the genocide of the Herero population in the colony of German South-West Africa. Towards the end of chapter five, entitled 'Featuring Race: Patterns of Racialization before 1900', Ciarlo discusses various examples to show that Germans eventually developed their own style of depicting Africans that differed from how African Americans were predominantly shown in the USA. In conclusion, he identifies three sources of racial imagery that were central to developments in German commercial visuality, namely, minstrel shows and minstrelsy, transatlantic traffic in commodity racism, and the popularization and Germanization of caricature.

The last chapter in the book, 'Racial Imperium', traces three elements that resulted in an increase in racialized imagery in the first decade of the twentieth century. The author identifies the commercialization of politics, the 'optics' of the commodity fetish that explicitly communicated power relations, and the emergence of a visual hegemony. Ciarlo compellingly shows that these three elements literally transformed the ways in which Germans saw Africans. The revolt of the Herero against the German colonizers in 1904, the author argues, resulted not only in a mass media event and heightened racial rhetoric and racism. The racial hysteria that the news coverage of the war evoked also resonated with a long tradition of racial thinking in German culture. In the sphere of commerce, collectable trading cards advertising products such as coffee, soap, and cocoa additionally helped to popularize images of the war. Significantly, the image of the 'noble warrior' re-emerged in these advertisements, according to Ciarlo, because 'consumer imagery was meant to entice, not disgust' (p. 273). While advertisers responded to the coverage of the war in the press and the political sphere by putting images of war on packages, these images had to be crafted so that they were not seen as irritating or threatening. As depictions of African adults might have appeared terrifying, or at least inappropriate, because of the war, advertisers often used images of black children or adults of indeterminate age. These images were not necessarily cute and seldom resembled images of cherubic white children, but they conveyed an impression of harmlessness and simple-mindedness.

To abandon the figure of 'the African' altogether was not an option, as it had become too useful in selling commodities. In the first decade of the twentieth century, it had not only become functional, but certain visual strategies of racial depictions had solidified and become hegemonic, among them the big red lips and the enlarged ears and feet. The author maintains that the reason for this picture language was largely technical: the simplicity of the design suited the print technology of the time and could be cheaply reproduced. Towards the end of the last chapter, Ciarlo seemingly weakens his own narrative when he writes that 'while it could be argued that these images were among the most vivid and power-laden, they were by no means the most prevalent. Images of a single thin white woman, for instance, proffered soap more frequently than racially differentiated blacks; images of cherubic white children decorated more cocoa tins than laboring African colonial subjects.' But black figures did not have to provide the majority of visual images in advertising in order to be significant. The author continues: 'the fact that by the First World War virtually every image of blacks deployed fell into the patterns of racialization described in this chapter speaks a great deal about the normative and uniformity-producing potential of mass culture' (p. 303). As his book persuasively explains, racialized imagery of black figures, depictions of colonial fantasies, and allegedly authentic effigies of Africans were crucial in creating a white German consumer identity.

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This book places itself squarely within the on-going trend in German historiography towards transnational studies and 'entangled histories'. Over 500 pages long, it is a detailed study that examines diverse aspects of its topic, from relations between missionaries and officials of differing nationalities to racism, warfare, and policies on labour migrancy. Its main thesis is stated on the back cover: that German colonialism, from a global perspective, was part of a shared, imperial European project. It is, in other words, part of a discussion of German more than of African history. The present reader, as an Africanist, may offer an outsider's perspective, which hopefully will prove useful.

Based on archival research in fourteen sites as well as a large quantity of printed sources, the study brings together a mass of information and fully succeeds in showing that neither colonial power ever acted in isolation from its European neighbour. This is particularly revealing with regard to a story that has recently been discussed predominantly as quintessentially German, namely the genocidal war in German South-West Africa/Namibia. Lindner shows that British observers were uncomfortable with, at times revolted by, German methods, but by and large deferred to an overarching colonial interest; what she calls the shared imperial project. A war that has been described as a precursor of the Holocaust thus becomes a matter of entangled history; a finding that perhaps complicates the drawing of straight lines from one atrocity to the other.

Perhaps the most fascinating part of the book deals with the struggle by German officials to make sense of the 'bastardized' Afro-British Hill family in South-West Africa. At one level, this is a story of a family network that exploded rigid racial categories by severing the normally assumed link between somatic racial appearance (even if attenuated) and cultural affiliation. The greater flexibility of British officials compared with German ones confirms the impression, recurrent in the text, that the 'better-practised' British colonialists were also the more pragmatic, willing to let exceptions stand. But as the author points out, this is also part of a global story of colonial anxi-

eties about miscegenation. In this regard, it is a reminder of how much discursive and legislative work went into the maintenance of purportedly 'natural' boundaries. Other welcome additions to our knowledge of the period include the part on knowledge transfer between the colonial powers, and even relatively well-known stories, such as that of Carl Peters becoming unhinged, take on a new appearance with the inclusion of the British perspective.

Lindner sets out at length how the British and German media, as well as officialdom, constantly examined each other's practices, reported each other's wars, and assessed each other's success or failures. In the process, they reproduced widespread truisms, such as that of Britain's longer-standing imperial antecedents and pragmatism, and the German tendency to over-reflect and over-regulate. It is revealing to see that British observers occasionally gasped at German readiness to extinguish colonial subjects' lives, even (or especially?) if the German atrocities in question are not best understood as precursors to the Holocaust. Such observations on 'national character' coming through in colonial practice, slightly updated, also recur in the older comparative literature on European colonialism in Africa. In the view of Africa-focused historians, it often exaggerated neat distinctions between colonial 'systems', all of which in practice depended on muddling through with much help from Africans. In this sense, Lindner's shift of focus from these differences in nuance to the overarching commonalities between European colonial powers is very welcome.

Nevertheless, the present reader wonders whether the notion of a 'shared project' isn't rather too strong to characterize the commonalities that Lindner demonstrates did exist. She cites from the diaries of the British officer Richard Meinertzhagen of his time in Kenya, from 1902 to 1906, on British officers' relations with African women and his impression of German inexperience and rigidity. This man would achieve his greatest notoriety among Germans during the First World War, when he ran highly successful British intelligence operations behind German lines in German East Africa. But as early as the period 1902 to 1906, he repeatedly expressed the expectation that Britain would eventually regain Mount Kilimanjaro that had so regrettably been 'presented' to Germany when boundaries between the colonies were finalized. A future war between the competing colonialists was simply a given to this military subaltern.

Meinertzhagen may have been exceptional in this respect. But his readiness to interact with his German counterparts while on business in German East Africa, observing their doings with the expectation that they would someday benefit Britain, also shows that cooperation was possible, even for someone who implicitly refuted any cooperation *towards a shared goal.* Cooperation here was strictly a means to the end of ultimately strengthening one's own nation, for competition in the global and European arena as much as in the immediate colonial context ('we seem to get most of what we want, eventually', concludes Meinertzhagen). A character like this gives the impression that British and German colonial projects in Africa were parallel rather than shared. Ideologically, yes, they drew on shared discourses of civilization and racial hierarchy, and in practice they cooperated on security, and to make sure the assertion of European racial superiority was not undermined by the appearance of individual Europeans defeated by African insurgency or living conditions. But the ultimate interests were national rather than European. Lindner acknowledges the pervasiveness of competition, but her references to the 'shared project' sit uncomfortably with it.

Similarly, Lindner's acknowledgement of the basic nastiness of colonialism, of all national stripes, is a welcome respite from the work of Anglophone colonial apologists, who have recently had a renaissance spearheaded by Niall Ferguson. Yet here, too, this reader regrets that she did not delve further into the ambiguities surrounding blithely stated ideas of racial and civilizational hierarchy. Her approach to the issue is, in a way, distinctively German: she takes as read that colonialists' behaviour towards their subjects was often awful, and conditioned by strongly hierarchical views of the world that, in hindsight, have no redeeming features. In other words, she accepts that Germany's colonial past is plainly an embarrassment to contemporary Germans, rather than the object of soul-searching and 'did we do good or did we do harm?'-type debate, as occurs in Britain.

But this acknowledgment of the self-serving and hypocritical nature of much colonial rhetoric stops short of examining the contradictions that arose at least for those colonialists for whom humanitarian aims were real. Such humanitarians did exist, as Lindner also shows, especially among missionaries. The added tensions arising from Lindner's transnational perspective might have served to high-

light their predicament. It is easy in hindsight to assume that the relationship between humanitarian ideals and the grasping, exploitative practice especially of settler colonialism was mediated by nothing more than hypocrisy. But some contemporaries were clear that more complicated processes were involved. Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is an example, and it is perhaps not coincidental that the book was written by a Polish immigrant to Britain; his status as a (white) outsider is likely to have helped him observe the contradictions in white self-projection as humanitarian. How did German and British observers reconcile their revulsion at the respective other side's 'excesses' with the collective maintenance of the fiction of white supremacy and humanitarianism? Arguably examining this question in depth would have required a separate and quite different book, but the present study could at any rate have opened up some perspectives.

Related to the avoidance of this topic is a characteristic of the book that is particularly liable to grate on the present reader, namely the way Africans remain in the shadow for much of it. They mainly occur as inter-actors with the European powers and as policy problems. Again, the simple explanation is that the author's focus was elsewhere; this is really a study of European relations in an overseas arena, more than of German and British relations with Africans. But I suspect that I am not alone among non-European historians in sometimes wishing that Europeanists were a tad more careful in acknowledging the limitations of what they do when entering global or transnational contexts. Still, historians of Africa too will find much in this book that makes it worth reading, particularly where the ready distinction between European and African actors breaks down, as in the part on the Hill family.

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HAROLD JAMES, *Krupp: A History of the Legendary German Firm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 360 pp. ISBN 978 0 691 15340 7. US$35.00. £24.95

Harold James's book on the German industrial enterprise Krupp aims to be much more than a mere company history. The author, professor of economic history at Princeton, examines German capitalist business within its political and cultural framework, while the book can also be seen as a cultural history of Germany, focusing on one of its most 'legendary'—many would say notorious—firms. The book is organized into seven chronological chapters, each concentrating on a generation of the family and a characteristic stage in the historical development of the firm. This highlights the close interrelationship between family and business in this family corporation, a theme that runs through the book. The fact that every chapter opens with a reference to a master work of German literature—among others, Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, Theodor Storm's *Schimmelreiter*, and Heinrich Mann's *Untertan*—reflects James's ambition to embed the company's development in a broader cultural context.

Krupp's suitability to serve as a lens through which to address German history is revealed by quotations from various historical actors. In *Mein Kampf* Adolf Hitler famously exhorted German youth to be 'as quick as a greyhound, as tough as leather, and as hard as Krupp steel'. And at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in 1945, where Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach was charged as one of twenty-four major war criminals, the American prosecutor Robert Jackson characterized the Krupp family as 'the symbol, and the beneficiary of the most sinister forces engaged in menacing the peace of Europe' for the last 130 years. This verdict was a result of the firm's reputation as the arms manufacturer behind Germany's military aggression from Bismarck's wars of unification through two world wars.

In the first chapter, James describes the rather coincidental foundation of Krupp as an industrial enterprise. It was only as compensation for cash advances to a local entrepreneur who had engaged in speculative investments that Helene Amalie Krupp, widow of a wholesale merchant from the town of Essen and the first in a series of powerful women to play an important part in the firm's history, bought the Gute Hoffnung ironworks in 1799. As a result, her grand-

son Friedrich began producing iron, but with disappointing results. The firm lost money for the first twenty-five years of its existence and only survived with the support of relatives and friends of the family. Although technically highly innovative, Friedrich lacked any business sense and died impoverished and in disgrace.

Yet Friedrich's failure set the scene for an entrepreneurial breakthrough and spurred the business ambitions of his son, Alfred Krupp. Chapter two portrays him as a creative entrepreneur whose relationship with his employees was patronizingly paternalistic. His eagerness to impress led to the construction of the grand Villa Hügel in the early 1870s, which was regularly visited by such illustrious individuals as the Shah of Persia and various princes and kings from all over the world. 'The commercial manufacturer', Alfred declared, 'must be a waster of money in the eyes of the world.' To underscore the point he employed the composer Engelbert Humperdinck to play the piano to entertain visitors at the Villa Hügel.

In 1844 Krupp was a middle-sized business with 131 employees; twenty years later it had become a gigantic concern with 12,000 workers and a production area of thirty-five hectares. Krupp remained a highly innovative enterprise with thirteen valuable patents awarded in the period 1877 to 1880, more than any other German company except Siemens. Krupp, however, chose not to focus on mass markets in which the firm would need to compete solely on the basis of price. Rather, it aimed to cultivate markets in which the number of consumers was limited, and long-term guarantees and contracts could be negotiated. This meant providing equipment for the railways and the military. For all the global reach of his enterprise, however, Krupp ultimately coupled his fortunes to those of the Prussian state and lobbied hard to get orders for weaponry. In 1858, Krupp won a first order for 300 artillery barrels for the Prussian military and later profited from the fact that canon production expanded dramatically with the German wars of unification. As a result, Krupp's business philosophy became not to enter into speculative business, but to create 'work that to a certain extent is inseparable from the development of the state', as Alfred Krupp stated in 1873.

His son Friedrich Alfred Krupp further developed this business strategy. He was an ardent modernizer as chapter three shows. Under his influence nickel steel armour plating and electrical detonators came into production. In addition, he acquired the Germa-

niawerft in Kiel, where battleships, cruisers, and submarines were built for the German, Austro-Hungarian, Norwegian, Russian, Brazilian, Ottoman, and Chinese navies after 1896. On the eve of the First World War, Krupp was by far the biggest German enterprise, although it was only one-fifth the size of the largest American corporation, the giant US Steel. Armaments were the most profitable part of its business. More than 30 per cent of Krupp production was devoted to military purposes before 1914.

The First World War, naturally, was highly profitable for Krupp, as chapter four reveals, since the German government pushed armaments producers to expand production at any cost. 'The company', James remarks, 'had become in practice part of the German state' (p. 139). Ordnance developed by the company, in particular, Big Berta, a giant, 42 cm cannon, was used to spectacular effect against Allied fortifications on the Western front. After the war, Krupp reverted to product lines the firm had worked on in the early and mid nineteenth century, and again focused on manufacturing finished products, especially railway articles that were sold successfully on global markets. But it also continued to produce weapons. In a clear breach of the Versailles treaty, the Reichswehr signed a secret agreement with Krupp to develop further armaments in 1922.

Chapter five deals with the most controversial aspect of Krupp's history: relations between the firm and National Socialism. According to James, Gustav Krupp was not a supporter of National Socialism before 1933; culturally and politically, he remained a man of the late Wilhelmine era. The author convincingly argues that the firm was not a driving force behind the making of Nazi policy, while the Nazi state offered Krupp excellent opportunities to expand and the firm made substantial profits from rearmament. Although the Krupp directors were cleared of the charge of waging a war of aggression after 1945, they were convicted of using slave labour and plundering occupied Europe. Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment and his entire fortune was confiscated in 1948.

Pardoned by the Allied High Commissioner in 1951, Alfried Krupp formally returned to head his enterprise, clearly a reduced and scaled-down version of the old firm. He rebuilt the company by relying on old-style patriarchalism as a business strategy and looking to export markets again, as chapter seven describes. This was only

possible thanks to his excellent relations with German politicians from both Willy Brandt's SPD and the Christian Democratic Union. The merger of Krupp and Thyssen in 1997 was interpreted by many commentators as the introduction of Anglo-American capitalism to Germany, especially as the deal was supported by investment banks such as Goldman Sachs and Morgan Grenfell. German business culture changed with the global transformation of corporate cultures. Companies ceased to be enduring entities that offered a cradle-to-grave enclave for their workers, but certain features characteristic of German business persisted. These included high standards of workmanship, reliability, and technical innovation, features that in James's eyes go back to the world of the nineteenth century and the vision of businessmen such as Alfred Krupp.

Harold James's book is a highly readable account of the history of one of Europe's most important enterprises. It masterfully interweaves economic, political, and cultural history. The author is especially confident when describing business-specific facts, such as corporate strategies or the development of new alloys and manufacturing methods. Of particular interest is the argument that Krupp stands for a specifically German way of doing business. According to James, it 'is endlessly naive' to assume that companies are 'simply driven by a quest for profit' (pp. 3, 178). In contrast to the assumptions of modern management theory, especially as preached in US business schools, German and perhaps European firms are driven by the 'vision of a company as an embodiment of some overarching value system, in which a corporation is a microcosm of a general social equilibrium. In that European tradition, profitability is not everything' (p. 293). On the one hand, European firms were largely embedded in contemporary politics, which challenges the notion of a clearcut distinction between these two social spheres. On the other hand, enterprises were rooted in their traditions, especially if they were family firms, as was the case with Krupp. James convincingly argues that at times of uncertainty, Krupp oriented itself by its own traditions, which is why the firm's development is to a considerable degree path-dependent. For instance, when Krupp was taken apart after 1945, it acquired new companies for the construction of ships and cranes as substitutes for businesses that had been stripped away. 'The Krupp company', James concludes, 'was . . . consistently held together by an idea of what it had been in the past' (p. 247).

While James successfully challenges conventional business history models as proposed by Alfred Chandler, his sober account of Krupp's history during the Nazi period raises some questions. Although James mentions various critical aspects, his account is sometimes rather cursory. This applies, for instance, to the issue of the increased use of forced labour during the war. As more and more German workers were sent to the front after the autumn of 1941, Krupp lobbied so strongly for an allocation of labourers from Reich prison camps that the regime criticized the firm for what it saw as excessive demands. James says that it had no alternative but to use forced labour and merely censures Alfried Krupp for not reacting when his brother-in-law protested against the fate of Russian workers with written contracts who were held in Essen behind barbed wire and with inadequate food. He acknowledges that the firm's 'treatment of slave workers was vile' (p. 225). Yet a more thorough examination of the firm's scope for action would have been preferable.

The same is true of James's analysis of Krupp's paternalistic attitude towards its workers. In order to create a skilled and loyal workforce, the Krupp factory created an autonomous world in which the firm provided housing, health care, education, and entertainment for its employees and their families. The downside was that this company-owned welfare state was distinctly authoritarian. Any workers who belonged to a trade union or spread socialist propaganda were monitored by the firm's private police force, which was larger than the municipal one, and eventually removed. James says too little about this aspect. He emphasizes the firm's paternalism as the 'vision of a society that is not just held together by the clashes and competitions of individual agents, but bound by cooperation for a higher purpose' (p. 294), and neglects its almost totalitarian organization.

Despite these shortcomings, Harold James has succeeded in writing a concise account of one of the pivotal protagonists of German economic history. His book is accessible to a wide public while meeting academic standards and will surely become a point of reference for anyone interested in the history of Krupp.

Book Reviews

CHRISTOF DEJUNG is Privatdozent für Neuere und Neueste Geschichte at the University of Constance and in 2013/14 holds a Fellowship at the University of Cambridge. He is the editor (with Niels P. Petersson) of *The Foundations of Worldwide Economic Integration: Power, Institutions, and Global Markets, 1850–1930* (2013), and the author of *Die Fäden des globalen Marktes: Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Welthandels am Beispiel der Handelsfirma Gebrüder Volkart 1851–1999* (2012).

PETER ITZEN, *Streitbare Kirche: Die Church of England vor den Heraus-forderungen des Wandels 1945–1990* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2012), 437 pp. ISBN 978 3 8329 6608 9. €79.00

Streitbar, as an adjective, admits various possible English transla-tions, among them pugnacious, quarrelsome, disputatious but also, perhaps, valiant. Each might be applied to the Church of England as considered in this well-informed and carefully argued analysis of its condition in the period under review. Yet each translation carries a slightly different implication. If the Church has been at war, it has been both with itself and, in some measure, with the society in which it has existed. It might be, of course, that there is nothing exceptional in this being the case. Church history has scarcely presented a tran-quil picture of internal doctrinal harmony and structural unanimity. The relationship between church and state has never been straight-forward: there has always been ample scope for a quarrel since boundaries and borders are necessarily ill-defined. Granted that, however, the author's portrayal of a particularly warlike Church in these decades is not inappropriate. Its struggle has not ended in 1990. The problem of change remains. Does the Church swim with the tide of modernity or, in resisting some of modernity's articles of faith, drift into marginal obscurity?

In his initial, fully referenced chapters the author shows himself admirably familiar with the by now growing general literature on the condition of religion in English/British society in the latter half of the twentieth century. However, he is not primarily concerned to write a comprehensive internal history of the Church of England in all its complexity in order to provide another contribution to this general field. Assuming a certain sociological familiarity amongst his read-ers, and armed with concepts and terminology from political science, the focus is not on Anglicanism as such, but on the specific nature of the Church of England: a 'comic institution' maybe, but more than that. It is a task which benefits greatly from the fact that the author comes at it from abroad (though with much on the ground familiari-ty). An insider writing within an Establishment can so easily take for granted what an outsider finds puzzling, perhaps bizarre. It follows that this book probes assumptions, conventions, and constitutions with a detachment that is clinical but also sensitive. There are comi-cal aspects to the Church of England as it existed in this period, but

it is not to be dismissed as irrelevant or obscurantist. The body of the book tests its position, role, influence, and success against specific issues: the Suez crisis of 1956; the 'moral crisis' of the 1960s; immigration; and 'Thatcherism' and the industrial crisis.

The author is well aware that he is not simply dealing with a relationship which can be reduced to simple polarities: 'the Church' v. 'the State' or v. 'Society'. Change ran in many diverse directions, dissolving camps and parties as it proceeded. The author looks very carefully at these strands of opinion as they straddled theological and political boundaries. He gives space both to the 'liberal hegemony' and its critics, and shows a shrewd awareness of the tide of opinion. He is not always aware of how personal networks operated and the extent to which they arose out of shared educational backgrounds and concomitant social attitudes, but an account such as this cannot concern itself with these relationships in great detail. There are some minor slips of detail—as, for example, in supposing that the first name of W. H. Auden, the poet, was William.

Both the *Church* and *England* were in crisis together. One ought to say that Britain and the United Kingdom were in crisis, something that made the position of 'the English Church' all the more complicated. The Archbishop of Canterbury had his Established position of precedence in the UK state and spoke of right in the House of Lords, but ecclesiastically he could only 'speak for England'. The bulk of the book is concerned to examine just what is meant by the Church of England 'speaking' in relation to the above-mentioned central issues. Was it speaking *to* or *for?* Here was the heart of the dilemma. Was it trying to work within or outside 'the system'? Did it seek to modify or 'improve' impending legislation, or to frustrate and thwart it? Did it seek to be trusted as a 'candid friend' to whom senior politicians from all parties could discreetly turn, or was it even acting, in some instances, as the informal Leader of the Opposition in circumstances in which the formal political party of opposition was failing? These are the questions which are considered in specific detail against the performance of particular individuals. The information which is provided is in some cases not generally known and enhances the overall value of this book.

There are obviously principles involved here, but what comes through most strongly is that what actually happened can only be properly evaluated by considering the role of particular individuals.

We can only understand what Geoffrey Fisher said and did in the Suez crisis if we understand what manner of man he was and the chemistry of his relationships with key individuals. Michael Ramsey's involvement with the question of immigration can likewise only properly be understood by doing the same. These investigations have been done with thoroughness and insight—and with much helpful quotation. Of course, other leading bishops also receive attention and, particularly helpfully, the author has much to say, on the basis of his research, about the role of lay advisers and the back-up behind archbishops of Canterbury as they sought to operate in the realm of professional politics. Without such support they could not function, but at the same time if they became too openly partisan they jeopardized the particular character and quality of their input and their general availability. Whether particular individuals strayed too far in this direction or that in patrolling this boundary can only be a matter of opinion. What gives this book its strength is that individuals and general trends are held together throughout, thus providing the basis for whatever general conclusion might be reached.

It is, of course, evident that the 'Church of England' that is being talked about here, largely, is that of the 'top people'. What 'the men and women in the pew' thought about matters on which their leaders were speaking for them does not greatly emerge (though some letters are quoted in relation to immigration, for example). How leaders were accountable to the whole Church (if at all) was problematic. They could not be voted out of office. The organs of self-government in the Church of England, as they had been developed since 1919, were in a sense democratic, but only curiously democratic. All sorts of questions about legitimacy, therefore, hung over the interface between the episcopate and governments (of whatever political complexion). In this connection, a reference might perhaps be permitted to the current difficulties of decision-making in the Church of England on the issue of possible women bishops on the one hand and its stance in relation to a government proposal to introduce gay marriage on the other. The afterword post-1990 with which this book concludes naturally cannot be up-to-date in this respect, but if a background to the present is sought, this book surely provides it.

Book Reviews

KEITH ROBBINS was formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales. His many publications include *History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain* (1993); *England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales: The Christian Church 1900–2000* (2008); (ed.) *The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe, 1780–1920: Political and Legal Perspectives* (2009); and (ed. with John Fisher) *Religion and Diplomacy: Religion and British Foreign Policy 1815 to 1941* (2010). His most recent book is *Transforming the World: Global Political History since World War II* (2013).

NICK HODGIN, *Screening the East: Heimat, Memory and Nostalgia in German Film since 1989*, Film Europa: German Cinema in an International Context, 11 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 272 pp. E-ISBN 978 0 85745 129 3. ISBN 978 0 85745 128 6 (Hardback) US$90.00. £55.00

Since 2004 Berghahn Books has produced a series, Film Europa: German Cinema in an International Context, in which it publishes well-written academic literature on German film for an English-language readership. While film has long been an established part of the curriculum of German departments at British and American universities, German historiography has been slower off the mark in systematically reading films as a historical source. Given this background, this monograph by the British cultural historian and scholar of film Nick Hodgin is especially welcome. On the basis of a wide range of sources—more than eighty thematically relevant films, some of which are relatively unknown and only accessible with difficulty—it deals with German films produced between 1989 and 2008. In the introduction, which draws on British and American research, Hodgin points out that national identity is negotiated in film. He is interested in the 'twin subject of national cinema and national identity' in the crisis after the *Wende* (p. 4). The book argues that after the demise of the GDR, a specifically East as opposed to West German post-*Wende* identity developed in film. Hodgin's aim is to analyse this using three closely connected concepts: '*Heimat*, memory and nostalgia.' *Heimat*, the author suggests, is one of the key themes in his sample of films: a local or regional rural space that rejects appropriation by the West, it functions as a platform for the inner-German 'clash of cultures' (p. 7). Changing memories of the GDR, permanently rewriting themselves, preserve cultural peculiarities and offer East German orientation markers, while nostalgia (or *Ostalgie*), the third way of analysing the East German post-*Wende* identity, presents a wistful vision of a GDR past that never existed in this form.

Hodgin's book is thus driven by a cultural history interest in the emergence of a separate East German identity, the 'regeneration of the east' (p. 9), *after* the end of the GDR. The investigation proceeds in six stages. After an introduction to the social and political context after German reunification, the author distinguishes five phases or film aesthetic approaches. For each one he selects several films as

113

examples, analyses them in detail, and derives characteristics from them, finally assigning a number of other films, only briefly discussed, to each model. Thus the second chapter looks at comedies made immediately after the *Wende*, which humorously articulate a collective identity to defend the East German *Heimat* against takeover attempts by the capitalist west. Hodgin starts from the observation that the rural space or the East German provinces were conspicuously present in these films. As a foil, he uses the genre of Federal German *Heimat* films of the 1950s, which British and American research (by Leonie Naughton, for example, and Johannes von Moltke) have rehabilitated as a sensitive seismograph for social change. The model of the *Heimat* film, Hodgin concludes, permeated the early *Wende* films ('past genres for present tensions', p. 40), which were interested not in a socialist, but a 'German' *Heimat* that was open to the memories of all.

This was to change in the 1990s. Although the theme of *Heimat* continued to structure films, it was now about a specifically East German *Heimat* in the vanished GDR. At first these films were dominated by narratives centring on the fate of collective communities in the East German provinces. Chapter three analyses films of the early 1990s which gave landscapes a striking role. In the frequently used genre of the road movie, the passing landscapes reflect the experience of irretrievable loss and conserve fragmentary memories of the GDR. The country's inhabitants are passive observers of changes which threaten and destroy their community and their *Heimat*. They try to escape on roads that lead not to new beginnings, however, but always inexorably back to their start. According to Hodgin, the East German landscapes serve as 'mnemonic landmarks . . . for collective memory' (p. 81).

Chapter four turns to the largely neglected black comedies of the late 1990s. In these, a younger generation of film-makers still picked up the gloominess of the social and economic situation in East Germany, but a bitter humour had returned to their screens. Their style was modelled on western film conventions (such as the Western, for example, and the Hollywood road movie), but they distorted and exaggerated the heavily used *Ossi–Wessi* stereotypes, turning them into grotesques. These films differed from those presented in chapter three in that they did not present their almost documentary-type protagonists poignantly as the 'good' from *Paradise Lost*. On the contrary,

the local inhabitants by no means form a community of sympathetic victims who defend their threatened identity. Rather, they remain hopelessly isolated, parochial, and no less in thrall to their prejudices that West Germans—another form of German reunification, if you will.

Chapter five leaves the rural sphere behind. It turns to films, also dating from the 1990s, that focus on the individual in the city, caught between past and future. They are, however, also interested in the local identities of the neighbourhood or *Kiez*. Berlin, its architecture and cityscape mutate into a sinister place of threatening alienation, whose insecure inhabitants tentatively seek a way into the future in the interstices between East and West, a path between the memories of the lost GDR and the experience of loss that is their present. Echoes of the big city films of the Weimar Republic, the New German Film, and *film noir* are not coincidental.

The book finishes, in chapter six, by looking at the nostalgic turn of the 2000s, when *Ostalgie* resulted in the return of certain revived GDR goods to specialized *Ossi* shops and the production of films which, as commercial products, all invited people to buy. These included box-office hits such as *Sonnenallee*, *Good Bye Lenin*, and *Das Leben der Anderen*, which culminated in the construction of the good Stasi officer, completely detached from reality, and held up an idealized socialist GDR ('an inauthentically authentic past', p. 11) against the cultural hegemony of the West. Hodgin points out the irony in the fact that the East German identity, which had previously related essentially to socialist ideology, was now attached to the remnants of a supposedly authentic GDR material culture. 'Disneyland GDR' (p. 157) offered the East German people a return to their old home without the fear of the compromising reality of the SED state: the GDR was re-invented almost as a postmodern collage. As Hodgin stresses, this allows the constructed character of memory in general to emerge all the more clearly (p. 165). He interprets this as a confirmation of, and evidence for, the 'deep-rooted differences between east and west . . . reaffirming the east Germans' distinctiveness' (p. 167). The conclusion he draws is that *Ostalgie* prevents complete cultural assimilation with the West and encourages a specific East German memory and identity.

In his conclusion, the author explicitly pursues this line further to discuss the emergence of East European protagonists in films cur-

rently under production. He thus poses the question—not least a political one—of how geopolitical borders are shifting to define new cultural areas. Hodgin leaves the answer open. He sees Germany as providing a chance for cultural plurality to develop, but also for the emergence of new demarcations which could allow East and West Germans to rediscover their common, homogeneous national identity more strongly as distinct from that of the 'East'. These questions, of course, do not affect German society alone. To pursue this issue further, it must be noted that such complex social discourses of self-reassurance are expressed in films, and we need to investigate how this is done. This is where the book gains significance. Hodgin shows that film represents a platform upon which controversial demarcations and communitizations can be discursively negotiated, as the cultural sciences put it. Film is thus seen as an almost unsurpassed thick historical source which is indispensable for historiography. In the past, it has all too often been declared an inessential product of the imagination, in contrast to a 'historical reality', as though visions, dreams, imaginations, and ideas are not also 'real'.

And yet the socio-economic realities of Germany's new *Bundesländer*, the realities of film, and the realities of what is going on in the heads of East Germans do not fully coincide. In parts, it becomes apparent that the book wants to play a part in creating an East German identity, when it enshrines the sometimes rather slick contrast between East and West Germans through sheer repetition. It is simply assumed from the start that films are about national identity. The concept of identity itself is unexamined, although as a cultural historian, Hodgin leaves his readers in no doubt that identities are permanently reformed and re-written, and constantly accommodate themselves. But the devil lies in the detail, and one would like to ask further: could this monograph be stretched to a second volume, one entitled *Screening the West*, and if so, what its contents would be? Could it not be argued that in the age of globalization, German films in general—and this could be followed back into the past—are closely concerned to negotiate regional and/or local identities (in the plural), and prefer to do this via members of deprived, marginal groups? The genre of migrant films could provide examples here. And under these circumstances, what does it mean if the author can establish a (seemingly homogeneous) East German identity from his film analyses? Finally, would it not be historiographically more informative

and take us further if, in order to clarify all these issues, we were to descend from the heights of cinematic art to the level of TV programmes and series? Hodgin specifically excludes these from consideration, at least in this book. Thus inspired by reading this book, one would like to read more, which suggests that it is worth continuing to work with film as a historical source for recent German history.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Dynastic Politics, Monarchical Representation, and the Union between Hanover and Britain. Conference organized by the German Historical Institute London and the Historische Kommission für Niedersachsen and Bremen, and held at the GHIL, 11–13 Oct. 2012.

The year 2014 marks the tercentenary of the succession of the Hanoverian dynasty to the British throne and the start of the personal union between England and Hanover, which created a link between the two countries that lasted for more than a hundred years until its dissolution in 1837. In order to commemorate this event the Historische Kommission für Niedersachsen and Bremen and the German Historical Institute London teamed up to organize two international conferences which took place in Osnabrück (28–31 March 2012) and London respectively. The local organizers were Ronald G. Asch (University of Freiburg) and Thomas Vogtherr (University of Osnabrück and chair of the Historische Kommission) for the Osnabrück symposium and the GHIL for the London gathering.

Taken together the two conferences provided a comprehensive analysis of the history of the personal union within its European, British, and German contexts. The first conference in Osnabrück concentrated on the wider concept of composite statehood in the eighteenth century by putting the Anglo-Hanoverian Union into a comparative European perspective. It also explored the predominantly German side of the Personal Union by looking at the impact that links with Britain had on trade, warfare, and politics in the northwestern corner of the Holy Roman Empire. In contrast, the London leg focused mainly on the 'Hanoverian dimension in British history', to quote the title of a book edited by Brendan Simms and Torsten Riotte in 2007, which was the first systematically to explore the ramifications of the Anglo-Hanoverian Union for British politics.

After introductory remarks by Andreas Gestrich (GHIL), Thomas Vogtherr, and Michael Schaich (GHIL) the conference was opened by Ronald G. Asch. In his keynote speech he surveyed the difficult lega-

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

cy of the seventeenth-century Stuart monarchy for the Hanoverian image of kingship. Analysing the conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* during the Restoration period and the alternative version of kingship which emerged in the wake of the Glorious Revolution, he refuted the old master narrative of the disenchantment of monarchy and stressed instead Christian morality and Protestant providentialism as the new hallmarks of the British monarchy after 1689, which also continued to shape the self-representation of the Hanoverians. The themes addressed by Asch resurfaced in the first session of the conference. G. M. Ditchfield (Kent) charted the considerable range of idealizations (and criticisms) of kingship in the later Hanoverian period, highlighting in particular the enduring Protestant image of the Georgian monarchy and the association of George III and George IV with army and navy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The role of the army was also at the centre of Hannah Smith's (Oxford) paper. She investigated the politicization of the British officer corps in the last years of Queen Anne's reign, when pro-Hanoverian views became prevalent in military circles. After 1714 they played an important part in the self-fashioning of the British army. Reviews of troops were also a highly visible feature during the repeated visits of the Hanoverians to their electorate, as Andrew Thompson (Cambridge) demonstrated in his reflections on the impact that monarchical travel had during the reign of the first two Georges. Taking George II's stay in Hanover in 1735 as an example, he dealt with the practicalities of travel, consequences for the process of decision-making, and communication channels between Britain and Hanover.

A second major theme of the conference, the question of allegiances and loyalties to the crown and the dynasty, was introduced by Frank O'Gorman (Manchester) in his talk on 'The Origins of Loyalism and the Eighteenth Century, to 1789'. Going back to the late sixteenth century, he uncovered the roots of the loyalist movement of the 1790s, which has been at the heart of much recent research. Starting in the latter stages of Elisabeth I's reign, governments could rely on so-called bonds of association to the monarch for popular support during the recurring moments of national crisis throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The loyalism of the 1790s had thus been rehearsed, as O'Gorman claimed, during the preceding two centuries. Allegiance to crown and state, however, was only one side of

119

the coin. Eighteenth-century Britain was also the site of contested loyalties, Jacobitism being chief among anti-Hanoverian stances. Gabriel Glickman (Oxford) explored the various challenges to the Hanoverian regime which the existence of the Jacobite movement posed in international relations, in Scotland and in England. In particular, he spelt out how the spectre of Jacobitism opened up domestic debates for continental affairs and placed mistrust at the centre of the political nation in Westminster. In addition, the language of Jacobitism could be used by figures at the heart of the Hanoverian establishment, such as Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, to strengthen their own political cause. The relationship between radicalism and monarchy in the 1790s was also far from straightforward as Amanda Goodrich (Open University) maintained. Instead of calls for regicide and republicanism, anti-aristocratic rhetoric and demands for constitutional reform held sway in political debates. Anti-monarchism can be found in contemporary discourse, but was overtaken by a critical attitude focusing on the constitution and the role of the aristocracy.

The third set of papers dealt with the whole area of court culture and visual representations of the Georgian monarchy. Tim Blanning (Cambridge) started proceedings with a wide-ranging lecture on the iconography of the Hanoverians, bringing together seemingly diverse aspects such as the long-standing effects of anti-Catholic propaganda in British history, the importance of blood sports and hunting, and the picture of thrift and economy that George III created for himself, one that was reinforced by satirical prints of the king. Throughout his talk Blanning emphasized the role of the public sphere in fashioning the image of the monarchy, concluding that, in contrast, for example, to developments in France, 'legitimacy was thrust upon the Hanoverians'. Blanning's presentation was followed by an equally vivid and intriguing paper by Robert Bucholz (Chicago), who took the bodies of the first two Hanoverians as his object of study. Although both were portrayed in contemporary paintings and sources as rather trim and fit and at worst non-descript, later on they came to be depicted as fat and ugly and, by extension, rapacious, profligate, and stupid. This distorted image can be traced back to eighteenth-century Jacobite propaganda. From there it moved into academic discourse during the nineteenth century and then into popular genres such as novels and films, an observation verified most recently by the blockbuster

Pirates of the Caribbean IV, which features a rather ungainly depiction of George II. Eirwen Nicholson (Virginia) followed this up with a paper on the representation of the Hanoverian queens, concentrating on Sophia Dorothea, the estranged wife of George I and 'queen in absentia'; Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, wife of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales; and George III's consort, Queen Charlotte. All three were derided and demonized in contemporary prints in an attempt to attack their husbands and the dynasty as a whole. Finally, Frank Druffner (Marbach) turned attention to the lacuna in the image policy of the Hanoverians—architecture. Unlike many contemporary princes, George I abstained from major building projects. This was in line with ideals of economy and prudent housekeeping promoted by German authors such as Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, but also betrayed a different conception of splendour, one that was rather inward-looking. Princely magnificence was displayed not in palace architecture, but in interior decoration and dress. In this respect the London court of George I was not dissimilar to that of the emperors in Vienna.

The most important asset of the Hanoverians' self-representation, however, was their Protestantism. As David Wykes (London) and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester) explained in the fourth session, the Georges appealed to a wide variety of Protestant constituencies. Dissenters were attracted to the Hanoverian succession in 1714, as Wykes made clear, because they hoped for a repeal of the laws discriminating against nonconformists. Although these expectations proved futile, dissenting ministers remained loyal to George I and George II. This only changed from the 1770s, as they became vociferous critics of the Trinitarian views of the king and the conduct of his ministers who were seen as increasingly corrupt. A similar picture emerges with regard to the colonial churches, the topic of Gregory's talk. Attempts to read the conflicts of the 1760s and 1770s back into the earlier period have obscured the fact that the Hanoverians managed, for almost half a century, to portray different versions of Protestant kingship in the American settlements that spoke to both non-Anglican and Church of England groupings. In addition, the first two Georges were not far removed from the colonists, as has previously been suggested, but had a strong symbolic presence in their overseas dominions (daily prayers for the monarch, royal coats of arms in colonial churches), maintained close links with the colonies via the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and provided financial support for individual ecclesiastical institutions.

Eckhart Hellmuth's (Munich) lecture on the eighteenth-century fiscal–military state brought the discussion back to the European scene. Hellmuth analysed the fiscal regimes and military capabilities of three leading European powers, the Habsburg Empire, Prussia, and Britain, and then applied the notion of the fiscal–military state to the Electorate of Hanover, which maintained a surprisingly large army and witnessed a rising tax burden during the century. In his concluding remarks he pointed to some of the more general conclusions which emerge from an analysis of the highly militarized state machines for our often too benign assessment of the eighteenth century, and stressed the disastrous sight that many German states afforded around 1800.

The session that followed this lecture addressed one area which has received relatively little attention so far in accounts of the Personal Union, the circulation of knowledge and ideas between Britain and Hanover. Justin Champion (London) took the relationship between the Electress Sophia and her unlikely advisor and correspondent John Toland, a writer in the tradition of non-monarchical Commonwealth discourses, as an example. In a number of publications Toland went to great lengths to fashion the powerful public image of an anti-Catholic, enlightened, and republican queen, which held out great promise for the future of the British monarchy after the Hanoverian succession. Thomas Biskup (Hull), in turn, outlined the networks and communication channels between Britain and northern Germany and described how the Anglo-Hanoverian composite state shaped the exchange of knowledge in the field of natural history in particular. According to Biskup the integration of the electorate and its surrounding territories into the British Empire made the German lands the hinterland of the Atlantic world. A different perspective was taken by Dominik Collet, who looked at less straightforward, more roundabout ways of knowledge transfer. Concentrating on the collections of the Royal Society in the late seventeenth century and Göttingen's Academic Museum in the late eighteenth century, he stressed the creative misunderstandings and unintended consequences that cultural exchange entailed, and warned against an overemphasis on networks without sufficient consideration being given to content.

The conference concluded with three papers on the last phase of the Personal Union, which usually attracts less interest than its earlier stages. Brendan Simms (Cambridge) illuminated the ongoing significance of the Union by reconstructing the role of the 2nd Light Battalion of the King's German Legion during the battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. He defined the regiment as an Anglo-German hybrid, which operated effortlessly within the structure of the British army and played a crucial part in the defeat of Napoleon. Driven by hatred of the French emperor, it held the advance of Napoleon's troops for long enough to allow the allied forces to win the day. The political history of the Personal Union during its last decades and beyond came under scrutiny in two papers by Christine van den Heuvel (Hanover) and Torsten Riotte (Frankfurt am Main). Van den Heuvel described the development of the assembly of estates in Hanover from its first meeting in 1814 to the dissolution of the Union in 1837. As she repeatedly pointed out, the beginnings of Hanoverian parliamentary culture benefited from the close ties which the kingdom maintained with the British political system. Even the ceremonies surrounding the opening of deliberations closely followed precedents set by the Houses of Parliament in Westminster. In the final paper of the conference, Riotte explored the role of the Personal Union in Britain during the nineteenth century in three steps. He underlined Hanover's continuing role as bogeyman in British political discourse and identified some dynastic as well as legal legacies of the former links with the German lands. Discussions about citizenship in connection with the Stepney Election Petition of 1883 were just one way in which the Personal Union impacted on British political and social life even after its demise. Like all other papers in this three-day conference, Riotte's foray into largely forgotten aspects of Anglo-Hanoverian history should help to further stimulate research on a topic which has been neglected for a long time, but seems to be generating more interest, not least because of the upcoming tercentenary in 2014. A publication of the conference proceedings is envisaged.

MICHAEL SCHAICH (GHIL)

Tenth Workshop on Early Modern Central European History, co-organized by the German Historical Institute London and the German History Society, and held at the GHIL, 26 Oct. 2012.

Words of welcome by Benedikt Stuchtey, Deputy Director of the German Historical Institute London, opened the tenth workshop on Early Modern Central European History, which brought together twenty-four historians from Australia, Germany, Ireland, Switzerland, the USA, and the UK at the GHIL on the last Friday in October. Nine papers were delivered and discussed, ranging across topics as varied as the production and history of knowledge; trade and cultural representations; and religion, politics, and war. A common theme was the interrogation of the means, methods, and motives for the creation, dissemination, and instrumentalization of information in the early modern period, with a focus on the late eighteenth century.

After an introduction by organizers David Lederer (National University of Ireland, Maynooth) and Angela Schattner (GHIL), work began with a session exploring knowledge of, and resource management adaptations to, the environment of the late 1700s. Alexander Kästner (TU Dresden/National University of Ireland, Maynooth) presented two case studies demonstrating how a failure of social integration and medical knowledge resulted in mortality from exposure to extreme cold in Holland in 1799. Part of a larger project examining early modern understandings of cold and its implications, Kästner's paper highlighted the uncertainties of life in the context of a deadly threat. Claudia Stein (University of Warwick) employed Foucault's concept of biopower to analyse the introduction of the potato to Bavaria by Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, arguing that the vegetable was central to reforms in agriculture, poor relief, and the military. Stein examined a discourse of contestation and cooperation centred on human nutrition at a time when underpopulation was a concern for government; it illuminated the relationship between individuals and society at the onset of the rationalization of the state, when processes of political transformation were structured to affect the individual's bodily behaviour.

Early modern production of science and knowledge was the focus of the second session. The first paper, by Kaspar von Greyerz (Uni-

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

124

versity of Basel), outlined his forthcoming monograph investigating the areas, fields, and occupations in which early modern traditions of knowledge (often popular knowledge and science) came together. Starting with the view of knowledge as a 'gesunkenes Kulturgut', Greyerz gave a defence of the epistemological status of early modern religion within the context of the twenty-first-century historiography of knowledge. Following this, he used the 1644 treatise *Mechanischer Reißladen* by the Ulm architect and engineer, Joseph Furttenbach, to exemplify the relationship between mechanical knowledge and science. The presentation concluded with Greyerz tracing the development of the observational genre in late medieval and early modern medicine, and how it integrated personally warranted experience and book knowledge in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Gerhard Wiesenfeldt (University of Melbourne) gave the second paper, which looked at transformations in the understanding of Dutch culture within the German discourse, drawing examples from natural philosophy, natural history, and medicine. Instead of a narrative of diminishing Dutch influence, the paper presented Germany's integration of French and English scholarship as a strategy for the establishment of alternative models in an academic culture within which Dutch scholarship maintained a significant and influential presence. The morning concluded with Marita Huebner (California Institute of Technology, Pasadena) speaking on Samuel Simon Witte's *Universal Explanation of Persepolis and the Pyramids* (1789). This publication's suggestion that the ruins of Persepolis, the Egyptian pyramids, and other ancient monuments were products of volcanic activity provoked a fierce and occasionally venomous literary debate among German scholars. Arguing that Witte's theory was a sceptical attack on English and German concepts of universal history and Orientalism, Huebner illuminated Witte's rejection of the scientific value of travellers' accounts and his challenge to the new representation of the East in Western art and writing. The impact of Witte's publication on German academia was to widen the conceptual gap between history and philosophy, to expose the weaknesses of both when attempting to exceed their grasp, and to contribute to debates that would come to define the Enlightenment and Romanticism.

Considerations of trade and cultural representations of trade were the topic of the third session, with Anne Sophie Overkamp (Euro-

pean University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder) sharing her research on four families from the Wupper valley in the Duchy of Berg (1760–1830). As all four were important merchant families in the textile business, Overkamp's conclusions from her exploration of professional and personal sources led her to propose a third category of bourgeoisie for German historiography in addition to the *Wirtschaftsbürgertum* and the *Bildungsbürgertum*: namely, the *gebildeten Stände*, a group analogous to the middling ranks of English society. In this new category, the cultural participation of these merchant families in activities of the *Gebildeten* is combined with on-going mercantile activity; group cohesion was demonstrated by the maintenance of regionally based, endogamous marriage patterns. This recognition of an educated mercantile class integrates changes and developments in Germany around 1800 into the context of an emerging global consumer society. Musicologist and music historian Elisabeth Giselbrecht (University of Cambridge) followed, looking at the uses of music books in early modern Germany. Pointing to the frequent assumption that these were first and foremost for performance purposes, Giselbrecht's research suggests more possibilities, including, among others, music books as gifts (both 'official' and 'unofficial'), devotional items, collected works, pedagogical tools, or as manifestations of social status and power.

The fourth and final session of the day focused on religion, politics, and war. Adam Marks (University of St Andrews) explored the Stuart crown's interventions in the German lands between 1603 and 1639, concentrating his paper on the participation of around 75,000 English and Scottish soldiers in the Thirty Years War. Points for discussion included the scope and nature of the war; the extent of mercenary motives on the part of the soldiers; their military, political, diplomatic, and social effect on the German lands; the impact of the Thirty Years War on developments in the English and Scottish public spheres; printing; taxation systems; religious tension; and any legacy of the above which may have contributed towards the British Civil Wars. The broader motives of individual soldiers could include loyalty to the Stuart crown, as represented by Elizabeth of Bohemia, which contributes to clarifying events during the Civil Wars, when former comrades-in-arms could find themselves on opposing sides at home. Christian Mühling's (University of Marburg/University of Paris Sorbonne) presentation, summarizing part of his Ph.D. research,

investigated the impact of contemporary concepts of religious war on foreign affairs in early Enlightenment Europe. Anti-Protestant domestic policy on the part of Emperor Leopold I and Louis XIV, usually dismissed as a political motive after the Peace of Westphalia, was linked by Mühling with similar anti-Catholic policies pursued by English and Prussian leaders to show how late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European politics evolved within a framework heavily influenced by religious motives and concerns. Questions were raised about the propriety of the term 'war of religion' for this period of conflict; Mühling's research focus, however, is on contemporary discourse about the subject, where the phrase is explicitly used.

David Lederer (University of Ireland, Maynooth) chaired a general discussion to conclude proceedings. As in the Ninth Workshop, notice was taken of the increasingly interdisciplinary nature of historical research and the possibility was mentioned that this might be an emerging trend in historiography. Explorations of this included a concern about the indispensability of historical analysis, the opportunities and challenges of working with the volume of sources made available by digitization, and how changes in historiographical priorities and approaches may reflect changes in twenty-first-century culture. The eleventh Workshop on Early Modern German History will take place at the GHIL on 15 November 2013.

LINNÉA ROWLATT (University of Kent/Freie Universität Berlin)

'Tales about Time': Temporality, Modernity, and the Order of Time. Workshop organized by the German Historical Institute London and held at the GHIL, 29–30 Nov. 2012.

'Can one narrate time—time itself, as such, for its own sake?' Thomas Mann begins the final chapter of his *Magic Mountain* by posing this question.[1] To answer it from a historiographical, philosophical, and sociological perspective was the aim of the participants in the interdisciplinary workshop 'Tales about Time: Temporality, Modernity, and the Order of Time' held at the German Historical Institute London. The workshop focused on the multi-layered connections between time and history; the historical significance and interpretation of temporal patterns of order; and chronopolitical phenomena and practices. The latter include, for example, politically contextualized images of history and models of order (chronopolitics), but also concrete political practices (chronopolicy) that use time as a resource for social policy (for example, in setting working hours, or defining specific life divisions, such as retirement age). In addition, the workshop examined symptoms of crisis in the modern temporal structure and the emergence of new notions of order, along with associated changes in concepts related to time (history, progress, etc.). Finally, it reflected on the historicity and time-boundness of patterns of interpretation and narratives, and discussed their theoretical and methodological implications for historiography.

In his introductory paper, Fernando Esposito (Tübingen), organizer of the workshop, outlined its premisses and aims. It seemed to him that a central issue requiring clarification was why the debate on the topic of 'time' in general and the changes in modern temporal structures in particular had played such a minor part in historiography so far. Esposito surmised that the reason for this reticence on the part of historians was a certain reluctance to question the disciplinary frame of reference and the basic academic assumptions of their subject. Thus the model of universal, homogeneous, and linear absolute time needs to be historicized and contextualized. Against this background, he went on, dealing with the epistemological ambivalence of

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[1] Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, trans. John E. Woods (New York, 1995), 641.

historical theories is a particular challenge to the discipline. These theories are always products of their time and, depending on approach, must themselves be treated as historical sources. The question therefore arises whether theories that are flowing in the stream of time can offer any firm support for empirical research. Esposito pointed out that current theoretical approaches which assume a fundamental dislocation within modern temporal structures make a critical distancing from sociological diagnoses and historical sources seem more difficult than ever today. In conclusion, Esposito discussed methodological implications in terms of his own research project on the European discourse on primitivism between 1860 and 1960. He hypothesized that ideas of civilizatory progress or backwardness formed and legitimized processes of social legitimation and transformation.

The thematic complexity of the workshop was illustrated by the first focal point, which concentrated on the techniques and media of experiencing and reflecting on time in the widest sense. The papers delivered here were located at the intersection between historiographical method and a substantive debate with the phenomena of time and history. In his paper, Peter Tietze (Tübingen) asked to what extent the idea of historicity had been problematized within historiography, becoming a catalyst for methodological innovation. According to Tietze, *Begriffsgeschichte* (the history of concepts) emerged out of the crisis of the paradigm of historicism, whose origin lay in the increasing awareness of the contingency of disciplinary and everyday certainties. Tietze argued that since the beginning of the twentieth century, *Begriffsgeschichte* had produced two types of crisis management in German historiography. Wilhelm Bauer and Otto Brunner represented the strategy of de-problematizing in that they mystified history with the assistance of static key terms thus, as it were, concealing the problem of contingency. Richard Koebner and Reinhart Koselleck, on the other hand, stood for a re-problematization by interpreting crisis as a chance for constant self-reassurance with respect to the basic assumptions of their discipline.

In his paper, François Hartog (Paris) looked at the novel as a medium for reflecting on time. Literature, too, he suggested, is trying to come to terms with the modern idea of the historicity of the world. According to Hartog, however, the work of historians and novelists is subject to fundamentally different epistemological conditions, both

129

theoretically and practically. While historians work in a situation dictated by what has already happened, novelists can overcome this time threshold and describe phenomena whose significance cannot (yet) be articulated in an scholarly way. Hartog named three novels (Cormac McCarthy's *The Road*, W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz*, and Olivier Rolin's *Méroé*) as examples of recent 'tales about time' which reflect the temporal architecture of our present. They share the motif of a post-catastrophic situation which provides the narrative background to the action. Hartog saw these fictional worlds of ruins as containing 'presentist' scenarios, and used this to explain the term 'presentism' which he had coined. According to Hartog, this refers to our present-day time regime, in which the future has lost its function as the driving force of history, while the past appears dimly as a load and burden to be borne. The present, he concluded, is expanding as an endlessly continuing omnipresence.

The themes of 'progress and expectations of the future' were another focal point of the workshop. This concentrated on contemporary 'tales about time' in the sense of historical topoi. In her paper on changes in futurology in the Western industrial nations around 1970, Elke Seefried (Munich) dealt with a group of actors who themselves told a new 'tale about time', or, to be more precise, developed a new narrative of the future. Inspired in the 1950s by think tanks and university research institutions, the discipline of Future Studies initially took the form of a transatlantic network. The aim of the new discipline was to design the future, with the aid of mathematical and empirical forecasts, as a technologically clearly defined horizon of possibilities. In the 1960s, Seefried said, there was still confidence that the future could be controlled, even, to some extent, created. This confidence was based on the assumption, drawing on cybernetics, of a controllable social acceleration induced by technology and science. Around 1970, according to Seefried, the prevailing notion of time along with images of the future were plunged into crisis. Future Studies reacted to socio-economic developments by questioning the paradigm of growth measured purely in material and quantitative terms and integrating elements from ecology and the criticism of growth more strongly into its position. Thus futurologists redefined their idea of 'progress', now seeing it as cyclical rather than linear. Seefried saw the Club of Rome report, *The Limits to Growth* (1972), as encapsulating this development.

Irritated by the way in which the concept of progress was often laid to rest in contradictory terms, Rüdiger Graf (Bochum) spoke about the longevity of the notion of progress in the twentieth century. Displaying an encyclopaedic grasp of the subject, he showed that the idea of progress always attracted special attention at times when it was also the subject of criticism. Contemporary perceptions and Reinhart Koselleck's grounding of the term in *Begriffsgeschichte*, Graf said, showed that the meanings attached to the notion of progress were always ambiguous, if not contradictory. Graf argued that all the obituaries penned for progress to date have been premature. Instead of a history of progress that places absolute values on the term, he suggested that historians should enquire about the meaning that was being laid to rest at any particular time. Thus it would become clear that it was not the idea of progress as such that had come to an end, but merely that it had been withdrawn from certain areas of intellectual discourse. As a basic component of attempts to interpret the world in terms of historical philosophy, he said, the notion of progress had lost credibility, but in the progressivist terminology of the technical and scientific elites, it continued to be used effectively. In conclusion, Graf said that he doubted whether the idea of progress was a suitable term of reference for a debate on the history of (contemporary) time.

The workshop's third focal point was on specific chronopolitical practices and objects. In his paper, Mathias Mutz (Aachen) introduced historical variations in justifications for the introduction of summer time in Germany and the USA in the twentieth century. He presented the introduction of summer time or Daylight Saving Time (DST) as a temporal disciplining of society, that is, as a chronopolitical practice that varied culturally, socio-economically, and geographically. Mutz pointed to the widespread misconception that the introduction of summer time had been ecologically motivated from the start (this was the case, he said, only after the oil crisis of 1973). Nationalist motives and military strategies had been the main factors, he argued. Thus Germany and the USA had introduced DST during the world wars in order to save raw materials such as coal and energy by making greater use of the resource of 'time'. Mutz also showed that in the second half of the twentieth century, DST accompanied the transformation of Western industrial societies into consumer societies. Thus the notion of 'time consumed' displaced that of 'produc-

tive time'. While the introduction of summer had originally been justified in terms of national advantages accruing to the whole of society, by the end of the century its value was seen mainly as creating additional free time, giving individuals the chance for relaxation and consumption. Mutz's account of DST thus provides a graphic example of a thoroughly ambivalent chronopolitical practice and a flexible tool of social engineering.

The subject of Sanja Perovic's (London) paper was a chronopolitical object, the French revolutionary calendar. Pointing out that the French revolution was a transformative event which resulted in not only the perception of time changing, she argued that the change in time and the beginning of a new time had been politically instrumentalized by the authorities. As the basis for legitimizing the revolution, the calendar drove the (new) time forward and made any return to the *ancien régime* impossible. The revolutionary calendar presented time itself as the purpose of history. With the help of the revolutionary calendar, the new regime attempted to create an absolute temporal rupture by institutionalizing a new 'imagined totality' to replace the past along with the previous cosmological, natural idea of time. Perovic was particularly interested in the question of why this prominent project of representing the temporal order per se in a modern, secularized way failed to make the transition to modernity. She suggested that this was because the French revolutionary calendar represented different, conflicting temporalities: a purely secular awareness of history on the one hand, and the everyday experience of natural time structures on the other. At the methodological and theoretical level Perovic argued that historians should not transfer the temporal logic of their own day unconditionally to the temporal patterns of order of their historical subjects, but should take these seriously in their own terms.

The workshop's final focal point was the connection between time and space, in particular, the interaction between the temporal structure of modernity and its spatial correlation, globalization. The sociologist Hartmut Rosa (Jena) supplemented the historiographical view by adding the sociological argument that the acceleration of processes and events is the fundamental principle constituting modern society. Rosa distinguished between three areas affected by acceleration: technology; social and cultural change; and the pace of life. Driven by the engines of the economy, social structures, and culture,

the modes of acceleration constantly increased. According to Rosa, acceleration has reached a critical point in our late modern present, resulting in a rupture in the experience of time. In a globalized world, he argued, the classical collection of modern institutions (society, history, subject etc.) is eroding and being replaced by a situation of fragmentary simultaneity, in which history in the collective singular is (again) being dissolved in a plurality of histories.

The philosopher Peter Osborne (London) also looked at critical time thresholds and dislocations of experience in modernity. In his paper he argued that the temporality of globalization is characterized by contemporaneity. The terms 'contemporaneity' and 'contemporary', he pointed out, developed their present-day meaning first as a specification, and then in distinction to 'modern'. According to Osborne, the change in notions of time after the Second World War was expressed largely in the contemporary arts. In the 1980s, the term 'postmodern' became established as an alternative to 'contemporal/contemporary', but it has yet to prove its staying power. Osborne also argued that today, contemporaneity relates to a situation that refers not to a coming together in time, but to a coming together of various times that are present at the same time ('contemporaneity as a distributive unity of multiple temporalities'). In this situation of global contemporaneity, Osborne went on, it is not only crisis that becomes clear, but the crisis of crisis (the concept of crisis).

In the concluding discussion, it became clear that the historiographical treatment of the topic of 'time' has to face up to the challenge of integrating theoretical considerations and concepts on the one hand, and empirical, historicizing work on the other. It has become necessary to place abstract, metahistorical intellectual structures on to a firmer footing with the aid of concrete research topics and source corpora. It will be necessary to face this challenge not only in order to work on the field of 'time', which has, until recently, been largely ignored by historians, but also to reassess the theoretical and methodological basis of historiography itself. This multifaceted workshop made a start in this direction. Despite the wide spectrum of topics covered, in the end, it affirmed Thomas Mann's insight, expressed at the end of the *Magic Mountain,* that 'it is apparently not such an absurd notion to want to narrate *about time*' (p. 642).

STEFFEN HENNE (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

The Dresden Archive Project. Exhibition by British artist Alan Turn-bull, held at the German Historical Institute London, 22 Nov. 2012 to 12 Apr. 2013. The exhibition was supported by a research grant from Newcastle University's School of Arts and Cultures.

The Dresden Archive Project, an exhibition by artist Alan Turnbull,[1] ran from November to April at the German Historical Institute London. The archive itself is the artist's personal collection of images capturing the city's history. Its inventory consists of postcards, photographs, and printed ephemera relating to Dresden, beginning around 1870, when Saxony still had its own king, and ending in the 1950s, with Dresden a ruined city passing to Soviet control.

The project is an act of remembrance of the city of Dresden that was lost in the firestorm of February 1945. Instead of displaying the apocalypse, however, the exhibition concentrated on the city and its life before the tragic bombings happened. Using February 1945 as the point of reference for events to come, the display of the city, its buildings, its people, and traces of their everyday lives gains its poignancy through the lingering sense of loss that draws through the whole exhibition and Alan Turnbull's artistic work with the material. The forty-two works on show, comprising photographic digital prints and a series of related etchings and collages, were all exhibited at the German Historical Institute for the first time. The exhibition was unusual in displaying both historical documents located in their historical background, and works of fine art based on this material.

At the opening of the exhibition at Bloomsbury Square, director Andreas Gestrich welcomed the artist and introduced him to an invited audience. In the following talk, Alan Turnbull explained the background of his work and how this project had evolved from its

[1] Alan Turnbull lectures in Fine Art at Newcastle University's School of Arts and Cultures. He is the recipient of numerous Arts Council awards and has worked in various international public collections, including Harvard University's Permanent Collection; the Vladimir Nabokov Museum, St Petersburg; UCL London; and Dresden City Council. His recent exhibitions include Schatten Gallery, Atlanta 2010; Tsvetaeva Museum, Moscow 2009; the Vladimir Nabokov Museum, St Petersburg, 2008 and 2005; and the North House Gallery, Essex, 2007. His work has featured in exhibitions at numerous international venues including Nagoya, Japan; Munich; Hamburg; Florence; Milan; London; and Chicago.

beginnings as a collection of postcards to become an extended series of etchings, collages, and digital prints. Alan Turnbull first visited Dresden in 1994 while co-directing a music theatre piece as part of the city's cultural festival. In spite of the short duration of his stay, the city made a strong impression on him, particularly as the signs of the past were more in evidence than in the cities he knew in the west of Germany. From then he began collecting postcards of Dresden, initially in a casual way, throwing them into an old shoebox, but increasingly with more intent and purpose. As the collection grew over the years, he began to notice 'variations on a theme': the railway station photographed many years apart in the 1890s and the 1930s; the same scene at different times of year showing ice-skating and then a boating scene at the Zwingerteich; and variations of advertising cards from the same hotel, two postcards written by the same person and posted on the same day in April 1905.

The artist's close scrutiny of even routine-looking postcards revealed to him figures emerging from the shadows and faces peeping out of windows. Giving examples from among the works in the exhibition, he drew attention to greatly magnified scans of postcards which offered a fascinating glimpse of life at that time: a shy gardener hiding from the camera; portraits of Dresden soldiers on their way to the front; cyclists in the Große Garten. It was this kind of almost forgotten everyday life experience that gave him the idea for his artistic work with the material, and an exhibition of historical documents. As an artist not an academic historian, he stressed that his approach to the exhibition was to display the documents and images as mementoes and relics of a time long past, guided by aesthetic criteria rather than the principles of designing a historical exhibition. By showing postcards and enlarging details and individual faces taken from street view postcards, he was able to bring the human aspect of these historical images back to life. Many of these detailed views were included in the exhibition; for instance, the portrait of a young girl wearing pearl earrings that he described as an image of innocence and hope. In the same way, he began to create prints and drawings from the archive material, taking as his subject matter the people whose faces peer out from the postcards. Among his works are some incorporating fragments of different images and collages into his prints of nineteenth-century engravings of birds, which he used as symbols representing something of beauty that was now gone.

135

The pictures on show included two sequences of digital prints, 'Portraits' and 'Scenes', in which highly magnified scans allow the viewer to examine details overlooked in the postcards. In another work, *The Ghosts of Dresden*, numerous images are accompanied by a brief text which is often at odds with the innocent image. We learn, for instance, that the first time Dresden's architectural monuments were floodlit was on the occasion of Hitler's visit to the city in May 1934. The etchings and collages on display, small in scale and delicate in execution, provided an interesting contrast to the photographic works. In some of these works the artist has used actual archive material, printing his etchings on old letters which bear postmarks of Dresden, thus giving the images a patina of age as well as a delicacy of colour. Asked to describe the work, the artist said: 'This material is fragmentary and associative in nature. The central theme is the awareness of loss, but also the potential for renewal. In making many of the artworks, for instance, I often found myself obliterating one image in order to allow another to emerge. The aim of the work here is to create a picture for the imagination.'

The exhibition received favourable notices, including a lengthy and thoughtful review by Ulrike Zitzisperger, 'A City's Spirits Unextinguished', in the *Times Higher Education* (29 Nov. 2013). Commenting on how the artist has made something both intimate and challenging from his study of postcards, she remarks: 'By artistically juxtaposing the daily and banal with the force of history, Turnbull makes tangible what is otherwise hard to grasp.'

ANGELA SCHATTNER (GHIL)

NOTICEBOARD

Scholarships Awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate and postdoctoral students to enable them to carry out research in Britain, and to British postgraduates for research visits to Germany. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months, depending on the requirements of the research project. British applicants will normally be expected to have completed one year's postgraduate research, and be studying German history or Anglo-German relations. Scholarships are advertised on H-Soz-u-Kult and the GHIL's website. Applications, which should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, together with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research, should be addressed to the Administrative Director, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ. During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the GHIL Colloquium. In the first allocation for 2013 the following scholarships were awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

Beate Althammer (Trier) Schuld—Recht—Gerechtigkeit: Begnadigungspraktiken in der Moderne
Eva Bischoff (Trier) Colonial Violence and Pacifism: Quaker Life and Ideals in Frontier Australia, 1830–60
Anna-Maria Blank (Berlin) 'Most truely and lively described': Bildliche Repräsentationen des Englischen Parlaments in der Vormoderne
Heike Bormuth (Mannheim) Kirchliche Patronate unter den Tudors und frühen Stuarts: Auswirkungen von Reformation und Religionspolitik in den Grafschaften Kent und Yorkshire
Sina Fabian (Potsdam) Jahrzehnte der Krise und der Individualisierung? Konsumkulturen in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Großbritannien

Noticeboard

Ian Gwinn (Liverpool) 'A Different Kind of History is Possible': The History Workshop Movement and the Politics and Poetics of British and West German Historical Practice

David Harbecke (Frankfurt am Main) The Role of Canon Law and the Rise of English Court of Chancery: Morality as a Standard of Law?

Marleen Hoffmann (Paderborn) Die englische Komponistin, Schriftstellerin und Suffragette Ethel Smyth (1858–1944): Ihr Selbstkonzept und ihr künstlerisches und politisches Handeln

Andrea von Hohenthal (Freiburg) Psychologie im Ersten Weltkrieg: Deutschland England im Vergleich

Florian Kühnel (Berlin) Das diplomatische Selbst in der Korrespondenz englischer Gesandter im Osmanischen Reich (1583–1804)

Brendan Murphy (Sheffield) Killing in the German Army: Organizing and Surviving in the Great War

Kathrin Oerters (Bochum) Industrielles Erbe und regionale Identitätsbildung im Ruhrgebiet und in Südwales im historischen Vergleich

Steffen Runkel (Hanover) Afrikanische Initiativen zur Abolition: Die Einstellung der Goldküsteneliten zu Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel

Anna Sailer (Göttingen) Shifting Patterns of Unrest: The Jute Mill Belt of Bengal between the late 1920s and the late 1940s

Sune Erik Schlitte (Göttingen) Die Politik der Kunst: Zur Entstehung eines neuen Kunstmarktes in London und Berlin im langen 18. Jahrhundert

Korinna Schönhärl (Duisburg-Essen) Finanziers in Sehnsuchtsräumen: Europäische Banken in Griechenland im 19. Jahrhundert

Jakob Zollmann (Berlin) Zwischenstaatliche Tribunale: Formen völkerrechtlicher Konfliktlösung (1794–1930)

Postgraduate Students' Conference

The German Historical Institute London held its seventeenth postgraduate students' conference on 10–11 January 2013. Its intention was to give postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history an opportunity to present their work-in-progress, and to discuss it with other students working in the same or a similar field. The conference opened with words of welcome by the Deputy Director of the GHIL, Benedikt Stuchtey. Over the next

one and a half days, nineteen speakers introduced their projects to an interested and engaged audience. The sessions were mostly devoted to the nineteenth century, the First World War, the inter-war period, the Third Reich, and the post-1945 period. Participants gave a short summary of their work containing general ideas, leading questions, sources, and initial findings, followed by discussion. Again it became clear that the palaeography course tutored by Dorothea McEwan, which had preceded the conference, was particularly well received. Information about institutions that give grants for research in Germany was also exchanged. The GHIL can offer support here by facilitating contact with German archives and providing letters of introduction, which may be necessary for students to gain access to archives or specific source collections. In certain cases it may help students to make contact with particular German universities and professors. The GHIL is planning to hold the next postgraduate students' conference early in 2014. For further information, including how to apply, please contact the Secretary, Anita Bellamy, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ.

Rachel Century (Royal Holloway) Typing for the Third Reich
Joseph Cronin (Queen Mary UofL) The Impact of the Fassbinder Controversy on Jewish Identities in Germany
Ian Gaffney (Cambridge) Male Prostitution in the Third Reich
Craig Griffiths (Queen Mary UofL) Competing Emancipations: The West German Gay Movement in the 1970s
Mathias Haeussler (Cambridge) Helmut Schmidt and Anglo-German Relations, 1974–82
Daniel Hardegger (LSE) Ph.D. Candidates in the Humanities at the Universities of Berlin, London and Columbia University, New York, 1871–1913
Maria Hetzer (Warwick) Memories of Life after the Fall of the Berlin Wall
Rose Homes (Sussex) Children Can't Be Reds or Anti-Reds: From Basque Children to the *Kindertransport*
Andrew Kloes (Edinburgh) The German Awakening (*Erweckungsbewegung*): Protestant Revivalism and Social Reform during the Latter *Sattelzeit*, 1815–48

139

Chris Knowles (King's College) Winning the Peace: The British in Occupied Germany, 1945–1948

Michelle Magin (Manchester) Learning about the Holocaust: Holocaust Education at Four Sites of Remembrance in Post-Unification Germany

Dorothy Mas (Royal Holloway) Forging Ties: Educational Exchange between NAPOLA and English Public Schools, 1933–39

Jacob Phillips (King's College) Simplicity and Wisdom: Human Subjectivity in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Fred Shearer (East Anglia) The Making of Red Vienna

Lorena de Vita (Aberystwyth) Common Past, Conflicting Paths: A Study of the Attitudes of the Two Germanies towards Israel 1949–65

Mark Whelan (Royal Holloway) Kaiser Sigismund and the Imperial Response to the Turkish Threat on the Danube Frontier, *c.*1410–37

Prize of the German Historical Institute London

The Prize of the German Historical Institute London is awarded annually for an outstanding Ph.D. thesis on German history (submitted to a British or Irish university), British history (submitted to a German university), Anglo-German relations, or an Anglo-German comparative topic. The Prize is 1,000 Euros. Former Prize winners include David Motadel, Britta Schilling, Jana Tschurenev, and Christiane Reinecke.

To be eligible a thesis must have been submitted to a British, Irish or German university after 30 June 2012. To apply, send one copy of the thesis with

- a one-page abstract
- examiners' reports on the thesis
- a brief CV
- a declaration that the author will allow it to be considered for publication in the Institute's German-language series, and that the work will not be published before the judges have reached a final decision
- a supervisor's reference

to reach the Director of the German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, by 30 June 2013. The Prize will be presented on the occasion of the Institute's Annual Lecture (date to be confirmed).
For further information visit: <www.ghil.ac.uk>.
Email: ghil@ghil.ac.uk   Tel: 020 7309 2050

Forthcoming Conferences

The Ethics of Seeing: Twentieth-Century German Documentary Photography Reconsidered. Conference to be held at the German Historical Institute London, 23–25 May 2013. Conveners: Paul Betts (University of Sussex), Jennifer Evans (Carleton University), and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (University of California, Berkeley).

Recent years have witnessed new interest among historians in integrating visual sources and changing modes of visual perception into their work. While the presence of visual sources in mainstream monographs was quite common in nineteenth-century historiography, this tendency dropped off markedly over the course of the twentieth century. In the last fifteen years or so, however, historians working in various contexts have begun to rethink historical periods—and history-making itself—through the lens of visual history as a rich field of scholarly inquiry in its own right. But to date this burgeoning field associated with the 'visual turn' largely exists as a set of isolated studies that rarely relate to one another; the proposed conference is an effort to bring together a range of scholars in the field to explore the interface of visuality and history in twentieth-century Germany. Of central consideration here is how and why photographic images have shaped popular memories and understanding of key historical events over the last century; in relation to German history, this is certainly evident with the two world wars, the 1923 inflation, the pageantry surrounding the Third Reich, the Holocaust, Nazi defeat, divided Berlin, 1968, the 1972 Olympics, and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989.
    This conference goes beyond the highlights of Germany's visual culture more generally, or simply affirming how photography illus-

trated the main political trends of the period. Rather, it aims to explore the role and centrality of documentary photography as a source of historical knowledge over the course of the last century. To what extent did photography capture Germany's dramatic century in photographs? How did photographers chronicle social worlds in radical transformation, serving as both witnesses and reformers across various contexts? Germany is a particularly revealing site on which to broach these issues, given the dizzying series of regime changes over the course of the last century and the role that photographic images have played in capturing these political and social upheavals. Poverty and injustice, for instance, were favourite themes among photographers from the late nineteenth century on, but their meanings changed significantly depending on political regime and social context, ranging from leftist agitprop in the inter-war years to inter-German photographic rivalry during the Cold War. Likewise, the representations of crime, urban life, and domesticity shifted fundamentally over the decades, and the same goes for pictures of soldiers' lives, be it in combat during both world wars or as peacetime soldiers in West and East Germany after 1949. Official photographs could shore up state power while hastily shot images from protesters and photojournalists often cast doubt on the government's moral authority to govern. For further information please contact Paul Betts (mp.r.betts[@]sussex.ac.uk).

Social Planning in Late Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts (1920s–1960s). Workshop to be held at the German Historical Institute London, 30–31 May 2013. Convener: Valeska Huber (GHIL).

The idea of 'planning' gained prominence from the 1920s on, reaching a climax in the 1950s and 1960s. Planning could, of course, refer to all kinds of domains, from urban layout to infrastructure, but also to entire societies or social phenomena such as education, health policies, and so forth. Attempts at social planning could be small or large scale; they could be experimental, utopian, or contain practical policy recommendations. While planning is an important paradigm in the contemporary history of Europe and an essential element in the historical analysis of modernization theory and Cold War rhetoric, it has not yet been used extensively in colonial and postcolonial his-

142

tory. Yet planning initiatives from the 1920s on link with various attempts by late colonial empires to modernize and develop their colonial possessions. In the 1950s and 1960s, the heyday of belief in planning coincided with the decolonization period. It permeated the ideologies of the newly formed states and their main political actors and informed their ideas about how to restructure their societies. By looking at social planning experiments in the colonies and the potential transfer of their results back to the metropoles, the workshop will add to investigations of the colonies as 'experimental fields' or even 'laboratories of modernity'. Furthermore, the workshop aims to analyse the decolonization period of the 1950s and 1960s as a time of intensive social planning through a focus on practical initiatives and experiments. Papers therefore explore specific case studies, which will then be discussed in a broader comparative framework.

The Power of Musick: Music and Politics in Georgian Britain. Conference organized by the Volkswagen Foundation and the German Historical Institute, to be held at the GHIL, 13–15 June 2013.

During Handel's stay in London, which lasted nearly fifty years, the metropole of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland became one of the musical capitals of the early eighteenth-century, in addition to Milan and other Italian cities, Hamburg, and Paris. In 1710, when Handel first came to England, he was still in the service of the Elector George Louis of Hanover who, four years later, was crowned King of Great Britain and Ireland. Handel was now composing secular and sacred music for the English Court, the Church of England, and the Opera. Aristocratic audiences took part in the rich musical life and newspapers reported on the performances. What factors contributed to London becoming a first-rate city of music? What role did the personal union between England and Hanover play, and what was the effect of having a 'German' king on the throne of England? And did the contemporary press, the rulers, and the eighteenth-century public see Handel as an English (or a German) composer? The conference 'The Power of Musick: Music and Politics in Georgian Britain' will examine the work of Handel during his London period and its impact on contemporary musical life between town and country, Court, Church, and the middle classes.

143

Noticeboard

Forward from the Past: The Kindertransport *from a Contemporary Perspective.* Conference to be held at the German Historical Institute, 25 June 2013. Conveners: Andreas Gestrich (GHIL) and Daniel Wildman (Leo Baeck Institute).

This one-day conference will examine the *Kindertransport* to Britain, 1938–39. The four panels will focus on newly developed research, including the *Kindertransport* in British historiography; the *Kindertransport* experience after 1945; the issue of contemporary memorialization of the *Kindertransport*; and the Second Generation perspective on the *Kindertransport*.

Cooperation and Empire. Conference organized and supported by the German Historical Institute London, the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), and the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (HIS), to be held at the University of Berne, 27–29 June 2013. Conveners: Tanja Bührer (University of Berne/Oxford Centre for Global History/GHIL), Flavio Eichmann (University of Berne), Stig Förster (University of Berne), Benedikt Stuchtey (GHIL), and Dierk Walter (HIS).

In the 1970s, Ronald Robinson challenged Eurocentric theories of imperialism in his concept of indigenous collaboration as a formative and continuous factor of imperialism. But by the 1980s, imperial history was increasingly regarded as outdated, and appeared finally to have lost its credentials with the ascendency of postcolonial studies in the 1990s. Current studies, however, that focus on interactions between 'colonized' and 'colonizers', and especially on the figure of the 'intermediary' or 'broker', are basically concerned with issues similar to those addressed by Robinson. Thus the aim of the conference is to revisit Robinson's notion of collaboration by melding it with approaches and aspects of global, transnational, and postcolonial history. In a comparative and long-term perspective, the conference will take a closer look at the structures, networks, negotiations, symbolic procedures, patterns of brokerage, and discourses of cooperation within empires. Different forms and fields of cooperation, such as administration, economics, science, education, policing, and warfare will be of special interest.

The Territorial State after 1989: Decline, Transformation or Persistence? Conference to be held at the GHIL, 28–29 June 2013. Convener: Andreas Rödder (GHIL/LSE/Universität Mainz)

It is a widely shared assumption that the territorial state has fundamentally lost its influence and impact. Charles Maier, for instance, has described the 'decline of modern territoriality' as a concept for 'regulating human politics and economics' since the late 1960s: 'Territoriality no longer assures whether a given political unit has jurisdiction and effective power to secure desired legal much less economic outcomes.' On the other hand, David Cameron's recent speech on the EU reclaimed national sovereignty rights for Britain. And in its 2009 judgement on the Lisbon Treaty, Germany's constitutional court determined that certain fields substantially and permanently reside with the individual member states. This raises the question whether the territorial state is still the principal instance of political authority, and to what extent problems and developments transcend its agency, as opposed to supranational entities. Is there evidence that global governance is emerging, seizing substantial sovereignty rights from former territorial states? And what is really new? The conference will ask how competences, capacities, and the relevance of the territorial state have changed since the late twentieth century. It will approach these questions by comparing different case studies in a global perspective, and will conclude with a final debate between the participants about the territorial state and post-1989 historiography.

Medieval History Seminar. Seminar to be held at the German Historical Institute London, 10–13 October 2013. Conveners: Michael Borgolte (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Frank Rexroth (Universität Göttingen), Patrick J. Geary (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton), Ruth Mazo Karras (University of Minnesota), Stuart Airlie (University of Glasgow), and Miri Rubin (Queen Mary, University of London).

The German Historical Institutes in London and Washington, DC are pleased to announce the eighth Medieval History Seminar. The seminar is designed to bring together American, British, and German Ph.D. candidates and recent Ph.D. recipients (2011/12) in medieval

history from American, British, and German universities. For four days, participants and conveners will engage in scholarly discussion and collaboration. Students will have the opportunity to present their work to their peers as well as to distinguished scholars from both sides of the Atlantic. The Medieval History Seminar, which takes place every two years, covers all areas of medieval history.

Swan Songs? Reconsidering the Death of Industrial Britain (c.1970–90). Workshop to be held at the German Historical Institute London, 17–18 Oct. 2013. Convener: Jörg Arnold (University of Freiburg).

In 2014 it will be thirty years since the start of the great miners' strike of 1984–5. The bitter industrial dispute, pitting the National Union of Mineworkers against management, the Thatcher government, and sections of its own constituency, is often considered a watershed in contemporary British history. In Avner Offer's memorable phrase, the strike marked the 'proletarians' last stand', giving symbolic expression to the final demise of a model of industrial organization and concomitant ways of life that had been characteristic of British society for over a century. Taking the anniversary as a point of departure, the workshop aims to bring together historians working on contemporary British history in order to re-examine critically the economic, political, social, and cultural causes and consequences of the 'death' of industrial Britain, and to re-evaluate the overarching narratives that have been put forward by the social sciences and a budding historiography as explanations of these seismic changes. In order to add to what appears to be an often woefully London- and elite-centred approach, particular emphasis will be placed on regional and other 'marginal' perspectives. For more information and details of how to participate, please contact Jörg Arnold (joerg.arnold@geschichte.uni-freiburg.de).

The World During the First World War: Perceptions, Experiences and Consequences. Conference organized by the Zentrum Moderner Orient Berlin, the Department of History of the University of Hanover, the German Historical Institute London, and the Volkswagen Foundation. To be held at Herrenhausen Castle, Hanover, 28–30 Oct. 2013.

When the First World War is described as the seminal catastrophe of the twentieth century, this refers mainly to its effects on Europe. This perspective, however, does not adequately capture the global dimensions of the war, especially when it comes to the investigation of socio-historical aspects, war experiences, and the perceptions of veterans and populations. This conference will focus on the First World War as a global event with far-reaching consequences. Examining incidents in Asia, Africa, and Latin America makes it possible not only to address the causes, courses, and consequences of the First World War in their global diversity, but also to take into account the determining factors of time and space. During the conference emerging issues will be tackled, questions will arise concerning new methodological approaches, and a 'relativist chronology' in the sense of Reinhart Koselleck's 'layers of time' will be discussed. In particular, regional developments and their actors need to be examined very closely. This includes not only active combatants such as soldiers, officers, and rear services, but also the civilian population, intellectuals, and policy makers. Analysis of local social, economic, and political movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America before, during, and after the First World War with respect to the mandate solutions and the October Revolution will remove research from the constraints of a narrow European approach.

Eleventh Workshop on Early Modern German History. Organized by the German History Society in cooperation with the German Historical Institute London, to be held at the GHIL, 15 Nov. 2013. Conveners: Bridget Heal (University of St Andrews), David Lederer (National University of Ireland, Maynooth), and Angela Schattner (GHIL).

The first workshop ran in 2002 and this event has now established itself as the principal forum for cross-disciplinary discussion of new research on early modern German-speaking Central Europe. Previous

themes have included artistic and literary representations, medicine and musicology, as well as political, social, economic, and religious history. Contributions are also welcome from those wishing to range outside the period generally considered as 'early modern' and those engaged in comparative research on other parts of early modern Europe. The day will be organized as a series of themed workshops, each introduced by a panel chair and consisting of two to three short papers followed by discussion. The point of the papers is to present new findings or work-in-progress in summary form, rather than extended detailed discussion. Accordingly, participants are encouraged to keep to 10–15 minutes, highlight major findings or questions, and indicate how work might develop in the future. If you are interested in presenting a paper, please send a short synopsis and a CV by 30 June 2013 to Dr Angela Schattner, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London, WC1A 2NJ, email: schattner@ghil.ac.uk

LIBRARY NEWS

Recent Acquisitions

This list contains a selection of recent publications in German and English, primarily on German history, acquired by the GHIL library in the past year.

Aly, Götz (ed.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945*, vol. iii: Andrea Löw (ed.), *Deutsches Reich und Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren: September 1939–September 1941* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012)

Amend-Traut, Anja, Anette Baumann, et al. (eds.), *Die höchsten Reichsgerichte als mediales Ereignis*, Bibliothek Altes Reich, 11 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012)

Angster, Julia, *Erdbeeren und Piraten: Die Royal Navy und die Ordnung der Welt 1770–1880* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012)

Arendes, Cord, *Zwischen Justiz und Tagespresse: 'Durchschnittstäter' in regionalen NS-Verfahren* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2012)

Assmann, Jan, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Baberowski, Jörg, *Verbrannte Erde: Stalins Herrschaft der Gewalt* (2nd edn. Munich: Beck, 2012)

Balbier, Uta A., Cristina Cuevas-Wolf, and Joes Segal (eds.), *East German Material Culture and the Power of Memory*, Bulletin of the German Historical Institute Washington, DC, Supplement 7 (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2011)

Bald, Detlef and Jakob Knab (eds.), *Die Stärkeren im Geiste: Zum christlichen Widerstand der Weißen Rose* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2012)

Bauerkämper, Arnd and Hartmut Kaelble (eds.), *Gesellschaft in der europäischen Integration seit den 1950er Jahren: Migration, Konsum, Sozialpolitik, Repräsentationen*, Studien zur Geschichte der Europäischen Integration, 8 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012)

Bayertz, Kurt, *Der aufrechte Gang: Eine Geschichte des anthropologischen Denkens* (Munich: Beck, 2012)

Becher, Matthias, *Chlodwig I.: Der Aufstieg der Merowinger und das Ende der antiken Welt* (Munich: Beck, 2011)

Becher, Matthias, *Otto der Große. Kaiser und Reich: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2012)

Becker-Cantarino, Barbara (ed.), *Migration and Religion: Christian Transatlantic Missions, Islamic Migration to Germany*, Chloe, 46 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012)

Behringer, Wolfgang, *Kulturgeschichte des Sports: Vom antiken Olympia bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 2012)

Beiergrößlein, Katharina, *Robert Barnes, England und der Schmalkaldische Bund (1530–1540),* Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, 86 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2011)

Benrath, Gustav Adolf, *Reformation, Union, Erweckung: Beispiele aus der Kirchengeschichte Südwestdeutschlands*, ed. Klaus Bümlein, Irene Dingel, and Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 228, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012)

Bergmann, Jan (ed.), *Handlexikon der Europäischen Union* (4th edn. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlags-Gesellschaft, 2012)

Berkhoff, Karel Cornelis, *Motherland in Danger: Soviet Propaganda during World War II* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012)

Berwinkel, Holger, Martin Kröger, et al. (eds.), *Die Außenpolitik der deutschen Länder im Kaiserreich: Geschichte, Akteure und archivische Überlieferung (1871–1918). Beiträge des wissenschaflichen Kolloquiums zum 90. Gründungstag des Politischen Archivs des Auswärtigen Amts am 3. August 2010* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012)

Bihrer, Andreas, *Begegnungen zwischen dem ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich und England (850–1100): Kontakte, Konstellationen, Funktionalisierungen, Wirkungen*, Mittelalter-Forschungen, 39 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2012)

Billy, Jonas Bakoubayi, *Musterkolonie des Rassenstaats: Togo in der kolonialpolitischen Propaganda und Planung Deutschlands 1919–1943* (Dettelbach: Röll, 2011)

Bispinck, Henrik, *Die DDR im Blick der Stasi 1977*, book and CD-ROM (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2012)

Bluma, Lars and Karsten Uhl (eds.), *Kontrollierte Arbeit – disziplinierte Körper? Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Industriearbeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Histoire, 27 (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2012)

Boder, David P., *Die Toten habe ich nicht befragt*, ed. Julia Faisst, Alan Rosen, et al. (Heidelberg: Winter, 2011)

Böick, Marcus, Anja Hertel, et al. (eds.), *Aus einem Land vor unserer Zeit: Eine Lesereise durch die DDR-Geschichte* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2012)

Bösch, Frank, *Mediengeschichte: Vom asiatischen Buchdruck zum Fernsehen*, Historische Einführungen, 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2011)

Boldizzoni, Francesco, *The Poverty of Clio: Resurrecting Economic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011)

Boldt, Andreas, *Leopold von Ranke und Irland*, Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 83 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012)

Borja González, Galaxis, *Jesuitische Berichterstattung über die Neue Welt: Zur Veröffentlichungs-, Verbreitungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte jesuitischer Americana auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 226 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011)

Boucher, David, *The Limits of Ethics in International Relations: Natural Law, Natural Rights, and Human Rights in Transition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Brachwitz, Peter, *Die Autorität des Sichtbaren: Religionsgravamina im Reich des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Pluralisierung und Autorität, 23 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011)

Brakelmann, Günter, *Peter Yorck von Wartenburg, 1904–1944: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2012)

Brandt, Peter (ed.), *Handbuch der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. ii: *1815–1847*, ed. Werner Daum, Peter Brandt, et al. (Bonn: Dietz, 2012)

Brandt, Willy, *'Im Zweifel für die Freiheit': Reden zur sozialdemokratischen und deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Klaus Schönhoven, Willy-Brandt-Dokumente, 2 (Bonn: Dietz, 2012)

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165

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