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BOOK REVIEWS

FRANK REXROTH (ed.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Gelehrten im späten Mittelalter, Vorträge und Forschungen, 73* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010), 343 pp. ISBN 978 3 7995 6873 9. €54.00

As Klaus van Eickels warns in his conclusion to this excellent and highly stimulating volume, there is always a danger of narcissism for academic historians writing about university history. This has not deterred generations of historians from tackling the subject, nor does it undermine the findings of this volume in any way, although it does lend a particularly interesting reflexive dimension to such writing. Traditionally, the historiography of medieval universities has tended to focus on the institutional dimensions of the development of higher education, or on the history of ideas in its intellectual sense. More recently, however, historians have turned to the social history of universities, investigating the social origins of their students and masters, the role universities played in wider society, and attitudes towards student misbehaviour and student power (an interest which actually dates back to the events of 1968). Two more recent projects, a network on medieval universities based at the University of Göttingen, and a joint project led by the universities of Ghent and Helsinki, exemplify this trend, and examine the interrelationships between the social configurations of universities and their cultural manifestations.

Herein lies the special appeal of this book, interrogating, as it does, what we mean by 'learned culture'. Rather than treat 'cultural history' in a vacuum, the volume examines the reciprocal relationship between this distinctive culture and its institutional and intellectual setting. And, perhaps most usefully, the volume never takes it for granted that such a culture existed, but rather examines ways in which it could be self-consciously constructed, as well as its myriad variations between different individuals, universities, regions, and so on. The essays ask how universities fitted into the wider world and interacted with their socio-economic and political contexts; what effects the special status of universities had on the individuals who

worked within them; and how a distinctively intellectual culture operated as a kind of cultural capital, *à la* Bourdieu. All this is summed up by Frank Rexroth's introductory question of whether a distinctive *Gelehrtenkultur* existed. More than this, though, the book takes on the challenge of thinking about the self-perception of intellectuals, asking whether they saw themselves as distinctive, and how this self-perception inevitably interacted with the labels imposed on them by others. The relationship between self-definition and externally imposed labels is bound to be a reciprocal one into which recent sociology has provided us with a variety of useful insights but which deserves further exploration.

Accordingly, the essays are explicit about their use of source material which often tells us more about the *representation* of intellectuals than about their actual preoccupations, and it is praiseworthy that all the contributions remain alert to the methodological difficulties implicit in this observation. If we are always dependent upon representations and stereotypes, how can we distinguish the effects of such labels? The collection of ten essays (not counting the very helpful introduction and conclusion by Rexroth and van Eickels respectively) addresses these broader questions from a variety of substantive and disciplinary angles, from the analysis of courtly literature by Klaus Ridder to the art historical approach of Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, the largely prosopographical approach of Wolfgang Eric Wagner, and the anthropologically informed account by Marian Füssel.

Many of the essays consider the question of intellectual culture by assessing the importance of networks of intellectuals in this period. In doing so, they draw implicitly on some of the ideas put forward by recent methodological developments in *histoire croisée* or *Verflechtungsgeschichte* with its focus on multiple modes and directions of exchange.¹ This proves to be a productive way of thinking about the relationship between identity as self-constructed, and identity as

¹ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory*, 45 (2006), 30–50; Shalini Randeria, 'Geteilte Geschichte und verwobene Moderne', in Jörn Rüsen, Hanna Leitgeb, and Norbert Jegelka (eds.), *Zukunftsentwürfe: Ideen für eine Kultur der Veränderung* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 87–96; Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 27 (2001), 464–79.

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dependent upon being seen to be part of a distinctive group. Nevertheless, the essays maintain a critical awareness of the contrasts between different universities (see especially van Eickels and Thomas Wetzstein) and networks are shown to have operated as much at individual and personal level as at institutional level. It is the interface between the two which forms the focus of Rainer Christoph Schwinges' examination of 'dynasties' of intellectuals in the later Middle Ages, providing useful insights into the role of personal preference and patterns of patronage. The question of celibacy occurs several times in the volume, and the increasing frequency of marriage amongst university men provides a new angle on networks, as Gadi Algazi demonstrates how the new families of these men could be used to shore up or develop networks themselves. The analysis here is helpfully sharpened by the introduction of a comparative dimension with Jewish and Muslim intellectuals.

These networks clearly brought with them a degree of social cachet, and the social status of intellectuals provides another recurrent theme, one treated with particular subtlety by Ridder in his essay. The relationship between a peculiarly intellectual form of status and the way in which this was mapped onto broader ideas of social hierarchy is explored here. Ridder demonstrates that knowledge was increasingly conceived of in terms which privileged its connections with a certain nobility of mind. Attention is also given to the precise mechanisms by which this status could be sustained and concretized, and the focus on rituals and their transformative potential by Füssel is particularly welcome in this respect. Alert to recent anthropological thinking on the value of rituals, he helpfully distinguishes them from mere ceremonial, and indicates the ways in which they could be used apparently to set intellectuals apart from the rest of society, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to mark out different ranks *within* the universities and transitions between those different levels. Rituals provide fertile ground for such analysis, dependent as they are on an audience able to seize upon shared meanings and conventions, and since they serve not only to consolidate hierarchies, but to exacerbate or visualize conflict. Von Hülsen-Esch's examination of manuscript depictions of students and intellectuals furthers the analysis by demonstrating the reliance of this particular group identity on distinctive clothing, which again depended on the shared knowledge of a code of visual representation by

those who viewed both the manuscripts and the academics who dressed thus (the plates are very welcome here, though colour would have been useful given the evident importance of different coloured cloth).

Close attention to the subtle gradations of clothing worn by intellectuals indicates the extent to which these men were able to set themselves apart, but likewise draws attention to the minute distinctions which they made. These ensured that this was not an egalitarian community of knowledge, but a deeply stratified and hierarchical community. Indeed, whether discussed from the angle of patterns of patronage, family ties, rituals, or physical appearance, it is clear that these were networks not of equals, but of deliberately unequal relationships in which status was never a given, but something to be continually struggled for and negotiated. Moreover, the focus on representation in the contributions by Füssel and von Hülsen-Esch enables them to underline the complex relationship between the ways in which academics were represented, and their choices of self-representation. This is an aspect which deserves further exploration since labels were clearly consciously manipulated by their subjects, whether simply to be rejected, or in order to be more subtly exploited. The centrality of status to the construction of these networks focuses attention upon the cultural capital on which status depended, and, again, the strength of these essays lies in their refusal simply to take that cultural capital for granted. Jacques Verger's article provides an insight into the mechanisms by which capital could be generated by examining the books owned by notable intellectuals. He discovers a quasi-fetishization of books as physical objects: to own a certain number of books seems in itself to have been indicative of intellectual status and certainly gave one the appearance of profound scholarship. Harald Müller's consideration of the habitus of the Humanists provides another angle on the ways in which cultural capital could be generated through the practice of learning.

The essays repeatedly stress that this learned culture operated within an intellectual sphere, but also interacted with wider social forces, and defined itself in the context of those external currents. It is therefore useful to consider the relationship between learned culture and religious context, for example. Dorothea Weltecke points out that knowledge had always been regarded with ambivalence by religious authorities: it was clearly a key part of a religious outlook,

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and yet could be so self-perpetuating as to invoke the suspicion of those focused on piety and devotion for their own sakes. And, of course, in an institutional context, what might be termed the privatization of knowledge was extremely problematic from a religious perspective which argued that all knowledge was a gift from God. The question of celibacy of university scholars helps to illuminate this question, and in independent treatments by Algazi and Wolfgang Eric Wagner, the gradual erosion of the ideal of celibacy provides an opportunity to consider the relationship between religious life and precepts and the life of scholarship. Algazi's comparison with Jewish and Muslim practice proves extremely illuminating in this respect, and highlights the very complex relationship between the monkish life from which university conventions are so often assumed to have derived and practices within universities. In examining the practical effects of marriage on timetabling within universities, fees and salaries, communal living, and so on, both historians are able to demonstrate that, whilst there was a clear rationale to scholarly celibacy, a functionalist explanation should not be assumed. Rather, the answer lies in the self-perception of a community anxious to assert itself as distinctive.

Examination of the interaction between scholarly cultures and wider social trends also allows the volume to avoid giving the impression that universities or centres of learning were ivory towers, anxious to avoid contact with the real world. Particularly informative in this respect is the contribution by Thomas Wetzstein, who examines the case of medieval jurists, a group whose expertise was generated specifically to respond to shifting political circumstances whether in the ecclesiastical or secular world. Indeed, some much broader questions are raised here about shifting political circumstances in later medieval Europe, which meant that there was a greater need for various kinds of intellectual expertise. The question of whether the notion of experts as such emerged in the later Middle Ages provides food for further thought, and certainly indicates a vein of research for the integration of universities into the practical political needs of the period.

This indication of shifting needs, and the ways in which intellectuals could respond to them, is another strength of the volume. Rather than treating the later Middle Ages as a homogenous period, the essays address head-on the transitional nature of this period. The

importance of Humanism is repeatedly stressed, and the very different kind of intellectual identity assumed by this group is analysed. The relationship between learning and religion in particular is shown to have shifted, partly with the underplaying of the religious dimension by later Humanists (see Weltecke in particular), and the rather ambivalent relationship between Humanists and their immediate scholarly predecessors examined by Müller. The mechanisms through which knowledge was valued are shown by Verger to have operated very differently, as he compares the mendicants' suspicion of possessing too many books (or at least very problematic relationship with the materiality of books) with the Humanists' adoration of the physical objects. Even attitudes towards ritual are shown by Füssel to have changed, as the embracing of ritual display in the earlier part of the period became increasingly problematic and ambivalent in the later part, partly owing to Humanist critique.

Medieval intellectuals, and their primary home—the universities—emerge, then, from this volume, as profoundly concerned by their own identity and anxious to engage with a whole gamut of mechanisms by which it could be affirmed and manipulated. They are shown to have been alert to the ways in which they were represented by others, and sophisticated in their manipulation of those labels. But they do not emerge as idealized sites of some sort of egalitarian pursuit of knowledge and social mobility: rather, these were clearly identities predicated on increasingly stratified hierarchies, where conflict (and certainly repeated negotiation and adaptation) rather than consensus was often characteristic. In a period when historians in the UK are being increasingly encouraged to think about cooperation and consensus (see the latest thematic strands proposed by the AHRC), university networks would seem like a perfect topic; and yet this volume demonstrates that networks could be sites of debate and struggle. Nevertheless, all the essays *do* optimistically stress that learning itself was clearly valued, and for its own sake.

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THOMAS BROCKMANN, *Dynastie, Kaiseramt und Konfession: Politik und Ordnungsvorstellungen Ferdinands II. im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, NS 25 (Paderborn: Schönigh, 2011), 518 pp. ISBN 978 3 506 76727 1. €64.00

Ferdinand II is one of the most important figures in Central European history. His reign as Habsburg monarch and Holy Roman emperor (1619–37) coincided with the outbreak of the Thirty Years War; a conflict he did much to shape and prolong and which posed an existential crisis for his dynasty and faith. Perhaps given the complexity of these events, few historians have tackled even specific aspects, still less a full biography. Our view remains distorted by that of his enemies, who depicted him as a bigoted tyrant seeking an illegal ‘universal monarchy’ in alliance with his Spanish cousins. We are still waiting for a satisfactory biography, but Thomas Brockmann’s 2006 *Habilitation* at last provides a sophisticated and detailed analysis of Ferdinand’s motives and policies.

Brockmann’s overall argument is clear and well founded. Ferdinand constantly struggled to reconcile two potentially conflicting aims, both before his succession and subsequently. His first priority was to surmount the crisis posed by the Bohemian revolt beginning with the Defenestration of Prague in May 1618. At its heart, this meant stabilizing Habsburg rule weakened by two decades of costly war against the Turks and internecine succession struggles which left the dynasty bankrupt and vulnerable to pressure from the nobles in its many kingdoms and provinces. This situation suggested Ferdinand should neutralize the immediate threat and prevent the revolt from spreading. Yet the revolt also represented an opportunity for what Brockmann repeatedly calls a ‘roll back’ of gains previously made by Habsburg opponents, both in the hereditary lands and the Empire as a whole. Success depended on striking the right balance between securing stability and capitalizing on opportunity. Ferdinand wanted to improve his position relative to his opponents, but needed to avoid fuelling further conflicts he lacked the means to fight. As Brockmann shows, Ferdinand consistently narrowly misjudged the balance, always leaving just enough fires burning to reignite the war in the Empire.

Brockmann’s most important point emerges from his analysis of this dilemma. Ferdinand relied on his formal position as Habsburg

monarch and, after August 1619, as emperor to compensate for his inability to raise the resources needed to secure his aims by force alone. This places constitutional rights and their interpretation at the heart of the story, and goes a long way to explaining why all parties to the conflict related their policies to the imperial constitution and its various charters like the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. Perhaps more than for most early modern rulers, Ferdinand's authority depended on a façade of power sustained by the mantle of legitimacy. Brockmann's detailed analysis shows Ferdinand's overriding concern to stay within what he regarded as the correct interpretation of his constitutional powers, even if this meant foregoing desirable political opportunities presented by military victories. Religion fitted into this framework, rather than dominating it. Ferdinand exemplified the 'Catholic mainstream' (pp. 454-5) view of faith and policy. His outlook was decidedly Catholic and he did not see his imperial role as impartial mediator between the rival confessions. However, he rejected Providentialist thinking and was not prepared to be guided by theologians alone.

The analysis proceeds chronologically from the outbreak of the Bohemian revolt to the conclusion of the electoral congress at Regensburg in November 1630. Brockmann argues forcefully that Ferdinand did not thwart Matthias's efforts to defuse the Bohemian revolt through mediation, demonstrating that no one in Vienna believed the situation could be ended just by talking. The Bohemian crisis influenced how Ferdinand dealt with each subsequent problem. He strove to minimize the impression that his policies were dictated by religion, arguing instead that his opponents had wilfully misunderstood their constitutional rights. He did not hesitate to use force against them, but the scale and rapidity of his response was constrained both by inadequate fiscal and military means, and by the desire not to antagonize the Protestant German princes and other European powers. In contrast to enemies such as Frederick V of the Palatinate, Ferdinand remained pragmatic and made significant concessions to win allies or neutralize additional threats, such as that posed by the largely Protestant nobility in Hungary.

In an important corrective to the received view, Brockmann argues that Ferdinand did not seek to widen the conflict during the 1620s. Whether the real motor for such action was Bavaria is perhaps questionable, given that Dieter Albrecht and Michael Kaiser have

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emphasized how Duke Maximilian consistently waited for imperial sanction before committing himself, as well as opposing anything which might merge the Empire's troubles with Spain's various European conflicts. Nonetheless, Brockmann convincingly demonstrates Ferdinand's reluctance to use his early victories over Denmark in 1625–6 to recover the north German bishoprics which had been occupied by Lutheran princes since 1555. As the successes continued into 1627, both Ferdinand and Maximilian resolved independently to proceed to full restitution. Even then, the emperor remained concerned that he lacked sufficient legal basis for such an action. The genesis of the fatal Edict of Restitution is covered at considerable length, indicating that Ferdinand had to present it as a judicial verdict to avoid the impression that he was exceeding his constitutional powers by unilaterally rewriting the Peace of Augsburg.

Bavaria undoubtedly pushed Ferdinand into making the Edict a more stridently Catholic statement than he initially intended. Elsewhere, the emperor's policies ran counter to Bavarian desires, especially the plan to establish a permanent imperial naval and military presence in northern Germany in alliance with Spain. Whereas this followed temporary overconfidence, Ferdinand's intervention in northern Italy in 1628 was forced on him by Spain's precipitous action to impose a solution to the Mantuan succession crisis. The detailed discussion of this problem, together with the electoral congress which opened in Regensburg, underpins Brockmann's argument that Ferdinand's focus remained on the Empire and his hereditary lands. Intervention in Italy was dictated by his desire to uphold imperial rights there. He was quite prepared to incur Spain's displeasure if it enabled him to settle the Mantuan question and secure peace with France. Likewise, Ferdinand accepted the need to readjust the balance between him and the electors at Regensburg as the price of maintaining his authority as legitimate ruler. The importance attached by all participants to constitutional rights is revealed by Brockmann's analysis of Wallenstein's dismissal and the reform of the imperial army. Ferdinand had to sacrifice his plan to secure his son's election as successor in order to maintain the legitimacy of his own rule which required the participation of the electors and other imperial Estates. Yet constitutional propriety could work to his advantage. Bavaria was obliged to drop part of its programme because it tacitly accepted Ferdinand's arguments that its own polit-

ical and military autonomy lacked convincing foundation within imperial law.

There are further, more detailed insights on specific questions too numerous to cover here. However, some relatively important aspects of Ferdinand's policies are curiously absent. There is no discussion of Ferdinand's frequent pardons of prominent opponents, such as Christian of Anhalt, which drew considerable contemporary criticism, yet were clearly an important strategy and related to his sense of his position as emperor. Likewise, the lands and titles distributed at Regensburg in 1623 to Habsburg loyalists and other supporters are also omitted, though Brockmann does discuss Bavaria's acquisition of the electoral title and stresses how such rewards helped compensate for fiscal-military inadequacy. The role of advisors, such as Ferdinand's confessor Lamormaini, is covered with Brockmann concluding that, on all important questions, Ferdinand took the final decision himself. Nonetheless, the process of policy-making remains rather colourless and impersonal, as does the depiction of Ferdinand himself. The text is driven by an exhaustive analysis of memoranda and correspondence drawn from fourteen archives and backed by impressive reading of the secondary sources. While this establishes when and why key decisions were taken, it does not say much about the people involved or what it meant to them. Rather more fundamental is the exclusion of events before 1618 and after 1630. Ferdinand's policy after 1618 was clearly shaped by his previous experience as Archduke of Styria where his actions were already guided by the narrow legalism characterizing his rule as emperor. The decision to stop in 1630 does allow Brockmann to show how precarious Ferdinand's position remained despite the almost unbroken run of military success since 1620. However, it means we still lack proper coverage of his response to the Swedish invasion, Saxony's defection in 1631, and the flawed Peace of Prague which he bequeathed to his son and successor, Ferdinand III.

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ANDREW C. THOMPSON, *George II: King and Elector*, Yale English Monarchs Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), xii + 315 pp. ISBN 978 0 300 11892 6. £25.00 \$40.00

Although George II's reign (1727–60) was longer than that of any previous monarch in British history since Elizabeth I, he has not, so far, received much academic attention. It is only recently that some scholars have worked on a general reassessment of the Georgian monarchy.¹ The present book by Andrew C. Thompson, who has already demonstrated his expertise on British–Hanoverian relations,² is in line with these recent trends in the historiography of eighteenth-century Britain. The author is well prepared for such a task by virtue not only of his earlier book, but also of his impressive reading of German sources and secondary works, which is vital to any attempt of this sort. As he points out, much of the surviving archival material is preserved in the state archives in Hanover (pp. 2–3).

Thompson's interest is clearly focused on the field of (foreign) policy, but this book is not a narrow political biography in the classical sense. Although it has a political focus, it offers a full description of George's life from his birth in Hanover in 1683 to his death in 1760. It provides a well-written account of political conditions in Britain, Hanover, and Europe, and the various stations of George's life as electoral prince, Prince of Wales, Elector of Hanover, and King of Great Britain. It includes chapters on family and court life, and on tensions within the Hanoverian dynasty. Sometimes these insights into familial matters become somewhat lengthy, especially when they relate to mistresses and love affairs which tend to be anecdotal.

Yet Thompson demonstrates—and this is surely the strength of this book—the crucial role of the monarchy in eighteenth-century Britain. George II is depicted as an active monarch who worked hard to achieve his political aims. Thompson shows the monarch as a politician with firm control over most aspects of his own policies, especially in foreign affairs, where he was much more expert even than Robert Walpole, his prime minister. He also adjusted, as the author points out, to a variety of roles. For example, he was able to

¹ e.g. Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714–1760* (Cambridge, 2006); Jeremy Black, *George II: Puppet of the Politicians?* (Exeter, 2007).

² Andrew C. Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688–1756* (Woodbridge, 2006).

take on the persona of a *Landesvater* in Hanover and to conform to the totally different political system in Britain.

The book begins with an overview of the political events and processes that led to the Hanoverian succession. By the time of his father's coronation, George was already an electoral prince with political and military experience. In London, however, he was a 'king-in-waiting'. This and his connections with opposition groups during the 'Whig split' led to growing tensions with his father and to the separation of his household from the court. Thompson thoroughly analyses the conflict between George and his father, which was later repeated in the tensions between George and his own eldest son, Frederick. It is interesting (although already well known) to note that in both cases the political opposition centred on the respective Prince of Wales and his household, thereby creating a rival court. On his own accession, George was willing to replace some of the leading figures in the government, but in the end Walpole was successful in winning the trust of the new king, thus providing some kind of continuity. George's reign was dominated by the escalating conflict with Spain over the American colonies and growing tensions in Europe, especially over the Habsburg succession. The king's personal involvement in the battle of Dettingen (1743) was exploited by the government as a great victory won by George himself but, as Thompson shows, even this could not silence the opposition. Internal affairs were the other great theme of George's reign. Thompson dedicates large parts of his book to politics and the British political system, showing George's struggles with the opposition, which rallied to the household of Frederick Prince of Wales, and his engagement in foreign affairs. Problems with Spain, growing tensions with Austria leading to the *renversement des alliances* in 1756, and the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 are the subjects of the concluding chapters.

What is clearly demonstrated is that George II was by no means a weak monarch governed by his ministers, wife, and mistresses. Thompson criticizes this traditional narrative which, in his view, is part of a 'Whiggish' account founded on the idea of a developing ministerial executive becoming more and more independent of the Crown. This view, he suggests, overstates the role of the first prime minister, Robert Walpole, while that of the monarch is played down (p. 3). Thomson, however, establishes a different perspective on the relationship between George and his ministers, which also leads him

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to reassess the development of the executive, and especially the evolution of the cabinet as the main executive organ of government. Recent studies of British government in the eighteenth century have stressed the Glorious Revolution as the most important turning point in its development. From that time on, the traditional narrative claimed, Britain rapidly became a constitutional monarchy in which the monarch ceased to be the centre of political decision-making. Thompson, by contrast, argues that the most important changes occurred during the reign of George II, not because the monarch was weak, but because he took an active part in planning and implementing foreign policy. This meant that the monarch had to be in touch with his secretaries of state and other leading ministers, even during his frequent trips to his Hanoverian territories. A system of government able to execute the will of the king in his absence and the ability to keep up communications were therefore of vital importance (pp. 214–19).

Apart from international affairs and relations with Hanover, the second great theme of George's reign was his conflict with his eldest son, which is discussed several times in the book (for example, pp. 119–22). Frederick had been left in Hanover when George went to Britain in 1714, and the new Prince of Wales was taken to London only after the death of his grandfather. He thus grew up alienated from his parents. His increasing financial problems along with a rather small allowance led him to contact members of the opposition to seek parliamentary support against his father. His early death in 1751, however, left the opposition without a centre and caused George to make arrangements for a regency in case of his own demise during his grandson's minority (pp. 207–14).

Although George, in Thompson's account, was not governed by his wife or his mistresses, the position of Queen Caroline and, after the queen's death in 1737, of Lady Yarmouth, George's mistress brought over from Hanover, is by no means neglected. During her life, Caroline played many important roles. At first, while Princess of Wales, she had an important part in court life and ceremony because of the absence of a queen. Later she took on many aspects of politics in which George was less interested, for example, governing the Church of England (pp. 106–7). Thompson takes the affection between George and his consort seriously, thereby questioning the view that the king was emotionally cold (pp. 122–6).

It is perhaps a weakness of biography as a genre that important developments in structures and systems have to be embedded in the chronological pattern of a personal life story. Thompson, however, manages to revise our view of crucial aspects of the British governmental system via the king's biography, for example, the development of the cabinet. Moreover, the typical problems of biographies are at least partly compensated for by an index that includes not only names and places, but also key terms. On the whole, Thompson's book is a well-written, full-scale biography of a largely underestimated king. It offers profound insights into the political system of the Hanoverian monarchy, and a plausible and well-argued reassessment of Britain's Hanoverian king, based on a wide range of source material from Britain and Germany. Thompson comes to the conclusion that Britain in 1760 was very different from Britain in 1727 or 1714, and that this change was in large measure due to the monarch himself.

ULRICH NIGGEMANN teaches early modern history at the University of Marburg. He specializes in the history of confessional minorities and migration, the representation of power, and the history of political ideas. Among his publications are *Immigrationspolitik zwischen Konflikt und Konsens: Die Hugenottenansiedlung in Deutschland und England (1681–1697)* (2008) and most recently (ed. with Kai Ruffing) *Antike als Modell in Nordamerika? Konstruktion und Verargumentierung, 1763–1809* (2011). Currently he is preparing a study of the memory of the Glorious Revolution in eighteenth-century Britain.

BENNO GAMMERL, *Untertanen, Staatsbürger und Andere: Der Umgang mit ethnischer Heterogenität im Britischen Weltreich und im Habsburgerreich 1867–1918*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 189 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 400 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 37011 7. €57.00

This is a pioneering study, but a good deal narrower than its title might seem to suggest. It treats largely of official *Umgang* with ‘subjects’ and ‘citizens’ in the juridical sense, particularly with specific groups of them, in the British and Habsburg empires. Comparison of these two polities is suddenly coming into vogue, but still distinctly underdetermined in research terms. Thus Gammerl’s perspectives are refreshing, but rather circumscribed; highly suggestive, but carrying limited explanatory power.

Gammerl presents three case studies, each juxtaposing territories from the two empires and exploring different interactive themes. The first set is Canada and Hungary, as a couple of ‘dominions’, both defined in constitutional respects by legislation of the same year, 1867, which had secured them a large measure of home rule. Alike these countries witnessed an increasingly ethnic interpretation of citizenship and a drive within their own boundaries for more integral allegiances, what the author engagingly identifies as ‘staatsbürger-schaftsrechtliche Binnenhomogenisierungsprozesse’.

The second pairing, of Austria (in its Cisleithanian sense) and India, gives rise to a more extended comparison. Both these polities sought to implement top-down state-based criteria for citizenship, and to resist bottom-up ethnic-based demands. Yet each had to acknowledge the ethnic principle as its institutions of representative government emerged. In Austria this culminated in the so-called Moravian Compromise of 1905, which was paralleled in part for India by the Montagu–Chelmsford electoral reform of 1918–19. In the first case, national self-identification by the individual came to be replaced, or at least complemented, by objective rules; whereas India gradually moved to a proportional system for the protection of minorities. Austria evolved multiple linguistic categories as markers of ethnic difference, against the essentially binary system, European versus non-European, that developed in India. Austria’s elaborate rules for scrutiny are set against the say-so of local officials in India.

Thirdly, British East Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina are compared—two territories which shared an uncertain status in their respective imperial systems. Bosnians, as residents of a land jointly administered by Austria and Hungary, were placed in a position inferior to that of other citizens of the Monarchy; East Africa was not deemed a full British colony, so its natives had no legal rights at all. Officials in Bosnia-Herzegovina tried to cultivate forms of non-ethnic identification, that is, loyalty to the province as a whole; but this was increasingly recognized as an abortive quest, so a complicated curial suffrage evolved. In East Africa an electoral system eventually came into being in 1919 that confirmed the absolute gulf between Europeans and natives, with Indian settlers grudgingly accorded a limited stake.

A final expository section, on the United Kingdom itself, shows how fluid were its ground-rules for citizenship. The statist-territorial principle tended to prevail, along with the *ius soli*. However, some ethnic criteria came to be added, especially to restrict the rights of Jewish immigrants. By now some of Gammerl's connecting themes have emerged clearly. Thus evidently East European Jews were a point of reference for administrators in both empires. More unexpectedly, we discover that both developed their regulations for dealing with protected persons abroad from experience of claimants living in the territories of the Ottomans.

Contrasts are more marked, notably the opposition between the *Untertanen* and the *Staatsbürger* in Gammerl's title. British 'subjects', he finds, lacked a foundation of explicit legal equality, against Austrian 'citizens', a notion which incorporated the entire weight of the Josephinist state reform initiated over a hundred years earlier. Yet it was the British Empire that grew more hierarchical and centralist, at least by the end of the nineteenth century. And it was there that a series of deep and irresolvable clashes emerged, as differences of class and religion came to be perceived more and more in ethnic terms. Gammerl concludes that institutional racism marked the British Empire, whereas it operated only unofficially (mainly as anti-Semitism) in Austria-Hungary.

This is difficult ground. Gammerl does not want to be simplistic, and some of the distinctions may be terminological (he tends to apply the word *rassisch* only in extra-European contexts anyway). But he has an important claim to make:

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My findings clearly contradict received characterization of the British case as a shining example of liberality and of the Habsburg Empire as a *Völkerkerker* and bastion of authoritarian forms of rule . . . [T]he legal precepts which determined treatment of ethnic heterogeneity in the Austrian context, that is, neutrality and acknowledgement, rested neither on racial discrimination nor on ethnic exclusivity, and thus appear from today's perspective as it were more modern than the imperialistic logic decisive for the British case (pp. 317, 337).

Gammerl therefore sets himself firmly against recent commentators such as László Péter who, likewise constructing paradigms of a 'western' and an 'eastern' evolution, with Great Britain and Habsburg central Europe as their exemplars, have argued more or less the opposite. Of course, 'progress' can be a highly ambiguous concept: one case noted by Gammerl is how the mechanisms for extension of the suffrage to women might serve only to confirm ethnic prejudice.

There is a further large claim advanced through this book: that the years around 1900 were decisive, since they represented the beginning of the end for both—indeed all European—empires. The *Jahrhundertwende* inaugurated changes in attitude which, once espoused in the new arena of mass politics, would progressively undermine them. Gammerl links this above all to accelerating processes of migration and mobilization, which certainly tended both to promote ethnic identification and to subvert multinational states. The First World War, on this analysis, only exacerbated things further, though it would surely be unwise to underplay the significance of events in 1918–19, even for the British Empire.

What, we may wonder, were the criteria for Gammerl's choice of particular cases and comparisons? It might be thought that India, in its territorial and jurisdictional complexity, had more in common with the Old Reich than with Austria; or that Hungary, in its close proximity to the heartland, but its legal, cultural, and institutional distinctiveness from it, had more in common with Scotland or Ireland than with Canada. Evidently Gammerl has managed only a first sampling of attitudes within the *Weltreich* (even if India, indeed, always lay at the heart of them). And those attitudes were never uniform: he

himself points to some substantially divergent tendencies between subcontinent and dominions. The Habsburg Monarchy was a far smaller and, in global terms, simpler operation (it had, for instance, no equivalent to the Indian settlers in East Africa). There too, however, the categories employed can appear rough and ready. Whereas Gammerl recognizes a clear differentiation between Austria and Hungary for many salient purposes post-1867, there are also verdicts on 'Austria-Hungary' as a single entity that may at times elide this.

Gammerl does not offer us much insight into society as a whole, or into wider notions of nationality, beyond his world of legislation and administrative memoranda. It would have helped had he reflected more on the nature of the officialdoms involved in generating the evidence he has exploited, as individuals and as groups, along with their socio-cultural background and professional assumptions. One way in which he might have illuminated mental presuppositions would have been through some investigation of mutual perceptions, whether at the level of diplomatic contact or through the impressions of independent observers on one or other side of the fence, such as Henry Wickham Steed and Josef Redlich.

There is, however, already much to ponder in this careful and thoughtful study. Altogether Gammerl has followed some curious byways, as the primary sources dictated. *Inter alia* he investigates a Hungarian suffrage law which never became effective; protection for British nationals in Siam; the niceties of the status of Bosnians in other parts of the Monarchy; and obstacles to British naturalization that were rarely overcome, even for the United Kingdom (Karl Marx was refused on the ground that 'this man has not been loyal to his own King and Country', p. 226n.), let alone for East Africa, which admitted only one person in fifty years (p. 184). Such curiosities will hardly need to be revisited. The rest of the book, however, and its larger arguments, call out for critical evaluation. It is the great merit of Gammerl to have set some of the terms for real comparative analysis of his two empires.

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NORBERT FRIEDRICH, UWE KAMINSKY, and ROLAND LÖFFLER (eds.), *The Social Dimension of Christian Missions in the Middle East: Historical Studies of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv, Studien der Berliner Gesellschaft für Missionsgeschichte, 16 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 252 pp. ISBN 978 3 515 09656 0. €46.00

This collection of studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century missions to the Middle East is a welcome addition to the field of missiological scholarship. It comprises a wide-ranging set of papers that consider the social dimension of Protestant and Catholic missions in the Middle East: what the blurb terms ‘the trademark’ of missions to Islam. The ‘social dimension’ refers to the educational, medical, social, and scientific work that was carried out by the missionary organizations. While it was not explicitly evangelistic it was deemed to be one of the most effective ways of teaching Christian beliefs and practices to non-believers. The various chapters trace the impact of the social dimension of missionary work on the communities and nations with which the missionary project was engaged—both the countries that sent them and the places to which they went. Palestine as a mission field has been described as ‘a market place of different groups looking for a presence in the Holy Land’. It is this marketplace of ideas, objectives, personalities, and institutions that is so deftly dealt with in this book. The book presents a feast of novel approaches and a number of the chapters begin by emphasizing the ‘newness’ of the topic addressed. Inter- or intra-denominational and national rivalries are highlighted in a number of contributions. There is repeated reference to the lack of ‘success’ in terms of conversions; this is presented as one of the distinguishing features of Middle East missions compared with other missionary milieus. The reader is called to go beyond the standard approaches to mission history and look at the same questions through different historiographical lenses. Underlying this is a challenge to consider how we *use* the study of mission.

This volume was published following an international conference on ‘The Social Dimension of Missions in the Orient’, which took place in Kaiserswerth, Düsseldorf in 2006. It comprises contributions by scholars who address the question from a number of different angles. Some focus on the reception of the missionary project by local popu-

lations; others tackle the impact of missions on the 'sending' country. Some papers examine inter- or intra-denominational disputes whilst others look at the question from the political angle. The papers are introduced by two overviews of the methodology and history of mission studies, which set the rest of the papers in context. Roland Löffler's chapter presents an introduction to the particular approach to mission studies found in this collection. Highlighting the rediscovery of mission history in its own right rather than as a by-product of imperial studies, anthropology, and social science, Löffler proposes that mission history itself has become a multi-disciplinary field of scholarship, an idea to which the diverse papers that follow testify. Löffler points to the 'new cultural approach' to history exemplified in these studies, which seek to examine practices, behaviour, and formative attitudes in a particular social group. His overview of German Protestant activities in Palestine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows the extent to which they can be seen as part of the formation of German Protestantism more widely, as he draws out the effect of the development of independent faith-based Protestant institutions on the German Protestant experience in both Europe and Palestine. Löffler applies a combined methodology of the 'history of mentality' and 'milieu theory' to frame his discussion of the German Protestant experience and show that it was the social dimension of mission that formed the reality 'on the ground'.

Heleen Murre-van den Berg's treatment of the study of Western missions in the Middle East is an ideal *tour d'horizon* of the whole field of scholarship. Her expertise in the topic is generously shared with the reader both through her account of the history of the subject and her detailed bibliography of the study of missions. As well as furnishing us with an overview, Murre-van den Berg touches on some key issues in the development of the field, which frame the other contributions. She tackles the questions that many may be inclined to ask: why has mission studies enjoyed this resurgence, and why the Middle East? For Murre-van den Berg the answer lies in the way that the subject touches on so many other disciplines and, as Michael Marten argues in his paper, illuminates the questions and challenges faced today. The contribution that missions made to issues of modernity in the Middle East, and the political developments of the nineteenth century that we glean from them, are invaluable for understanding the geopolitical fluctuations of the region

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today. Had our appetite for what follows not been sufficiently whetted, Murre-van den Berg underscores the newness of the specific approach that is presented in this book. Questions of reception and the impact of Middle East missionary work—both on the missionary country and its target population—have been largely overlooked, no doubt because of the lack of conversions compared with other parts of the world. But as Murre-van den Berg suggests and the rest of the book demonstrates, the ‘less tangible’ influences of the missionary purpose have much light to shed on our understanding of the subject as a whole.

Dominique Trimbur, Haim Goren, and Barbara Haider-Wilson address the question of Catholic activity in Palestine in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Trimbur traces the evidence of German and French scientific, cultural, and pedagogical values in the institutions of Palestine and Israel today back to the influence of Roman Catholic networks established in the middle of the nineteenth century. He offers a fascinating account of a century of rivalry between the French and German Catholic churches as each sought to maintain its position in the Holy Land, offering the reader a clear sense of the tensions—*inter muros* and *extra muros*—that dominated the period. Focusing on a few German Catholic missionaries whose work shaped the German Catholic presence in Palestine, Haim Goren gives a sense of the distinctive contribution of German Catholic activity, an area of scholarship hitherto neglected. The different kinds of missionary and other activity in which the German Catholic Church engaged in the Holy Land are discussed, such as the call in the late nineteenth century for German Catholic missions to focus initially on the need for tradesmen such as bakers, locksmiths, and carpenters. Goren gives the reader a sense of the multiplicity of approaches and engagements that occurred between the German Catholic Church and the Holy Land at this critical time. Barbara Haider-Wilson reminds us of the varied national interests that were competing for space and authority in Palestine up to the First World War. Looking at the Habsburg monarchy she introduces the reader to the ‘home mission abroad’. Her discussion presents the missionary country as itself the object of mission and explores how the social dimension of Christian work, which stimulated the ambitions of the Church, thrived off the phenomenon of ‘longing for Jerusalem’, whereby the significance of the Holy Places for the Catholic Church became a

mark of Catholic belief in general. The concern here was not with the evangelistic effort in Palestine, but rather with how the experience of the Holy Land could stimulate the life of the Church at home. The 'home mission' was developed in a number of ways: through pilgrimages that were made to the Holy Land and then written up and shared with congregations in Austria; through networks that were established between pilgrims who would share the experience of their spiritual journey with others; and through an active publishing industry, which issued magazines to inform and mobilize the public. In highlighting the different power-political considerations that were at play amongst the different crownlands of the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian 'Jerusalem' milieu, Haider-Wilson issues some timely challenges to the mission historian, including a call for a closer historiographical examination of Europe in research on mission history.

In her examination of the work of the Anglican Bishop Samuel Gobat, Charlotte van der Leest offers a clear and concise account of the factors that shaped and drove the social dimension of Protestant Evangelical work. Contrasting the approach of the Christian Mission Society adopted by Gobat with that of other Protestant and Catholic missions, she analyses the extent to which the 'social dimension' of the evangelical mission was centred on one of the four features which David Bebbington identified as defining late nineteenth-century evangelicalism: biblicism. This enabled the other features which Bebbington ascribes to an Evangelical understanding of 'true' Christian belief to flourish: crucicentrism, conversionism, and, to a lesser extent, activism. In her final paragraph, van der Leest refers to how unsuccessful Gobat's methods were in terms of numbers of actual converts. This leaves the reader with a question: how does van der Leest explain why thirty-seven Bible Schools yielded so little fruit?

Ruth Kark's and Shlomit Langboim's consideration of the formation of Jewish identity in the light of missionary activity in the Holy Land is well placed in the middle of the book, moving our attention to the impact of missions on community identity. This chapter presents the other side of mission: the reception and perception of mission by the so-called 'target' audiences. The role played by missionary organizations in the shaping of Jewish identity at the turn of the century is outlined and the social dimension of the missionary work remains most pertinent. Competition and rivalry are once again the

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theme, but this time it was expressed by the Jewish establishment vis-à-vis the work of the missionary societies. As missionaries opened hospitals, schools, and welfare services across the country, the Jewish establishment responded: schools were established, welfare and aid offered for free, and efficient hospitals opened. All of this contributed to shaping a stronger sense of identity amongst the Jewish population. Engaging with these questions not only alerts us to the impact of missions in local contexts (the history of mentalities in Löffler's method), but also enhances our understanding of the wider and longer term impact of their work and its social effect in shaping other institutions and identities.

Yaron Perry's and Michael Marten's research into the work of the Protestant missionary societies addresses medical missions to the Jews. Perry examines the Protestant London Jewish Society's (LJS) engagement with social missions through their medical work in Palestine. His comparison between the failures of the enterprise in Jerusalem and the more successful efforts of the LJS's hospital work in Safed relates the question of missionary and welfare 'success' to the social and economic climate of the target population. Marten gives a helpful account of the theological basis of Scottish missions in Palestine, several aspects of which also help to frame some of the other contributions. The sense that if it were possible to convert Jews in Palestine to Protestantism, conversions elsewhere would follow is presented as one reason for the Scottish Church's decision to go to Palestine. The theological justifications for this are fleshed out with an account of the prevailing evangelical priorities of the period. In a helpful turn Marten explores the question of why medical missions were so popular. A discussion of the methodology of mission study underscores Marten's paper. He concludes with a call for the 're-historicising' of missions in Palestine and exhorts his colleagues to address mission history through multiple lenses: 'mission history needs to see *all* the actors involved in the fusing of histories.' This, he suggests, happens through analyses of the social dimension of missions.

Jakob Eisler approaches the missionary question by looking at mission propaganda and film in European missionary efforts in Palestine. He discusses two films which, he argues, typify the German Christian missionary films of Palestine in the nineteenth century: the film of the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem and a film that

recorded the work of the Kaiserswerth deaconesses in the Holy Land. Both are reported to have been well received by parishes in Germany and played an important part in 'selling' the missionary project (although Eisler nuances this claim by referring to some negative criticisms and to a lack of substantial archival evidence in the case of the Kaiserswerth film). This article opens up a fascinating field of research, from which we can only hope to hear more. It would be interesting, for example, to ask how this kind of propaganda work by the churches ties in with the wider missionary effort, both at home and abroad.

With Christine Pschichholz's essay we change location and community studied. The question is addressed here through the experience of German Protestant communities in Turkey against the background of European migration under the Ottoman Empire. Pschichholz raises the pertinent question of the impact of social Protestantism on the development of German cultural and educational policy abroad in terms of the care of its own people. She invites the reader to look at the 'home missions abroad' question the other way around: where 'home' has travelled 'abroad' and Diaspora care becomes another avenue for exploring these questions.

The relationship between German Protestantism and the state of Israel is presented in Gerhard Gronauer's account of the various projects and engagements that characterized engagement between 1948 and 1967. Alongside the traditional missions to the Jews that continued to use salvific history and the perception of the Jews as the biblical people of God to justify the state of Israel, Gronauer identifies 'the "progressive" voices' (p. 214) that emerged after 1948 where the notion of the state of Israel as a sign of the end times is introduced. The German-Israeli reparations agreement of 1952 was another stage in the process, which was followed by the emergence of a touristic relationship between Germany and the state of Israel. Further 'official' visits stemmed from this new tourism. One of the points to emerge from Gronauer's work is that Protestantism helped the German Federal Government to open up to Israel as part of a process in which the reception of the state of Israel moved from being a primarily theological one to what Gronauer describes as the 'golden period' of pro-Israeli engagement within the Church, when Protestants became more willing to accept Israel as a consequence of the Shoah. These changes, Gronauer suggests, also opened the door for Jewish-

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Christian dialogue. Gronauer's knowledge of the subject in this period is extensive and covers an impressive number of bases.

Uwe Kaminsky's chapter on the contribution of the *Palaestinawerk* after the Second World War is a fitting conclusion to the book. His account of the creation of this organization, a loose and temporary association of the German boards, records the last in the line of German social missionary work in Palestine following the confiscation of German Protestant institutions by the British at the end of the war. The *Palaestinawerk* emerged out of negotiations between the state of Israel and the Lutheran World Federation over compensation and ownership of property. Through successful negotiations the organization oversaw the material rebuilding of German Protestant institutions in Palestine as well as the payment of compensation. It later gave rise to new Protestant initiatives in Palestine including hospital and educational work. The final piece in the reconstruction of German Protestant institutions was the establishment of a native church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Jordan, which was founded in 1957. The *Palaestinawerk* began to disband as the mission organizations integrated into the Protestant Church in Germany. In tying up the ends, Kaminsky subtly reminds the reader of some of the threads running through the book. Chief amongst these are the competition between the various missionary endeavours; the lack of any apparent concern among missionaries about the paucity of conversions; and the extent to which the social dimension of the work of these institutions shaped the nature of the missionary engagement with Palestine.

This book is a valuable addition to the history of missions and it heralds a new departure for this expanding field. Only with interdisciplinary, trans-national, and trans-era studies such as the ones collected here can we begin, as Marten puts it, to see how mission history relates 'the *past* to the potential *presents* that there might have been, a way of perhaps appreciating the *futures* that there might now be' (p. 177).

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ANNE SUDROW, *Der Schuh im Nationalsozialismus: Eine Produktgeschichte im deutsch-britisch-amerikanischen Vergleich* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2010), 876 pp. ISBN 978 3 8353 0793 3. €69.90

The 800-page book-of-a-German-Ph.D.-thesis on the history of footwear under review here is one of the most interesting things I can remember reading. This is not a sentence I ever imagined myself writing. Yet in this outstanding account of the history of the shoe in Germany between the 1920s and the 1950s the author succeeds not only in her ambition to place the study of material culture at the interstices of histories of both production and consumption, but also places it at the centre of histories of science, fashion, retail, semiotics, knowledge-transfer, globalization, violence, ritual, trade, transnationalism, regulation, and more. As if this were not a challenging enough undertaking, the German example is placed firmly within a comparative context. At regular intervals, the author draws in material on the British and American shoe industries to great effect. The author's grasp of the huge variety of historical and scholarly discourses needed to make sense of these various stories is remarkable. It is a phenomenal achievement.

At the start of the period under review, the culture of shoe-wearing was in a state of transition. Hitherto, shoes had been regarded solely as items of practical utility, as something to protect the feet and keep them warm. The use of footwear as an item of decoration and display was the preserve of very specific, mostly elite groups, such as the military. In rural areas, in particular, many people still did not wear them as a matter of habit. While patterns of shoe ownership naturally mapped at least partially onto patterns of wealth, however, this also reflected enduring beliefs about both health and propriety: many believed that walking bare-foot was better for one's health, and that shoes ought properly to be worn only to school and to church. How long a shoe would last was the most important criterion for a purchaser. Shoe and boot design changed little as a result; manufacturers produced comparatively large production runs of a limited range of designs; and the processes whereby the product was brought to market were also simple and comparatively stable.

At the same time, the 1920s saw the emergence of new patterns of demand and habits of consumption driven by fashion: all of a sudden, colour mattered. Advances in anatomical understanding also

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placed new demands on manufacturers to supply shoes in correct shapes and sizes. This led in the 1920s to a great proliferation of the range of models, shapes, and sizes a retailer needed to stock in order to keep his customers happy. In a later era manufacturers would learn to use these factors to their advantage, fostering a culture in which parents felt obliged to get their children's feet measured every six weeks and buy new shoes at the first minor signs of growth, and in which adult consumers could be encouraged to own several pairs of shoes and buy yet more, even when their existing ones were not worn out. Yet in the 1920s manufacturers and retailers regarded the growing complexity of the market and its increasing fickleness with a great deal more unease: how to cope with the need to supply the market with such massive variety of models in much smaller production runs whilst keeping costs down? What to do with all those bright blue shoes just made at great expense now that consumers had decided they simply must have this season's red instead? Combating such 'market imperfection' and remaining competitive was even more of a headache in the challenging economic environment of the 1920s and the Depression in particular, especially given the presence of vigorous competition from the Czechoslovakian firm Bat'a, which flooded the market with more cheaply produced footwear in this period.

Drawing on insights provided by the burgeoning rationalization and scientific management movement, manufacturers reacted in a number of ways. In the first place, the introduction of sizing norms made it possible to make some components of the shoe in larger volumes and thus more cost effectively. They also introduced new machine tools, leased from America, facilitating more cost-effective production. Machine-tool production also accelerated the experimentation with synthetic materials and thus served, at least in part, to displace the stitching and nailing of footwear by practices of moulding or gluing. Meanwhile, larger manufacturers built up retail chains that enabled them to distribute more cost-effective large production runs nationally, sending a few examples of each shoe or size to a large number of outlets simultaneously. This was the era in which household name footwear chains emerged, in Germany as in Britain. A nascent market research industry also emerged, with the support of the retailers, to try to understand and thus predict changing patterns of demand, in the hope that the wastefulness called forth by the fickle dictates of fashion could be reduced. The new machine

tools gradually displaced older work methods, and thus placed old-style craft production under strain, with all the known political and social strains that caused; likewise, the new networks of distribution placed pressure on small retailers who struggled to compete. Nonetheless, the comparatively small production runs of each shoe model meant that a genuine mass production regime was never achieved in the shoe industry.

Two of the main obstacles to cost-reduction, mechanization, and a more efficient utilization of raw materials were the expense and variability of the hides used in traditional leather shoes. Many of these were also imported, which, given Germany's foreign exchange situation and the political imperatives of the Nazi regime, posed an additional challenge. Hitherto scholarship on the economic history of the Third Reich has tended to assume that the foreign exchange regime of the Four-Year-Plan, its drive for synthetic substitute materials, and its attempts to regulate various market vagaries ran counter to the interests of the consumer goods industries. However, as the author shows, the regime's encouragement of synthetic materials coincided with this particular industry's desire to use them, leading to significant advances in the use of substitute materials in footwear in the 1930s; similarly, the regime's fostering of rational consumption habits in the interests of autarky and national economic efficiency chimed with the desire of the industry to rein in consumer choice and limit its product palette. The production of shoes from pig leather and fish skin did not, in the long run, catch on, but the use of (synthetic) rubberized soles, for example, did. Here, in particular, the comparative dimension of the book comes into its own. For, as the author shows, processes which, seen within a purely national frame, might appear to be the product of adverse political regulation peculiar to the Third Reich, were similarly underway in the United States, if less so in Britain where the predilection for leather shoes remained strong.

At the same time, the author is careful not to allow her account of the presence of rationalizing, modernizing dynamics in this particular technical sphere to generate an image of a shoe industry making great strides towards efficiency in an environment sealed off from the violence of the Third Reich. In so far as the industry retained access to supplies of leather during the war, it was largely on the basis of plunder: Germans' supply of footwear, no less than their supply of

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iron ores, rested on industry's implication in the war of genocidal destruction in the East. This was not all. In pursuit of more scientific understanding of the durability of various synthetic shoe components, the industry connived in the establishment of a shoe-testing facility at Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1940. An unaccounted for number of prisoners were forced to walk, march, or perform sporting exercises in shoes for hours on end, day after day, in a practice which claimed the lives of many, so exhausting and brutal was it. The shoes, meanwhile, were measured for their signs of wear and tear.

In the limited literature on this phenomenon, which mostly comes from survivor accounts, it has understandably been written about as a form of the pointless, ritualized torture which was one part of the dynamic of violence meted out by the SS. However, using materials from the various trade bodies, research institutes, and organs of self-regulation connected to the shoe industry the author demonstrates how private companies, scientists, and other researchers—including those working for the *Wehrmacht*—not only knew about the research, but made good use of the findings in their pursuit of more efficient product design and specification. Some of the findings made their way into standard industrial handbooks on shoe design in the 1950s, while the researchers concerned made good careers in the industry or its trade bodies. The broad outline of this trajectory is hardly surprising, in so far as we know all about similar histories from studies of Nazi medicine, but the author's account of the chains of agency, interest, and knowledge-transfer linking the commercial consumer sector of the economy to the murderousness of the concentration camps is exceptionally persuasive and hard-hitting. As if this were not enough, she then demonstrates how the photographed piles of shoes that have become such iconic signifiers of Nazi mass murder and thus of the imagined singularity of the regime were embedded in chains of recycling in which commercial shoe manufacturers and repairers were also directly implicated. In a sad irony, one of the companies most associated with this was Salamander, one of the Jewish-owned companies that had been 'Aryanized' before the war.

There is far more to this marvellous book than a short review can capture. Given its remarkable qualities it seems churlish to offer criticism. For a study focused on diverse aspects of rationalization in the 1920s and 1930s one might have expected some engagement with the

pioneering works of Tilla Siegel, Thomas von Freyberg, and Carola Sachse, whose insights laid the ground for much of the work on which the author draws. Inevitably, there are sections in an 800-page book where the reader's spirits flag, and where one wonders whether some editing down might not have improved the readability of the book at little cost to the comprehensiveness of its argument. No self-respecting German Ph.D. monograph would spare its reader a fifty-page discussion of the state of research, *Fragestellung*, and methodology; a suitably earnest discussion of the definition of a shoe is also, of course, a must. Yet life is short, and the half-hour I devoted to mastering the different kinds of shoe polish available to consumers in the 1920s is a half-hour of my life that I will not get back.

On the other hand, scholarly monographs, like shoes, have their own product history—they can no more be seen as isolated objects, standing outside of time and space, than the things with laces that we wear on our feet. In that sense, any such critical remarks are as much a comment on the academic *habitus* that consistently produces such books as it is on the book itself. The culture of subsidy which permeates German scholarly publishing, combined with a scholarly environment which places such emphasis on thoroughness, can all too easily permit indulgence. Rather like the German manufacturers this book describes—ambivalent about their customers, and irritated by their habits—one often feels that German academic authors ought to take their readers a bit less for granted. Who knows, they might then, like those shoe manufacturers this book brings to life so superbly, even produce objects that can compete without subsidy in the marketplace.

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DIETMAR SÜSS, *Tod aus der Luft: Kriegsgesellschaft und Luftkrieg in Deutschland und England* (Munich: Siedler, 2011), 717 pp. ISBN 978 3 88680 932 5. €29.99

Stumble into a German bookshop this autumn, and no doubt you will see Dietmar Süß's new book on the air war between 1940 and 1945 prominently displayed. This is no mean feat for a volume which grew out of a *Habilitation* thesis, a type of work that is not commonly known to be a page-turner. The publication of *Tod aus der Luft* is to be highly welcomed, not least because it breaks into a market that for too long has been dominated by popular accounts on the one hand and official histories on the other.¹ Süß's extraordinary book combines the virtues of both genres: delivered with great panache, it is also based on a scrupulous examination of archival records. Potential buyers of *Tod aus der Luft* can expect multiple 'two-in-one' deals: not only is this book both sophisticated and accessible, written by an academic historian with a background in journalism, it is also a stimulating synthesis of the social, political, and cultural history of war, and a thoughtful comparative study of Britain (or 'England', as Süß has it) and Germany in the era of the Second World War.

The success of any work of comparative history hinges ultimately on the choice of an appropriate *tertium comparationis*, for the units of comparison must be distinct and yet not too disparate to yield significant contrasts. Thus historians of this period have traditionally favoured juxtaposing Nazi Germany with other 'totalitarian' or 'fascist' regimes. A comparison between British and German societies during the Second World War is a much bolder, methodologically riskier undertaking, and one can think of at least two good reasons against such a bipartite project: firstly, and most fundamentally, that the different political regimes preclude any meaningful comparison, that the outcome of the analysis is a foregone conclusion; and, secondly, that the author is comparing apples with oranges, that the timing and intensity of the German Blitz on Britain and the British strategic air campaign against Germany were simply too different to yield any telling contrasts.

Süß is fully aware of the potential pitfalls of the comparative design of his book, and he resoundingly rejects both these objections.

¹ See Nicholas Stargardt, 'Victims of Bombing and Retaliation', *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 26/2 (2004), 56–70.

At the centre of this comparative study are not the political systems (even though Süß has a great deal to say about their institutional structures) but the emergence of a *Kriegsmoral* (war morale) at the intersection of individual experiences and political mobilization. Moreover, this hefty tome is not meant to be a comprehensive account of the British and German bombing campaigns of the Second World War. Rather, the author's approach might be described as a history of the air war 'from below': one that is focused on the fear, experience, and memory (of people on the ground) of death and destruction. That said, the book spans an impressively wide range of topics, from pre-war anticipation to post-war commemoration, from administrative measures to theological discourses, from air-raid precautions to the disposal of corpses, and from political propaganda to private testimony.

The ways in which people lived through air raids were neither unfiltered nor immediate. Süß painstakingly dissects the administrative structures and air-raid precautions that framed personal experiences of the air war. Predictably enough, at this level of comparison, the contrasts between British democracy and Nazi dictatorship are most striking: the reordering of and bickering over responsibilities in Britain pale into insignificance when compared with the spiralling de-institutionalization and *Führerunmittelbarkeit* of decision-making in Germany. Even though the introduction of Regional Commissioners to oversee (and, if necessary, to overrule) county and borough councils amounted to a significant intervention in regional and local affairs, conflicts tended to be resolved in a consensual manner. Also the new coordinating body at national level, the Civil Defence Committee, did not, according to Süß, fundamentally depart from pre-war administrative practice.

While the new structures and procedures introduced in Britain at the beginning of the conflict remained more or less unchanged for the remainder of the war, German ones evolved in increasingly radical ways in the second half of the war. Führer decrees of March 1942 and December 1943—giving great leeway for interpretation (and the political ambitions of Joseph Goebbels)—led to the creation of an Inter-Ministerial Air War Damage Board and a Reich Inspectorate of Civil Defence Measures respectively. Control of both these special authorities gave Goebbels far-reaching powers at the home front, often bypassing the competences of ministers, *Gauleiter*, and municipi-

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pal authorities. The latter faced additional competition from local branches of the Nazi party and its welfare organization, the NSV, which tried to muscle in on support for bomb victims.

The comparison between administrative responses to the spectre and actuality of the war from the air produces interesting, but perhaps not altogether surprising contrasts. Most revealing is the author's intricate discussion of the social construction of a wartime community where we see both cultural convergences and national peculiarities. The notion of a People's War in Britain, he argues, was to some degree a response to the Nazi utopia of a *Volksgemeinschaft*.² Both held out a social promise and relied on mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion, on punishments and rewards. Looters were seen as the ultimate threat to *Kriegsmoral* and became outcasts from the national collectives. Politically motivated amendments to the criminal law prescribed severe penalties for the offence. However, the Nazis came down much harder on looters, many of whom were sentenced to death by special courts. While the prosecution of looters paved the way for a complete erosion of the rule of law in Nazi Germany, the British state neither encroached on the autonomy of the judiciary nor dispensed with the statutory right of appeal. Significantly, British legal terminology had no equivalent to the *Volksschädling* that cast the criminal as the nation's 'vermin'.

Under the conditions of aerial bombardment, air-raid shelters became the incubators of the national community at risk. In both countries, access to the official shelters and bunkers was seen as a privilege that had to be earned through a display of virtues such as self-help, discipline, duty, and a readiness to make sacrifices. Aliens and particularly 'Jews' occupied a precarious position in these collective safe havens. A thorn in the side of many a Londoner, (German) Jews were blamed for the crowded conditions, the temporary eruptions of violence, and, more generally, the moral decay in the shelters. Anti-alien sentiments were, for instance, in evidence in the small bulletins edited by representatives of the shelter communities. However, the mere existence of these grass-roots organs is illustrative of the multivocality of the People's War and its bottom-up dynamics. Conformism and coercion played a much greater role in

² See also the conference report 'German Society in the Nazi Era: *Volksgemeinschaft* between Ideological Projection and Social Practice', *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 32/2 (2010), 120–8.

transforming the *Volksgemeinschaft* into a *Luftschutzgemeinschaft*, and yet it was initially the peer pressure of the *Hausgemeinschaft* rather than official regulations that kept the Jews out.

From the authorities' point of view, the mass deportations from the Reich resolved this issue. What is more, the deportations provided an opportunity for municipal authorities to strengthen morale at the urban home front in a material way, for the possessions the deported left behind were re-distributed to bombed-out *Volksge nossen*. German municipalities became first opportunistic profiteers and eventually active agents of repression. As the air raids intensified, local authorities came to rely on the slave labour of concentration camp inmates to clear up the rubble. In cooperation with the SS, a number of municipalities established satellite camps in the very heart of cities. Thus city centres became sites where urban society intersected with the camp system. The connections between the air war and Nazi racial policies were all too obvious for anyone who bothered to enquire about the source of bargain furniture, or who cared to observe that bunkers were built on the sites of former synagogues.

The bombs on German cities were 'a retribution for what was done to the Jews' (p. 272), according to the Protestant bishop of Württemberg, Theophil Wurm. While there was broad agreement among Catholic and Protestant churchmen alike that the havoc wreaked on German cities was part of a divine punishment, few were as explicit as Wurm about the actual sins committed. Instead they implored their flock to accept His judgment unquestioningly and to endure the ordeal. The air war or the churches' response to it did little to attract new followers, but at least it strengthened the faith of believers (a similar development could be observed in Britain during the Blitz). Süß points out that the churches' message allowed German Christians to reconcile an increasing alienation from National Socialism with a renewed commitment to the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Whereas the churches in Germany eschewed going beyond a merely theological interpretation of the air war, their British counterparts openly confronted its political and ethical implications. Here, Süß attaches much importance to the interventions made by the Anglican bishop of Chichester, George Bell, who emerged as a chief doubter of the strategic bombing campaign.

The People's War could accommodate nonconformist behaviour and critical voices—in stark contrast to the absolute project of the

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Volksgemeinschaft. Nevertheless, Süß concludes that 'the pressure of ritualized collectivization and the imposition of norms of social behaviour are characteristics of both dictatorship and democracy, of the politics of war morale in "total war"' (p. 580). The construction of a *Kriegsmoral* became *the* central preoccupation of both societies during the air war. This book offers an intriguing exploration of the comparative method; the author's discussion of British society during the Blitz throws many aspects of the German experience of the air war into much sharper relief (and vice versa). This monograph is a must for those interested not only in the comparative history of Britain and Germany but also the socio-cultural and political history of modern warfare. Covering two countries in equal depth and sophistication, this excellent book should also appeal to British readers very much accustomed to the idea of 'buy one, get one free'.

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OLAF BLASCHKE, *Verleger machen Geschichte: Buchhandel und Historiker seit 1945 im deutsch-britischen Vergleich*, *Moderne Zeit: Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, 22 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2010), 667 pp. ISBN 978 3 8353 0757 5. €48.00

Olaf Blaschke's research monograph analyses an under-researched area in the history of historiography: the relations between publishing houses and the production of historical knowledge. The underlying assumption of the book is that the making of history cannot be explained by developments within the historical profession alone. Blaschke focuses on how agents external to the historical profession influenced the writing and publishing of historical knowledge. The book deals with one of the key intermediary institutions between professional historians on the one hand and the scholarly and general public on the other. Indeed, it argues convincingly that publishers were more than simply 'mediators' between historians and the public. By using Bourdieu's concept of the field, Blaschke shows that publishers had a considerable impact on the constitution of the field of professional history and the historical knowledge it produced. But he is not merely interested in reconstructing the unidirectional influence publishers had on the production of history. Instead he seeks to analyse the complex relationship between publishers and historians within a shared social space.

The first two chapters of the book prepare the ground by outlining how publishing houses and the historical professions developed in twentieth-century Britain and Germany. The following two chapters begin to bring the two fields together by exploring the structural conditions for publishing history books. Largely based on quantitative data, chapter three reconstructs how the publishing market for history books developed in West Germany and Britain after 1945. In chapter four, Blaschke moves on to delineate the field of publishing houses which engaged in publishing history books.

The remaining four chapters analyse the various and multifaceted relationships between individual publishers and historians. The first of these examines the different motivations and strategies publishers pursued in their professional activity. Blaschke downplays the significance of purely commercial interests and instead highlights the role of publishers as intermediaries, gatekeepers, ini-

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tiators of new research, or even missionaries for particular approaches. In chapter six he turns the tables to look at how historians, as part of their publication strategies, spent considerable time finding suitable and reputable publishers. The choice of a particular publisher was rarely accidental. On the contrary, Blaschke demonstrates that historians pursued distinct strategies to find the publisher who best served their professional interests, even if this act of strategizing was not necessarily a conscious one. They often looked for a publisher with a reputation that corresponded to their own scholarly reputation and their desired position in the historical profession. Chapter seven analyses how publishers shaped individual history books at various stages in the publishing process and how they therefore influenced historical scholarship. The final chapter argues that publishers played a significant part in supporting new historical journals or in shaping the direction of existing ones.

One of the many fascinating discussions in the book, and perhaps its most innovative part, is the analysis of how West German publishers positioned themselves within the social space of history book publishing (chapter four). Blaschke designs a two-dimensional matrix to map the position of individual publishers in the field that takes into account both the reputation of a publishing house and its political and intellectual orientation. This reconstruction of the field enables Blaschke to show the significant transformation that occurred in the world of publishing in the late 1960s and early 1970s. During this time the Göttingen-based publisher Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht strategically shifted its position in the field and emerged as the leading publisher of 'critical' and 'progressive' history associated with a more left-leaning political stance. This shift in its intellectual and political orientation was accompanied by a significant gain in reputation. As Blaschke convincingly shows, the publisher contributed significantly to the institutionalization of the new social history in West Germany, while its reputation also benefited from the growth to prominence of the so-called Bielefeld School.

The comparative focus of the book, although it seems to pay more attention to Germany than Britain, allows Blaschke to draw some interesting conclusions about national, in particular German, peculiarities. For example, German publishing houses were more prone to identify with a particular political tendency than their British counterparts. German historians often even selected their publisher on the

basis not only of reputation but also of political orientation. Publishing practices in West Germany therefore tended to reflect and reinforce the formation of different schools of historical thought.

Blaschke's study is a valuable contribution to the new history of historiography that moves away from studying the rise and fall of historiographical paradigms. It seeks to contextualize what historians (and publishers) do and to explain why certain interpretations of history emerge and prevail while others disappear. The particular value of this study is its focus on an agent that, despite being technically outside the historical profession, has played a significant part in making professional history available to its public and scholarly audiences. It therefore draws a more complex and sophisticated picture of the production of professional history as a social process. And it stimulates further reflection on how wider socio-cultural transformations affect the writing of history via institutions that shape the conditions of what professional historians write, what they can publish, and therefore what they can say.

Perhaps a little too often, the study focuses on the different ways in which publishers influenced professional history. If history publishing is a social space where two different professions meet, as it is argued, how did professional historians influence publishers and their professional practices? Furthermore, it may have been worthwhile exploring how the two nationally constituted fields, which are treated as separate and independent units, interacted with one another. How did historians who were interested in having their work translated and published in the other country deal with the different publishing traditions and practices that they encountered? For example, some of the German historians Blaschke has drawn on provide interesting cases of such intercultural relations between German historians and British publishers. Admittedly, both questions go beyond the main objective of the book and therefore do not diminish its significant merits.

STEPHAN PETZOLD is a Lecturer in Modern European History at the University of Leeds. His Ph.D. thesis analysed the heated debate over the origins of the First World War provoked in the 1960s by Fritz Fischer's book *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (1961).

CHRISTIAN L. GLOSSNER, *The Making of the German Post-War Economy: Political Communication and Public Reception of the Social Market Economy after World War Two* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), xxvi + 289 pp. ISBN 978 1 84885 264 8. £59.50

Do we need another book on the making of the economic order in Germany after the Second World War, something that has been so well examined over the last six decades? Is there new historical evidence to be discovered, or are there new theoretical approaches waiting to be applied? In his study, Christian L. Glossner suggests that the concept of the Social Market Economy (*Soziale Marktwirtschaft*) was successful in Germany because both academic and political circles publicly campaigned for it. According to Glossner, in 1948 Ludwig Erhard and Konrad Adenauer were able to persuade the public and the socio-political elite to accept their economic ideas, as opposed to the diffuse and less programmatic concepts of the Social Democrats. Thus they overcame the challenge posed by the broad acceptance of socialist ideas among the German public after the war.

Glossner presents his argument in two parts. The first, comprising two-thirds of the book, looks at the different economic concepts developed by academics and political parties between 1945 and 1949. The second, consisting of about fifty pages, concentrates on the public reactions to the concepts by examining a wide range of sources, such as opinion polls, newspaper articles, and parliamentary petitions. Given that Glossner lists no fewer than twenty-seven archives in the appendix, it comes as a surprise that this second part, which is so important for the book's hypothesis and its innovative aspirations, is predominantly based on published material.

The first of three chapters that cover the evolution of neo-liberal schools in Germany applies somewhat idiosyncratic definitions of the different schools of thought. The Freiburg Circles are described as consisting of the members of the former 'workgroup Erwin von Beckerath', a successor to the economists assembled in the Nazi Academy of German Law. These often met in the house of Walter Eucken, the group's intellectual leader, to discuss what aims and problems the economic order would have once the war was over. Surprisingly, Glossner includes Friedrich Lutz, a pupil of Walter Eucken, in this group, although Lutz had been in Princeton since 1938 and only returned to Freiburg after Eucken's death in 1950. According to

Glossner, the Freiburg Circles formed the nucleus of the famous Advisory Council of the Economic Administration (later of the Ministry of Economics). Glossner mistakenly identifies the liberal Frankfurt law professor Franz Böhm, who collaborated with Eucken in Freiburg, as the chairman of this council. In fact, Böhm chaired only the initial meeting at which the sociologist Heinz Sauermann became the first elected chairman. Though widely repeated in the literature, this is a significant mistake because it suggests that the advisory council was a neo-liberal think-tank for German economic policy whereas, in fact, its members had been carefully selected by the economist Hans Moeller to represent as many competing economic approaches as possible.

Unlike the first Freiburg group, the second, which Glossner calls the Freiburg School, did not limit itself to an academic audience. Wilhelm Röpke is described as the core figure of this strand of neo-liberalism. He was deeply convinced that only economic subjects fully familiar with how the market economy functioned could make rational economic decisions and that, consequently, the market economy would not work without trained economists. The education of the public certainly lay at the heart of ordo-liberal economic thought (an insight justifiably emphasized by Glossner and one which deserves more scholarly attention). The Freiburg School, however, was less clear cut than a third school of thought which Glossner names the Cologne School. Again, Glossner's terminology appears to be at least questionable, as it consisted only of Alfred Mueller-Armack, the school's principal, and Ludwig Erhard, who can hardly be considered Mueller-Armack's pupil. Erhard and Mueller-Armack promoted the Social Market Economy as an intellectual brand and Glossner presents the institutions and the people carrying out the campaign. At this point, arguably one of the strongest parts of the book, Glossner shows how emphatically Erhard and a group of industrialists, journalists, and politicians fought for the Social Market Economy.

Two chapters follow on the evolution of the economic concepts of the German Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union, including the Christian Social Union in Bavaria. These chapters contain little information that is not known from the existing literature on party politics and, to some extent, parts of them deviate from the overall narrative of the book. The following chapters on

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public opinion are organized chronologically. They document a slow shift from a dominantly socialist attitude in Western Germany to a strong belief in the Social Market Economy as revealed in surveys from mid 1949. This is a worthwhile approach that complements the few studies that exist on individual newspapers, but it requires more advanced methods (for example, discourse analysis or quantifying methods) to produce reliable results.

All in all, Glossner's story of the success of the concept of the Social Market Economy in German public opinion is not entirely convincing, firstly, because of a rather selective reading of the material that too often uses myths to 'prove' the impact of the Social Market Economy, such as Ludwig Erhard's description of himself in his *Wohlstand für Alle* (1957), for example. Secondly, Glossner equates the electoral success of a political party with the success of a particular economic programme whereas, as he himself points out, programmes were not always accepted and promoted without discussion by political parties. And, of course, they might not be the reason for voting for a party, let alone the main reason. Finally, the economic concepts examined are much too diffuse to allow their acceptance by public opinion to be researched. The methods of the early opinion polls were too questionable and Glossner's information on the newspapers is too limited to suggest such a strong correlation. Large parts of the book, therefore, consist of a comprehensive summary of the existing literature and present few new insights into the early history of the Social Market Economy.

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PAUL BETTS, *Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), xi + 321 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 920884 5. £35.00

Paul Betts has written an important book. Its subject is history within walls in a double sense. It refers first to the wall protecting the border, after 1961, of a country where, after National Socialism, socialism as a dictatorship of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) was developed and secured; and secondly to the walls of houses and flats behind which what we call private life took place. This is often thought of as a protected life, screened from state intervention and unreasonable political demands, one that is shaped by individuals themselves in relative autonomy, and in which personal relations are marked by trust. This life takes place predominantly at what we call 'home', and is what Betts's investigation concentrates on. He asks about relations between a state which is interested in controlling the private sphere as far as possible, and citizens who are prepared to do anything to create and maintain, even, if possible, to expand, it. Simply by posing this question, the author positions himself among those historians who believe in the possibility of a sphere of this kind, which is not completely at the mercy of the dictatorship; for whom the history of the GDR is not purely the history of domination, but draws its dynamic from the tension between state and stubborn citizens, between control and self-regulation.

Of course, Betts does not assume that the private sphere is the complete Other of the dictatorship. What interests him is the relationship between the private and the political in the GDR, in which he does not see the private as totally subjected to the political, but rather regards this relationship as built on tough negotiating processes in which the borders between each of these spheres and the spaces for negotiation within them are at stake. Betts follows the history of these negotiations between the state and private citizens from the beginning of the GDR to its end in seven chapters. Most of these look at if not the whole of GDR history, then at long periods within it, and, beyond this, they examine in detail the earlier history of the phenomena under investigation, at times going back as far as the nineteenth century. As a result, Betts does not reduce the relationship between the private and the political to the GDR (or the system of state socialism in general), but defines these as part of the wider phe-

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nomenon of modernity. This story is framed in the history of the state security service from its refinement into an ever more perfect and perfidious instrument of control, reaching far into the intimate sphere (chapter one), to the dissolution of the Stasi and the reappropriation of private sovereignty by the citizens who had been spied upon (Epilogue). In between there are six chapters in which depth probes are taken. Concentrating on individual aspects or groups of sources, they look at the creation of, the threat to, and the transformation of the public sphere in an exemplary way. Specifically, chapter two looks at the Christian milieu in the GDR and the struggle they had to assert themselves; chapter three discusses divorce cases and judgements as a source for the significance of marriage and family in the GDR; chapter four examines the 'correct' lifestyle, investigating the (standardized) interior decoration of flats and rules for behaviour; chapter five is devoted to cases of arbitration in disputes between neighbours, casting light on the sources of such conflicts and the social self-organization behind their resolution; chapter six presents petitions and their concerns, which demonstrate what was expected of the state, in material and social terms, for the shaping of a good life; and, finally, chapter seven is concerned with the artistic shaping of the private sphere in GDR photography.

What holds these individual studies together is not only the issue of the conditions governing the material, social, and emotional life of the citizens under SED rule, but also a process of transformation common to them all. This can be summed up briefly as follows. In the course of GDR history, the private sphere assumed increasing significance. This applied not only to the citizens, for whom home and family became by far the most important aspects of their lives, and which, as a matter of course, they increasingly demanded the right to shape themselves. It was also true of the perspective of the state and Party, who made the private sphere possible through their social policies and policies of consumption and even permitted its self-regulation within certain limits. But in individual cases—such as an emergency created by subversion—they kept a check on it through intensive observation and intervention to the point of destruction.

The book's subtitle, *Private Life in the German Democratic Republic*, raises the wrong expectations to some extent because what it is really about is concepts of the private within state socialism. These arose on the one hand out of the political leadership's totalitarian expecta-

tions of forming, penetrating, and controlling the private sphere; on the other out of the class-specific blueprints which citizens drew up of the lives they wanted to live, and their demands for autonomy. As Betts correctly sees this as a basic conflict in the political and social history of the GDR and investigates it in exemplary fashion, the history he writes is located at the level of these blueprints and demands, and their negotiation, rather than at the level of everyday practices in the private sphere. This also applies to the chapters which deal with citizens' initiatives such as petitions, a type of text designed to appeal to the ruling authorities; to arbitration cases in which the people themselves intervened, creating order and smoothing things over; and to the photographs of private living spaces, in which stage-managed presentations of the family were put together for the photographer from outside. The GDR's 'private' citizens always behaved with an eye to their opposite numbers outside their walls.

This is partly a problem of the sources, for it is in the nature of the privacy achieved within the GDR that it successfully closed itself to the source-generating public sphere. Betts, however, obviously made a decision not to put possible private testimonies at the centre of his investigation (amateur photographs, diaries, correspondences, utensils and the interior decoration of flats, the practices of the black economy, and so on), and his use of the interviews he himself conducted is limited. Instead, he seeks the private sphere where it intersects with the social and the political, where it has to explain and defend itself, where it is observed and documented. This procedure proves to be highly illuminating and productive, not only for a history of the private sphere in the GDR, but beyond this for a social history of the GDR in the best sense.

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JANET WARD, *Post-Wall Berlin: Borders, Space and Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), xix + 405 pp. ISBN 978 0 230 27657 4. £65.00

The Berlin Wall came down in 1989, but the wall in people's heads is still standing. Janet Ward's new book, *Post-Wall Berlin: Borders, Space and Identity*, can be reduced to this well-worn commonplace, but the American historian is less interested in writing a sentimental lament for a German normality that has still not been found, than in showing that borders are constitutive in the modern and post-modern world. 'Border-making will continue in a post-Wall era because it is, quite simply, a psychological necessity' (p. 18). Inspired by the spatial turn, Ward emphasizes the permanent construction and deconstruction of borders in general, and illustrates this by reference to the specific significance of border-making and border-breaking taking the example of Berlin. The main title, *Post-Wall Berlin*, refers not only to the book's temporal focus, but also has a methodological aspect, in the sense of post-modern theory-building, that aims to make the spatial dimensions of our thinking visible. Finally, in writing this determinedly inter-disciplinary book, Ward's aim is also to overcome the borders between the academic disciplines that deal with the city.

As the author explains in the first part of the book, Berlin has always been a frontier city, a place where borders possess a highly mobilizing and socially shaping force. In transferring Jackson Turner's classic concept of the frontier from the American West to the German East, Ward emphasizes the nature of borders as process. Expansion and migration are therefore an important key to understanding Berlin. Despite her theoretical loans from the post-modern spatial turn, Ward does not close the door to geo-political arguments and problematizes Berlin's role as a turntable between East and West. Since 1989–90, to be sure, the city has exercised this function less in economic terms than in respect of the newly acquired mobility and distinct presence of migrants from Eastern Europe. The fact that this mobility is not unlimited and ends at ever more strongly guarded borders on the new outer limits of Fortress Europe is among Ward's most noteworthy political arguments.

Borders thus continue to exist today, especially after the events of 9/11 which, in many respects, resulted in a strengthening of border regimes and practices of exclusion. Conversely, Ward emphasizes in

the second part of the book, which deals specifically with the Berlin Wall and its afterlives, that all borders are permeable and are shaped, used, and appropriated by the agency of the actors. This applies even to a structure as strongly secured as the Berlin Wall, which she characterizes as a permeable membrane. The Wall also served as an identity resource and a symbolic zipper, separating the two parts while holding them together. The rapid dismantling of the Berlin Wall, however, deprived the Germans of an important anchor for the communicative memory of Germany's division. Ward thus suggests that the 'resurrection' of the Berlin Wall in recent years not only fulfils the expectations of tourists, but is also a reaction to the unsatisfied need for identity felt by Berliners on both sides of the city.¹ Ward does not restrain her criticism of Berlin politics which, she claims, have proved incapable of adequately preserving the Wall as a site of memory as well as the many alternative 'interim uses' of the former death strip.

Ward is also largely critical of Berlin city planning in the 1990s. In the third part of the book, entitled 'German Geomancy: Power and Planning in Berlin', she emphasizes continuities with Albert Speer's megalomaniac planning for 'Germania', but also the contrast between Berlin municipal building surveyor Martin Wagner's (1926–33) forward-looking planning for a world city, and the backward-looking reconstruction undertaken under the aegis of Berlin's building director Hans Stimmann (1991–6 and 1999–2006). The latter was oriented strictly by the historical city plan and traditional local building styles, while the GDR's architectural heritage was pulled down to make way for it. While this commonly heard criticism is understandable, Ward here shows herself to be susceptible to the widespread idealization of Berlin in the 1920s, during the Weimar Republic. On the other hand there is no mention of the basis of Berlin's city development laid down in the 1862 Hobrecht Plan, whose effects are visible to the present day, or of internal and external segregation in the nineteenth-century tenement town. Yet a reflection on the drawing of social boundaries and reactions to it seen in attempts to direct town planning and politics in the twentieth century would have provided a worthwhile longitudinal perspective in a historical and spatial

¹ A similar argument can be found in Hope M. Harrison, 'The Demise and Resurrection of the Berlin Wall: German Debates about the Wall as a Site of Memory', in Birgit Hofmann (ed.), *Diktaturüberwindung in Europa: Neue nationale und transnationale Perspektiven* (Heidelberg, 2010), 195–209.

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study of Berlin, especially as some of the old socio-spatial patterns have been revived in reunified Berlin.²

Ward also argues critically in the fourth part of her study, which looks at the modern memorial architecture in Berlin. In her view, Peter Eisenman's memorial for the murdered Jews of Europe is too large, oversized, and simply old fashioned by comparison with other counter monuments which represent non-traditional, non-state-centred memory. The Berlin Holocaust Memorial, built on contaminated bunker ground and concealed Wall land, is as Ward suggests a wound on the wound and, all in all, a 'tragic comedy of errors' (p. 253). That the memorial does not permit visitors to reflect, and that it is used merely as a 'playground of memory' remain mere assertions, like much in Ward's polarizing arguments. Not Eisenman's field of concrete blocks, she suggests, but Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum is the true Holocaust Memorial in Berlin because it relates to its own location more critically, and also points to Jewish life before and after the Holocaust.

In the last section of the book, Ward discusses the reunited capital's dreams of world city status. She tells the story of a grandiose failure, which resulted in acres of office space standing empty, and 62 billion euros of debt. She describes Berlin's city development in the 1990s as a case of 'worst practice urban governance' (p. 287). The historian from Las Vegas, Colorado, labels the New Berlin 'Las Vegas on the Spree', where image is all. The new real estates on Potsdamer Platz, in particular, she sees as standing for the Americanization of the city. Ward describes the re-capitalization of Berlin in a double sense: on the one hand, as a sell-out in the name of democratic, American freedom; on the other, as a failed attempt on the part of Berlin as a new old capital to keep up with other world cities in the global competition. For this reason she demonstrates all the 'castles in the air' dating from the post-*Wende* period that have burst like balloons. And, finally, she predicts a similar fate for Berlin's royal palace, soon to be re-built as the Humboldt Forum.

On the whole, the breadth of publications concerning 'post-Wall Berlin' on which Ward's book draws is impressive. She quotes numerous architects, film makers, and writers as commentators on

² See Hartmut Häußermann and Andreas Kapphann, *Berlin: Von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt? Sozialräumlicher Wandel seit 1990* (Opladen, 2000).

the most recent developments in Berlin. But the fact that she repeatedly draws on general reflections of pioneers of the spatial turn, such as Henri Lefebvre and Edward W. Soja, as prophetic forecasts for developments in Berlin, and then uses examples from Berlin to exemplify their theories, gives rise to a circular argument. In general, Ward is interested mainly in the great names of intellectual history from Aristotle to Ernst Bloch, and draws almost exclusively on the work of intellectual critics of the New Berlin. By contrast, we hear little about the actual urban actors, although their agency is repeatedly invoked. The same also applies, ultimately, to the city's spatial structures, which receive uneven treatment in the different chapters. This may be because the individual parts of the book, on the whole, seem quite disparate, sometimes resembling a loose collection of essays. Ward's enjoyment in expressing her opinions is both the strength and the weakness of the book. Thus *Post-Wall Berlin* is ultimately less a sober historiographical analysis written from a distanced perspective than a polemic on the numerous actual or assumed failures of Berlin's development since the *Wende*. The author shows herself to be well informed and always up to date with the most recent, even daily, developments in the debate. The book could thus well be read as a critical travel guide to the New Berlin.

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