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LEN SCALES, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245–1414* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), xvi + 619 pp. ISBN 978 0 521 57333 7. £80.00. US\$135.00

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge, 1992), ch. 4.

³ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2009).

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JULIA ANGSTER, *Erdbeeren und Piraten: Die Royal Navy und die Ordnung der Welt 1780–1880* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 345 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 30037 4. €62.95

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This long-awaited and intriguing book by an American scholar of German history is the first English-language monograph devoted to the bizarre history of German academic research on Africa. It complements the works published in German by Holger Stoecker (2008), dealing with African studies in Berlin from 1919 to 1945, and Felix Brahm (2010), comparing African studies in Germany with those in France between 1930 and 1970.¹ Like these, it is based on the intensive use of many different archives and an enormous body of research literature.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The above conceptual shortcomings aside, *Romances of War* successfully corrects the impression created by some scholars that British writers and poets were agents of a 'romantic militarism' after 1815.⁴ The issues they covered, as Peters makes clear, were far too diverse for such a one-dimensional objective. The study therefore achieves something important. It invites further reflection on the convergence of politics, art, religion, class-consciousness, and transna-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ULRIKE LINDNER, *Koloniale Begegnungen: Deutschland und Großbritannien als Imperialmächte in Afrika 1880–1914*, Globalgeschichte, 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2011), 533 pp. ISBN 978 3 593 39485 5. €56.00

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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