

## BOOK REVIEWS

FIONA J. GRIFFITHS and JULIE HOTCHIN (eds.), *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), x + 430 pp. ISBN 978 2 503 54096 2. €100.00

This collection of essays is dedicated to the question of how men and women lived and worked together in medieval religious houses. This starting point may surprise some readers, given the common assumption that religious women in particular lived in strict enclosure and that men were not allowed to enter their convents, except, that is, for clerics who said mass for the women, spiritual fathers who heard their confessions and gave them pastoral guidance, and male relatives who had a special right to visit their sisters and daughters. All of which brings us directly to the heart of the matter. The issue addressed in this volume originates in the prohibition on women taking higher orders and in the close connections between religious women and their secular relatives which arose not least from their financial affairs. Considering that cohabitation was a common and everyday situation in female monasteries and collegiate churches, the subject has hitherto received insufficient attention from researchers. Yet the problems of cohabitation, particularly the threat it posed to the women's celibacy, were repeatedly addressed in medieval letters, hagiographical and historical texts, charters, sermons, visitation records, and the normative texts of monasticism, as Fiona J. Griffiths (New York) and Julie Hotchin (Canberra) show in their introduction (pp. 1–46).

The volume gathers together essays which investigate the everyday routine of male–female relations within male and female monasteries which were not double houses, using case studies from German-speaking Europe between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. The editors have attempted to compensate for any thematic lacunae through brief sketches in their introduction.

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Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel (pp. 47–74) uses high medieval necrologies from south-western Germany and Switzerland to show that religious women lived alone or in small groups at many monasteries which had previously been believed to be houses solely for men—a phenomenon already pointed out by Irma Bühler in her dissertation (published 1928–30) on the basis of necrologies from early and high medieval Benedictine monasteries in Bavaria. Gilomen-Schenkel uses the ‘*Helvetia Sacra*’ to ascertain that many double monasteries in Switzerland originated from these small groups of religious women. Indeed, we may add that the same phenomenon can be found right across southern Germany, and wherever Benedictine houses drove and anchored reform in the high Middle Ages.

Conversely, a surprising number of men lived in the Premonstratensian female houses of Füssenich and Meer in the diocese of Cologne during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Shelley A. Wolbrink (pp. 171–212) can show. In addition, an entire network of abbots, priors, clerics, and lay brothers supported the women’s houses in religious, liturgical, and economic matters.

Relations between male and female religious in the era of the Benedictine reforms and the reformation of the Augustinians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were particularly close and intellectually intensive. The Codex Guta-Sintram from the Augustinian double monastery of Marbach-Schwarzentann in Alsace, as presented by Susan Marti (pp. 75–107), is an example of close cooperation between the sexes. However, the manuscripts from the Benedictine double houses of Interlaken, Admont, and Engelberg are not so straightforward, in Marti’s view. There is no essay dedicated to the Benedictine double monasteries in this volume. The editors have attempted to compensate for this with an extended discussion in their introduction (pp. 8–10). The references here make no mention of the only comprehensive synthesis to date, by Hedwig Röckelein.<sup>1</sup> In the discussion of the term ‘double monastery’ (pp. 12–13) there is no reference to the fundamental work of Stephanie Haarländer,<sup>2</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> Hedwig Röckelein, ‘Frauen im Umkreis der benediktinischen Reformen des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts: Gorze, Cluny, Hirsau, St. Blasien und Siegburg’, in Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female ‘vita religiosa’ between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages: Structures, Developments and Spatial Contexts* (Berlin, 2011), 275–327.

<sup>2</sup> Stephanie Haarländer ‘Doppelklöster und ihre Forschungsgeschichte’, in

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suggests alternative and more appropriate terms, such as 'dissociated' (*dissoziiert*) and 'symbiotic' monasteries. There is also no consideration of the close cooperation between female Benedictines and Augustinian canons which is particularly visible in the Saxon dioceses of Hildesheim and Halberstadt in the twelfth century, and which enabled the women to participate indirectly in debates at the innovative cathedral schools of northern France.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst contemporary misogynistic texts from the reforming circles of the high and late Middle Ages and many modern researchers both describe the 'cura monialium' (the provision of pastoral care for women by men) as an inconvenient and burdensome task for clerics, medieval records of day-to-day life reveal a different picture. Communication between male clerics and their female charges does not seem to have been so entirely hierarchical as is commonly assumed. Many clerics understood their task more as a service for the women, into which they entered voluntarily, as Fiona Griffiths (Guibert of Gembloux and Hildegard of Bingen, pp. 145–69) and Wybren Scheepma (the fourteenth-century Dominican Hendrik van Leuven as spiritual leader of the Beguines, pp. 271–302) are able to show, because they hoped to gain an alternative path to God through the religious women or to profit from the women's unique spiritual gifts.

Anthony Ray seeks to fathom the general conditions of the cura monialium within the Cistercian Order from the exceptional case of a thirteenth-century correspondence between blood relatives, Thomas of Villiers and his sister, Alice of Parc-les-Dames, both Cistercians (pp. 213–36). However, most female Cistercians would not have received similar external pastoral care, since they were, in general, in no way incorporated into the Order. Responsibility for their cura lay not with Cistercian abbots and monks, but with local bishops, parish clergy, and the abbots of other orders. The female mendicants of Strasbourg sought to select their confessors via their

Edeltraud Klüeting (ed.), *Fromme Frauen – Unbequeme Frauen? Weibliches Religiosentum im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 2006), 27–44.

<sup>3</sup> On this see Hedwig Röckelein, 'Die Auswirkung der Kanonikerreform des 12. Jahrhunderts auf Kanonissen, Augustinerchorfrauen und Benediktinerinnen', in Franz J. Felten, Annette Kehnel, and Stefan Weinfurter (eds.), *Institution und Charisma: Festschrift für Gert Melville zum 65. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 2009), 55–72.

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secular relatives, as Sigrid Hirbodian shows (pp. 303–37). They were only denied this freedom within the strict observant communities, where their orders named spiritual fathers from their own ranks. The semi-religious Beguines sometimes also took the initiative in finding spiritual advisers and friends, such as secular clerics or parish priests, as Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane has discovered to be the case for many houses of Beguines in Würzburg (pp. 237–70). Through the examples of the *Sister Catherine Treatise* and *The Pious Miller's Wife*, Sara S. Poor concerns herself with spiritually gifted women in the fifteenth century outside of religious institutions, who—although followers of the apophatic (or 'negative') theology of Meister Eckhart—themselves entered into the social role of teacher, even though this was in contradiction to the teaching role of the church (pp. 339–65).

Collegiate churches for women occupy a special place amongst female religious houses. From the outset they featured less strict boundaries between the sexes than did the rigorously cloistered female communities. As Sabine Klapp shows from the example of the collegiate church of St Stephen in Strasbourg (pp. 367–400), they were augmented by canons, who can be found in almost all *Frauenstifte*<sup>4</sup> from at least the twelfth century and who, we may add, determined to a large extent the economic and administrative affairs of these *Frauenstifte* in the late Middle Ages. In the case of the female collegiate church of Gandersheim, which is not considered in this volume, it could have been demonstrated that only a handful of the canonesses' prebends were occupied, and that the small number of canonesses did not even live in the convent. The canons alone governed and directed matters locally.

The volume closes with a summary essay by John W. Coakley which takes us away from the everyday and the routine. He addresses an extreme situation for religious men and women in the experience of mystical ecstasy, visionary rapture, and sanctity. Coakley debates the proposition—which has found a mixed reception amongst researchers—that women, who were excluded from the Church's teaching mission during the Middle Ages, could only attain authority as teachers through visionary and mystical experiences.

<sup>4</sup> Note by the translator: Griffiths and Hotchin explain in their introduction (p. 7) that *Frauenstifte* were houses of canonesses, and that the *Frauenstift* was 'a religious institution for which no comparable English term exists'.

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For Coakley, it is beyond doubt that there were gender-specific strategies of authorization and gendered understandings of these same strategies.

The essays in this volume come without exception from the pens of experts. Most are based on the authors' extensive study of the sources over many years. This accounts for the high quality of the articles. In each essay the printed and unpublished sources are separately identified alongside the academic literature. A highly relevant theme in the study of monasticism and piety in the Middle Ages has finally been given systematic treatment and a well-founded discussion. For this we are greatly indebted to the editors!

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KATHRYNE BEEBE, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), xviii + 270 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 871707 2. £60.00

At the heart of Kathryn Beebe's book lie the four works in which the Dominican Felix Fabri recounted his two pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Fabri was born in Zurich in 1437/8, entered the Dominican convent at Basel in 1452, and was a member of the convent at Ulm from 1468 until his death in 1502. He travelled to Jerusalem for the first time in 1480, and in 1483–4 he journeyed via the Holy Land to St Catherine's monastery in Sinai and to Cairo and Alexandria. He described both journeys in four texts, each intended for a different audience. The first journey became the basis for a vernacular poem, the *Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein*. He also wrote up his second journey in the vernacular in the *Pilgerbuch* and dedicated this work to his noble patrons, whom he had accompanied on the journey as their chaplain. He worked from Latin notes which he had made on wax tablets along the way. These notes were also the basis for his most important work concerning his pilgrimages, the *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, which he set down in Latin for his confrères at Ulm. Finally, in 1492, he wrote a fourth text for cloistered nuns, which again describes his pilgrimage in the vernacular. This text was intended to serve as a foundation for spiritual exercises, and presents a set of instructions for a virtual pilgrimage. Later it was given the title *Geistliche Pilgerfahrt oder die Sionpilgerin* or simply *Sionpilger*.

Beebe's book investigates these four works by Fabri and places them in their historiographical context. Fabri's other works are all mentioned by Beebe at most in passing: this is the case as much for his central historiographical work, the *Descriptio Theutoniae, Sueviae et civitatis Ulmensis*, which was originally conceived by Fabri as part of his *Evagatorium*, as for his many sermons and tracts. He was, in fact, reckoned amongst the most important preachers of his time, although most of his sermons are believed to be lost. The author dedicates to all of Fabri's writings which are not pilgrimage accounts exactly one page in a section of the introduction entitled 'Fabri's

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Works', and only a further five pages in chapter 2 on 'Fabri's Writing'.

Beebe begins her study with the question of why Fabri repeatedly described the same pilgrimage: 'to understand *why* this was so: who these audiences were; how Fabri approached them in his writings; and how they received and read his pilgrimage accounts' (p. 1). The 1483–4 pilgrimage was also recorded in writing by other members of the party, for instance, by a secular cleric from Mainz called Bernhard von Breidenbach and in a very brief account by the knight Georg von Gumpfenberg. Only Fabri set down the journey in writing in three different versions. Beebe treats Felix Fabri's accounts as exemplary cases, on the basis of which it is possible 'to understand pilgrimage literature in general, not simply Fabri's works, on their own terms' (p. 3). Her objective is 'to offer a new understanding of the nature of the relationship between the late medieval reader and writer, and her or his world' (p. 3).

In chapter 1 the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land which were known at the end of the Middle Ages are introduced, along with the state of research on Felix Fabri's pilgrimage accounts and medieval pilgrimages in general. This chapter also deals with the various genres of writing—from itineraries to diaries—in which pilgrimage accounts are found.

In chapter 2 we learn more about Fabri's education within his order as well as about the positions which he held in this order. His mental horizons are also convincingly delineated, along with his extensive preparation for his second pilgrimage with the aid of the contemporary pilgrimage literature. In this chapter the transmission of the four pilgrimage accounts is studied in depth, and comparisons are made with the authors of other accounts (Ludolf von Sudheim, Hans Tucher, and Bernhard von Breidenbach).

Chapter 3 focuses on the audiences for Fabri's pilgrimage accounts: 'the different audiences . . . must be understood in the context of Fabri's multiple responsibilities in the communities in which he was a member' (p. 95). Beebe introduces Fabri's corresponding literary techniques. For instance, he deliberately tried to pique the interest of his readers, and in the *Evagatorium* in particular he sought to provide his confrères with an engaging text for use in education. In the *Pilgerbuch*, written for his noble patrons, he was also envisaging later public readings at court, which needed to include amusing

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anecdotes, not least because maids and servants were amongst the listeners.

In chapter 4 Beebe asks after the 'actual readership of Fabri's texts' (p. 129). To this end she again draws upon the transmission and reception of the texts with impressive breadth, and investigates (for example) Fabri's copyists and their interventions in the text. She also pursues the question of why the accounts were so seldom printed and are hardly ever found in the particular religious houses for whose inhabitants they were written. In this context she continually returns to the intriguing observation that the readers of Fabri's texts are not necessarily to be found in the same places as the copyists and printers who brought the texts into circulation. The fifth and final chapter is centred on the *Sionspilger* as a 'virtual pilgrimage' which Fabri composed at the urging of the observant Dominican nuns at Medingen and Medlingen. Here the author tackles the charged relationship between nuns, Dominican reform, and *die deutsche Mystik*. In the conclusion (chapter 6) she emphasizes the 'the two poles of [Fabri's] identity, pilgrim and preacher' (p. 211), which were above all shaped by his membership of the Dominican Order. The volume is rounded out by three maps of Fabri's pilgrimage routes and an appendix on the transmission of the texts in question, as well as an index which covers mostly people and places, but also some abstract nouns (for instance, the terms 'printing' and 'pilgrimage' are included).

It must be said that, to her credit, Beebe has resisted the temptation to re-narrate Fabri's texts and above all—contrary to what we unfortunately find all too often in other treatments of Fabri—she refrains from emphasizing the comical and exotic passages (for instance, his description of a *Rhinocerus*). Beebe has instead produced a scholarly study with a defined problem and methodology, and has thereby made an important contribution to historical research. Her focus in this respect is on the production and reception of the pilgrimage accounts. The strength of the study undoubtedly lies in the comprehensive investigation of the manuscript transmission of the four pilgrimage accounts from Fabri's pen.

The theme of 'observant spirituality' which is announced in the title could have been an opportunity for new discoveries concerning the later phases of the Observant Movement; however, the present study rarely goes beyond the research which has recently been pur-

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sued by Johan Van Engen and James D. Mixson in particular. Overall it is notable that Beebe, as with many researchers before her, considers chiefly the travel literature amongst Fabri's works. She does so extensively, and also offers many new details along the way. However, Fabri's total body of work remains overshadowed by this dominant interest, and his importance for the Dominican Observant Movement in the second half of the fifteenth century receives no fundamental re-evaluation.

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CHRISTINA BRAUNER, *Kompanien, Könige und caboceers: Interkulturelle Diplomatie an Gold- und Sklavenküste im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Externa. Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven, 8 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), 670 pp. ISBN 978 3 412 22514 8. €89.90

This substantial volume is adapted from Christina Brauner's recent doctoral thesis on early modern West Africa. Its subtitle highlights the focus upon intercultural diplomacy along the Gold and Slave Coasts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Brauner depicts the slaving zone and shows how Europeans, Africans, and Euro-Africans created a new coastal culture. After a review of the historiography of the coast including the histories of the main European slaving companies, she discusses whether Europeans' views of concepts such as 'kingship' were appropriate to the African setting. She also examines elements of culture, such as rituals or taboos, to reconstruct coast culture without using a purely Eurocentric viewpoint.

Diplomatic interactions, as Brauner highlights, were not merely between Europeans and Africans, but between different groups in both camps. There was also a Euro-African culture at the coast with a 'lengua da costa' (coast language). The customs of the coast grew up out of the mixing of different cultures. In addition, there were Euro-Africans themselves who often held various posts as translators, traders, or other sorts of intermediary. Brauner reminds the reader that most of the primary source material used in studies of the coast comes from European archives. Hence the coast is seen through a European lens, even though African and Euro-African cultures were predominant. Brauner aims to reintroduce African views and also to show how developments in Europe and the wider Mediterranean affected the European frame of reference. Given the long time span of the study, covering the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were numerous changes in power relations, personnel, and culture itself.

Brauner begins by providing an overview of the scholarship on pre-colonial West Africa. In this period, West Africa could be divided into various 'coasts' (for example, the Slave Coast and the Gold Coast) as well as different kingdoms (for example, the Kingdom of Allada or Dahomey). Brauner has set out to investigate how diplomacy functioned between different African and European powers. In

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addition, European slaving companies were quasi-state entities. Aside from other independent European traders and the occasional missionary, slaving companies constituted the European presence in West Africa. They were the reason for European interest in the politics of the coast and sometimes proved to be a source of friction between Africans and Europeans. Crucially, the 'European' forts were built on land which was only rented from African leaders. To add to the complexity, a wide variety of European states were represented at the coast at one time or another. The Portuguese arrived first and their cultural influence lasted long after their actual power had faded. For instance the 'lengua da costa' was a type of pidgin Portuguese. After the Portuguese came the British, French, Danes, Dutch, and representatives of much smaller entities such as the Brandenburgers.

Brauner has done a thorough job of researching a variety of national archives in different languages. The sheer scale of the primary and secondary sources consulted is impressive. Many histories of the African coast centre upon one European country's history (and archives), which tends to create a skewed impression. Just as Atlantic history can focus upon one particular European nation (for example, French Atlantic history) the history of the coast often becomes a national story. This approach has its advantages, but the rich pattern of coastal culture was based on the interaction between many cultures. The African coast was dotted with European forts and settlements which often lay very close to each other. The town of Ouidah, for instance, housed three such forts. The proximity allowed African leaders to keep an eye on the Europeans but also to force them to compete with each other. Europeans may have been writing their documents whilst living right next door to each other, but their records have been dispersed across a variety of European archives. Brauner has tackled the distancing effect and tried to reintegrate some of the material to bring the coast back to life.

Brauner explains that Europeans tried to understand African culture with regard to their own social norms. She cautions that this does not necessarily mean that African social structures or cultural practices had a direct European equivalent. As Europeans had kings and kingdoms, they tended to see Africa in the same terms. Europeans also drew on their Orientalist ideas about 'the East' and particularly the Ottoman Empire. This was particularly apparent in

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European critiques of African 'tyranny' or 'immorality'. At other times, Europeans also likened certain African regimes to republics. However, a chief or head of an African group might not be a king or even the leader of a republic in the European sense. They had religious functions which meant that they were really 'Priest-Kings'. For instance, they were also closely connected with a system of 'taboos'. One taboo forbade anyone to see the 'king' drink. A child who broke this taboo was killed. This action, whilst correct within the local culture, clearly broke European taboos about the sanctity of human life. Such incidents could lead to a king being conceptualized by Europeans as a tyrant or a barbarian. Some European observers queried whether local chiefs should even be 'dignified' with the name 'king'. Kingship to Europeans was necessarily accompanied by splendour in the form of great buildings, thrones, crowns, and other accoutrements. African leaders lived in a style very different from Versailles. However, their power was expressed to their people and to their European visitors in other ways. They obliged Europeans at the coast to attend rituals and 'palavers' or discussions. They controlled access to the hinterland from which slaves were brought to the coast. Europeans did not make forays far inland. Insulting remarks about Africans hid the real dependency which Europeans had on their hosts' continued favour.

European sources tend to be particularly good at pointing out differences rather than similarities. For example, the African rules of succession were different from European norms. Often kingship descended down the female line. The king's sister's son succeeded the king. This provoked much comment amongst Europeans, but was founded upon the idea that early modern societies could not prove paternity but only maternity. Other high status roles were also allocated differently. Europeans were surprised to find that the 'headsman' or executioner was also 'prime minister' in European terminology (p. 144). One European observer explained this by stating that the two roles had co-existed in earlier times in Europe. He believed that this was evidence of African backwardness, presuming that the Africans were on the same developmental path as the Europeans, if a little further behind them.

This idea is a forerunner of the 'civilizing project' view which Europeans undertook to change African societies 'for the better'. The project was only possible when European power started to outweigh

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African power, which was not the case in the early modern period. Rather, the Africans trained the Europeans to their customs to a certain extent. There was a complex gift economy which Europeans had to learn in order to trade successfully. The distinction between 'gifts' and 'tolls', however, always remained a little vague. Gift-giving by Africans was a sign of friendship but also underlined the African ruler's own status. Gift-taking might be seen as a tax, whether fair or unfair, by Europeans. Sometimes the Europeans were presented with a gift in return which was worth more than their gift. This was a ceremonial statement of a patron-client relationship.

The written sources give only glimpses of how Africans viewed Europeans. They tend to focus on instances where Africans reacted strongly to something. For instance, an African 'king' took exception to a Dane's powdered wig. The pigtail of the wig was interpreted as the white man's 'tail', which in other animals would not be on the neck (p. 175). This vignette highlights how strange early modern Europeans might seem to Africans and, arguably, also to modern Europeans. 'Civilized' customs such as wig-wearing were continued with, even though wigs were presumably unsuitable for the African climate. European sources tend to focus on descriptions of 'the other': African housing, clothing, customs, and rituals receive great attention. In doing so, the sources rarely mention those things which Europeans took for granted, such as the wearing of pig-tailed wigs.

African leaders, such as the 'King' of Dahomey, were able to tolerate European customs. The king allowed each European visitor to salute in the manner of his own country rather than following Dahomian tradition. Africans also altered European practices to suit local customs, such as the use of European national flags in parades. Clearly the original meaning of the flags had changed. The blending of cultures is perhaps more difficult to divine than when cultures clashed. The use of pawns (human hostages as a guarantee for good faith) meant that Africans were sometimes housed and educated in European forts for long stretches of time. The European sources discuss how to profit by educating a high status person in European ways, but say little about how that person might affect the Europeans themselves. African influence on Europeans seems harder to uncover, and yet it must have happened.

Brauner has set herself a very difficult task: investigating intercultural exchanges by using archival evidence from only one side.

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The Africans and Euro-Africans seem to have left little written evidence of their own. Their words and actions are recorded by the pens of European writers. Brauner fully acknowledges this problem but has done a fine job of critically assessing these primary sources and noting their biases. It might have been useful to try to include some evidence which was not European in origin. Archaeological excavations, for instance at the abandoned town of Savi, might have shed some more light on African ideas. This is a minor quibble however. Another small quibble is the lack of an index by subject. There are indices by person and place and a helpful glossary. These are small points to take into account if a translation is ever published. All in all, this is a detailed and well-produced volume which stresses the mixing of cultures at the coast and makes important points about the biases in the European primary source material.

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ANNE MARISS, *'A World of New Things': Praktiken der Naturgeschichte bei Johann Reinhold Forster*, Campus Historische Studien, 72 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2015), 459 pp. ISBN 978 3 593 50477 3. €56.00 (Paperback)

It is noteworthy when a book's argument is based on such diverse eighteenth-century examples as Europeans who drew lines in the sand on the island of Tanna to claim control over Pacific commercial exchange; a missionary's need for books in the southern Indian town of Tranquebar; and the display of Asian plant seeds in the German city of Halle. These historical case studies are interlinked because of the biographical complexity of the book's historical protagonist, Johann Reinhold Forster, on the one hand, and the author's methodological claim for writing a global history of Enlightenment knowledge on the other. By combining the richness of historical case studies with a deep commitment to methodological reflectivity, Tübingen historian Anne Mariss presents a highly readable book on the history of science that will be of interest to a wider, non German-speaking readership.

The author explores how the men involved in James Cook's second voyage (1772–5) encountered 'a world of new things', as Forster, a German natural scientist and member of Cook's crew, enthusiastically wrote to the English scholar Thomas Pennant. Mariss approaches Enlightenment naturalist scholarship by examining the actual practices that shaped the production of eighteenth-century knowledge. In line with recent research on the production of knowledge, she posits that Enlightenment natural history emerged from the global exchange of information and objects. Given that current researchers' claims for global history often fall short of their achievements, *A World of New Things* is a remarkable contribution to recent debates on global/local history and the production of science. Knowledge about nature, Mariss argues, was the product of various and interrelated spaces of encounter, such as ships, universities, and the republic of letters, all of which shaped the scientific community's social boundaries. This approach challenges historians' understanding of the centres and peripheries of the Enlightenment world by drawing our attention to networks. The exchange of things, Mariss claims, stimulated new approaches to object-centred research in the late eighteenth century. The author thereby emphasizes the impact of artefacts, texts,

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and images on the production of knowledge through processes of negotiation, translation, and transfer. These processes turned the production and conservation of Enlightenment science into a fragile material and sensory enterprise.

The book begins with a biographical sketch of Forster, a global agent as well as a networker across Europe generally and between Germany and England in particular (ch. 2). By situating Forster within a scientific community, Mariss stresses that eighteenth-century scholarly disputes affected his reputation and caused historiographical lacunae. While plenty of research focuses on Forster's son, Georg, a naturalist in his own right, a prominent Enlightenment writer, and, later on, an ardent supporter of the French Revolution, Johann Reinhold's biography and work are widely forgotten. This is even more surprising in light of the large number of available sources. Mariss draws on journals, diaries, treatises, and correspondences to show that the Forsters' natural history was teamwork practised by father and son as early as their 1765 Russian journey. Drawing on handwritten and printed sources from Johann Reinhold's time in Warrington and Halle, where he taught at the Dissenter's College and university, Mariss then outlines Forster's conceptual approach to natural history (ch. 3). An empirical examination of nature, Forster believed, was essential to understanding God's creation and promoting human progress. Over decades, Forster contributed actively to contemporary scientific debates on topics ranging from biblical explanations for the presence of fossils to the impact of fire and water on the geological development of the world. He knew how to play the social game of science, manoeuvring between discourses, clientele and patrons of various nationalities, and how to criticize or incorporate scientific positions.

In chapter 4, the book's core and greatest strength, Mariss examines Cook's ship as a diverse social space that shaped the local production and global circulation of knowledge. In a thorough analysis of Forster's ships journal, Mariss reconstructs natural history as a shared enterprise performed not only by the scientists but also by other members of the crew and by the indigenes whom the travellers encountered. Sailors and Polynesians, who participated in the networks of circulating objects through their maritime, linguistic, and local knowledge, cooperated, competed, and came into conflict with travelling scientists. However, the scientists' scholarly descriptions of

the voyage and their publications silenced these actors' contributions to the production of Enlightenment knowledge.

Mariss similarly defines the politics of plant classification as part of the Europeans' global 'bioprospecting' efforts. When Forster consulted his copies of Linnaeus and Buffon, Mariss argues, he decontextualized local botanical knowledge and represented it in accordance with European discourses. These discourses drew the boundaries of both the legitimacy of knowledge and the acceptance of people's ability to participate in a scientific community. The author's reconstruction of Forster's book holdings during the voyage is a further merit of the study. Later in the same chapter Mariss examines the mobility of natural artefacts. Since their material fragility endangered the epistemic status of knowledge, the dissection and depiction of animals and natural objects were common means of preserving, constituting, and mobilizing natural historians' knowledge. Such taxidermic and visual practices not only represented knowledge but also shaped its production through aesthetic idealization.

Finally, chapter 5 connects the world of global mobility with Halle, where Forster was appointed to the university's chair of natural history in 1779. Mariss shows that this German university was by no means a static entity, but a vivid agent of eighteenth-century global botany. The botanical garden and natural cabinets, both symbols of the university's enlightened ideal of education, enabled object-centred teaching and represented academic prestige. Forster ensured the supply of natural artefacts through his active correspondence and the mutual exchange of goods with the Danish-Hallensian mission in Tranquebar, India. Professors' households were also places of shared work in the production of knowledge. They provided space for the division of labour and the exchange of ideas between scholars and students, wives, children, and servants. Such teamwork, however, not only mirrored the global reach of their networks but also reflected social inequality in forms of collaboration and sociability. One wonders, therefore, about the absence of sources that might indicate the contribution that Forster's daughter made to her father's natural science enterprises. Is the absence of Antonia, who even travelled to Surinam, really due to Forster's disapproval of her 'independent' lifestyle, as Mariss suggests, or is it the result of the silencing logics of the textual production of male and Enlightenment scientific knowledge?

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By connecting Forster's global travels with his local institution, Mariss also provides broader conclusions about academic cultures and scientific paradigms. The academic institutionalization of natural history led to its differentiation into a variety of disciplines. Yet Mariss further argues that the availability of natural artefacts, which were classified, sorted, and ready to be compared with each other in European cabinets, enabled the emergence of the nineteenth-century scientific evolutionary paradigm. Though one might wish for a more detailed discussion of this observation, *A World of New Things* is a central contribution to the history of Enlightenment science. Mariss demonstrates that enlightened knowledge was not simply a product of reason, but of visual, material, and tactile experiences. Eighteenth-century scientists shared a fascination for nature, which was also the product of passionate competition in hunting for and collecting natural artefacts that was shared by various protagonists of a wider *Faszinationsgemeinschaft* (Martin Mulsow). The representation of knowledge, however, silenced a variety of mainly non-European, non-male, and non-academic protagonists who participated in its production through the exchange of plants, animals, minerals, and other natural items.

The book's argument would have benefited from a thorough material examination of some of the objects collected during Cook's voyages. A study of these artefacts, which are today exhibited in museums worldwide, would promote an object-centred dialogue between historians, museologists, and anthropologists that could further challenge the social logics of Enlightenment science. Such research, for instance, could outline the extent to which the European scientists' practices relied on Pacific cosmopolitanism (Nicholas Thomas), that is, the exchange of objects and mobility of protagonists in non-European encounters and networks. In fact, this is only one way that Mariss's study could stimulate future research. Her book rehabilitates the work of Johann Reinhold Forster and prompts historians to continue rethinking the global connectedness of Enlightenment science as well as its local contexts. There was no linear increase in knowledge, but natural science was the product of the global dynamics of knowledge, the precarious mobility of artefacts, and the contingency and conflicts of history.

JOHANN REINHOLD FORSTER

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WOLFRAM SIEMANN, *Metternich: Stratege und Visionär. Eine Biografie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016), 983 pp. ISBN 978 3 406 68386 2. €34.95 (Hardback)

This is the book historians have been waiting a long time for: ninety-one years to be precise or, in other words, since Heinrich Ritter von Srbik published his massive two-volume biography of Clemens von Metternich. As Wolfram Siemann points out, every subsequent biographer has relied on Srbik to a greater or lesser extent, discouraged from further research by the consoling thought that it had all been done. It is with a mighty sigh of relief that we can now consign Srbik's turgid volumes, with their rambling sentences and interminable paragraphs, to the charity bookshops. Has anyone actually read every one of his roughly half-a-million words? Siemann probably has, but he himself needs only two-thirds of that number to deliver ten times more and, moreover, to do it fluently, lucidly, and engagingly.

Not the least of the problems with Srbik, as Siemann points out, was his racist *Weltanschauung*, leading him to assert that for Metternich, too, the 'overriding' concept was race, although, alas, he was also guilty of occasional 'unGerman' lapses and a general tendency to underestimate the moral energies of the German *Volk*. It comes as no surprise to discover that Srbik joined the NSDAP in 1938 following the *Anschluss*, a course of action, it can be assumed with confidence, his subject would not have endorsed. From the other end of the political spectrum, Metternich has always been pilloried for imposing black reaction on Europe after 1815, in a vain attempt to turn the clock back to the old regime.

Siemann assaults these positions root and branch in a sustained revisionist exercise. He brings to bear on his multiple targets the heavy-calibre ammunition he has assembled from the '*Acta Clementina*', Metternich's voluminous personal *Nachlass* located in the National Archive in Prague, together with the Metternich family archive also to be found there. With very few honourable exceptions, previous biographers have relied heavily on the eight volumes of memoirs and papers edited by Metternich's son Richard and published in French, German, and English in the 1880s. If only occasionally unreliable, they represent only a fraction of the whole. Among those whose factual errors and interpretative misjudgements are now cor-

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rected by Siemann are Adam Zamoyski, Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Alan Palmer, Paul Schroeder, and Matthias Schulz (the last-named is treated with special severity).

The old legends are still being repeated, by Manfred Rauchensteiner, for example, who in his contribution to a sumptuous volume published to mark the bicentenary of the Congress of Vienna, asserted that Metternich was largely responsible for Austria's catastrophic decision to declare war on Napoleon in 1809. Like so many before him, he was just repeating the verdict of Srbik, who had declined to investigate the archival material dealing with this episode because it was 'simply vast' (*schier unermesslich*). Yet, as Siemann points out, Manfred Botzenhart had done the necessary work in the Viennese and Prague archives back in 1967 and had shown that Srbik's assertion was completely unfounded and the opposite of the truth.

This demolition and site clearance form only a small part of the project. Siemann is, in fact, generous to most of those he criticizes, recognizing the achievement of Paul Schroeder, for example, and even finding some laudatory words for Srbik. His main task, however, is to recreate the Metternich revealed by the sources, not the ogre demonized by his opponents, past and present. The reconstruction begins in the family home with the rehabilitation of Metternich's father. Intelligent, learned, good-natured, and enlightened, Franz Georg von Metternich gave his son the best possible start, always treating him with affection and taking care that he received the best possible education from his tutors. Often away from home on Habsburg business, he wrote frequently, ending his letters with 'my dear and excellent Clemens, you are my friend, my confidant, and I cannot say how happy I am to have you as my child'. On his death in 1819, he was eulogized by his son as 'the best father and the truest friend'.

It was thanks to this excellent relationship that the younger Metternich acquired early practical knowledge of the world of politics and diplomacy. At the tender age of 7 he accompanied his father to the election of the Habsburg Archduke Max Franz as coadjutor to the Archbishop of Cologne. After 1791 he was often in Brussels, where Franz Georg had the thankless task of trying to run the Austrian Netherlands in the face of internal unrest and external aggression. By then, Clemens had already experienced the French Revolution at first hand in Strasbourg, where he was a student from

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1788 to 1790. He was an eyewitness when the town hall was stormed 'by a drunken mob which saw itself as the people', as he put it. Hostility to revolution inside France was intensified mightily by direct experience of the revolution exported by French armies after 1792.

As the self-appointed liberators swept across Europe, they revealed the Janus face of the Revolution—sublime objectives pursued by inhuman means, culminating in Napoleonic world war and unprecedented physical devastation and loss of life. As Siemann reveals so clearly, what made this rupture so painful for Metternich was the depth of his attachment to the Holy Roman Empire. As the scion of an ancient Rhenish aristocratic dynasty, his inherited belief in the eternal validity of imperial laws and institutions was outraged by the destructive intrusion of raw power red in tooth and claw. Principled offence was heightened by private affliction, for the French conquests robbed the Metternichs of much of their property. Only the Bohemian estate of Königswart kept them afloat in the dark days following the invasions and allowed Clemens to win the hand of the well-connected and rich Eleonore von Kaunitz.

In 1794 he went to England for the first time, as a member of an Austrian delegation seeking a loan. He was well prepared, having studied the English language at Strasbourg. Siemann argues that the importance of this visit has not been given the recognition it deserves. Srbik allotted one short (for him) paragraph to the episode; Siemann gives it thirty-five pages, labelling the section 'The Journey to Great Britain: The Keystone in the Young Metternich's Political Cosmos'. If he did not arrive as a *tabula rasa*, he argues, it was the experience of English institutions, especially Parliament, and English political philosophy, especially Burke's, that turned him into the conservative Whig he remained for the rest of his days. In 1819 he told Dorothea Lieven that if he had not been what he was, he would have liked to have been an Englishman. Arriving in London in 1848 after an absence of thirty-five years, he commented that it felt as though he had never been away, adding 'this great country is, as it has always been, strong because of its impregnable conviction of the value of the law, order and that form of liberty which can only truly exist if it rests on these pillars'.

Napoleon claimed that he, too, believed in the need to temper liberty with law and order. Metternich was well placed to see how

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fraudulent was the Napoleonic project. From 1806 to 1813 the two men were in constant contact, indeed, no other non-French person was so close to Napoleon for so long, or, one might add, brought such dry-eyed objectivity to assessing him. Always ready to acknowledge his enemy's charm, charisma, and even genius, Metternich could also spot the worms that were to devour the bud. He also had the patient intelligence to wait until they had done their work before orchestrating the *coup de grâce*. Siemann finds the perfect illustration to summarize his strategy in Brecht's story of a Mr Egge, who is forced to provide hospitality for a brutal invader, who asks: 'Will you serve me?' Mr Egge does not reply but stoically provides everything demanded for seven years, by which time his uninvited guest has grown so obese that he keels over and dies. It is then that Mr Egge answers 'No'.

Siemann makes a convincing case that it was Metternich who played the decisive role in forming and then maintaining the coalition which finally destroyed Napoleon. Especially illuminating is his account of the patience and skill needed to keep onside the mercurial but indispensable Alexander I, a loose cannon if ever there were one. After reading Siemann's gripping, masterly account of the decline and fall of the Napoleonic Empire, one has to conclude that it would not have happened without Metternich's guiding hand. Not for nothing did Castlereagh call him 'the prime minister of the world'. Yet his role in the campaign of 1813 has been 'either totally ignored or only patchily acknowledged (*punktuell betrachtet*), and always underestimated and misinterpreted'. Strikingly original is Siemann's rediscovery of Metternich as military commander, especially before and during the climacteric battle of Leipzig.

These are only some of the many important revisions Siemann has made. They continue into the period after 1815. It is here that the rehabilitation of his hero may prove most controversial, although he certainly scotches the black legend of liberal and nationalist historiography. As Siemann observes, seeing the situation through Metternich's eyes makes for a more sympathetic understanding of his policies. Karl Sand's brutal stabbing of August Kotzebue in the presence of the victim's 4-year-old son was only one of many acts of political terrorism across Europe. As the Emperor Francis I warned, Metternich was at the top of the list of targets. It was a spectre which followed him for the rest of his life. When he learned in his English exile

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in 1848 that the Austrian Minister of War, Count Baillet von Latour, had been lynched and hanged from a lantern in Vienna, he commented: 'Murder is a bad weapon; blood cries for blood, and its nature is to pollute not purge whatever it touches. May God help poor humanity!' He was opposed neither to civil liberties nor national representation, although the experiences of 1789 to 1815 convinced him that they must be compatible with order—his last recorded words were 'a rock of order' (*un rocher d'ordre*).

Due attention is also paid to Metternich's private life, to his relations with his three wives and numerous lovers. It was typical of his kindly good nature that he should have remained on good terms with the latter even after physical relations had ceased. Repeating the good example set by his own father, he also took good care of his numerous children, acknowledging the daughter he had with Princess Bagration and bringing her to live with the rest of his family. His broad intellectual interests are also recounted, including his correspondence with Joseph Haydn, whom he met several times in London in 1794; his acquisition of a copy of Canova's 'Cupid and Psyche' by the sculptor's own hand; and his interest in the natural sciences, which went well beyond the level of a dilettante. More surprising is the revelation that Metternich was a successful industrial entrepreneur, developing his Bohemian estate at Plaß (Plasy) into an iron manufacturing business, turning out rails, wheels, and various household goods and employing several hundred miners and foundry workers.

So rich is this wonderful book in insight and information, so brilliantly does it illuminate Metternich's exciting times, that no review can hope to do justice to its author's achievement. Every general history of the period between the outbreak of the French Revolution and the revolutions of 1848 will need to be rewritten. It is a long book but consistently stimulating, entertaining, even enthralling. It is earnestly to be hoped that an English translation will be forthcoming.

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TAIT KELLER, *Apostles of the Alps: Mountaineering and Nation Building in Germany and Austria, 1860–1939* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), xvii + 283 pp. ISBN 978 1 4696 2503 4. US\$29.95 (Paperback)

Taking the politicization of the Alps as its main focus, Tait Keller's book seeks to explore 'the paradox that Europe's seemingly peaceful "playgrounds" were battlegrounds where competing visions of Germany and Austria clashed' (p. 3). The author presents three threads to his story, the first of which is the 'account of humans in nature', as increasing numbers of middle-class tourists flocked to the Alps from the mid nineteenth century onwards in search of 'respite from the stress and strain of industrial development and the hustle and bustle of city life' (p. 3). A second thread follows the development of mass tourism, with 'humans shaping nature'. Hikers, mountain-climbers, and spa resort visitors 'brought the modern world with them when they civilized the crags' (p. 3). At the same time, these social and economic transformations possessed an overtly political dimension, which provides the final thread to the narrative: 'nature as a national symbol.' Thanks to the 'the labors of "apostles" of the Alps, the mountains came to serve as 'hallowed ground for the secular nation' (p. 4).

Keller divides his narrative into two parts, containing four and three chapters respectively. Part One provides a panorama on the 'opening' of the Alps between 1860 and 1918, whereby the first chapter focuses on the emergence of Alpine associations in Germany and the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy, prior to a process of merger to form the 'German and Austrian Alpine Association' in 1873–4. Here, and in the next chapter, Keller outlines the widespread impact of Alpinists on the natural landscape through the construction of mountain-huts and pathways, while a burgeoning infrastructure of roads, railways, and hotels made the Alps more accessible to the affluent bourgeois tourists who thrilled in the romantic vistas. Chapter three explores some of the tensions arising out of these changes, resulting from the unease that some Alpinists felt about the scale and pace of transformation, especially with the development of skiing as a new form of commercial activity. Arguments in favour of conservationism possessed an evident class dimension, however, with some sections of the Alpine movement rejecting the presence in

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the mountains of socialist outdoor groups such as the Austrian Friends of Nature (*Naturfreunde*). Chapter four then outlines how the First World War interrupted the flow of tourists, but led to the intensification of human intervention into the Alpine environment after Italy's entry into the war in May 1915. The respective armies on each side of the front line built new access roads or cable connections, excavated into the stone and ice, and detonated peaks such as the Col di Lana, permanently scarring the landscape.

Part Two of the book describes the attempts at 'dominating the Alps' from 1919 to 1939. Chapter five explores the aftermath of the war and resentments caused by border revisions after the Paris peace treaties (notably, the cession of South Tyrol to Italy). Heightened German nationalist claims to the Alps were accompanied by moves on the part of radical sections of the Alpine Association towards the exclusion of Jews from membership (a trend that accelerated and deepened through the 1920s and 1930s). Chapter six discusses the renewal of tourism in the inter-war period, which proved a difficult process in a testing economic climate. Public work programmes, such as the construction of the Großglockner road in Austria, affirmed anew the 'modernization' of the Alps. This was further fuelled by the genre of Alpine films, many of which glorified the events of the war and an ideal of heroic manhood battling to conquer nature. Chapter seven sketches the intensification through the 1930s of the trends described in the preceding two chapters, as well as looking at the role of Alpine groups in pressing for *Anschluss* between Germany and Austria. Finally, the conclusion offers a brief epilogue on the situation after 1945, rather than reiterating a firm argument that binds together the two main themes identified in the title. Indeed, it is the lack of a fully convincing analytical combination of these two themes that comprises a weakness of this book.

If much of the story that Keller tells is familiar in outline to scholars of the region, he nonetheless provides a useful overall account of developments, filling his narrative with verve, enthusiasm, and numerous interesting vignettes. He effectively synthesizes a good deal of research, while making an original contribution through his extensive use of association periodicals and focus on the work of Alpine activists. In several places, however, the analysis could be more systematic and rigorous. To take a couple of examples: the author cites the role of Alice Schalek as an embedded journalist for a

Viennese newspaper on the Alpine front in the First World War, and the 'spirit of unity' she perceived among the local troops (p. 99). Yet, while suggesting that Schalek 'saw only what she knew from her comfortable bourgeois upbringing' (p. 107), he does not make it sufficiently clear that she was a notorious pro-government propagandist with friends in the Army High Command (Karl Kraus provided a scathing depiction of her activities in *The Last Days of Mankind*). Similarly, the work of South Tyrolean writer, mountaineer, and film star Luis Trenker, described here simply as a 'movie star and veteran' (p. 109), is mentioned without underlining how Trenker's work in the 1930s and early 1940s was bound up with NSDAP film organizations. Such details matter when it comes to the question of 'nation building', but ultimately Keller fails to contextualize this subject convincingly. He jumps too readily between 'German' and 'Austrian' areas of the Alps without looking in detail at the national movement of the 1860s, the subsequent evolution of German nationalism in Austria after 1866-7, regional dimensions of nation-building, and the national competition between Germans and Slovenes, as well as Italians, regarding the Alps. To suggest, for example, that 'Alpine enthusiasts did not think in terms of regional identities' (p. 48) is to overlook the findings and nuances of recent scholarship. Use of relevant works by Dieter Langewiesche, Julia Schmid, and Heidrun Zettelbauer, among others, would have enabled a more effective contextualization of nation-building in the German Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy. Instead, Keller provides a sweeping overview, which often seems to blur the social and political specificities of the different states.

On balance, therefore, Keller is a more effective guide to the mountaineering than the nation-building side of the story, but his work constitutes a solid overview and an enjoyable read.

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*Nationale Identität der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung Tirols 1860–1914* (2000), and editor of *Glanz – Gewalt – Gehorsam: Militär und Gesellschaft in der Habsburgermonarchie (1800–1918)* (2011); *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy* (2007); and *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830–70* (2007).

DOMINIK GEPPERT and FRANK LORENZ MÜLLER (eds.), *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), xvi + 280 pp. ISBN 978 0 7190 9081 3. £75.00

The ‘memory boom’ (Jay Winter) is still going strong. Along with public debates since the 1980s, the ways in which collectives establish and reshape their relationships to the past has become a major research topic in history, the social sciences, and cultural studies. Notwithstanding this unbroken trend, the topic’s treatment has evolved considerably over the past three decades – to such an extent that some have started to distinguish several waves in the study of collective memory. Although the modern nation-state is still the dominant analytical framework in memory studies, scholarship has also turned to other contexts. Thus for nearly fifteen years there has been a debate about transnational forms of memory, particularly in the contexts of international Holocaust commemoration and European integration. Likewise, and following a general trend in academia, the colonial past has come to the fore. Here, too, most scholarship remains ensconced in a national framework, focusing on the question of how colonialism is publicly remembered – or not – in a given country. That is, it centres on postcolonial, national memories of colonialism. Some scholars, however, have started to study public remembrance in the context of colonialism itself, whether focusing on a metropole or a colony. They argue that empires, that is, globally the most important form of political rule up to the Second World War, were no less dependent on mechanisms of symbolic integration, including memory politics, than nation-states.

*Sites of Imperial Memory* is an important contribution to this emerging field (and less ‘a first foray’, as the editors put it in their introduction). The book brings together thirteen fine case studies that explore the intersections between colonialism and memory in a variety of European and non-European contexts. The editors achieve this breadth by drawing on an extremely broad concept of colonialism that tends to equate colonial and imperial rule. The cases range from several British, French, German, and Dutch-controlled colonies (notably India, Kenya, Zimbabwe/South Rhodesia, Algeria, Indonesia) and their respective metropolises to Austria-Hungary, tsarist and Soviet Russia, and post-war Japan. The editors and authors bring

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these diverse cases into conversation with one another by going back to a foundational concept in memory studies: a topography of collective memory organized around different 'sites'. Originally coined by the French historian Pierre Nora, 'sites' or 'realms' of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) have become one of the internationally most popular ways of framing national – and recently transnational – memory cultures. A huge part of their appeal resides in their conceptual malleability and temporal openness. 'Sites of memory' come in all (material and immaterial) shapes, from a physical site such as a battleground to an abstract idea. They are not bound to any specific period, but permit a long-term perspective on their transformations.

Some contributions in the present volume address memory either in colonial or postcolonial times, although the majority skilfully combine both dimensions. Surprisingly, though, the most pressing research gap in this vast field does not take centre stage in the book. Only two essays focus on the mechanisms of memory-making under colonial rule: Xavier Guégan's piece on photographic reproductions of colonial statues in India and Algeria; and Berny Sèbe's study of how imperial heroes were created in British and French Africa. Both underscore the great interest that a huge number of actors, in the colonies and metropolises alike, attached to creating a usable symbolic memory landscape in conquered territory. Probably because of the ambitious scope of these comparative pieces, which also link colonies and metropolises, the colonial situation itself remains rather obscure in each case. Sèbe seems to be more concerned with developing a generalizable model of imperial heroization than with examining its local or regional preconditions and variations. Guégan's comparison does not do justice to the enormous differences between the two colonies. The different political power structures and the presence or absence of settler populations, for example, had a considerable impact on colonial politics of remembrance. Taking such structural factors into account from the start would have revealed much better candidates for a Franco-British comparison (for example, between African settler colonies such as Algeria and South Africa or South Rhodesia).

In a laudable departure from the dominant trend, most of the studies centring on the postcolonial period take non-European countries as their subjects. Maria Misra's piece on India and Winfried Speitkamp's on Kenya emphasize the complexities of national mem-

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ory-making in formerly colonized countries. Speitkamp's analysis of the changing ways in which the Kenyan state and public dealt with the memory of the 1950s Mau Mau uprising and its repression by the British shows how complex ethnic and other societal divisions in Kenya continued to matter after independence. Likewise, Misra's survey of Indian dealings with the legacies of British rule since 1947 points to ambiguous and conflicting images of the Raj conveyed in media ranging from official monuments to Bollywood movies. This diversity of elite and popular interpretations has made a coherent commemoration of Indian victimhood under British rule almost impossible. In a slightly less contested example of national remembrance, Barak Kushner's essay on post-war Japan as a former colonial metropole explores the ways in which Japanese war crimes and the Allied trials were addressed. Based on four case studies of monuments in Tokyo that were created or reshaped after 1945, Kushner shows that the Second World War's imperial dimension remained largely off limits in a dominant discourse of self-victimization.

In an essay on Germany that spans the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to demonstrate the changeable meanings of sites of memory, Katja Kaiser argues that Berlin's Botanic Garden and Botanical Museum first served as places where German colonialism was popularized among the German public. After the country's defeat in the First World War, these sites became places to foster the memory of Germany's colonies and revisionist visions of their return. After the country's defeat in 1945 and its Cold War division, however, the colonial dimensions of these sites largely disappeared from their self-portrayals.

The majority of contributions avoid a clear focus on one side of imperial memory; they seek to cover both the question of memory-making under imperial rule and the aspect of post-imperial memory. Three case studies delve into the changing fates of prominent representatives of empire as sites of memory. Victor Endhoven's essay on the first Dutch Governor of the Dutch East Indies, Jan Coen (1587–1629), Richard Goebelt's study of Lord Clive (1725–74), and John Stuart's piece on David Livingstone (1813–73) all uncover complex, multi-sited processes of imperial mystification and post-imperial demystification. Even if colonized populations play only a minor role in all these stories, the authors nonetheless identify a variety of actors involved in the shaping of imperial icons – actors at local or national

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level, in the metropole and in the colonies, and as representatives of the state or of non-state interests, for example, missionaries.

Complementing the essays on the commemoration of colonizers are two that focus on the memory of anti-imperial resistance in Central and East European empires. James Koranyi's study retraces the tortuous history of a monument in Arad (now in Romania) commemorating thirteen rebellious generals in the 1848–9 Hungarian revolution. First erected in the context of Hungarian imperial nation-building at the end of the nineteenth century, the monument was removed after the collapse of the Habsburg empire by Romanian authorities and reassembled but not reinstalled by the Communists after 1945. Only after the Cold War did it become a public site of memory again. Stefan Kreuzberger's essay turns to the northern Caucasus and retraces the shifting ways in which the anti-tsarist rebel leader Imam Shamil was remembered in the tsarist, Soviet, and post-Soviet eras. Shamil was commemorated as an honourable adversary in imperial Russia, and Soviet historians wrestled with the ambiguities of his Islamic resistance movement. He has recently become an object of national pride in the region.

Although not the focus of these case studies, all of them suggest that public memory in imperial contexts revealed a complexity that went beyond any simple dichotomy between colonizers and colonized. Thus figures of anti-imperial resistance could be refashioned into objects of official imperial memory, while the colonized participated in commemorating certain colonizers (as can be seen in the lasting memory of Livingstone in Zambia). Shraddha Kumbhojkar's case study of an obelisk set up by the British in West Indian Koregaon in 1820 elucidates such complexities in exemplary fashion. Originally meant to commemorate the military exploits of the British Battalion in 1818, the site was gradually transformed into a rallying point for low-caste activists in their struggle against regional high-caste rulers and for the emancipation of the Dalits (or Untouchables). This appropriation began in the early twentieth century, before independence, when activists started to commemorate their ancestors' involvement with the British side in the 1818 battle.

If most of the book engages with the classic focuses and forms of public commemoration (great men and battles, monuments and commemorative rites, and, in one case, a museum and public garden), its final essay looks at a commodity. Frank Uetkötter considers how rub-

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ber became a plantation-based crop throughout the colonial world and suggests that it might one day be reworked as a site for memories of bio-piracy, violence, and colonial exploitation.

*Sites of Imperial Memory* contains a mine of new insights and perspectives. It provides a panorama of inspiring case studies from various imperial contexts, covering both metropolises and colonies, and demonstrates how rewarding it can be to anchor memory studies more firmly in the field of imperial history. The volume is particularly strong when it comes to exploring the multiple ways in which the use of symbols and public memory in colonial times intersected with the construction of memory after empire. It contributes less to understanding the role that memory played in settings of transcultural colonial rule, especially with regard to interactions across the colonizer–colonized dichotomy. At the same time, some contributions indicate that memory can help us to gain a more complex and dynamic picture of colonial situations and imperial forms of cultural integration and disintegration. To this end, it may be helpful to disentangle more clearly the two sides of imperial memory combined in this volume (memory under empire and memory of empire) and to consider the question of public remembrance during colonialism as a research subject in its own right. Although the *lieux-de-mémoire* approach offers a fitting conceptual framework for the broad panorama presented in this book, researchers may also find it fruitful to use other concepts as they seek a more systematic understanding of how memory and colonialism intersected and of the extent to which collective forms of remembrance played similar and different roles in national and transnational contexts.

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MARTIN BÖHM, *Die Royal Air Force und der Luftkrieg 1922–1945: Personelle, kognitive und konzeptionelle Kontinuitäten und Entwicklungen*, Krieg in der Geschichte, 91 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), 392 pp. ISBN 978 3 506 78240 3. €39.90

One of the most surprising trends in historical writing in Germany since reunification has been the remarkable rise of military history from unwanted step-child to an enticing field for doctoral students. Although historians of the early modern period have never felt any need to justify their interest in war and conflict, for those whose interests were located in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries any research related to war and the military caused an understandable feeling of aversion for many years for reasons too obvious to outline here.<sup>1</sup> But if the rediscovery of military history has presented numerous topics for further investigation, historians have usually restricted themselves to specifically German subject matter. Moving into the terrain of the history of other European nations has seemed extremely daunting. For this reason alone, Martin Böhm's book on the Royal Air Force in the period 1922 to 1945 is to be warmly welcomed.

Böhm's declared aim is to consider the impact of the concept of 'air control' in the early 1920s on subsequent attitudes to strategic bombing during the Second World War. That the RAF officers were heavily influenced by their experiences in punitive attacks in Mesopotamia in the 1920s and 1930s is hardly a new discovery, nor is the significance of the concept of strategic bombing for their institutional fight for survival, which provided the perfect justification for their independence from the British Army and the Royal Navy. Thus the attempt to consider 'cognitive processes' and 'personnel continuity' as one route to understanding the RAF's approach to the strategic bombing of Germany presents more than a few challenges in terms of originality, given the extensive literature on the history of British air power which already exists in English.

Of course, the whole question of strategic bombing has been given a huge stimulus by Jörg Friedrich's deliberately contentious book,

<sup>1</sup> For further thoughts on this issue see 'Stand der Militärgeschichte: Interview mit Alaric Searle (Salford, UK)', in *Portal Militärgeschichte*, 27 (Sept. 2012) at <[http://portal-militaergeschichte.de/searle\\_interview](http://portal-militaergeschichte.de/searle_interview)>, accessed 28 July 2016.

*Der Brand*, a work of popular, ‘incendiary history’.<sup>2</sup> But regardless of what one makes of its message, and the way in which that message is conveyed, it has led to a number of scholarly works in the German language which have been original and innovative. The comparative study of British and German populations under aerial attack in the Second World War by Dietmar Süß is probably the most notable,<sup>3</sup> but there have been other books which have considered air warfare from very different angles, in particular, the monographs by Stefanie Schüler-Springorum on the Condor Legion and Christian Kehrt on the interaction between German pilots and their machines.<sup>4</sup> Hence there is more than enough justification for a book in German on the Royal Air Force, given that German historians should consider not just the broader role of air warfare in the history of the Third Reich, but also those air forces which bombed German cities into ruins during six years of total war.

Yet therein lies the challenge. On the one hand, it is important that German military historians range beyond the safety of their own national history; on the other, this presents considerable difficulties in attempting to make an original contribution to subject matter which has already been well excavated by other countries’ own historians. Beyond the practical consideration that few British historians, for instance, will take note of monographs on British military history written in German, penetrating beneath the surface of another culture can often be extremely difficult. Despite the risks, on balance it is well worth writing a book in German on air warfare which makes no apologies for examining the Royal Air Force as a military organization.

Böhm’s study, based on a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Potsdam, is rigorously researched, making use of government and service files from the National Archives, Kew, the RAF Museum, Hendon, the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, the Imperial War Museum, and the British Library. Like many German doctoral

<sup>2</sup> Jörg Friedrich, *Der Brand: Deutschland im Bombenkrieg, 1940–1945* (Munich, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Dietmar Süß, *Tod aus der Luft: Kriegsgesellschaft und Luftkrieg in Deutschland und England* (Munich, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, *Krieg und Fliegen: Die Legion Condor im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg* (Paderborn, 2010); Christian Kehrt, *Moderne Krieger: Die Technikerführung deutscher Militärpiloten 1910–1945* (Paderborn, 2010).

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theses, this work takes great care to provide suitable contextualization. As a result, the opening section, which runs to 126 pages, covers already extremely well-trodden ground. Its main purpose is to explain the institutional background to his study, namely, that the RAF was faced with a crisis at the end of the First World War: the British Army and the Royal Navy wanted to see the new arm of service dissolved, so they could secure its aircraft for themselves. The RAF required a mission – the most obvious one was strategic bombing; and the doctrine of bombing to attack the enemy's morale was developed by the RAF in Iraq during the period 1919 to 1932. More or less all the points covered in this section will be familiar to British air power historians and those working in the field of imperial and colonial history. While the author has supported his summary of the secondary literature with a range of primary documents, very little can be considered new here. Still, for the German reader, Böhm provides an excellent overview.

Even in the section of the book entitled 'Kognitionen', there is much to be found that has already been dealt with by the English-language studies of the history of the Royal Air Force. What this second significant segment of the book does do, however, is to provide considerable insight into the motivations and perceptions of RAF officers who participated in Air Control over Iraq during the period of the British mandate. It emerges from the sources which are analysed that while the pilots spared little thought for those on the ground hit by their bombs, there was a gradual shift in the use of official language towards terms such as 'minimum necessary force', which sought to mask what was actually taking place. Throughout this period, though, the RAF remained focused on its claim that such bombing raids exerted a 'moral effect' on the opponent. Böhm's central thesis is that this experience in Iraq, based on a perception of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia as 'uncivilized peoples', would later be transferred to the strategic bombing of Germany. Officers adhered to the view that the 'Hun' only understood force, in much the same way as the people of Iraq needed to be subjected to punitive raids if they refused to comply with British rule. This rather one-sided thesis is supported by quotations from lectures and other documents authored by air force officers.

One of the most interesting sections of this part of the book concerns the 'Charlton Affair' (pp. 211-17). Air Commodore Lionel

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Charlton was an RAF officer who had served with the Royal Flying Corps during the First World War and, following a year as an attaché in Washington, was appointed to the post of Chief Staff Officer of the Iraq Command at the beginning of 1923. In September 1923 Charlton sent a complaint about the bombing to his superior. Following his conscientious objection to Air Policing, Charlton recommended that local forces needed to be better integrated with those of the British since he thought that the bombing campaign undermined the position of Britain's main ally, King Faisal. But Charlton's complaint was immediately ordered to be kept secret and he was sent back to England. What had changed his mind was a visit to a military hospital where he saw for the first time the actual destructive effects of the bombing on the civilian population. According to Böhm, this was the only case in which an officer objected to air control on moral grounds. Lectures at the Staff College were held merely to reinforce the doctrine of the 'moral effect' of bombing upon an opponent, although he does refer to those civilians who objected to the strategic bombing of Germany during the Second World War.

In the final section of the book, Böhm seeks to support his thesis by documenting how many officers who held key positions during the Second World War had served in Iraq and, thus, were strongly influenced by the early doctrine of coercive bombing of the RAF. The reasons for the unquestioning adherence to this doctrine were personnel continuity, cognitive dissonance, group think, and a peculiarly British form of elitism. As many air power historians would accept, the actual value of air policing in Iraq was limited, the accuracy of the bombing indifferent, and there was an overall failure to draw the correct lessons from the conflict. Moreover, the Iraq experience flowed into early field manuals, while it was further cemented through the study of 'lessons learned' at the RAF Staff College, before being enshrined in directives and the 1940 RAF operations manual. There is much here which is correct in Böhm's analysis.

Nonetheless, the argument about personnel continuity is not entirely convincing. Among the Home Command appointments made between 1920 and 1935, 34 per cent had Iraq experience; from the Home Command appointments between 1936 and 1945, 45 per cent had been on active service in Iraq. Furthermore, the approach adopted appears simply to select those documents which best support the central thesis. To reduce British decisions to launch the

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strategic bombing of Germany simply to the Iraq experience is rather myopic, as many factors played a role. At the same time, the obsession with calculations as to bomb tonnage, and square miles of housing and factories destroyed, was a mentality which was as much a reflection of the dynamics of total war. Indeed, it was a similar story in the First World War when it came to tonnage of artillery shells, not to mention 'body counts' during the Vietnam War. One cannot help feeling at times that much of the evidence has been 'cherry-picked' to support the main argument, with material which might have demonstrated that the RAF was competent in other areas, or that other individuals or forces were driving strategic bombing, conveniently ignored. While one cannot expect the author to have gone into the wider dimensions in any detail, one or two caveats to his thesis might have reassured the sceptical reader.

Yet, despite the somewhat one-sided treatment of the subject matter, this book is definitely worth reading. It will, hopefully, convince other German military historians to venture beyond more familiar national themes. The debate over the air war during the Second World War should be widened so that it is seen as a question of comparative European history rather than merely national 'cultures of memory'. This said, German historians of the air war would be advised to treat some of Böhm's conclusions with a little caution.

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LAUREN FAULKNER ROSSI, *Wehrmacht Priests: Catholicism and the Nazi War of Annihilation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), xii + 336 pp. ISBN 978 0 674 59848 5. \$39.95 £29.95\*

How could it be that in the midst of the inferno of the mass murder of Jews and Russian prisoners of war on the Eastern Front, Catholic priests in good conscience proclaimed the Christian message to German soldiers? This is the question asked by the American historian Lauren Faulkner Rossi in her study *Wehrmacht Priests: Catholicism and the Nazi War of Annihilation*.

Faulkner Rossi's question must be seen in the context of a noticeable increase in interest among historians in the connection between Christianity and the war of annihilation that has emerged in Holocaust research. Against this backdrop, Faulkner Rossi and other historians have rediscovered the Archive of the Catholic Military Bishop (Archiv des katholischen Militärbischofs) in Berlin. Faulkner Rossi's dissertation, supervised by Omer Bartov and published in April 2015, is essentially based on an analysis of this archive. Although it has been accessible to the public since 1978, it has until recently been used mainly by church and military history specialists. But those who realize that it contains an almost complete collection of the personal papers and reports of Catholic priests who took part in the Second World War as military chaplains can understand the heightened interest that has recently been bestowed on the archive and its collections.

The reports and diaries of the *Wehrmacht* chaplains in this archive raise the hope of gaining some insight into what they knew about the Holocaust and how they were able to justify, both to themselves and to their soldiers, a war that has gone down in history as a racial war of annihilation. The founder of the archive, George Werthmann, served as the leading field vicar-general of the Catholic chaplaincy during the Second World War. He preserved, organized, and commented on the documents of his *Wehrmacht* chaplains because he had the intention of writing a book one day about the history of Catholic pastoral care in the field.<sup>1</sup> Werthmann's historico-political interest

\* Trans. Sophie Spokes.

<sup>1</sup> Monica Sinderhauf, 'Katholische Wehrmachtseelsorge im Krieg: Quellen und Forschungen zu Franz Justus Rarkowski und Georg Werthmann', in

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was in protecting the *Wehrmacht* chaplains from any criticism after the war, indeed, to present them as a thorn in the side of National Socialism and a bulwark of Christianity standing up against the Nazis' intention to deconfessionalize the *Wehrmacht*.<sup>2</sup>

Only a few months before the publication of Faulkner Rossi's book, Martin Röw published his dissertation, *Militärseelsorge unter dem Hakenkreuz*, an empirical study which is also based largely on documents from the Archive of the Catholic Military Bishop. This leads to striking overlaps between the two books, for example, in Röw's section on 'Deviance',<sup>3</sup> and Faulkner Rossi's on 'Failed Priests and "Brown Priests"' (pp. 162–7). Both reflect in detail on the contents of Werthmann's file 'Schwache Brüder' (weak brothers). Yet whereas in his book Röw asks how more than 750 Catholic *Wehrmacht* priests and chaplains<sup>4</sup> made sense of a war whose crimes must have been obvious to them at least since the beginning of the Eastern Campaign, Faulkner Rossi focuses on a much larger group of more than 17,000 soldier priests, even though organizationally they had nothing to do with pastoral care in the *Wehrmacht* and mostly served as ordinary soldiers in the medical service. What matters to her is why Catholic priests took part in a criminal and genocidal war in the first place.

To answer this question, Faulkner Rossi begins with an overview of the state of research on the attitude of German bishops in the

Karl-Joseph Hummel and Christoph Kösters (eds.), *Kirchen im Krieg: Europa 1939–1945* (Paderborn, 2007), 265–93, at 271.

<sup>2</sup> Dagmar Pöpping, *Kriegspfarrer an der Ostfront: Evangelische und katholische Wehrmachtseelsorge im Vernichtungskrieg 1941–1945* (Göttingen, 2016), 202; ead., "'Allen alles sein': Deutsche Kriegspfarrer an der Ostfront 1941–1945', in Konstantin Lindner, Ulrich Riegel, and Andreas Hoffmann (eds.), *Alltagsgeschichte im Religionsunterricht: Kirchengeschichtliche Studien und religionsdidaktische Perspektiven* (Stuttgart, 2013), 173–86, at 173; Dagmar Pöpping, 'Die Wehrmachtseelsorge im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Rolle und Selbstverständnis von Kriegs- und Wehrmachtspfarrern im Ostkrieg 1941–1945', in Manfred Gailus and Armin Nolzen (eds.), *'Zerstrittene Volksgemeinschaft': Glaube, Konfession und Religion im Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen, 2011), 257–86, at 257.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Röw, *Militärseelsorge unter dem Hakenkreuz: Die katholische Feldpastoral 1939–1945* (Paderborn, 2014), 232–8.

<sup>4</sup> This figure is based on information provided by the former archivist in the Archive of the Catholic Military Bishop, Monica Sinderhauf. Sinderhauf, 'Katholische Wehrmachtseelsorge im Krieg', 267.

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Weimar Republic. According to the top down logic of the Catholic Church hierarchy, this attitude was typical of all Catholic priests and seminarians, who saw the bishops as their spiritual leaders and role models (p. 63). As the author rightly highlights, the German bishops defended the concordat and the rights it guaranteed the church, but failed to speak up for the victims of Nazi racist policies. This kowtow to the Nazi regime is explained by the author as an amalgam of German nationalism, religious anti-Semitism, and a fear of Russian Bolshevism (pp. 45–6).

The following chapter on pastoral care in the *Wehrmacht* describes its basic structure, whose special feature was the 'exempt' position of field bishops. This meant that field bishops were not part of the German bishops' conference, but under the sole control of the Army High Command. Field bishops had no institutional connection with the church. The role and character of the shady Catholic field bishop Franz Justus Rarkowski and his leading field vicar-general, Georg Werthmann, who was the real strong man of Catholic pastoral care in the *Wehrmacht*, are discussed.

Beyond these well-known facts about Catholic pastoral care in the military during the Second World War, Faulkner Rossi wants to stress George Werthmann's particular historical significance more than previous research has done. Yet her statements about Werthmann are problematic, as she draws mainly upon the comments he himself made after 1945. Thus, for example, we read that Rarkowski cooperated enthusiastically with the Nazi regime whereas Werthmann sought to protect the independence of *Wehrmacht* pastoral care from anti-Catholic interventions by the Party and the SS. In contrast to Rarkowski, Werthmann showed more reserve vis-à-vis National Socialism according to Faulkner Rossi (p. 77). If, however, we read the assessment of Werthmann by the district leadership of the Nazi party in Berlin, which set the course for his professional career after 1933, we see that Werthmann was definitely receptive to National Socialist ideas.<sup>5</sup> One suspects that this contrast between the Nazi-friendly bishop and the anti-Nazi field vicar is based on a myth made up by Werthmann. Going back to this, after 1945 he was able to develop the narrative of Catholic military pastoral care unimpeded

<sup>5</sup> Berliner Kreisleitung to Amt für Beamte Gau Bayerische Ostmark, 25 Feb. 1936 (Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 9361-V, 399901).

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by the shadows of the past, all the more so as Rarkowski had died in 1950 and was thus an ideal scapegoat for the mistakes made by Catholic pastoral care in the field during the Nazi period.<sup>6</sup>

The next chapter, on *Priestersoldaten*, that is, the 17,000 to 18,000 Catholic priests and seminarians who did not work in pastoral care, is largely a continuation of the chapter on *Wehrmacht* priests and chaplains. Although the author explains at the start of her work (p. 16) that she intends to concentrate on those born during or after the First World War, her evidence is drawn from the documents of *Wehrmacht* priests and chaplains—the youngest of whom were born between 1905 and 1912—who were not, like many of the soldier priests, shaped by the Hitler Youth.

Yet the difference between soldier priests and *Wehrmacht* chaplains was considerable. Whereas the latter were officers, the soldier priests served in the rank and file, several levels below that of officer. Not least this difference in status, living conditions, and earnings is what made the office of *Wehrmacht* chaplain so appealing. Priests spent one week on a course at the Army High Command in Berlin to become officers in the *Wehrmacht*. This was an opportunity from which Catholic clergy in the largely Protestant-dominated German army had so far been completely excluded.<sup>7</sup>

The author goes on to describe the anticlerical policy of the Nazi regime, which was also reflected in the increasingly restrictive treatment of the *Wehrmacht* chaplaincy during the war. This policy culminated in the establishment from 1944 of National Socialist Leadership Officers (Nationalsozialistische Führungsoffiziere, NSFO), who were meant to have quite similar functions to those of *Wehrmacht* chaplains in 1939. The NSFOs were also intended to increase the 'inner fighting strength of the troops', but this was to be achieved by drawing on National Socialist ideology rather than the Christian religion. The goal was to turn German soldiers into fanatical fighters for National Socialism. Faulkner Rossi highlights that Werthmann and his *Wehrmacht* chaplains certainly felt their professional work was threatened by this competition. But as the military historian Manfred Messerschmidt established in 1969,<sup>8</sup> NSFOs

<sup>6</sup> Pöpping, *Kriegspfarrer an der Ostfront*, 201.

<sup>7</sup> Pöpping, 'Die Wehrmachtseelsorge im Zweiten Weltkrieg', 269.

<sup>8</sup> Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmacht im NS-Staat: Zeit der Indoktrination* (Hamburg, 1969), 474.

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emerged on the scene too late to seriously endanger the existence of the *Wehrmacht* chaplaincy.

The question of why Catholic priests willingly took part in a criminal, genocidal war dominates the last two chapters. Of course, the author knows that Catholic clergy was obliged to serve in the *Wehrmacht*, even if they were not generally found among the fighting troops. What she means is: why did the clergy not become conscientious objectors, and why did they not accept the death penalty for their refusal? The author admits that the clergy could not have known in 1939 that the *Wehrmacht* would become a criminal organization (p. 66), but that does not prevent her from repeating her question.

Behind this question lies the accusation that the clergy at the time were acting morally wrongly because, in her opinion, the Christian faith required conscientious objection and thus an acceptance of the death penalty, that is, 'martyrdom'. Unfortunately, according to Faulkner Rossi, even after the war these priests did not realize that martyrdom would have been the only correct Christian response to their conscription into the *Wehrmacht* (p. 190). But anyone who makes such claims must be prepared to be disappointed by historical reality – and not only in relation to National Socialism.

According to Faulkner Rossi, during the further course of the war, especially in the racial war of extermination in Poland and the Soviet Union, the main concern of Christian charity should have been to stand up for the Jews, prisoners of war, and the local civilian population who fell victim to the policy of extermination of the *Wehrmacht* and the SS. But as the author correctly points out, the Christian commitment of the Catholic *Wehrmacht* chaplains was concentrated solely on their own people. A particularistic morality – so her argument could be summed up – is no morality at all.

Finally, how does Faulkner Rossi answer her most important question, why Catholic priests did not become conscientious objectors in 1939? She lists a number of factors: patriotism, cowardice, a desire to conform, and a Catholic authoritarian and state-directed thinking that resulted in an inclination to trust in, or at least accept unchallenged, orders from higher authorities (pp. 150–1). But she also takes the retrospective accounts by Werthmann and his *Wehrmacht* chaplains extremely seriously. What the priests wanted to do, it was claimed, was to provide pastoral care to Catholic soldiers

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out of pure humanity. Although the author describes this answer as short sighted, she accepts it. Here doubts may arise as to whether the *Wehrmacht* chaplaincy, which was located right on the intersection between religion and politics, acted from motives of pure human charity. It would have been very illuminating here if the author had investigated the concrete impact of the anti-Bolshevism that she herself elsewhere identifies as an essential element of the worldview of Catholic clergy (pp. 46, 110, 156). The anti-Bolshevism of *Wehrmacht* chaplains was expressed, for example, in sermons during the Eastern campaign, which revealed a totally different side of *Wehrmacht* pastoral care, one that had less to do with the spiritual well-being of their own soldiers than a hatred of the enemy motivated by religion. Not least, in a weak moment after the war Werthmann himself admitted to this aggressive aspect of his activities and expressed his regret about it.<sup>9</sup>

Another aspect which turned the church and its priests into active and positive supporters of the war also remains untold: the church's hope of evangelizing millions of young soldiers who, as a rule, had long been alienated from Christianity and whom the church could no longer hope to reach in civilian life, as Messerschmidt has emphasized. This hope was probably a reason why both main German churches, which were worried about their survival under National Socialism, saw the war as a chance to win back ground in German society.<sup>10</sup>

Frequent statements about the growing harshness of the war awakening the religiosity of the soldiers, which are found in accounts of pastoral care and activity reports by *Wehrmacht* chaplains, can be interpreted against this background. Brushes with death, fear, and pain increased the importance of religion, especially during the war in the east. Faulkner Rossi reports this but not in connection with evangelization. The emphasis on their successes among sick and

<sup>9</sup> 'Wir haben alle Deutungen der allein Gott zustehenden Hoheit des Gerichts an uns zu reißen versucht und gingen in vermessener Selbstgerechtigkeit an die äußere Vernichtung des Bolschewismus.' Memorandum Georg Werthmann, 19 July 1945 (Archiv des katholischen Militärbischofs, Berlin-Mitte, SW 120).

<sup>10</sup> Manfred Messerschmidt, 'Zur Militärseelsorgepolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg', *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*, 1 (1969), 37-85, at 53.

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dying German soldiers, and even members of the SS, was probably also intended to cast their work in a positive light.<sup>11</sup>

The author's discussion of the influence of the theology of 'corpus christi mysticum' (the mystical body of Christ) on soldier priests and seminarians is interesting. Promoted by the spiritual leader of the Catholic youth movement in the 1920s, Romano Guardini, and Pope Pius XII's 1943 encyclical, *Mystici Corporis Christi* (*On the Mystical Body of Christ*), which encouraged emulation of the sufferings of Christ, this doctrine glorifying suffering in war significantly shaped the self-image of soldier priests and seminarians (p. 162).

Faulkner Rossi does not explore how this glorification of suffering in the specific context of the war developed into something like an obscene victim theology, which offered soldiers the sacrificial death of Christ as a model for their own death in battle. Although the author speaks of a victim ideology, she refers only to the period after 1945, when Catholic clergy responded to the Allies' accusation of collective guilt by pointing to the victimization of Germans (p. 213). While this sounds plausible, the victim ideology had been established during the war, for example, in announcements made by the *Wehrmacht* chaplains in brochures and in sermons to the soldiers, as the theologian Heinrich Missalla stated in 1978, pointing to the example of Catholic sermon aids.<sup>12</sup> Nor is there any discussion of the important belief in life after death, which *Wehrmacht* chaplains used to ease or transfigure the death of soldiers, and which Martin Rów rightly described as 'the functional core of the *Wehrmacht*'s pastoral care'.<sup>13</sup>

The author's emotional fixation on the moral failure of German priests during the Second World War ensures that her valuable approaches and findings, in the end, remain superficial. Her handling of the sources, contemporary testimonials and accounts that were often written decades after the war, and which are all treated as equally important, fits in with this, as does the fact that the distinc-

<sup>11</sup> Pöpping, 'Allen alles sein', 174-7.

<sup>12</sup> Heinrich Missalla, *Für Volk und Vaterland: Die Kirchliche Kriegshilfe im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Königstein im Taunus, 1978), 172; cf. also Antonia Leugers, *Jesuiten in Hitlers Wehrmacht: Kriegslegitimationen und Kriegserfahrung* (Paderborn, 2009), 186-7.

<sup>13</sup> Rów, *Militärseelsorge unter dem Hakenkreuz*, 315.

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tion between soldier priests and chaplains is not always clearly drawn.

Ultimately, Faulkner Rossi delivers a moral treatise based on a historical example rather than a historical study of the morality of Catholic clergy. Anyone who would like to gain deeper insights into the daily working life, thinking, and feelings of Catholic *Wehrmacht* priests during the Second World War is better served by Martin Röw's study.

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ANDREAS W. DAUM, HARTMUT LEHMANN, and JAMES J. SHEEHAN (eds.), *The Second Generation: Émigrés from Nazi Germany as Historians. With a Biobibliographic Guide*, Studies in German History, 20 (New York: Berghahn, 2016), xiii + 473 pp. ISBN 978 1 78238 985 9 (Hardback) \$120.00. £75.00

When looking at German-speaking émigré historians who fled from Nazi rule, we can broadly distinguish between two generations: the first generation, who had trained as historians in their German-speaking countries, and the second generation, who escaped as children or teenagers and then studied in the countries of reception. While the story of the first generation, especially in the USA but to a smaller extent also elsewhere, is well-researched,<sup>1</sup> the second generation is not.<sup>2</sup> This is all the more remarkable because many of these émigrés not only played a prominent role among historians in their new home countries, but also considerably influenced the West German *Zunft* of historians in the post-war period. The volume under review here fills this research gap admirably. Based on a conference held at the GHI Washington in 2012 coinciding with the Institute's twenty-fifth anniversary, the volume consists of more than twenty essays grouped into five thematic parts. In his highly instructive introduction Andreas W. Daum lays the ground and deals with

<sup>1</sup> For the first generation see Gabriela A. Eakin-Thimme, *Geschichte im Exil: Deutschsprachige Historiker nach 1933* (Munich, 2005). For the USA see Catherine Epstein, *A Past Renewed: A Catalog of German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933* (Cambridge, 1993) and Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan (eds.), *An Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933* (Washington, 1991). For the UK see Christhard Hoffmann, 'The Contribution of German-Speaking Jewish Immigrants to British Historiography', in Werner E. Mosse et al. (eds.), *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom* (Tübingen, 1991), 153–75. For Palestine/Israel see Robert Jütte, *Die Emigration der deutschsprachigen 'Wissenschaft des Judentums': Die Auswanderung jüdischer Historiker nach Palästina 1933–1945* (Stuttgart, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> So far, the existing literature consists of a number of articles and fascinating autobiographies by several members of this generation, such as Peter Gay, *My German Question: Growing up in Nazi Berlin* (New Haven, 1998); George L. Mosse, *Confronting History: A Memoir* (Madison, 2000); and Fritz R. Stern, *Five Germanys I Have Known* (New York, 2006).

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the second generation collectively, describing their origins, migrations, research interests, and identities, and contextualizes these findings. There are 107 second-generation émigré historians in North America, slightly more than the 98 of the first generation. Daum stresses that despite the diversity of backgrounds to be found among them and the fact that they are far more 'Americanized' than the first generation, a certain 'distinctiveness' (p. 30) has remained.

The first part of the volume offers autobiographical testimonies by second-generation émigrés, namely Klemens von Klemperer, Walter Laqueur, Peter Paret, Fritz Stern, Georg G. Iggers, Gerhard L. Weinberg, Hanna Holborn Gray, Peter Loewenberg, and Renate Bridenthal. In their insightful contributions, a number of common characteristics emerge: several contributors stress the importance of first-generation émigré scholars—historians but also others—along with American historians for their intellectual formation. All address the question of identity and express varying degrees of connectedness with their former German or Austrian homes, while at the same time stressing their firm grounding in the USA. The memoirs also chronicle the hardships that some of the émigrés and their families experienced during their flight from Nazism. Thus they serve as a counterbalance to a historiography of intellectual emigration which often focuses on success stories. All autobiographers did eventually succeed, but emotional and psychological costs should not be forgotten. A noteworthy feature is the strong political impetus which Iggers and Bridenthal show, for instance, and which made them active members in American political and social movements from the 1950s on.

The contributions by Catherine Epstein and Volker R. Berghahn in the second part offer conceptual insights into the second generation. Epstein describes the group as a whole, underlining some of the issues mentioned in the autobiographies in the previous section. She ends her essay with a discussion of the role the Holocaust played as a research topic. She argues—somewhat differently to Herf and Aschheim—that 'while these émigré historians' works were key for the analysis of the German cultural antecedents to the Holocaust, it is striking that none of them researched the details of the Holocaust per se' (p. 149). Instead, they made their biggest contributions to the *Sonderweg* thesis. Berghahn deals with the second generation in a broader conceptual and analytical way and thus offers an over-arch-

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ing contribution, complementing other contributions in the volume which are more focused on individual scholars. Especially fruitful is his discussion of the theoretical concept of generation and his observations on the question of return.

The writing of history by émigré historians is the topic of the contributions by Steven E. Aschheim, Jeffrey Herf, Helmut Walser Smith, Doris L. Bergen, and Marjorie Lamberti in the third section of the volume. In his essay, Aschheim picks up the argument of his *Beyond the Border*,<sup>3</sup> and compares and contrasts social historians in West Germany with émigré historians in the USA and their 'reinvention' (p. 186) of German cultural and intellectual history. His main point is that both historiographical projects 'represent significantly different, emotionally fraught confrontations with a traumatizing past' (p. 179). Whereas the social historians, perhaps out of 'unconscious, filial loyalty' (p. 182) to their academic fathers, were more preoccupied with structures than with people and their minds, the opposite holds true for the émigré historians. In the same vein, Herf stresses the contributions by the second generation to research on the Holocaust and anti-Semitism, and their achievement in bringing these topics from the periphery to the centre of historiography. Bergen also deals with the contribution made by Raul Hilberg, Gerhard Weinberg, and Henry Friedlander to research on the Holocaust. She chronicles their achievement, especially when it comes to bringing the topic to the forefront of research, widening the scope of sources, establishing a certain writing style, and opening up the field.

The contributions by Smith and Lamberti treat the achievements of two individual historians. Smith deals with Peter Gay's *oeuvre* and argues that the basis for much of his work was laid in the 1950s, 'in a context at once American and émigré European' (p. 211). He chronicles Gay's work first on the Enlightenment and then on Weimar cultures and argues that his research on Germany can be seen in the context of his reconnection with Germany in the 1960s. Lamberti's contribution deals with Gerda Lerner, who was even more of an outsider in American academia as she was not only a Jewish refugee, but also a woman. Lerner contributed significantly to the rise of women's history in the USA, was politically active on the left, a member of the

<sup>3</sup> Steven E. Aschheim, *Beyond the Border: The German-Jewish Legacy Abroad* (Princeton, 2007).

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peace movement, and served as president of the Organization of American Historians in 1981. Lamberti addresses the relationship between the refugee experience and the work as a historian, which is an open or underlying topic in many of the contributions in this volume. Here she makes the important point that Lerner, who had become thoroughly Americanized, even losing her fluency in German, began in her autobiographical statements from the 1990s on to stress the close link between her experience as an 'outsider' and the situation of the women she researched, who were defined as 'the Other' (p. 250). This observation underlines the fact that the relationship between biography and work is indeed complicated and that the narratives which the émigré historians construct concerning these questions often change over time.

The fourth part offers comparative and transnational perspectives, dealing with the other two main countries of reception, that is, the UK and Israel, and the impact of the second generation on West German historiography. Shulamit Volkov points out that the situation in Israel differed markedly from that in the UK and the USA because until her generation started their academic careers, 'every faculty member in Israel was an émigré' (p. 262). The special situation of Israel as a young state accounts for the fact that, in all cases, a long time elapsed between the immigration of the second generation and the start of their academic careers. Peter Alter's description of the setting in the UK shows that the situation there was easier than in Israel but more difficult than in the USA. He points out that, unlike the first generation, the second generation left a visible mark on British historiography with many also acting, like their counterparts in the USA, as bridge-builders between their new home and Germany.

The contribution by Philipp Stelzel deals with the émigrés' impact on German historiography, an essential question since most of them at some point interacted with West German colleagues and wrote on German history. Stelzel argues that 'the second-generation émigré historians supported the interpretive and methodological diversification of the German historical profession, the former most notably during the *Fischer-Kontroverse*' (p. 288). But it is interesting to note the 'non-reception' (p. 297) of their studies in intellectual and cultural history, even though their idea of an ideological German *Sonderweg* would have tied in well with the social and political concept of a

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*Sonderweg* advanced by German historians in the 1970s. Contrary to the explanation put forward by Aschheim in this volume, Stelzel argues that this non-reception by West German social historians might not be the result of 'ulterior motives' (p. 298), but rather of the fact that 'historians of Wehler's generation associated intellectual history – or rather *Geistesgeschichte* and *Ideengeschichte* – with an older German historiographical tradition . . . which they considered either potentially apologetic or simply not very fruitful heuristically' (pp. 297–8). In their personal commentaries at the end of this section, Gerhard A. Ritter and Jürgen Kocka stress the importance of the émigré historians for their individual development as historians and the modernization and diversification of West German historiography as a whole.

The last part of the book provides a biobibliographic guide to the second generation. In the introductory chapter to his part, Daum offers a detailed discussion of the methodology which is of value not only to the present volume but also for other researchers pursuing similar projects. The subsequent biographies by Daum and Sherry L. Föhr provide for the first time a detailed overview (more than 110 pages long) of the second generation in North America, offering information on biographical and family data, professional careers and activities, archival holdings, *Festschriften*, and autobiographical writings. The biographies are well researched, highly informative, and reveal the diversity of the émigré historians' experiences. They are a valuable resource and a starting point for further research, especially on those émigrés who are less well known. The biographies are followed by a selected bibliography on the topic.

Several questions recur throughout volume: the first concerns the relationship between the émigrés' biographies and their research interests. In the introduction, Daum cautions against establishing 'a direct causal connection between the experience of emigration and the research émigrés undertook years later' (p. 4), but a number of essays establish just such a connection. Personal experience might not have been the primary motive for the choice of a particular research topic, but perhaps became apparent as a motive only in hindsight, as Lamberti demonstrates in Lerner's case. In addition, such a connection does not necessarily 'invalidate' such research, as Georg G. Iggers points out (p. 91). A second debated question is the role which the Holocaust and/or the *Sonderweg* played in the re-

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search carried out by second-generation scholars, and whether they were, indeed, more preoccupied with 1933 or 1941-2. Since the contributions in the volume deal mainly with Stern, Mosse, Gay, Laqueur, Hilberg, and Friedlander, a comparison with the work done by fellow émigré historians might help to contextualize this question and provide a broader basis for an answer.

The volume also raises a number of questions which merit further research. One concerns the specific situation of women, who faced additional obstacles when compared with men. It is interesting that 19 per cent of the second generation in the USA are female, whereas in the corresponding group in Israel and the UK, women are more or less absent. What conditions led to this greater success of women in the USA? How closely related was their academic success to the introduction of women's studies, where several, such as Lerner and Bridenthal, left their mark? It would also be worth shedding further light on those refugees who were not racially persecuted and their specific experience. Likewise, the implications of political involvement, and in a number of cases, teaching at black colleges would also be worth exploring.<sup>4</sup> So far, the involvement of émigrés on the left has been stressed, but that of those who were politically conservative would also merit further research. Finally, when looking at their influence on German historiography, it would be interesting to explore their impact in the GDR, to see whether it was indeed as marginal as present research suggests.

Like the volume on the first generation published twenty-five years ago by Lehmann and Sheehan, this book sheds new light on a hitherto little-researched subject and will remain a standard work for years to come. It provides an admirable overview of the very heterogeneous second generation in the USA, and will certainly stimulate further research in the field.

<sup>4</sup> For teaching at black colleges see Gabrielle Simon Edgcomb, *From Swastika to Jim Crow: Refugee Scholars at Black Colleges* (Malabar, Fla., 1993).

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