European History Quarterly
42(1) 114–206

DOI: 10.1177/0265691411428783
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Book Reviews

Antony Adolf, *Peace: A World History*, Polity Press: Cambridge, 2009; 285 pp.; 9780745641256, £55.00 (hbk); 9780745641263; £18.99 (pbk)

Although there are no explicit references to past works on the history of peace, this book by Antony Adolf (an independent scholar born in Montreal, Canada) shares the perspective and normative orientation of recent Spanish, German and Anglophone scholarship, which has made peace a specific field of historical inquiry. As the title suggests, the aim and scope of the book are ambitious. The author starts with prehistoric conflict and peace, drawing on insights from biology and palaeontology, then highlights the profound change in the nature of violent conflicts and their resolution after the 'Neolithic revolution' and the birth of urbanism. In a line of thought which can be traced back to Kropotkin, the author stresses the importance of cooperation in human survival. Subsequent chapters explore notions and practices of peace in the major ancient civilizations, Greece and Rome, as well ancient India, China and Japan; monotheistic religions and their impact on world history; and concepts and practices of peace in European history from the Middle Ages to colonialism. A separate chapter is devoted to the analysis of peace in early economic discourse. Two chapters outline the history of peace in the twentieth century, and one deals with the 'presents of peace'. The book ends with a theoretical essay on the meanings and dimensions of peace in history, in the present and the future, which appears quite detached from the world history depicted in the preceding chapters and not very persuasive from a theoretical standpoint.

A necessary starting point for a history of peace is a clear definition of the subject, as well as the clarification of its complex relationships with its conceptual opposite – war. Adolf rejects the simple view of peace as a mere absence of violent conflict: it is a multi-faceted concept, which embraces social justice, protection of individuals, and the ability to settle conflicts peacefully. At the outset the author defines three heuristic categories of peace and peacemaking: individual peace, social peace, and collective peace – respectively, the psychological, societal and international dimensions of peace. The first of these broad categories, however, finds relatively little coverage in the subsequent text. Due to the vastness of the field, the reader will not miss this absence. Adolf covers topics such as conflict settlement within societies, peace movements, the theory and practice of nonviolence, the history of ideas related to peace in religion, philosophy, economics and

political thought. In the course of his analysis, a vision of 'one world, many peaces' emerges.

Undoubtedly, a presentation of the topic of peace with such a vast scope is deeply fascinating. On the whole, the reader gets a broad picture of how peace has been at the same time an elusive goal and a desperately sought one across history and societies. Adolf handles a vast quantity of facts, sources and conceptual threads and weaves them together in a rich text. Along the way, a number of ad hoc qualifications and specifications are added to the concept of 'peace': one of the most interesting is 'oppressive peace', describing states that maintain peaceful relations externally, but are oppressive within their boundaries. These qualifications, however, do not add up to a complex, consistent concept of peace in history.

The text suffers from several further limitations. The crux of the book lies precisely in the complex relationship between peace and war. The limits of peace are inherently drawn by the appearance of violent conflict. Being complementary to war as a central category of political and social history, an enquiry into the history of peace has to take into account its logical opposite, and the factors that transform peaceful relationships into warlike ones (and vice versa). Otherwise the description offers only a partial account of peace. More often than not, this is the case in Adolf's inquiry. For example, the author describes the well-known concept of the 'Minoan peace', introduced almost a century ago by Sir Arthur Evans, but does not mention its demise and the rise of the aggressive, expansive Mycenaean civilization. Another relevant limitation, which lies in the nature of such a work, is the lack of precision in details. Other shortcomings include information that is missing and a lack of reference to more recent scientific findings. At times, examples of peaceful events, symbols, or personalities are not mentioned. One example is the development of codified law in Roman civilization, which effectively regulated private disputes within Roman society and has been one of its lasting inheritances to the present day. Another stunning absence, in the chapter devoted to women who played an important role in the peace movement, is Virginia Woolf.

An even more relevant shortcoming of the text are the often entangled threads of history of events, myth and cultural history. Even worse, the author treats topics such as ancient Jewish history referring to the Old Testament, or the foundation of Rome relying on the traditional, Livian account as historical facts, without interpreting or contextualizing their mythologic or legendary content. Similarly, in the chapters devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Adolf constantly moves between political and diplomatic history, cultural history and history of social movements, within the same section or paragraph, offering little logical justification for this continuous shift of focus. Adding up the myriad of minor and major inconsistencies, absences and errors, the text loses the necessary precision to make it a robust scholarly reference for the subject. To achieve this, a collective effort will be needed in the future.

Is the endeavour of a universal history of peace at all feasible and is it worthy of being pursued? In our opinion, Adolf's book shows that such an intellectual project holds the promise of unearthing genealogies of peaceful cultures, behaviours and

strategies across time; while this particular oeuvre has several limitations, it has a distinct fascination and encourages further development of the field. *Peace: A World History* is an inspiring book offering a broad-brush introduction to the history of peace. The end result does not reach the very high standard of a universal history of peace the author has set for himself: it cannot aspire to become the sole reference for students and scholars interested in the subject. It makes, however, intriguing reading: it reinforces the idea that the history of peace is a distinct subfield in the study of history.

Giovanni Scotto, *University of Florence*

Henrice Altink and Sharif Gemie, eds, *At the Border: Margins and Peripheries in Modern France*, University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2008; xvi + 199 pp.; 9780708320761, £85.00 (hbk)

This edited volume is a collection of papers presented at a conference with the same title, held at the University of Glamorgan in 2002. While its title suggests that the conceptual links between the border, margin and periphery might receive some further elaboration, the recurring argument running through several chapters is actually one of the necessary distinction between external and internal borders, between state borders and various kinds of immaterial, invisible boundaries.

In the Introduction, the editors provide a brief survey of the field of border studies, followed by an overview of the development of the notion of the border in Europe, from the Roman Empire to medieval and early modern Europe to the age of nationalism, and, finally, the postmodern era. In the discussion of the development of the field of various disciplines, the prominent and innovative contribution of anthropology is duly recognized. The editors also convincingly argue (against Donnan and Wilson who are among the leading representatives of the anthropology of borders) in favour of studying state borders together with other kinds of frontiers and boundaries, material and symbolic, visible and invisible, less and more metaphoric. The evaluation of the contribution to the field by historians, geographers, political scientists and sociologists is equally balanced.

The contributors to the volume, however, are virtually all historians and French studies scholars. In contrast to the editors, they seem uninformed about, or indifferent to, developments in border studies more generally. Some contributions fail to engage at all with the topic of the volume while a few only pay lip service to it. The second section of the volume (out of three), entitled 'Between the Centre and the Margin: The French Regions' and consisting of three chapters, comes closest to the overall theme. These chapters deal with topics such as traces and reminders of a former French-German border in Lorraine (by Didier Francfort) or the remembrance practices of Spanish exiles in the Southwest of France (Scott Soo). The last chapter in the section (by Laure Teulières) on boundaries between (mostly Spanish

and Italian) immigrants and locals in the Midi of the 1920s contains a particularly sophisticated approach to the topic of invisible borders. It is also the only one in the volume that pays attention to the context of regionalism (Occitanian in this case).

Another two sections hardly make a contribution to border studies. The third section ('The Margins Within') presents chapters by Cathérine Levy, Dawn Marley and Judith Broadbridge, and Owen Heathcote, dealing with various aspects of social marginalization and discrimination of Maghrebian communities in France, as well as with representations of (self-)oppression in French gay literature. Each of these chapters may represent a valuable contribution to other scholarly fields. They do not, however, deal in any substance with social boundaries or 'border crossing' (sexual transgressism) and do not try to connect them to a more general thinking about borders. They thus lend little support to the editors' claim that 'literal' borders' should be studied together with 'metaphoric' ones. Contrary to the third section, the first section ('France's Geographic Borders') focuses on the French state and its position in the process of Europeanization and globalization, but also on the making of the French–German border (chapters by Alistair Cole, François Roth and Marianne Durand).

Studying borderlands implies studying the borderland on both sides. This perspective remains virtually unexplored in this volume in which the only subject shared by all contributors – specialists on France – seems to be 'France'. While this 'France' remains unquestioned from an 'across the border' perspective, its unity is nevertheless problematized throughout the volume. Asserting the eternal unity of France and the naturalness of its borders, the French republicanist discourse has always repudiated the idea of internal boundaries. It is by opposing this idea of a unity, enclosed within a naturalized state border, that the bulk of contributors emphasize the importance of considering all these internal – invisible, cultural, symbolic, social – borders and boundaries. One can only regret that the contributors (with the obvious exemption of the editors) did not make an effort to distinguish conceptually between these notions that are anything but synonymous. Ironically (since most contributors are French scholars), there is a rich and theoretically sophisticated tradition of studying cultural frontiers not only in French ethnology and human geography, but also in historiography. It is true that the approach of culture a-realization (with ethnocartography as its 'by-product'), which has produced the most complex and sophisticated concept of cultural frontiers so far, is marginalized in today's Anglophone anthropology. But this tradition creatively survives in France. (A recent achievement in the field is Christian Bromberger and Alain Morel, eds., *Limites floues, frontières vives: Des variations culturelles en France et en Europe*, Paris, 2001.) Ignoring this valuable scholarship, which has revealed a great deal about French regional diversity, means underestimating the importance of regional variability. How can one study French internal frontiers without considering regional variety and the regional imagination of cultural or invisible boundaries? The volume

clearly reveals an effort towards envisaging France from the perspective of border studies, but it leaves us asking for more.

Bojan Baskar, *University of Ljubljana*

Alexander Badenoch and Andreas Fickers, eds, *Materializing Europe: Transnational Infrastructures and the Project of Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2010; xi + 333 pp., 45 tables and figures; 9780230232891, £65.00 (hbk)

The historiography of European integration remains heavily weighted towards consideration of the drive to unity provided by the formal institutions of what today is the European Union (EU) and what was formerly the European Economic Community (EEC). Supposed 'hindrances' to the project have been studied both at the level of national resistances and, in recent years, in the context of the transnational phenomenon of Euroscepticism, evident within the national politics of even the oldest 'European' countries, and, indeed, also at the European level. The contributions in this book offer up a different appreciation of the idea of 'Europe' by studying how the creation and development of transnational infrastructures have contributed to the unity project, sometimes as motors of integration and sometimes as brakes upon it. As the editors explain in the introduction, there is a paradox in the historiography which makes much of Europe as a modernizing force in regional and global politics, but overlooks the study of the very practical projects for modernization that flourished through the twentieth century. Studying transnational infrastructures in Europe creates space to reflect on the competing ideas of Europe that have existed outside the formal institutions, as well as on the politics of uniting European nations as a practical project that transcends national borders. In this book, the self-congratulatory official history of integration is replaced by one in which ruptures, border crossings, national competition and practical, often highly technical issues throw many a spanner in the works of the engine of unity. The smoothness of the journey implied by the political rhetoric, the book argues, has not always been matched by concrete developments on the ground, calling into doubt any imminent realization of the European vision of the 'founding fathers'.

The opening part of the book covers ideas of Europe as expressed in plans for integrating, amongst other things, Europe and the colonies of its leading nation states, its visual representation in network maps, and energy and transport infrastructures in the early post-Second World War era of integration. Throughout the book, the main fare is supplemented by short 'biographies' of objects, people and symbols that have circulated in elite and technological circles and which cast light on competing visions of Europe left out of official histories. Academics Ernst Haas and David Mitrany, together with the Oliven Plan, are given the limelight here. The second part of the book studies the 'movements' that have been fashioned with a view to bringing European nations closer together: rail, road and electricity, food

transport infrastructure, the development of the cashless mass payments system and the transnational telecommunications infrastructure. It is noteworthy that many of these organizations developed under the rubric of the League of Nations and later the United Nations, demonstrating how the regional politics of European integration was tightly bound up with developments in wider global politics, especially important being the upheaval of 'hot' wars and the East–West Cold War after 1945. This part is supported by biographies of Louis Armand, the search for Europe's 'capital' city and Georges Valensi. The third and final part of the book covers early and troubled attempts to create all-European broadcast infrastructures, waterway connections and civil aviation structures between the world wars. The 'biographical' segments in the third part cover the history of the radio station scale, and atomic energy as symbolic of the prospects and limits of European projects. As in the rest of the book, this part indicates how Europe is 'a constantly de- and reconstructed, linked and de-linked, boosted and jammed broadcast space' (246), with many and often competing constructions imposed upon it.

As someone not well versed in the history of technology I found this book a useful adjunct to the politically and economically inclined studies that dominate the contemporary literature. It might have benefited from a conclusion that drew out the significance of the main empirical and theoretical findings to emerge from the chapters. That said, its main point is well made. European integration is often set up by supporters and detractors alike as an unstoppable juggernaut bent on the unification of a (disputed) geographic conception of 'Europe' which might in time supersede nation states as the source of the public's political loyalty and civic pride. This book demonstrates the ongoing frailty of this popular journey metaphor. Supporters of integration overplay its unifying effects and underplay the difficulties of transcending supposedly porous national borders, especially with regard to the rise of 'identity politics' in the past two decades or so. Opponents of integration likewise overplay the power and influence of the central institutions in Brussels, especially the Commission, and spread mythical stories about the dissolution of the nation state in a culturally monotonous 'Europe'. What this book suggests is that nuance needs to be the order of the day. Europe as a project is, and has always been, in a constant state of flux. Its end state remains far from clear.

Oliver Daddow, *Loughborough University*

Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio and Jay Winter, eds, *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010; ix + 223 pp., 1 b/w illus.; 9780521196581, £50.00 (hbk)

This volume of essays aims, as the Preface puts it, 'at a shift in emphasis in discussions of the general themes of memory and forgetting, by privileging a third element, that surrounding silence and silencing in the way individuals and groups

reconfigure the past'. The first two pieces, by Jay Winter and Eviatar Zeruvabel respectively, set the scene for the book as a whole. Winter defines different kinds of silence – liturgical, political, essentialist – before investigating the relationship between silence and war, the functions of silence, and the puncturing of silence. Zeruvabel examines the 'social sound of silence', a term which by its very nature draws our attention to the fact that silence is not the absence of an opinion or a perspective, but often a form of maintaining, asserting and even enforcing a position.

The rest of the book consists of case studies, the first set of which focus on Europe. In her essay on the Spanish Civil War, Mary Vincent analyses the informal, unspoken but nevertheless binding *pacto de silencio*, or pact of silence, which surrounded this event during the period of transition from Franco's rule to the Juan Carlos monarchy; this silence, useful at the time to patch over adversarial tensions, has certainly been shattered in recent years as Spain's confrontation with the Civil War can be used to demonstrate, in turn, its democratic maturity. Jeffrey K. Olick then provides a fascinating discussion of the differences between the attitudes towards the Nazi past of Karl Jaspers and Martin Heidegger. Jaspers's quadripartite typology of guilt – he identified a moral and criminal guilt at the individual level, and a metaphysical and political one at the collective level (74) – is set in contrast by Olick to Heidegger's refusal, for his own person, to countenance acknowledgement and confession. Heidegger, very much like Martin Walser in his 1998 German Trade Book Prize speech, insists on the autonomy of conscience, the inner voice, thus legitimating silence. I am not sure whether Olick's characterization of Heidegger's position as corresponding more to a 'shame' rather than a 'guilt' culture works entirely, given that Heidegger is rejecting the persuasive power of external sanctions – even where he might, through an intellectual sleight of hand, identify his own conscience as that external power (82). The final piece in this section, by Svenja Goltermann, makes clear that it is necessary to distinguish between the constraints on what could be remembered publicly in West Germany, and the individual memory of the war, which she explores with reference to psychiatric files kept on returning German POWs.

In the third part of the book – on Africa – Raphaëlle Branche and Jim House examine the various silences imposed by both 'victim' and 'perpetrator' on the history of the torture endemic to the Algerian War of Independence, as well as on that of the police violence during the Algerian demonstrations of 17 October 1961. Ruth Ginio then discusses the African silences surrounding the participation of African soldiers – the tirailleurs sénégalais – in the French army during the colonial period; she makes clear that these silences were partial and selective, as Africans living in France and the state of Senegal, for instance, preferred to remember some aspects of that participation, but not others. And Louise Bethlehem reflects on whether the healing process triggered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, which she assesses partly through the prism of J. M. Coetzee's novel *Disgrace* (1999), might not have entailed a certain

instrumentalization of the breaking of silence as a ritual act whereby the new state separated itself off from its past.

The final section concentrates on the Middle East. Taner Akçam – one of the first Turkish academics to confront the Armenian genocide – provides a fascinating diagnosis of the reasons for Turkey's denial of this genocide. Akçam points to a deeply-rooted, historically conditioned Turkish neurosis associating issues of human rights with a threat to national sovereignty; this neurosis dates back to the territorial demands of the Armenians, Greeks and Kurds and the see-sawing post-1918 settlements of Sèvres and Lausanne. Efrat Ben-Ze'ev then explores the way soldiers who fought in Israel's war of independence later drew a 'veil of silence' (181) over the more ugly aspects of their participation in this war, tending instead towards a more heroic narrative as expected by the state. Finally, Asher Kaufmann shows that, despite knowing of Ariel Sharon's role in the massacres at the Lebanese refugee camps Sabra and Shatila in 1982, Israelis, until recently, by and large preferred to keep silent on this aspect of his biography, imagining Sharon rather as a patriotic figure.

The book tells us much about what was not talked about, and explains why. Silence, clearly, does not necessarily entail remembering one thing and forgetting another (though it might), so much as choosing not to recall something publicly, bottling it away, while perhaps articulating another memory. Public memory, then, is constructed as much through myriad privates silences as through what is openly articulated; equally, private memory does not necessarily correlate to public memory. *Shadows of War* assembles well-written essays of a consistently high standard. It goes a considerable way towards achieving its goal of shifting the focus away from the prevalent remembering-versus-forgetting binary towards an appreciation of what we might see as an intermediate position of silence. That is no mean feat.

Bill Niven, *Nottingham Trent University*

Jay Bergman, *Meeting the Demands of Reason: The Life and Thought of Andrei Sakharov*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca NY, 2009; xvii + 454 pp.; 9780801447310, $39.95 (hbk)

Andrei Sakharov was undoubtedly one of the most interesting and inspiring individuals of the late Soviet period. After spending the 1950s and much of the 1960s designing thermo-nuclear weapons for the Soviet regime, Sakharov grew increasingly disillusioned with the system's failings and gradually became one of the loudest voices defending human rights in the USSR. He attracted huge global support and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975, but he also spent much of the Brezhnev era being hounded by the KGB, pilloried in the Soviet media and waseventually exiled from Moscow to the closed city of Gorky in 1980. Then, in the mid-1980s, Sakharov was summoned back to Moscow by Mikhail Gorbachev and

again played a prominent role in pushing for further liberalization of the Soviet system until his death in 1989.

As perhaps the most famous of all Soviet dissidents, and a celebrated physicist to boot, Sakharov has already generated a considerable body of literature. He left lengthy memoirs, wrote pamphlets, articles, speeches and petitions, and has been the subject of well-received biographies by the likes of Richard Lourie and Gennady Gorelik, as well as a volume of KGB materials, compiled by Joshua Rubenstein and Alexander Gribanov. Jay Bergman's work, however, is presented as an intellectual biography, examining the evolution of Sakharov's political beliefs, his dissident activity and his impact on the USSR and the wider world. These are, of course, prominent themes in all works on Andrei Sakharov, but Bergman has produced a worthwhile addition to the existing material.

From the outset the author presents Sakharov as the product of values and ideals from a bygone age: a descendant of the pre-revolutionary liberal intelligentsia. Like many other citizens, Sakharov's belief in the Soviet regime, and ultimately in socialism more widely, waned throughout the post-Stalin era. Bergman makes a particularly good job of elucidating Sakharov's belief in the eventual convergence of capitalism and socialism, where the positive aspects of both systems would combine, and of his argument that the domestic observance of human rights is a key factor in global stability. Chapter 15, which sets forth the philosophical debates and divisions between Sakharov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, is another of the outstanding aspects of the book. Bergman has clearly taken pains to understand the nature of Sakharov's scientific work, and for the most part is able to convey key facets of it in layman's terms.

Among the most fascinating aspects of *Meeting the Demands of Reason* are the snapshots that it presents of the post-Stalin USSR, and of the political and scientific elite in particular. For example, it has long been known that the authorities' reliance on top-level scientists meant that those few individuals had to be granted a degree of autonomy that existed nowhere else in society, yet Bergman provides numerous concrete instances that help to fill out this picture. We learn that the physicists at Arzamas-16, the secret installation where Sakharov worked for 18 years, freely read banned literature such as George Orwell's *1984* and talked openly about highly controversial issues, like the purges of the 1930s. Sakharov himself had a direct line to the very highest members of the political leadership and was even able to use his influence to protect others who had fallen into disfavour or been arrested. Details such as these make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the complex relationship between state and society in the USSR once mass terror had been abandoned.

Aside from interviews with Sakharov's family and friends, the sources on which Bergman draws are, for the most part, ones that have been available for some time, meaning that the reader is mostly presented with re-evaluations, rather than fresh revelations. Sakharov's own memoirs are cited particularly frequently and not always with consideration of their strengths and weaknesses as a historical source. What one occasionally encounters, therefore, is an overly simplistic picture

of good (Sakharov and the West) against bad (the Soviet state, the unresponsive Soviet public and even fellow dissidents who disagreed with Sakharov). Similarly, while there is unquestionably a great deal to be celebrated about Andrei Sakharov, the author is entirely unequivocal in his admiration for his subject and at times shows a tendency to overplay the significance of Sakharov's role in Soviet history, and he largely shies away from less positive aspects of his life, such as his enduring estrangement from the children of his first marriage.

While *Meeting the Demands of Reason* does not make previous works on Sakharov obsolete, it does have considerable strengths. The balance of coverage between Sakharov's deeply intertwined personal, professional and political lives is perhaps the best available so far, as is the coverage of his role in *perestroika* during the late 1980s and the moving public response to his sudden death in December 1989. Bergman has not dramatically shifted the literary landscape on Andrei Sakharov, but has produced a well-researched and well-written work that stands well among its rivals.

Robert Hornsby, *University of Birmingham*

Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History 1478–1834*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009; 504 pp., 46 b/w illus., 3 maps, 11 tables; 9780521748230, £22.99 (pbk)

Francisco Bethencourt's *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478–1834* is a revised edition and English translation of his *L'Inquisition à L'Époque Moderne: Espagne, Italie, Portugal XVe-XIXe siècle* (Fayard, 1995). The work retains the same structure, organized in 10 chapters according to themes; the updated bibliography and consideration of new work are incorporated into those same themes. The result is a valuable synthesis and 'systematic macroanalysis' (28) of three inquisitions – the Spanish, Portuguese and Roman – which also manages to engage in quite a bit of careful and detailed analysis.

While the Spanish, Portuguese and Roman Inquisitions were all ecclesiastical tribunals authorized by the pope to prosecute heresy, and therefore shared the same inquisitorial procedure of investigation and punishment, there were, as Bethencourt emphasizes, significant variations between them. It is through his comparative examination of these tribunals' variations and commonalities 'across time and space' – according to the same themes of rites and etiquette, organizational forms, strategies of action, and systems of representation – that Bethencourt explores the 'emergence, development, and decline of a major ecclesiastical power' (29) in early modern Europe, accounting for as many localized permutations and adaptations as the sources will allow.

Bethencourt's chapters devoted to 'The visits' (Chapter 6) and 'The *auto-da-fé*' (Chapter 7) are most indicative of the major differences between the Roman Inquisition and the two Iberian Inquisitions. The Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions each had a system of visitation in place to inspect tribunals' activities,

while the Roman Inquisition sent visitors (rarely) as needed in response to particular complaints. Spanish and Portuguese tribunals also arranged the spectacle of the *auto-da-fé*, in which a significant number of the penitent would ritually process to a carefully designed and managed public space where they would be reconciled, perhaps accompanied by a much smaller number of the recalcitrant to be executed. Such occasions, as Bethencourt explains, elaborating upon one of the major themes of his work, gave Spanish and Portuguese tribunals the opportunity to publicly assert their power and prestige, with the symbolic support of political elites – growing more elaborate as the tribunals entered a state of gradual decline, the better to argue for continued relevance to society, before finally retreating to less public space in the eighteenth century. (Whether that message of power and utility was unilaterally accepted by the spectators, Bethencourt acknowledges, is much more difficult to discern.)

The Roman Inquisition's more quotidian abjuration process, usually undertaken in churches with small groups of penitents transported there without public fanfare, was indicative of that inquisition's more conflicted relationship to secular power, particularly in states such as Venice. The Congregation of Cardinals in Rome, which led the Roman Inquisition's activities in the north-central Italian peninsula after 1542, had to negotiate with the secular officials of independent states, who often viewed the papal-sponsored tribunals as representative of a rival political power. Therefore the Roman Inquisition could only act uninhibitedly in the Papal States, the pope's own political territory. The political conflict, rather than relative unity (as on the Iberian Peninsula), was reflected in the distinct lack of spectacular *autos-da-fé*.

The book's other chapters also elaborate upon this distinction. While serving as an inquisitor or member of a tribunal was an extraordinarily good career path for churchmen in all three inquisitions ('Appointments', Chapter 4), each inquisition's different relationship to the political sphere, according to Bethencourt's work, often accounted for variations between each inquisition's internal power structures. In Spain and Portugal, there were fewer tribunals, but each tribunal had two or three inquisitors, and those inquisitors had more opportunities to make decisions independently of each inquisition's central council. The Roman Inquisition had more tribunals, with only one inquisitor each, who often was required to consult with the Congregation in Rome, leading Bethencourt to describe the Roman Inquisition as, in general, 'weaker' at the intermediate level in organizational form. The Roman Inquisition's vicars, however, could act more independently than their counterparts in Spain and Portugal, the commissars, when assisting inquisitors with investigations, giving vicars an advantage in the ability to take action.

Bethencourt's coverage of all three inquisitions is so comprehensive that only touching upon the common themes will be possible here. But it is Bethencourt's examination of such details that allows him to explore the outer limits of his evidence very creatively, and note what sources are available and what areas of study are in need of more research. Finally, it is through his examination of more

symbolic forms of representation, in addition to trials, inquisition manuals, edicts and correspondence that Bethencourt argues for the inquisitions' longevity and eventual abolition. According to Bethencourt, it was the tribunals' ability to involve local elites, even the nobility in Spain despite initial prohibitions to the contrary, which accounts for their longevity (at the price of being subject to some manipulation by those very elites). And while the public argument for service to the community eventually was interpreted according to a different set of values prizing religious tolerance, Bethencourt argues that what ultimately shut down tribunals were political authorities making the decision that the inquisition, as an institution, was no longer useful.

Jane K. Wickersham, *University of Oklahoma*

Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars. Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca NY, 2009; 306 pp.; 9780801445026, $45.00 (hbk)

Over the last few years we have witnessed a resurgence in studies concerned with slavery in the Hispanic, Mediterranean and Atlantic world. The results have been crucial for our understanding of both Muslim slavery and the transportation of Black Africans to America. In this context, Debra Blumenthal's book adds new data on the phenomenon of slavery in medieval Valencia, especially for the second half of the fifteenth century. One of its greatest strengths is that the author breaks with the traditional, masculine concept of slave communities, and takes account of the presence of slave women and children. Blumenthal also has a good approach to the social aspect of slavery, putting great emphasis on knowing the daily lives of male and female slaves, reconstructing their experiences, habits and routines. The author certainly knows how to sift through historical sources and gives us a full picture of the human landscape. It brings together the rich documentary sources on slavery conserved by the Kingdom of Aragon, especially those from Valencian archives, which have holdings devoted to slavery, such as the Captives' Books of Confessions.

Up to a few years ago, the historical source most used in the study of slavery in the flourishing port of Valenica was the holdings on the Bailía General in the Archives of the Kingdom of Valencia, in which the phenomenon of slavery was seen as Saracen, essentially masculine, and basically sustained by privateering. However, Blumenthal has been able to bring together various types of documents from diverse archives (the Archive of the Kingdom of Valencia, the Archive of Judicial Records and the Municipal Archive), which allow her to present a fuller and more differentiated picture of the ethnic and social background of the slaves. She thereby rediscovers the memory of slaves of Black African, Russian, Tatar, Circassian and Canary origin, as well as of some Greek Orthodox Christians who were enslaved.

The book is organized into seven chapters, which are easy to read thanks to careful editing and the author's evident passion for her theme. The first, 'Defining *De bona guerra*' discusses the supply of the slaves themselves. There were three main sources: war and piracy, penal servitude and trade. The second chapter concentrates on a study of the slave market itself, not so much from the economic standpoint, but more as an analysis of the process of buying and selling and an examination of those agents involved in these transactions. The third sets the productivity of the slaves against the common image of slave-owning as a mark of high socio-economic status. Other authors have argued this before, and Blumenthal restates the position, analysing new cases of slaves who worked on the land or in handicrafts. Similarly, the next chapter engages with the discussion about the slave as a member of the family, and criticizes the classical paternalist image of the master as provider, on the basis of various specific cases, such as that of Miquel, a Tatar slave who attacked his mistress while she was kneading dough. Chapter 5 is apposite, dealing with the role that male and female slaves played in determining the social status of their masters in Valencian society at that time. In this way, it digs deeper into notions such as shame, sex and dignity, using the relationship of slavery as a backdrop and bringing the vital anthropological perspective with which to frame these concepts. The two final chapters deal with the emancipation of male and female slaves and examine their life experiences as freed men and women, as well as the opportunities for integration into fifteenth-century Valencian society.

As for the historiography of medieval and modern slavery in Spain and Europe, it should be pointed out that certain works are absent from the bibliography. This may be the result of the time lag between the completion of the author's doctoral thesis ('Implements of Labor, Instruments of Honor: Muslims, Eastern and Black African Slaves in Fifteenth-Century Valencia', University of Toronto, 2000) and the publication of this book. But although this volume may be a little less up-to-date than it could have been, it nonetheless represents a most important advance in the study of medieval European slavery – a key theme for understanding numerous aspects, both material and ideological, of world history.

Aurelia Martin, *University of Granada*

Brian J. Boeck, *Imperial Boundaries: Cossack Communities and Empire-Building in the Age of Peter the Great*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009; xiv + 255 pp.; 2 maps, 2 illus.; 9780521514637, £59.00 (hbk)

After some opening pages on the Turkic origins of the Cossacks and on Cossack history prior to about 1650 (years for which the sources are not very good), Brian Boeck concentrates on the period between the Russo-Polish Treaty of Andrusovo (1667) and the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Niš (1739). Under the first of these, Moscow achieved a lull in its long-running conflict with Poland which gave it

the chance to think about some of the other troublesome elements on its peripheries. Under the second, the Russian empire came into permanent possession of the Ottoman town of Azov at the mouth of the River Don, which enabled it to consolidate the hold that it had been establishing in that vicinity for several decades. Between the two treaties, Russian Tsars went a long way towards achieving the full incorporation of the Don Cossacks into their empire, denying them the status of freebooters and setting them on the path to what they eventually became, the most fervently patriotic of all the Russian army's auxiliaries.

This transformation of the Don Cossacks is the subject of Boeck's book. This would have been more immediately evident if the word 'Don' had figured in its title, for the author is not concerned with the Cossacks of the River Dnieper. A major difference between the Cossacks of the two regions was that, ethnically speaking, those on the Don became predominantly Russian in the second half of the seventeenth century. As serfdom became firmly entrenched in Muscovy, peasants fled south to escape it. At first, the Tsar had a number of reasons for not pursuing them. Free communities in the south could serve as a buffer between the lands of Muscovy and those of the Tatars and Ottomans; Cossacks on the Don (unlike those on the Dnieper) tended to prioritize Moscow when they felt the need for an external associate (offering Azov to Muscovy, for example, when they captured it from the Turks in 1637); and the lower reaches of the Don were far beyond the 'Belgorod line', the line of forts which the Tsar began constructing in 1635 to protect his Southern flank.

For a while, therefore, it looked as if Russian peasants who migrated to the Don had made the right decision. The treaties of Andrusovo and Niš, however, fell either side of the reign of Peter the Great. Famous in retrospect for his achievements in the North (the annexation of Livland and Estland, the creation of a new capital and administrative system in St Petersburg), Peter had initially set his heart on the South. The ships which so captured his imagination saw their first effective military deployment in the capture of Azov from the Turks in 1696. Unlike his grandfather, who had turned Azov down when the Cossacks offered it to him in 1637 (with the result that the Turks got it back), Peter intended to hold on to the town. Although he was not able to do so, his equally firm commitment to Russian control of Don Cossack society bore fruit. When, before the Tsar's birth, the Don Cossack Stepan Razin ran amok on the Caspian and the Volga, Muscovy sought an end to the disquiet but waited for divisions among the Don Cossacks to bring it about. When, on the other hand, the Don Cossack Kondratii Bulavin turned to violence in 1707–8, Russia again took advantage of Cossack divisions, but this time also engaged in a pitiless harrowing of Don Cossack territory. Peter was making it clear that henceforward he would accept only the features of Don Cossack society which he found conducive to the well-being of the Russian empire as a whole. Before his time, Don Cossacks came under the section of the Muscovite administration which was responsible for foreign relations. From 1718, they came under Peter's Military College. Thus the

Tsar signalled that he welcomed the Don Cossacks' military outlook, but not their general inclination to autonomy. The peculiarities of their society that survived his reign did so on sufferance.

Boeck presents and analyses these developments on the basis of a wealth of manuscript material and printed literature in many languages (including Turkish). Although the book lacks a bibliography, it benefits from footnotes. The author's methodological framework is much more sophisticated than a brief review can convey. No reader could come away thinking that the shift in the fortunes of the Don Cossacks came about entirely because of Peter the Great's penchant for violence and regimentation. Boeck makes clear that there were instances in which Russia colluded with leaders on the Don and instances in which Don Cossacks felt that they could benefit from greater metropolitan involvement in their affairs. Although one of the more startling features of the book is its emphasis on how far ahead of west European countries Russia was in its attachment to controlling the physical mobility of its inhabitants (a feature which militated strongly against Don Cossack society and rather supports the traditional image of the Russian steamroller), another is its emphasis on the fact that, even at the end of the story, the Don area retained some of its individuality. Thus a final merit of the book is that it whets the reader's appetite for the work of Bruce Menning, Shane O'Rourke and Peter Holquist on the history of Don Cossacks in later periods.

David Saunders, *Newcastle University*

Thomas A. Brady Jr, *German Histories in the Age of Reformation, 1400–1650*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009; 496 pp., 17 b/w illus., 5 maps; 9780521889094, £66.00 (hbk); 9780521717786, £18.99 (pbk)

What is new? It is not exactly fair to begin a book review with this question. It is, however, both justifiable and necessary if one is to do justice to Thomas Brady's aims. The book offers an evaluation of Germany's transition over 250 years to the early modern era which will no doubt preoccupy historians for some time. The book deals with all the significant topics of that time, the so-called *Reichsreform*, the older forms of German statehood, the Reformation and the Confessionalization process. In the final chapter, these topics are linked convincingly with the concerns of the present and they are also linked in an original manner with some older speculations about 'German Futures'. As the book's dust jacket announces: 'Brady argues that the character of the political changes (dispersed sovereignty, local autonomy) prevented both a general reformation of the Church before 1520 and a national reformation thereafter'. During this period, German unity was forfeited and, as a result, it was only from the nineteenth century onwards that one can speak of *one* German history.

According to Brady, there was nonetheless a successful transformation during the period between 1400 and 1650: the transition from a universal Reich to a German Reich, characterized by a 'multiplicity and autonomy of polities' on the one hand as well as denominational plurality on the other. In Brady's opinion, the primary reason why German history unfolded as it did was the successful reform of the Reich before 1520. It is not necessary to agree with every aspect of his analysis to appreciate that his exploration of various perspectives – caesaropapist, national and communal illusions – provides some plausible answers to open questions. A Reich emerged around 1500, whose boundaries cannot be exactly determined, but which was essentially restricted to the German nation. In the Reich, 'Emperor and Estates' made political decisions together, although the latter reigned over their territories more or less autonomously. After this first successful adaption to the European trend of national statehood, Brady argues, neither the general or national reformation of the church, nor the communalist plans of the peasants had a realistic chance of being realized. Thus, the Reformation movement, which Luther had triggered, could no longer be stopped and it inevitably became the political concern of 'Emperor and Estates', who accommodated the movement within the political constellation of the imperial constitution. The Peace of Augsburg 1555 was a preliminary resolution to this politically regulated denominational divide, which was finally completed with the Peace of Westphalia. After that time the German state church system comprised two national churches – the recourse to Leopold von Ranke is indeed appropriate at this point.

Apart from this overall argument, which is really only revealed in the conclusion, Brady's narrative offers much that is well known and familiar. The plural 'Histories' of the title, as well as the general argument, becomes rather blurred over the course of 400 closely-printed pages. Despite the compilation of much detail and the quotation of many individual contemporary perceptions, Brady's work does not constitute a handbook or an introductory synthesis. He does not declare his own position within the current state of research, or even make reference to alternative views. Many works of the last 40 years are not taken into account. These include the studies of the character of the Swabian or Schmalkaldic League (V. Press, H. Carl, G. Haug-Moritz), or of the Empire and its Estates (P. Moraw, V. Press, H. Angermeier, H. Neuhaus, G. Schmidt, B. Stollberg-Rilinger, A. Gotthard, etc.). The same applies to the pages devoted to social or intellectual history (for instance, G. Franz on the decrease in population during the 30 Years War or V. Leppin on Luther's concept of liberty). Furthermore the usual bibliographical data is missing for many points that are made. Statements that appear rather surprising, such as Justus Lipsius' declaration that 'Liberty is characteristic of the Germans', remain unexplained. The knowledge of certain contexts, which do not necessarily reveal themselves to the reader, is simply assumed: although the foundation of the Protestant Union and the Catholic League is mentioned, the author does not explain what prompted their foundation – the events at Donauwörth. Clearly, there is no reason why Brady should necessarily agree with the current state of research; nevertheless, it would be interesting to know why he

does not agree. The implicit answer, namely that he shares many of the religious and political assumptions of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century (Protestant) historiography, will not be obvious to every reader. In general Brady confirms the old and frequently reiterated image of the Holy Roman Empire and the Reformation: a politically fragmented body, which – and this is relatively new – generated state structures, but did not follow the example of the centralized western European model of state formation. The Reich failed to find unity, Brady suggests, because it was divided into two confessional camps.

Even so, the numerous figures, charts, and maps do serve to illustrate a narrative of 'German Histories'. Brady believes that the plural is necessary because the religious divide, which had been enshrined in the constitution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was the main reason why the German nation did not achieve unity, even in later centuries. Brady sees no political or institutional continuity between the Old Reich and today's Germany, but he does discern continuity in confessional terms. This is certainly debatable. However, one might also question whether there are not points of reference other than the unified and sovereign nation state, experienced as such internally and perceived as such externally. This might enable one to see more in the confessional pluralism and political diversity of the Old Reich (complementary levels of statehood, the division of power, a multi-layered system) than merely an obstacle to national development. Might this not conceivably serve as the historical context and frame of reference for 'German Futures' in a unified Europe?

Georg Schmidt, *Jena*

Craig Brandist and Katya Chown, eds, *Politics and the Theory of Language in the USSR 1917–1938: The Birth of Sociological Linguistics*, Anthem Press: London, 2010; vi + 199 pp.; 9781843318408, £60.00 (hbk)

This succinct volume of articles straddles the interdisciplinary divide between history, political science, linguistics and literary studies; its contributors are, appropriately, linguists, a student of culture, an ethnologist, a philologist, and historians from Britain, Finland, Russia, Switzerland and the United States. Though the scholarly fruits of interdisciplinarity have been praised during recent decades, relatively few researchers dare transgress the boundaries of their specialty, as it may entail tacit ostracism and difficulties when applying for university jobs. But the character of the modern social world is irredeemably interdisciplinary, and a mono-disciplinarian take on a social or historical phenomenon often obfuscates or leaves out as much as it explains (7). An exemplary case of such an interdisciplinary phenomenon is the emergence of the Soviet Union in the interwar period. The genocidal Bolshevik regime set about transforming the entire existing social reality into a new communist one, leaving untouched very few elements or aspects of life from imperial Russia.

And even those which did persist (such as the army, the universities or money) were radically altered in their substance and practices.

The focus of the book under review is on one such element, namely language. Uncharacteristically for Stalin, he conceded that the single element of social reality he could not engineer to his liking was language (118). (This surprises the reader since Atatürk, who borrowed his methods of linguistic engineering from the Soviets, successfully transformed the Ottomans' official language of Ottoman Turkish into the radically different Turkish of today.) But the Bolsheviks tried to and, indeed, did destroy languages and they created new ones across the Soviet Union in the course of *korenizatsiia* ('nativization', meaning the bolstering or even the creation of ethnolinguistically defined nations) during the 1920s and 1930s. Throughout the linguistic conflagration that this caused, the Russian language remained a relative constant, needed as an instrument of unambiguous communication for the bureaucracy-intensive regime.

The volume's authors scrutinize the linguists, historians and politicians behind the Soviet brand of sociolinguistic engineering, its methods, goals and Western European origins (14). Soviet thought took, for example, much from the ideas of Francis Galton, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Antoine Miellet, Ferdinand de Saussure, and William Stern; the last's concept of 'psychotechnics' lent Soviet psychology and psychiatry a decisively nasty turn.

The book is an important corrective on many counts. First, it acknowledges the validity and applicability of Soviet linguistic thought and research, even though Western scholars still tend to disparage it as hopelessly ideologized (10); but, one must ask, what language politics pursued by a state is not ideologized? Second, Nikolai Marr's official Marxist linguistics (90–92) and Stalin's 1950 essay on linguistics (117) were ridiculed in the West, but, seen in the context of the times, the volume uncovers salient insights in both of them. Third, the contributors bring to light, among others, Rozaliia Shor, a forgotten precursor of sociolinguistics (40); Evgenii Polianov, a forerunner of historical sociolinguistics (45); Boris Larin who developed urban sociolinguistics half a century before William Labov's research on New Yorkers' speech (60–67); and Mikołaj Kruszewski and Jan Baudouin de Courteney who developed many linguistic concepts earlier than in the West, and also laid the foundations of Russian linguistics from which its Soviet successor sprang (17). Fourth, the popularity of Bakhtin and Vygotskii that began in the West in the 1980s with translations of their works seems to be accidental. They were brilliant Soviet scholars in their specialties, but not the most brilliant. Bakhtin and Vygotskii were not as original as is usually maintained; they drew many of their crucial concepts from others (69). That this conclusion should be coming from Craig Brandist, former Director of the Bakhtin Center at the University of Sheffield, indicates the coming of age of this field of studies. It opens a new vista for future research that will take into account the entire milieu of the interwar Soviet theoreticians and implementers of linguistic and social engineering. Sadly, but not atypically, many of them perished, through being either executed or exiled to the Gulag in the late 1930s purges. There was no clear logic to their deaths; their

fate was shared equally by adversaries identified with either bourgeois or Marxist linguistics (89–90, 103). Contingency played the biggest role in the process, as after 1932, once ideological dogmas had become established and entrenched, no innovative tinkering with linguistics was looked upon favourably (12).

Minor deficits of the volume lie in the inconsistent transliteration of personal names: both the Russian spelling (V. Doroshevskii) and the Latin script version (W. Doroszewski) are used (181–183, 185, 189). The thoughtful glossary of names offers potted biographies of the members of the milieu of interwar Soviet linguistics and politics (from which, inexplicably, Roman Jakobson is missing). Apart from the index of names, a subject index would have been most helpful, because the book's subject matter is so rich in concepts, disputes and arcane terms. It is to be hoped that other scholars will take up from, and expand on, where the book stops, in order to analyse the interface of linguistics and politics in the later Soviet Union, as well as the export of the practices and customs of Soviet linguistics to the Soviet bloc countries after World War II.

Tomasz Kamusella, *Cracow University of Economics*

Jana F. Bruns, *Nazi Cinema's New Women*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009; 271 pp., 26 illus.; 9780521856850, £45.00 (hbk)

'Six decades after the end of World War II, it is still difficult for historians to accept that many Germans actually experienced this era as positive and apolitical', writes Jana Bruns. Entertainment, in particular film, in her view, was one means whereby the Nazis influenced opinion. This leads her to examine three Third Reich female film stars: Hungarian-born dancer and singer Marika Rökk, sultry Swedish singer and actress Zarah Leander, who returned to Sweden in 1943, and another Swedish-born actress, Kristina Söderbaum, who married the director Veit Harlan. Söderbaum took a leading role in the egregious *Jud Süss* (1940), the film for which her husband was tried in 1949 and 1950 for Crimes against Humanity and acquitted. Rökk is discussed under the heading 'The Queen of Revue Films'; Leander under 'The Eternal Feminine' and Söderbaum under 'The Disobedient Maiden'.

Mass entertainment, and in particular film, Bruns contends in her agreeably jargon-free study, was one means whereby the Nazis managed to create a 'false impression' as well as 'illusions'. Film stars, especially female, could provide a means of 'indoctrination', even if their powers of seduction whether on screen or off (the latter through fan clubs) often contradicted Nazi ideas about the place of women in the scheme of things. By combining literary theory with historical analysis Bruns claims to offer 'new insights into the design and operation of gender ideology in the Third Reich' (9) and thereby a fuller understanding of Nazi culture. Though literary scholars provide some insights, they neglect the context, while historians, who explore institutional, political

and social milieus, in her view, can benefit from the 'nuanced picture of textual significance' provided by practitioners of Film Studies. This is a study at the edge, so to speak, of the historical discipline.

What can one learn by concentrating on the careers and popularity of just three film stars, whose careers do not fully span the 12-year period of the Third Reich: Rökk from 1935 to 1945; Leander from 1937 to 1943 and Söderbaum from 1937 to 1945? Does this study fall between two stools? Unfortunately, the answer is yes. The first chapter, dealing with 'the institutional background', provides a useful historical survey of the German film industry between 1933 and 1945: how the industry began working with the state; the new system of censorship; and finally the nationalization of the industry during the war when *Ufi* replaced *Ufa* and other film companies. Three chapters on the film stars are followed by a very brief conclusion.

Does the Hungarian-born and not very talented Rökk, who found work in a 'cleansed' industry, to become the star of the German revue film for which she was very well paid, merit examination? Pushing at the boundaries of prescribed feminine behaviour, verging at times on 'deviant', but safely dismissed as 'Hungarian' or 'un-German', she also managed to keep audiences happy, even if some Nazi radicals objected to 'over-foreignization' (73). Without offering much evidence, Bruns concludes that the popularity of her films helped sustain the Third Reich, by providing a form of escapism, often at odds with Nazi teachings and even with the conduct of the war itself.

Leander, on the other hand, did not remain in Germany to the bitter end. An earlier view suggested she was apolitical, though film scholars have found traces of Nazi antifeminism in her work. Bruns examines her more 'openly political films', pointing out that on screen Leander never sacrificed herself for *Volk* or Fatherland though did so for lover or child (113). Söderbaum, another Swede, did remain in Germany, given her marriage to Harlan. In *Jud Süss*, after which her husband became the Third Reich's leading director, she played the victim of the Jewish courtier and would continue to play the sacrificial victim in his subsequent films.

Much has already been written about these stars and the major films, more often by non-historians than historians. Bruns has little new to offer. Her bibliography suggests extensive archival research, but too often she relies on the work of what practitioners of Film Studies have previously written about individual films. She makes some errors: *Jud Süss* did not lose to an Italian film at the Venice film festival but to another German film in the foreign film category; nor did it appear after *Der ewige Jude*; and the American audiences 'smitten' with the Leander film *Heimat* were German speakers since in the US German films were only screened in a few small German-language cinemas. These are minor errors but ones which reflect an obvious weakness in a study based on a PhD dissertation which often comes closer to Film Studies than history.

Susan Tegel, *London*

Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century*, Duke University Press: Durham NC, 2009; 227 pp., 10 illus.; 9780822345480, $79.95 (hbk); 9780822345657 $22.95 (pbk)

Many problems worried the French in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The dramatic fall in birth rates caused fear about depopulation and its causes. The shrinking population created a scarcity of labour, with the consequent need to find a new source of workers. The Great War aggravated the 'man shortage' of labourers, husbands and fathers. Moralists felt that France had lost its family values, and that women were not procreating as they might for the good of the nation. The work of French prostitutes abroad – an astounding four-fifths of prostitutes in Buenos Aires were said to be French women – provoked scandal. Prostitution in France, commentators proclaimed, sapped men's energies and subverted legitimate reproduction, and was particularly damnable when French prostitutes catered to Arab or black colonial soldiers. Policy-makers were concerned about the arrival of increasing numbers of non-Westerners in France – from the colonies in the Maghreb, black Africa, the Caribbean and Asia – and the effects that might have, including miscegenation and *métissage*, on the French race.

Elisa Camiscioli's book brings these topics together in a fascinating and persuasive fashion. Using a wealth of archival and published material, including the writings of pro-natalists, colonial lobbyists, demographers, eugenicists and specialists in the *science du travail* (including Fernand Boverat, Georges Mauco, Jules Amar, René Martial and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu), as well as the records of many heretofore obscure and unexplored associations, and reports in the press, she analyses the anxieties of the elite about the very survival of the French race in the face of those problems. 'Race' is an important word, for despite the universalistic and contractarian nature of French ideology – in theory, potential access to citizenship and Frenchness for all – Camiscioli finds that debates on depopulation, migration and labour were highly racialized, and also gendered. Migration might be necessary, but supporters of it established clear hierarchies of desirable candidates: Belgians and Swiss, then 'white' Italians and Spaniards (thought, with admiration, to be happily fecund), followed by eastern Europeans and Levantines, with men and women of colour a distant, and dangerous, last on the list.

Views on population were, perhaps inevitably, convoluted and contradictory, but they held considerable importance since, at the end of the 1800s, the French population was reproducing itself at the lowest rate in the world, and by the 1920s France had become the most important destination for immigrants in the industrialized world. Those favouring migration preferred men and women who would give birth to large numbers of children and would acculturate easily, but also foreshadowed that acculturation would mean a drop in the size of their families. Migrants were welcomed when jobs were plentiful, and no doubt those who came hoped that they could remain, but many were expelled from France during the Depression. France championed its empire as a source of profit and pride, but tried to restrict the number of colonized people who actually settled in France and

treated them with discrimination when they did. Efforts to stamp out prostitution were based on assumptions about the evils of extra-marital sex, despite official sponsorship of military brothels, and the supposition that any prostitute was a pawn in the hands of 'white slavers'. The supposed republican values trumpeted in the 1930s, as Camiscioli argues, led the way towards the more repulsive racial views of the anti-republican Pétain regime and its national revolution.

Camiscioli provides good material and analysis of various developments, for instance, the passage of an important law in 1927 that made it possible for a French woman to keep her citizenship if she married a foreign man. Previously, such a woman automatically lost her citizenship, which reformers noted amounted to a loss of reproductive potential to the nation, and led to bizarre situations, as when French-born women married to foreigners but living in France had to pay the tax levied on non-French residents.

Camiscioli's work occasionally shows irritating traces of a doctoral thesis – lots of 'interrogating' of various issues and quoting of 'theorists' in the introduction, much setting out of what will be done in various sections, continual references back and forth from chapter to chapter – that could have been smoothed out in the editing. The overriding concepts of 'embodiment' and 'the intimate', the ways in which issues of French policy concentrated on the body (phenotypes, reproduction, etc.), do not strictly seem necessary to cap the different issues, but her reach to encompass various types of history and scholarship in relation to biopolitics is successful. This is a very fine brief volume (with 159 pages of text), informative on many areas of interest to historians of politics, labour, migration, science and colonialism. It is, as well, a timely study in light of current French debates, and debates elsewhere, about immigration, citizenship and multi-culturalism, which eerily recall the racialized discussions of almost a century ago.

Robert Aldrich, *University of Sydney*

Glenn Clark, Judith Owens, and Greg T. Smith, eds., *City Limits: Perspectives on the Historical European City*, McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal and Kingston, Ontario, 2010; x + 396 pp; 9780773536517, $95.00 (hbk); 9780773536524, $32.95 (pbk)

This extensive collection of 13 essays centres on relationships of time and space, place and actor in early-modern and modern urban society and culture. Markedly inter-disciplinary, this volume makes a timely contribution to urban historiography. Indeed, *City Limits* is ample proof of just how much urban history has developed over recent years, from a rather niche genre to cutting-edge mainstream history. More than this, the collection's themes and methodology are of value not only to urban historians, but scholars of society, gender, politics and culture more broadly. As a result, the collection offers a far-reaching and comprehensive contribution to the field.

The title *City Limits* is a paradox, designed to provide the contextual framework for many of the essays, whilst simultaneously breaking down the boundaries of discipline, region, and chronology. Focusing on city space as a way into the physical, cultural and mental communities of city inhabitants (especially the marginal), this collection asks constructive questions about the role of the city in shaping national and international networks, identities and associations. 'Placing the City' – the first section – offers a welcome contribution to the literature by a renowned historian in the field; Christopher Friedrichs. His study of the 'meaningful commonalities' of Eurasian urban political culture redresses the inward focus of much European literature. Such studies are vital to our understanding of global development, cross-cultural exchange and the understanding of what it meant to be 'political', away from an explicitly Western perspective. The rest of the section explores how communities were created by common interest, such as music in Renaissance Venice, vernacular manuscripts in Germany, values and shared heritage in Paris, aesthetics in Florence and New York, and symbolism in Tudor England. The section demonstrates the symbiotic relationship of city and nation, showing how the city functioned as a semi-autonomous hub in far reaching networks of cultural transmission: a key building block in the formation of national identity. Nonetheless, the selection also highlights the irony that as cities increased their cosmopolitan connections, they simultaneously closed their borders, more forcefully demarcating their 'limits'. Exclusion became the new inclusion.

The second section 'Gender, Mobility, and the City' plugs into a relatively new research area for historians: gender and the 'spatial turn'. A welcome addition to the historiography, the essays draw attention to those marginalized city residents – women, the poor and the physically impaired – to whom (with a few notable exceptions) less analysis has been devoted. In many cases building directly or indirectly on the work of de Certeau, the contributors highlight how physical movement created its own subtexts, communities and experiences, often quite distinct from those observed by the middle-class *flâneur*, which afforded the marginal their own place within the city, albeit often tenuous or contested. Indeed, the focus on the movement of people is a refreshing adjunct to the movement of ideas in the previous section. Together the essays convincingly argue for the existence of competing versions of city space, but most of all emphasize dualities – between tradition and change, gender and ideals, class and mobility, authority and the poor - and the complex relationships which these dualities invariably generated.

The final section 'Redressing Boundaries' covers a topic until relatively recently more familiar to twentieth-century sociologists than to historians. Borders within cities are usually created by the existence of sub-communities, who are socially or spatially segregated by ethnicity, politics, religion or class. These groups generate their own sets of dilemmas, problems and allegiances for city dwellers but at the same time it is these very divisions which made cities dynamic, complex and enticing. The essays explore some of these communities in depth, arguing that the diversity of city inhabitants became etched into the landscape itself. Exploring Jewish synagogues in Amsterdam, Catholic processions in the religiously divided

counter-reformation Augsburg, maritime communities and sailors' sub-cultures in port cities, amongst others, the final section highlights the reciprocity between place and people. Crossing boundaries, real and imagined, religious and secular, deviant and authorized, this section demonstrates the multiplicity of the urban experience and the possibility of 'worlds within worlds'.

The volume as a whole is as fresh and illuminating as it is ambitious. The choice of such varied authors, topics and themes across time and space is stimulating, enabling the reader to transcend cultural givens, historiographies, disciplines, and geographic borders. The selection mirrors the multiple constructions of 'the city' available to contemporaries, whilst concurrently embracing a multiplicity of 'turns' and methodological approaches. Nevertheless, there is a danger in trying to do too much. The sheer variety of themes, periods, topics and genres teeters on the limits itself, feeling a little disjointed and self-consciously post-modern. The bibliography is also confusingly light on archival resources, and it is not clear whether this reflects an actual lack of primary evidence, or an editorial choice not to cite it. However, these criticisms are minor compared to the collection's overall value; the strength of many of the contributions and the wide-ranging appeal to scholars across the humanities and social sciences.

Fiona Williamson, *University of East Anglia*

António Costa Pinto, ed., *Ruling Elites and Decision-Making in Fascist-Era Dictatorships*, Columbia University Press: New York, 2010; xiii + 266 pp.; 9780880336567, £34.50 (hbk)

The themes of this edited collection of research essays are certainly important ones. The aim is to delineate the 'structures of power' in the fascist and right-wing personal dictatorships of Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Salazar in Portugal and Franco in Spain, by unravelling the complex and shifting relationships between the dictators themselves, the single party of each of their regimes, the government ministers, and top civil servants. The essays attempt to show where decision-making power in these regimes actually, rather than formally, resided, which would tell us a great deal about how personal rule operated on the ground, their nature as political systems (whether authoritarian or totalitarian, charismatic or bureaucratic), and the continuities and discontinuities with the systems which preceded and followed them. The research effort involved the creation of new databases on ruling elites in these countries. But one has to say that the contributions written by the historians are rather better than those of the political and social scientists using the databases, partly, I suspect, because historians are more adept at making the most of what patchy material, statistical or not, is available.

The contribution on decision making in the monstrous hydra-like wartime Nazi propaganda apparatus, written in an intense and geeky style entirely appropriate to its subject matter, is hardly original. Yet in its depiction of competing 'mini-charismatic communities', it provides us with an excellent historical analysis and

a conceptually grounded case study. The essays on Mussolini's regime are, by contrast, rather disappointing, and seem to give up in face of the little we actually know about the workings of Mussolini's own brand of charismatic leadership and how the Fascist regime operated. The knowledge gap is not filled by some imaginative use of what evidence might be there (diaries, for example), but by the rat-tat-tat of social and political science jargon and terminology. The most interesting questions are left unanswered. How did Mussolini's style of personal rule work, or not work, in the ministries under his nominal control? How do you explain (say, in terms of charismatic leadership) Mussolini's constant unpredictable 'changes of the guard' among his ministers? How come Mussolini's regime marked a 'transition to authoritarianism', rather than 'totalitarianism', a term, after all, especially coined by Mussolini to characterize his new regime? To say that Mussolini had 'no prior objective outlined at the beginning' might fit the stereotype of the Fascist dictator somehow muddling through, but it scarcely takes on board Mussolini's and the Fascist Party's differing concepts of 'totalitarianism', nor the work of Aquarone, Gentile and others on the 'New State'. One wonders, also, in the contribution on Nazi 'polycracy', why it focuses so much on the background and profile of Nazi government ministers, when it has already been made clear that ministers and the ministerial bureaucracies were no longer the actual ruling elites of the Nazi system.

The essays on Salazar and Franco go rather more smoothly, and there is an interesting survey of Salazar's day-to-day personal and political networking, taken from his hand-written diaries, which must at first sight have been a heavy and unprepossessing source. I do not think that you can better the description of Salazar as 'a strong dictator, a non-charismatic leader, a face-to-face reduced-inner circle ruler'. The editor does a good job in concluding the collection with a clear and plausible comparison of the dictatorial systems, which explains the differences in dictatorial practice by the presence or absence of a strong free-standing fascist party in the period before the dictators came to power. This led, in the cases of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, to decision-making power flowing more from the relationship between dictator and single party than from that between the dictator and his ministers, and in the opposite direction for Salazar's Portugal and Franco's Spain. Again, this is hardly new ground – the book is best seen, and used, as a decent summary of the current state of play on the dictatorial regimes of twentieth-century Europe.

Philip Morgan, *University of Hull*

Daniel A. Crews, *Twilight of the Renaissance: The Life of Juan de Valdés*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2008; xi + 282 pp., 2 maps; 9780802098672, £45.00 (hbk)

The Spaniard Juan de Valdés has been traditionally known as a major figure in Italian 'Evangelism', the grey area between Catholicism and Protestantism in which Justification and the role of faith therein were central concerns. The members of his

circle in Naples and of the successor circle attached to Reginald Pole in Viterbo were known as *i spirituali* and Valdés has figured in the historiography somewhat as a disembodied spirit. Historians have been aware that his brother Alfonso combined the role of servant of Charles V with that of man of letters and polemicist. Crews is the first scholar, however, to show effectively how Juan combined a less formal service function with his own literary and religious engagements. He was one of those *letrados* of *hidalgo* origin whose expertise was essential to the grandees who played the star roles in Spanish policy. Crews reveals Juan as a being of flesh and blood, 'brilliant, spiritual, sensual, earnest, ambitious, deceptive and egotistical', who 'travelled down an amoral career path typical of courtiers of his age'.

J. C. Nieto in 1970 identified the origins of Juan's religious thought in a Spanish context, specifically with Alumbradism, principally imbibed through the figure of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz. In the last two decades there has been a rich scholarly literature, not least in English, on the ferment of religious ideas in early sixteenth-century Spain, in which Alumbradism and Erasmianism mingled with philologically informed biblical studies. Crews consolidates the picture of the Spanish roots of Juan's religious thought, examining his network of personal relations. Having attracted the unwelcome attentions of the Spanish Inquisition, Juan moved to Italy. Here, as diplomatic agent and gatherer of intelligence, he played a major role in the implementation of Charles V's policies for the peninsula, first at the court of pope Clement VII, under whose pontificate he held the title of private papal chamberlain while also being officially a member of Charles V's Spanish secretariat, then, after Clement's death, as adviser to the Viceroy of Naples, Pedro de Toledo, the key figure in Charles's Italian diplomacy. Ultimately he was also adviser to Francisco de los Cobos, Charles's *supremo* for Spanish and Italian affairs. Valdés was financed by 'special funds' from the Castilian coffers, as well as an enviable collection of civil offices and church benefices. In Naples he developed ties with the great aristocratic beauty Giulia Gonzaga, first as attorney and then as spiritual counsellor. Juan's own culture and wealth enabled him, in association with Giulia, to host an informal academy of sociable ladies and gentlemen whose concerns were in the first instance with *belles lettres* and with the celebration of beauty, but which evolved into a circle of *spirituali*. Juan had a mission to promote the claims of Spanish as a literary language in emulation of similar efforts by Bembo and others to define and promote the Italian *volgare*; he accordingly forged amicable links with the Italian literary intelligentsia. This activity, which was a valuable accompaniment to his role as political agent, has hitherto received inadequate attention from historians. The connection with the spiritually tortured Giulia led Juan to recommence writing on spiritual matters, but his role as Charles V's servant also caused him to engage with the spiritual angst that lay at the core of magisterial Protestantism. In 1541, under pressure from Charles V who desperately needed German support for the war against the Turks, pope Paul III, who in turn needed the support of Spanish troops in his own domain, sent Gasparo Contarini as papal legate to the Diet of Regensberg with authority to promote a colloquy between Catholic and Protestant theologians in the interests of a

general conciliation. The Venetian Contarini had affinities with the *spirituali* of Naples and Viterbo and was the sort of eirenicist whom the Imperialists wanted in the post. The 'double Justification' formula agreed between Contarini and the theologians was in fact rejected by the papal court, but the Emperor's immediate political objectives were largely achieved. Valdes's patron, de Toledo, had been instrumental in manipulating the Pope into appointing Contarini and allowing him a free hand. Valdes's wrtings on Grace and Justification at this time supported the Emperor's eirenicist policy in Germany and Contarini certainly studied them. Crew's book breaks new ground in showing how Valdes's political, social, literary and religious engagements were all interlinked. It also sheds much new light on the workings of Charles V's system of alliances in Italy and on the connections between Italian and German affairs during his reign.

Oliver Logan, *University of East Anglia*

A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: From Beginnings to 1807*, 2 volume set, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009; 416 pp., 8 maps (Volume 1); 480 pp., 19 maps (Volume 2); 9780521762328, £90.00 (hbk); 9780521746120, £31.99 (pbk)

Anthony Disney's new work proposes to join a narrative about the history of Portugal with the Portuguese expansion overseas, within a chronological span from the Iron Age up to 1807, the year in which the Portuguese court moved to the colony of Brazil to avoid the Napoleonic invasions in Europe. This all-encompassing work has been divided into two volumes of comparable size, the first dedicated to the History of Portugal, the second to the History of the Portuguese Empire.

In the first volume of this impressive work, Disney presents the reader with 14 chapters on the history of continental Portugal. The common feature in all of these chapters is the author's preference for developments provoked by political events or political figures of relevance, as was the case of specific kings or queens and their closest advisers. In his mostly political narrative, the author raises issues of an economic nature but only to the extent that they served, or were the consequence of, political action. That is certainly the case in the chapters where he writes about the *Reconquista* or the movement of expansion overseas. Few references are made to subjects of a social or cultural nature.

In the second volume, Disney focuses his attention on the Portuguese Empire, using 12 chapters to link geographical expansion with the formation of specific colonies, and these two issues with developments happening in the court in Lisbon, some of them already described in volume one. As in the first part of his work, in the second volume Disney pays special attention to political developments and their economic consequences for the Portuguese Empire by stressing the link between political decision-making processes, diplomacy and specific economic developments. Society, culture or mentalities get short shrift, apart from the

Jesuit contribution to the construction of a colony in Brazil, which is mostly presented as a political and economic event.

Following in the footsteps of the histories of Portugal and its empire by Boxer, Bethencourt and Curto, Livermore, Newitt, Oliveira Marques, Payne and Russell-Wood, Disney's two-volume narrative offers an excellent survey of the history of Portugal and its empire, based on extensive primary and secondary research and many years of academic dedication. However, three limitations need to be mentioned.

First, Disney has made a clear choice to build his narrative around political and diplomatic events with some mentions of economic developments. This choice means that his knowledgeable work largely overlooks the considerable scholarship on social issues, cultural developments and mentalities, most of it available in English in the form of articles in specialized journals. This preference does not affect the intrinsic quality of Disney's volumes, but it does reduce their value as an overview of the current state of the literature on Portuguese history.

Second, Disney's attempt to build a narrative that appeals to students and specialists as well as a broader public, clearly determined his choice to organize the volumes as chronologically as possible, rather than thematically. This makes his narrative accessible and easy to read. On the down side, we would have to mention the limited contribution of this work to the historical debate, since most of the important historical disputes covered by the author have been confined to succinct footnotes (see the example about the author's evaluation of the 1383–85 'revolution').

Last, but certainly not least, the mostly chronological approach to the issue of Portuguese empire-building makes it difficult to discern the dynamics of this process. This is a weakness in Disney's approach, certainly at a time when most literature on European overseas expansion tends to link these events to highly dynamic historical processes, such as the 'birth' of globalization or the 'rise of the West'. By avoiding engagement with these debates, Disney leaves it to a future generation of researchers to take part in them. All in all, this two-volume work offers a significant contribution to the study of the history of Portugal and its empire. It is to be recommended for undergraduates, graduates and the general public interested in Portuguese history.

Cátia Antunes, *Leiden University*

Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac and Joseph Ziegler, eds., *The Origins of Racism in the West*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009; 333 pp., 42 illus; 9780521888554, £59.00 (hbk)

Any book expressly using the term 'racism' in its title and not about the twentieth century is bound to be controversial. The term, and the book's contents, are taken from the 'Racism in Western Civilization before 1700' Gilman International Conference held at Tel Aviv University in 2005, though Benjamin Isaac's recent

book, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, is clearly also influential. The book broadly aims to chart the development of ideas of racism within Europe from the fifth century BC to 1700.

As with so many claims about the nature of race and racism, readers will inevitably disagree with some assertions. This is particularly the case with the 'Introduction' by the editors. In addition to describing modern 'racism' as 'a clearly defined ideology' (1), they also claim racism was 'an attempt to justify prejudice and discrimination through an apparently rational analysis of presumed empirical facts' (4). 'Racism' is separate from 'other forms of prejudice and chauvinism' because 'the former claims that the characteristics of the other are determined by nature while the latter attributes them to custom, social forces or education and the like' (12).

These claims are problematic for several reasons, including the self-acknowledged point that the term 'racism' clearly did not exist during the period under investigation. To get around this, the authors almost uniformly describe attempts to give prejudice an intellectual framework as 'proto-racism', or 'the prototype of racism... in the full sense, but it is an early form which precedes Darwin, based on pre-modern scientific concepts' (Isaac, 33). Yet this assumes that a standardized notion of 'racism' did at some point come into being, just as it assumes that what constitutes a 'scientific concept', modern or otherwise, is always clear. For a modern historian, this simplistic depiction of modernity grates.

The issue of definitions is further complicated by the editors' insistence that racism (and implicitly proto-racism) 'should include any systematic attempt to rationalize the division of human beings in groups based on presumed inborn physical and other characteristics' (10). This would seem to include aspects such as madness or promiscuity, often thought to be hereditary, while possibly excluding negative Greek attitudes towards Africans, as shown in David Goldenberg's chapter. Insisting on the narrow focus of 'racism' or proto-racism' rather than wider human difference can, in consequence, seem a rather arbitrary and a-historical approach.

However, the editors should be celebrated for putting together a collection of papers that apply and challenge their premises in an almost uniformly strong and provocative way. The interesting range of chapters are divided chronologically, beginning with 'Antiquity', which covers 'Racism: A Rationalization of Prejudice in Greece and Rome' by Benjamin Isaac; 'The Invention of Persia in Classical Athens' by H. A. Shapiro; David Goldenberg's nuanced interpretation of how Africans were viewed by the Greeks; and 'Early Christian Universalism and Modern Forms of Racism' by Denise Kimber Buell.

The second section, 'The Middle Ages', covers the period from c. 1100, when direct European contact with the outside world began to increase, and focuses on evolving scientific understandings of the body and environment in Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler's chapters, and on an intriguing theme of 'blood' in chapters by Charles de Miramon and David Nirenberg. Like Shapiro, Robert Bartlett engages less with the conceptualization of 'racism' and focuses on how imagery

demonstrates racial attitudes in the Medieval period, especially the depiction of non-Europeans. Valentin Groebner, meanwhile, examines the relationship between sex and racism in his chapter about 'miscegenation'.

The final section, the 'Early Modern Period', reflects the growing religious strife in Europe and the expansion of European empires. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia looks at the different ways in which Protestants and Catholics viewed Jewish conversion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while Miriam Eliav-Feldon examines attitudes towards Gypsies, a subject too often neglected in existing studies. Anthony Pagden, typically masterful, and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, meanwhile, provide cogent examinations of the interplay between ideas of difference and imperial expansion.

Despite some obvious differences, the authors jointly argue that the intellectual framework of racism, and the very languages used within modern Europe to describe ethnicity and race all originate within Greek culture and were transmitted through later intellectual writings which depended heavily on Greek sources. Actually 'proving' the link between pre-1700 discourse and modern ideas is not always convincing: there is an emphasis on elite sources, and the editors admit that the book fails to provide a consistent definition of racism. However, there are only a few weak chapters and the book is a rich dialogue about the myriad ways historians understand and write about human difference. Such a book will undoubtedly fuel further debates about the intellectual history of racism in Europe.

Rachel Bright, *London School of Economics*

Laura Engelstein, *Slavophile Empire: Imperial Russia's Illiberal Path*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca NY, 2009, xii + 239 pp., 6 illus.; 9780801447402, $73.50 (hbk); 9780801475924, $24.95 (pbk)

This book is a collection of seven essays that discuss the political and cultural history of Tsarist Russia. Two of the pieces appear in print for the first time, and the theme of the collection is made plain by the book's subtitle: Engelstein argues that the Tsarist empire resisted liberalism throughout its existence and that it failed to embrace modernity. The essays deal with a variety of topics, ranging from widely-focused discussions of civil society and revolution to a more closely focused piece on the nineteenth-century painter Aleksandr Ivanov. Engelstein suggests that the Russian state clung to its traditional modes of thought and action, resisting anything that would aid the development of civil society, and promoting the virtues of the Orthodox Church and Russian nationalism.

The essay on 'Revolution and the Theater of Public Life' shows how opposition to the Tsarist state developed from the eighteenth century when the Cossack Pugachev led a mass rebellion against Catherine II and the intellectual Aleksandr Radishchev published his seditious book *A Journey from St Petersburg to Moscow*. For Engelstein, the roots of revolution were already in place by the time Alexander I came to the throne in 1801. She argues that the paradoxical attitudes of the state – on the one hand embracing European ideas of

law while at the same time standing for autocracy and using all the powers that a repressive state had at its disposal – helped to promote a strand of public opinion that used the values of enlightenment to argue forcefully against the absolute monarchy and its social buttress of serfdom. During the nineteenth century the divisions between the state and sections of its subjects became more accentuated: both the conservatism of Nicholas I and the reforms of Alexander II served to stimulate opposition to the regime. Opposition was played out in the public sphere as trials and executions took place, but even the assassination of Alexander II and the public execution of his killers failed to transform this limited opposition into a mass popular movement. But, Engelstein suggests, the policies of economic development that the Tsarist state pursued in the 1880s and 1890s were instrumental in promoting social change on such a scale that Russian society came close to toppling the regime during the revolutionary year of 1905.

Tsarism survived the tremors of 1905, but the experience left its fate undecided: could Russia's nascent civil society coalesce and press home its gains or would the Romanovs be able to curb the disaffection and restore their position? The title of Engelstein's essay 'The Dream of Civil Society' makes it clear what her view is: civil society in Tsarist Russia was insecure, and lacked the legal consciousness that could support it and give society autonomy from the apparatus of the state. The Orthodox church looms large in Engelstein's analysis of the failure of Tsarist Russia to engage with cultural modernity, even though there were clerics who tried to promote reform. War provided an important opportunity for Orthodoxy to assert itself and for Slavophilism to come to the fore, and Engelstein suggests that this gave religion a new impetus and allowed Orthodoxy to once again identify itself closely with Russian national identity.

Her final essay discusses the difficult problem posed by the Russian empire's Jewish population, especially when the First World War brought the question of loyalty and national identity into sharp focus. There was little scope for neutrality on the Jewish question: powerful anti-Semitic traditions came into conflict with the need to conciliate the Rothschild banking empire and with modern concepts of religious tolerance.

Engelstein's essays argue the 'pessimistic' view of the development of Russian Tsarism well, and she suggests that liberalism was doomed to failure in the autocratic state. The conservative Slavophilism of the imperial state succeeded in standing firm and was able to re-establish its position after the tremors of 1905, but there were still significant forces that were working against the traditional conservative ethos of the Tsarist state. Russian liberalism was pushed into the background by the radical politics that were to triumph in 1917. The Provisional Government proved itself unable to accomplish real change and the modernity that the Bolsheviks represented defeated both the traditional values of autocracy and the developing civil society that Russia's liberals espoused. Modernization came to Russia after 1917, but in a very different form than had been envisaged by the liberal opposition.

Peter Waldron, *University of East Anglia*

Małgorzata Fidelis, *Women, Communism, and Industrialization in Postwar Poland*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010; 296 pp., 8 b/w illus., 1 map; 9780521196871, £55.00 (hbk)

Since the Russian Revolution Western commentators, trapped in their own definition of what is a woman's role in society, have grappled with the conundrum of what were the implications of Communism for women. The responses, usually based on scant research, offered an image of women trapped in men's work or, alternatively, of women denied the right to fulfil their maternal role. As Communism was imposed on East European states after the Second World War, this ignorance of how Communist policies affected women continued. Only recently has a better-informed debate become possible.

Małgorzata Fidelis addresses not merely the issue of what the post-war Polish regime demanded from women, but, critically, she situates her analysis in the debate on modernity and the Communist economic model. Thus the strength of this extremely well researched book is that the author does not engage with the debate on whether Communism robbed women of their natural role in society, whatever that was. Instead she asks what the Communist regime sought to achieve. Initially the aim was clearly to modernize society. For women that meant freedom from paternalism, the church and narrowly defined social norms. In most cases inevitably these aims were part of the ambitious Communist programme of industrialization and urbanization.

Fidelis focuses on the crucial years of the early Stalinist period, for it was then that industrial progress was closely linked to the ultimate objective of achieving a form of social progress that would allow women to become economically active. The little-known fact that women were recruited into coal mining offers an excellent example of how bold the Communists had been initially, and, indeed, how much women appreciated being able to work as miners. Another example is that of women textile workers, in particular in the Zambrów textile factories. In both cases mechanization played an important role in the decision to employ women. For women this was an opportunity to work in highly mechanized production, which offered professional progress and education.

Fidelis considers these issues from a number of angles: from that of the regime's economic and social objectives through to a discussion of what the women themselves felt about the new opportunites, finally to the responses of their fellow men. She shows how little the regime had to offer in terms of new social models for men. Thus while women were initially encouraged to participate in the new dawn, not much was asked of men, in particular in their relations with the women with whom they worked. Fidelis suggests that it was not pure misogyny, though there was plenty of that, which finally led the Polish Communist regime to restrict employment opportunities for women. While the debate on women's employment was framed in terms of returning women to their natural role of procreators, in reality this was a lame response to the skilled male workers' opposition to the employment of women in industry. With the expiry of the Six Year Plan and the ensuing

political changes, the regime reduced its previous commitment to social transformation. Interestingly, 1956, when the workers challenged the Communist regime and criticized it for its bad treatment of workers, marks the watershed and in effect the end of progressive thinking on the subject of women's employment. The result was a new emphasis on women's natural place in society, in which procreation became a priority.

Fidelis has conducted a lucid and clear debate. Her research is meticulous and her arguments are stated with clarity. This is a monograph which will make a major contribution to a number of debates on the subject of Communism, namely on social transformation, relations with the labour force, and, finally, women's role in the great upheavals of the post-war period.

Anita Prazmowska, *London School of Economics*

Karen Fiss, *Grand Illusion: The Third Reich, the Paris Exposition, and the Cultural Seduction of France*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago IL, 2010; 296 pp., 95 illus.; 9780226251998, $99.00 (hbk); 9780226252018, $37.50 (pbk)

Together with the 1936 Berlin Olympics, the 1937 Paris Universal Exposition was the most prominent showcase of the Third Reich in its attempt to present itself to the outside world as a dynamic, modern regime which had managed to rally the nation unanimously behind the cause of National Socialism. Yet surprisingly few historians have investigated this aspect of Nazi propaganda, even though participation in the Exposition proved to be a major international success for the regime. Both the German pavilion constructed by Albert Speer and Leni Riefenstahl's documentary *Triumph des Willens* about the 1934 Nuremberg party rally, which premiered for an international audience on that occasion, were awarded gold medals. In her lavishly illustrated book Karen Fiss not only looks at the Nazi regime's skilful presentation of its technical, scientific, artistic and social achievements in Paris; she is even more interested in the perception of this self-portrayal by the French public. This has the effect that the analysis of the intentions, planning and execution of the German contribution to the Exposition and the overall perception of this event in the Reich falls a bit short.

Fiss sees the 1937 Exposition as a culmination of illusory French hopes for a continuation of the Franco-German rapprochement which had begun in the 1920s. As a consequence, the Popular Front government under Leon Blum in 1936/37 tried its best to secure German participation in the event, hoping that acceptance of the invitation could be seen as a sign of good will and peaceful intentions on the part of the new rulers *outre-Rhin*. Hence the French government granted the Reich privileged conditions in terms of the size of its imposing pavilion opposite the Soviet exhibition hall. It also helped finance the German contribution as the Third Reich was notoriously short of foreign currency as a result of its autarky and rearmament policy. The Germans were also granted the privilege of using their

own workforce to build the pavilion. This had the effect that the German pavilion was one of the few buildings ready for the official opening of the Exposition in May 1937 while all other nations had to rely on French workers, and, as a result of strikes, the completion of their exhibition spaces was delayed. Consequently the French public contrasted the apparent efficiency of the Nazi regime with the decadence prevailing in French society. According to Fiss, the Nazi regime participated in the Exposition not because it was genuinely interested in international rapprochement but because it hoped to sell as many German products as possible in the wake of the Exposition and in order to maintain a peaceful façade as long as the military preparations for the next war were unfinished.

In her thoughtful analysis of the German pavilion the author shows the inherent contradictions in the Nazi regime's presentation at the Exposition. On the one hand it displayed the latest technological, scientific and industrial achievements, such as TV transmissions, synthetic rubber and silk products, huge turbines and a Mercedes racing car. On the other hand these modern products of a clearly highly industrialized society were presented in a building speaking an anti-modernist language of architecture. Using stained glass windows, wall mosaics and naturalist paintings depicting craftsmen and peasants at work, the interior design of the pavilion celebrated the virtues of a pre-industrial society as if it wanted to create the illusion that all these technological feats had been achieved by traditional means of production.

Regardless of these contradictions, which provided evidence of the fact that the Nazi regime was obviously not at ease with modern times, the French public reacted largely positively, even enthusiastically, to the pavilion and the accompanying German cultural programme, notably the screenings of German documentaries and feature films carefully chosen by Goebbels. Fiss explains this positive reception, which was not limited to right-wing or fascist groups, with reference to the widespread feeling of economic and social malaise, lack of energy and national unity which marked French society in the 1930s. In the face of this the supposed German dynamism, discipline, self-confidence and national unity as staged in Paris seemed to be an antidote. Due to the prevailing pacifism in French society and a certain self-delusion, Nazi Germany's representation of itself for all its martial and overpowering presence, as evident in the pavilion's architecture and size or in Riefenstahl's documentary of the immense party rallies in Nuremberg, was not perceived as a potential threat to France. Rather it was seen as the confident self-assertion of a regime which seemed to offer a viable alternative to the decadence of western societies. Thus, according to Fiss, French reactions to the German presence at the Paris Exposition already had all the ingredients that would mark the cultural collaboration with the German occupier after 1940. The Germans for their part would use the same cultural smoke-screen as in 1937 to maintain the illusion among the French that an understanding between the two nations was possible, whether in times of peace or war.

Eckard Michels, *Birkbeck College, London*

Alan Forrest and Peter H. Wilson, eds, *The Bee and the Eagle: Napoleonic France and the End of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2009; xvii + 295 pp.; 9780230008939, £58.00 (hbk)

News of the Holy Roman Empire's demise in 1806 travelled fast enough for Goethe, on the way to Jena, to have heard about it the following morning, but he was more agitated by the 'quarrel between the servant and the coachman on the coachbox' (22). Historians long took a similar view of the defunct institution, either paying it scant attention or writing it off as a doomed anachronism. A considerable body of literature has since substantially revised earlier views of the Old Empire's effectiveness as a legal and peace-keeping order. Nonetheless, suggest the editors of this volume, the relevant literature – like that on the French Empire, which was immediately responsible for its demise – 'remains dominated by the concerns of two distinct national historiographies'. Hence, a workshop in the bicentenary year of 2006 offered 'an ideal opportunity for a comparative approach towards the transition to modernity and serves as a snapshot moment in the vacillating balance of power and influence between France and Germany in the construction of Europe' (1). While 'modernity' lacks a clear definition and not all of the contributors engage directly with this theme, Forrest and Wilson have done a good job in putting together a collection which highlights key developments in recent research.

Peter Wilson starts proceedings by looking at the 'meaning of Empire in Central Europe around 1800'. He describes the functioning of the Holy Roman Empire, and claims by different states and dynasties to imperial status (the Habsburg Monarchy and France) or the lack thereof (Prussia), but without delving more deeply into how the notion of Empire was understood in conceptual terms. Michael Rowe offers a fine discussion of the political culture of the late Holy Roman Empire, paying particular attention to two imperial institutions, the *Reichshofrat* (Imperial Aulic Council) and the *Reichskammergericht* (Imperial Chamber Court). While steering clear of overly positive re-assessments of the Empire *qua* state, Rowe argues for the effectiveness of these institutions in channelling social and political conflicts into judicial processes. These first two essays are complemented by reciprocal pieces on the Napoleonic Empire (Michael Broers) and its political culture (William Doyle). Broers forcefully re-states his argument about the Napoleonic Empire as an exercise in French cultural imperialism, while Doyle's vignette reminds us of the long-term impact of the changes brought about by Napoleon's novel creation of France as an Empire.

Subsequent essays become more specific, either offering regional case-studies or examining particular themes. Michael Kaiser discusses Bavaria's elevation to the status of Kingdom as the realization of a long-held Wittelsbach dream, although this was tempered by the obligation to marry off the King's daughter, Auguste Amalie, to Napoleon's step-son, Eugène Beauharnais. In suggesting that King Max Joseph steered Bavaria successfully through dangerous times (106), Kaiser nevertheless downplays the difficulties involved in securing the dynasty's gains, for he does not discuss the considerable unrest in Franconia or the revolt in Tirol in 1809,

which led to the loss of territory after the Peace of Schönbrunn that year. Alan Forrest then looks at Napoleon's political evolution, suggesting that his early expressions of republicanism were already giving way to a liking for courtly formality in the late 1790s, before developing into the monarchical pomp of the French Empire after 1804. In acknowledging the importance of the abolition of feudalism to the Napoelonic legacy, Rafe Blaufarb stresses that its achievement was not a simple matter, automatically copying the French model, but was subject to much debate and contestation, not to say difficulty in implementation.

Turning to the experience of war around 1806, Claus Telp looks at the Prussian army in the disastrous Jena campaign, rejecting attempts to portray it in a more positive light. He suggests that, while sound, the army was deficient in training and organization; along with individual mistakes and the unfavourable strategic circumstances, this left it no match for a more formidable enemy. Thomas Biskup shows how, after Jena, Napoleon sought to place himself in the ranks of history's great leaders by visiting the tomb of Frederick the Great and having his sword transferred to Paris, in a symbolic passing of the baton from one soldier of genius to another. Karen Hagemann looks at the desperate Prussian experience of occupation by France after 1806. Though ideas of German nationalism and Prussian patriotism were confined to small sections of the middle class, the memory of the years 1806–08 fed into the anti-French propaganda that helped motivate support for the 'wars of Liberation' in 1813. Turning to the other side, David Hopkin's innovative contribution explores popular legends as a way of understanding the experience of Allied invasions and occupations in Eastern France in the period 1792–1815, while Michael Rapport argues for the centrality of Germans and Germany in the shaping of French identity (as opposed to the more familiar Franco-British rivalry). Finally, the collection is rounded off by one of the best pieces in the volume, in which John Breuilly argues that, where earlier research over-estimated the role of national feeling in the German response to Napoleon, more recent work has ended up marginalizing it among a range of other social, economic, political and religious-cultural factors. Neither of these positions being entirely satisfactory, Breuilly therefore suggests that a more useful approach is to examine 'which versions of the national idea work with or against the grain of modernisation' (276).

Some of the articles in this volume have more to offer in the way of original research than others, but the overall standard is consistent and the collection provides a worthwhile overview. Nevertheless, none of the essays engage explicitly in comparative analysis – it is more a case of material on the two Empires being placed side by side. Together with the lack of a concluding essay, this means that the volume's aim to follow a comparative approach is not pursued as fully as it might have been. Moreover, an evident weakness of this collection is the virtual absence of the dynasty which stood at the apex of the Empire for so long: the Austrian Habsburgs (among whom the Emperor Francis II was nephew to the French Queen, Marie Antoinette, not 'brother' (2); nor was Leopold II 'his elder brother' (2), but his father). While in part this absence reflects

the relative lack of attention to the Habsburg Monarchy in the recent literature on the period 1790–1815, when compared to the historiography on the German states, France, Spain and Italy, more could have been done to rectify this imbalance, including tapping into recent projects on various Habsburg lands. For all the buzz created by the Bee (Napoleonic France), the Eagle (the Empire) does not fully bare its claws here.

Laurence Cole, *University of East Anglia*

Rachel G. Fuchs, *Contested Paternity: Constructing Families in Modern France*, The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore MD, 2008; xii + 353 pp.; 9780801888328, £36.50 (hbk); 9780801887376, £16.50 (pbk)

In *Contested Paternity*, Rachel Fuchs uses legal documents to consider marriage, *concubinage* (non-marital cohabitation), unmarried motherhood and adoptions in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France. Arguing that women's legal demands and children's rights forced changes in legal practice, Fuchs frames her account in terms of two moments that reflected fundamental social changes: the Civil Codes of 1804 and 1912. In this brilliantly recounted story, magistrates and lower- and working-class people – especially women – appear as agents of social transformation.

The 1804 Code, as discussed in Chapter 1, described a social order shaped by the interests of propertied men: a conjugal family centred on a husband and wife in which women were to be passive citizens, the paterfamilias an active citizen, and all property transmitted to its offspring. Natural children threatened the idealized family unit, since recognizing a child entailed rights of inheritance and family name. Although unmarried mothers could not sue biological fathers to recognize paternity, they were considered to retain full power over a natural child even when the biological father provided recognition. Chapters 2 and 3 consider the rights and responsibilities of parents, as judges interpreted the Code. Fatherhood was divided into two forms of responsibility: men could be liable for a child's maintenance, but had no obligation to give the child *filiation* (a share in inheritance and the paternal name). Unwed mothers were seen as immoral in the first half of the nineteenth century, but they were able to make financial claims against men by demanding legal damages for injury to their person. Judges tried to establish what they believed was moral behaviour by holding men accountable. By the late century, women were being treated as victims, men as seducers – and children as needing protection. The courts tried to balance the rights of children with the idealized bourgeois family. By the late century, *concubinage* was an accepted option for working-class couples who could not afford marriage. Against this background, manly honour increasingly dictated that men take responsibility for natural children. By 1912, the law allowed paternity searches.

Chapter 4 covers the years 1912–1940. Courts attempted to protect men from unjust accusations of paternity, demanding heavy burdens of proof. Marriage remained central to definitions of paternity, with paternity remaining divided between material provision and social roles. As the law recognized *concubinage*, proving sexual fidelity within a marriage-like relationship became more important than demonstrating sexual innocence. Children's needs were given precedence in legal decisions; no longer did a mother claim on her own behalf, but only that of her child, and men were expected to be responsible fathers. In Chapter 5, Fuchs discusses family formation strategies once legalized paternity searches and child adoption began to chip away at the precedence given to biological families from the early twentieth century. Complicated issues emerged: what did it mean to give a non-biologically related child the family name and inheritance? What happened if a man denied the paternity of his wife's child? Or, at what point could the state remove parental authority and move the child to a new family if the parents were unfit?

The final chapter considers people's agency over their private lives and the need to enact many gendered roles outside or within marriage. By the late twentieth century, the biological family unit was only one type, with the possibility of same-sex marriage, reconstituted step-families and *concubinage*. Definitions of family centred on emotional relationships. Since 2005, all French children have had the same rights, regardless of their parents' marital status. Paternity was still divisible until early in our century, but the use of DNA tests to identify biological fatherhood mean fathers cannot avoid paternity searches. Most significantly, as the concept of paternal authority vested in the unmarried mother has faded, men are now considered to have an equal interest in their natural children. This has given men greater choice in how to act as fathers.

This book is gender history at its most sophisticated. Fuchs treats the family as the locus for everyday gender politics, which allows a rich story to emerge. As she asserts, considering 'paternity as a category of family history reveals the importance of fatherhood, the family, and the law within the greater context of changing attitudes toward parental responsibility, the development of state welfare, constructions of the family, the rights of children and women's agency' (2). This is not an overstatement. *Contested Paternity* is an excellent book, which should be included in the library of anyone who works on gender, family, economy, law or modern France.

Lisa Wynne Smith, *University of Saskatchewan*

Anna von der Goltz, *Hindenburg: Power, Myth, and the Rise of the Nazis*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009; xv + 325 pp., 12 illus.; 9780199570324, £34.00 (hbk); 9780199695867, £19.99 (pbk)

This is the third scholarly book about the Field Marshal and Weimar President Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) to have appeared in the last three years. But it is

not so much the life of the protagonist as such that interests the author of this excellent study, but the emergence, communication and transformation of the myths around Hindenburg in Germany from 1914 until well into the 1960s. Anna von der Goltz concurs with the recent study by Wolfram Pyta that Hindenburg was much better informed on political matters and more in command of his decisions than the older scholarly literature had suggested. According to Goltz, Hindenburg was not only less overburdened by his office as head of state and manipulated by his advisors than has hitherto been assumed; he was also very well aware of the importance of public relations and the symbolic dimension in politics. He therefore showed a genuine interest in the deliberate creation and survival of his own myth as a kind of father figure and national symbol for all Germans. His sensibility for symbols was already obvious in the event which made him a national hero in Germany overnight – the victory at the battle of Tannenberg in August 1914 where Hindenburg as the commander of the relatively weak German forces seemed to have saved Eastern Prussia from the numerically far superior invading Russian 'hordes'. The name was geographically inaccurate but chosen by Hindenburg because it made the battle look like a historical revenge for the defeat suffered by the German knights at Tannenberg against another Slavonic nation, the Poles, in 1410.

Already by 1915 Hindenburg's reputation as a man of strong nerves, with a total dedication to a final German victory and ready for any personal sacrifice, had eclipsed William II's. In the second half of the war the use of Hindenburg's name in government propaganda was the best guarantee to secure continuing support from the public for the war effort, whether in the form of adverts in his name for war bonds or so-called Hindenburg food donations from the countryside for the starving cities. Strangely enough the defeat in 1918 did hardly any harm to Hindenburg's reputation, even though he had been commander-in-chief of the army in all but name since 1916. In a very lucid analysis the author shows that it was essential for the survival of the Hindenburg myth that general Erich Ludendorff, Hindenburg's right hand man since 1916, was portrayed as the scapegoat for the military debacle in autumn 1918. Even the new revolutionary German political leadership thought it could not dispense with Hindenburg as an integrative figure for both the army and the home front in this period of transition from monarchy to republic and from war to peace, and chose to blame Ludendorff. Hindenburg, in contrast, was granted an honourable (second) retirement in July 1919 by the Weimar government. He remained for the wider public a name which stood for the positive reminiscences of the political regime that had collapsed in 1918. He thus gave the public a kind of moral orientation in the tumultuous immediate post-war years and few dared to criticize Hindenburg for his role in events of the past.

After the election of Hindenburg in 1925 as Reichs President, his name finally acquired a positive political connotation, even among the supporters of Weimar. They vainly hoped that the Field Marshal's glory would now also shine on the republic. The republic did its best to honour Hindenburg in public at his 80th

birthday in 1927 in a way no other personality in those days could dream of. The right-wing enemies of the republic, in contrast, found themselves in a difficult position, as their former hero now seemed to stand for the much-hated democratic system. They tried to solve this dilemma by differentiating between the Field Marshal and the allegedly positive legacy he stood for on the one hand, and the figure of the Reichs President, who would be opposed in the 'most loyal manner' as a political opponent, especially so during the second presidential election campaign in early 1932, when Hindenburg appeared to be the defender of the republic against the Nazi onslaught.

Apart from this political use of the Hindenburg myth by the various political camps in Weimar Germany, the war hero also became a kind of household name for companies to sell their products, from Opel cars to different brands of Hindenburg sparkling wines or Hindenburg spectacles. This commercialization suggests that Hindenburg was certainly the most well-known and respected person in Weimar Germany and a symbol with which almost all Germans (except the Communists) could identify in an otherwise politically deeply divided society. Surprisingly Hindenburg and his advisors, who were very cautious and manipulative about the presentation of his historical personality in books and films, hardly intervened against the commercialization of his name. Only the Nazis would ban in May 1933 the use of both Hitler's and Hindenburg's names and images from commercial adverts.

The book's chapter on Hindenburg's role in bringing the Nazis to power is slightly disappointing as it covers well-charted territory and is less innovative and convincing than the author's treatment of the changing role of the Hindenburg myth in the years between 1918 and 1932. To a certain extent Hindenburg has fallen victim here to a twentieth-century commercialization of his name on the part of Oxford University Press. Today apparently a book on him can only be successfully sold to a historically interested readership if coupled with the inevitable Nazi theme.

Eckard Michels, *Birkbeck College, London*

Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870–1930*, Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge LA, 2009; xii + 295 pp., 1 map; 9780807135167, $39.95 (hbk)

On 21 April 1942, the Spanish film *Raza* (Race) premiered in Berlin. Spanish diplomats in Germany organized the event and top Nazi politicians attended the performance. The movie was a mediocre propaganda film devoted to justifying the military uprising that in July 1936 had plunged Spain into civil war. Yet its peculiarity lay in the fact that General Francisco Franco was personally responsible for the screenplay. The story of José Churruca, a military officer who rebelled against the republican government to save his nation from an alleged communist threat, is the fictional tale of Franco's idealized alter ego and thus presents primary

source material for psychological studies on dictators. The name of the film was also important. As in the rest of Europe, in early 1940s Spain, race was a crucial element in a number of right-wing ideologies and the basis of a series of governmental policies. In the case of the Franco regime, the concept of race was at the centre of the dictatorship's testing of political prisoners to find out if they harboured a 'red gene', the application of eugenic programmes in concentration camps and the forced adoption of children away from republican mothers, among others.

Joshua Goode's book is an analysis of the Spanish intellectual tradition of racial thought forged in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which was eventually to feed brutal Francoist policies. *Impurity of Blood* explores how the academic field of anthropology provided a new kind of racial analysis to explain the features of the Spanish nation, its supposed maladies and its potential cures. The first part of the book concentrates on the development of anthropology in Spain and the absorption of anthropological debates into non-scientific intellectual and cultural discussions in the context of the political struggles of the Restoration system (1875–1923). The second part considers the social application of scientific ideas, how racial ideas penetrated disciplines like criminology, and, crucially, the military appropriation of race after the 1898 defeat in the Spanish-American War.

Goode's main argument is that Spanish anthropologists shared the view that Spaniards were the product of racial fusion in the period under study. Unlike some German and French anthropologists who defended the existence of racial purity, Spanish scholars steadily claimed that their compatriots were the result of ethnic hybridization. This understanding did not prevent a highly nationalistic use of the concept of race, because even if the idea of fusion was shared, the ethnic components and mechanisms of fusion were not. Depending on the distinct 'original' racial types and the way they mixed, anthropologists and social scientists inferred diverse mechanisms of national inclusion and exclusion. As a result, a variety of Spanish racial types were 'discovered' and different anthropological schools advocated different political measures to regenerate a nation.

Goode's approach to race is one of the main strengths of the book. Following Peggy Pascoe's concept of 'racialism', race is understood here not only as a biological notion but also as a cultural one. Moreover, race is presented as fluid, flexible enough to adapt to the changing historical contexts in which it unfolded. This open approach has been used by scholars of race and racism in America for some time now, but it is rare in the European context, where comparisons with the Nazi biological concept and its potential for genocide have heavily influenced the study of racial thought. As Goode shows, it was the very flexibility of the idea of race in Spain that allowed the concept to develop among a wide array of thinkers. Spanish liberals, conservatives, republicans, Basque nationalists and Catalan regionalists all indulged in ideas of race that linked biology and culture to substantiate their political views.

Impurity of Blood does an excellent job in exploring the academic debates Spanish anthropologists had in the period 1870–1930, yet the analysis of the socio-political context in which these intellectual developments took place is

hazy in places. Goode is right to point out that the historical context is crucial when it comes to understanding the transformations of the idea of race, but the variety of political regimes and the profound social transformations that Spain went through over those 50 years are not always explicitly considered in his investigation. Likewise, further scrutiny of how the anthropologists' changing concept of the Spanish race was transmitted to different sectors of society via newspapers, illustrated magazines and school textbooks would have given the reader a better idea of how racial ideas reached the wider public.

Still, *Impurity of Blood* is a solid examination of racial thought in pre-Civil War Spain. It takes a fresh approach to the question of race, challenges the assumption that inter-war European racism is to be defined solely by Nazism, and demonstrates the racial connotations of the Francoist terror. It is, in sum, an excellent reminder of the importance of racial myths in Europe's recent past.

Alejandro Quiroga, *Newcastle University*

Glenda Dawn Goss, *Sibelius: A Composer's Life and the Awakening of Finland*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago IL, 2009; 549 pp., 32 figures, 12 plates; 9780226304779, £38.00 (hbk)

Sibelius scholarship has grown over the past two decades. The narrative style in this study is accessible and rather compelling in that Goss tells a story that begins with an 'unsolved mystery' (why did Sibelius stop composing?) and a visit to the 'scene of the crime', Finland (4). Part one of the book outlines the historical context centred on Finland as an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. Part two considers the nationalist movement. Part three discusses social developments and modern art for 'all the people'. Various themes are raised ranging from Lutheranism in Finland to the literary figures of Runeberg and Topelius. All the right ingredients are here, including Snellman's political philosophy, Lönnrot's compilation of Finnish folk texts that became the national epic, life in the garrison town of Hämeenlinna, nineteenth-century industrialization, and Sibelius's studies and development as a composer. Goss discusses works such as the *Kullervo Symphony* and *En Saga* within the frameworks of the nationalist movement and other artistic activities in this era. She contextualizes *En Saga* in relation to Topelius's use of the word 'saga' to refer to the 'ancient history' of the Finns and notes that the painter, Akseli Gallen-Kallela referred to sagas in his sketchbooks (176).

Taking up themes of industry and technology nods in the direction of social historical approaches within musicology that have highlighted the economic and institutional conditions for musical activities. A focus on the legacy of being part of the Russian Empire dominates the historical interpretation. Russian emperors are described in terms of their economic benevolence and even Sibelius benefits in acquiring from his uncle a violin that had travelled via St Petersburg. Chapter four explores imperial Helsinki and introduces one of Sibelius's teachers, a Russian violinist called

Mitrofan Wasiljeff. Through his influence the Franco-Belgian repertoire and the techniques of violinists such as Rode and Vieuxtemps, who had held posts in St Petersburg, shaped Sibelius's violin playing and perhaps led to his change to the French form of his first name (72). This chapter concludes with another influential figure in Sibelius's life, the Italian composer Busoni, who introduced the Finn to a world beyond the Russian Empire. But later in Sibelius's life story we return to St Petersburg and to the third symphony, which is 'out of sync' with the creative work of Strauss or Mahler, but 'fully in tune' with Russian currents (341).

The emphasis on the creative conditions provided by Russian influence is tempered by a consideration of Finland's geographic and cultural location between East and West (chapter five). Nevertheless, the book tends to represent Finland as 'exotic', though still a place where cultural life is created by external influences, including from central Europe (in relation to Sibelius's studies in Vienna, for example). Goss repeats well-rehearsed views of Finland as a bridge between Russia and Sweden and of Finnish nationalism situated within broader intellectual currents in Europe. Despite constant references to the national epic, the *Kalevala*, the longer histories of cultural expressions in the Finno-Ugric region that also shaped the nationalist enterprise remain largely unexplored. In the concluding sections Goss returns to three pillars on which Finnish artists had constructed their identities: 'mother Russia', the Swedish language and the *Kalevala*. For Sibelius, religion also provided a pillar resulting in his two last symphonies. Restating the foundations of artistic life in Finnish nation-building is a way of returning to the mystery that Goss outlines at the start, but her responses regarding the reasons why Sibelius stopped composing are ultimately unconvincing. By the 1940s, he had become an institution, his self-image bound to the nation (437) and by the 1950s, the *Kalevala* was being theorized anew, which 'must have fallen like hammer blows' on Sibelius (441). There is probably still more to be said about creative processes and composers' motivations.

In its portrait of Sibelius and Finnish nationalism this book provides broad brushstrokes rather than detailed historical, musical or political analysis. As such it is particularly appealing to the general reader as it gives an informative introduction to the contexts in which Sibelius composed. There are fascinating details for specialists too, though any study focused on Sibelius will be read with Tawaststjerna's biography in mind, which still provides the first port of call for considering the life, work and historical background of this composer.

Tina K. Ramnarine, *Royal Holloway, University of London*

Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizabalaga, eds, *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2010; 335 pp. 29 illus. and tables; 9780754666998, £70.00 (hbk)

A question mark can mean a lot, especially in a title where it often signals something new. The question mark in the first half of this book's title serves just

that function. Many (if not all) contributors problematize the concept of excellence in considering what constitutes a 'centre of excellence' and how early modern medical travellers identified them. Different perspectives are required to answer these questions because, as Toby Gelfand notes, such queries 'resist unqualified generalisations' (221).

Centres of Medical Excellence thus presents a series of fresh views on a topic that has long held a prominent, even venerated, place in medical historiography: medical education. Certainly, there is no lack of studies on the development of medical education in early modern Europe. Much of that work, however, has focused on universities where historians have traditionally located 'medical innovation'. Older medical historiography tended to regard particular localities as way stations on the road to the holy grail of modern medicine. While some essays continue to track that developmental pattern in speaking of, for instance, significant shifts in 'medical science' in the sixteenth century (51) or the lack of a 'properly functioning medical faculty' at most universities, the majority seek to complicate a simple story of medical progress and brachiate the neat migratory path of excellence from one institution to another. If, overall, the focus remains fixed on universities, the contributors acknowledge that not only universities could be centres of excellence; private medical teaching in major cities also assumed a critical role.

The collection directly addresses the overlap between the medical journey – the student's *peregrinatio medica* – and medical education. Important here is not merely a matter of travelling from one university to another (driven or attracted by a variety of forces including the reputation of particular professors, pre-existing circles of friends and relatives, religious confession, the attractiveness of the location, and cost), but also a linked transfer of knowledge. These are provocative ideas, but the exact relationship between travel and knowledge requires somewhat better framing. The book lacks an introduction (and, for that matter, a conclusion) to guide the reader. As it is, the three opening articles stand in lieu of an introduction. Laurence Brockliss fearlessly grasps the methodological nettle; he considers how one can measure excellence or determine what constitutes a 'centre'. His article is more forthright than some in considering the comparative dimensions and chronological evolution by, for example, delineating a shift by the eighteenth century from a 'handful of centres... characterized by their mix of provincialism and cosmopolitanism' to a greater 'openness to a much broader medical constituency' (45).

Part Two considers the *peregrinatio medica* in several geographic regions. The essays in this section follow two paths: either they examine individuals who travelled (such as the 'Bavarian' Pieter van Foreest or the Danes Henrik Fuiren and Hans Andersen Skovgaard) or survey groups of students. These several articles carefully dissect students' motives and ambitions. Additionally, however, the authors illustrate how medical knowledge, too, travelled in a process that brought about a 'direct conciliation of empiricism and book learning' producing the 'learned empiricism' of the sixteenth century (168).

Part Three also questions a number of accepted views. Gelfand's familiar work on Paris highlights the role surgeons and surgical instruction played, for instance.

Or, to take another example, Rina Knoeff's careful study of Boerhaave's career at Leiden successfully shifts the 'grounds for Boerhaave's reputation' while not denying it. Contrary to general belief, 'practical medicine and bedside teaching' were not Boerhaave's 'strong points'. Embedded in his method was indeed something new: he taught his students to be 'independent doctors' who did not work by merely 'blindly following the ideas of others' (285).

In sum, *Centres of Excellence* more successfully raises questions than advances generalizations or crafts overarching historical interpretations. Although the absence of an introduction and a conclusion leaves the reader to pull together the analytical parts, the collection presents nonetheless a wealth of material as well as penetrating insights into several aspects of medical history. While the familiar examples of Padua, Paris, London, and Edinburgh are well represented, so, too, are the experiences in Madrid, in Portugal, in the Netherlands, in the Germanies, and in Denmark. Medical education remains central, but the essays also address broader issues of what medical knowledge was, how people perceived it, how empiricism and book learning interacted, and so on. There are a few glitches, where, for instance, references direct the reader to the wrong pages in the text or footnotes are simply missing, all of which bespeak a rather cavalier editing process on the part of the press. But these are quibbles. *Centres of Excellence's* real contribution is to revitalize and reorient the existing historiography on medical education by directing more attention to students and by explicating the dynamically interactive quality of learning in the early modern world.

Mary Lindemann, *University of Miami*

Ruth Harris, *The Man on Devil's Island: Alfred Dreyfus and the Affair that Divided France*, Allen Lane: London, 2010; xvii + 542 pp., 67 illus.; 9780713997309, £30.00 (hbk)

The tale of Alfred Dreyfus, the Jewish officer wrongly convicted of treason, and the way in which the question of Dreyfus' guilt or innocence became a question of what France itself should be, is well-covered territory in historiographical terms. Indeed, the question must be asked as to whether there is anything left to uncover, or any aspect of the story left untold. Ruth Harris believes that there is, but her wide-ranging account of the Affair, painstakingly reconstructed and scrupulously referenced, is ultimately unsatisfying.

The title itself is a misnomer: as Harris herself notes, the Dreyfus Affair was not about Alfred Dreyfus, so much so that when he returned to France to be re-tried in Rennes in 1899, his arrival was an anti-climax. There was no way that this reserved military man could live up to the passion that his advocates and opponents had all invested into the argument over his role. Indeed, the title underscores the irony of the Affair; that Alfred Dreyfus, as Harris puts, it, may well have been the only Frenchman who had no awareness of the Dreyfus Affair.

The book is divided into four parts. The first and last sections are driven by the narrative: part one covers the events surrounding Dreyfus' arrest, trial and incarceration. Part four picks up the story upon his return to France, including his retrial in Rennes, and his exoneration. Harris presents a highly evocative narrative. The story, of course, lends itself beautifully to this type of telling. Harris' skill is clear, as she brings the protagonists to life and makes clear the drama of events. At times, however, poetic licence is stretched a little too far: for example, Harris describes how 'Voltaire's anticlericalism touched [Joseph] Reinach's and [senator Auguste] Scheurer-Kestner's hearts' (96); or that a photograph of Emile Zola and his first wife Alexandrine 'suggests an irrepressible sadness' (108). French Jews, she tells us, did not welcome those Russian Jews who came to France escaping the pogroms; rather, they 'were repelled by their nasal Yiddish, food taboos, black hats and sidelocks' (191).

Parts two and three turn from the narrative to explore the principal actors in the Affair. In part two, Harris focuses on people. She looks at the life-path and external influences that led figures such as the novelist Maurice Barrès, the Jesuit Père Stanislas du Lac, and the brothers Théodore, Salomon and Joseph Reinach to choose to become Dreyfusards or anti-Dreyfusards: who were these people, and what was their vision for France? How was the Affair tied in to this? Her examination of these men tells us much about the stakes involved in defining Frenchness. She argues that we cannot take anti-Semitism or Catholicism for granted in people's choices; that not all anti-Dreyfusards were anti-Semitic, or Catholic. She also explores discordances on both sides of the Dreyfus divide, such as the hostility between Drumont and the Catholic deputy, de Mun, for example, and argues that we equally cannot take for granted the notion that Dreyfusards or anti-Dreyfusards constituted a united bloc.

Harris sets the players in their times, arguing for the significance of beliefs, such as fascination with the occult, that infused the society that chose to believe in Dreyfus' guilt. She points to the importance of the trauma of the defeat of 1870–71, and its link to the refusal to believe that the military might be anything other than honourable. She does not pursue this, however, which is disappointing in this discussion that argues for the centrality of context and belief in shaping players and directing choices. Similarly, in part three, where Harris focuses on groups or phenomena that were central to the Affair, such as the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, established in mid-1898, or the Salons, she begins to think through the role and significance of anti-Semitism during the Affair. She argues that it must be taken seriously as 'a potent language of hatred' (244). What was it about the times that generated such powerful hatred? While this is raised as an issue, again it is left unexplored, and ultimately in her thirteenth chapter she simply concludes that anti-Semitism must win out in a 'dubious competition' of hatred over anti-militarism (293).

This is symptomatic of the weakness in the book: it tries to do too much. Harris presents an evocative re-telling that will attract the general reader, but looks also to place her work in the historiography through groundbreaking research

and analysis. From the perspective of a review that seeks to judge the work on the basis of the second count, while Harris' research is impressive, and while she raises interesting and important perspectives, ultimately she does not explore these in satisfying depth.

Julie Kalman, *University of New South Wales*

Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, eds, *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, Berghahn Books: Oxford, 2010; vi + 294 pp.; 9781845456153, £55.00 (hbk)

This book offers English readers a glimpse into one of the most important developments in the great tradition of German social history since the days when Hans-Ulrich Wehler and the Bielefeld School developed their original and innovative approaches to modern German history. While the important critiques of the way the Bielefeld School characterized a *Sonderweg*, or peculiar path, of German history (from the Kaiserreich to the Third Reich), discredited some aspects of that particular type of social history, its core social-theoretical and comparative methodology has remained an important part of the discipline. Perhaps to a greater extent than their colleagues in other countries, German historians have retained a commitment to comparative history, even if the comparison was only implied by the use of general social-scientific categories rather than worked out in the study of multiple cases. This comparative social history now finds itself in productive dialogue, and dissonance, with recent transnational approaches, and what once appeared as discreet national cases now turn out to be the co-productions of entangled histories.

The chapters in the first section of the book make available in English some of the core methodological arguments in these discussions about transnational and comparative history. After a sensible overview and commentary by Hartmut Kaelble, the volume translates two of the seminal articles in the debate, by Jürgen Osterhammel and Sebastian Conrad, both originally published in the flagship journal of German social history, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*. Osterhammel's chapter traces the gradual and sometimes reluctant embrace of global and transnational approaches by German social historians. Osterhammel discourages blanket rejections of national histories in favour of transnational approaches and instead maintains that varying objects of inquiry require varying frameworks, with the nation playing an enormous role in the late modern period but perhaps less so in other times and places. Conrad is more directly critical than Osterhammel of historiographies centred on the nation, citing studies that show the nation to be a product of prior transnational processes, and also recent developments in colonial history that point to the co-production of colony and metropole against Eurocentric accounts emphasizing the agency of colonizer and the passivity of colonized.

The transnational thus relativizes the nation for Osterhammel and peripheralizes it for Conrad.

Perhaps it is not surprising that many of the texts foundational to this debate are by historians of colonialism, for the study of entangled histories is necessary to all non-Eurocentric accounts of empire. Andreas Eckart attributes the neglect, until recently, of colonial studies in Germany in part to the overwhelming interest in studying a national *Sonderweg* in order to explain National Socialism. Scholars have now begun to recognize that German colonies, like other colonies, functioned as 'laboratories' from which emerged many aspects of European modernity. Some historians have even begun to connect – carefully and with many qualifications – the history of overseas imperialism with that darkest endpoint of the German *Sonderweg*, the Holocaust, which had previously helped to marginalize colonial studies in Germany. The entangled and non-Eurocentric nature of modernity is persuasively illustrated by Shalini Randeria's chapter on communitarian liberal democracy in postcolonial India. Randeria finds that, rather than pursuing a European path of state formation more or less successfully, as Eurocentric modernization theory might have it, India has, in fact, already addressed problems of civil society that Western states have only recently begun to consider. The liberalism so often regarded as a hallmark of the West is, Randeria suggests, neither particularly Western nor complete and stable, but rather continues to emerge transnationally, including on the terrain of the 'uneven modernity' of the postcolonial state.

The editors of this volume do not suggest with their selection of essays that transnational history is an entirely new approach or that it places a new methodological obligation on historians and invalidates comparative and other methodologies. Essays demonstrate the ongoing strength of more long-standing areas of transnational history, such as the history of migration, as well as the continued importance of comparative research that brackets out the entanglements that some might see as invalidating the comparisons.

The volume makes available to English readers an important ongoing discussion centred in Germany but having clear connections with international developments in historiography. I wish that these discussions would expand from methodology to theory, asking not only what and how historians have practiced or should practice, but also about the nature of historical knowledge and its objects. This would help connect the recent practice of historians to the long tradition of social and political theory with which it has always been – more or less consciously – entangled.

Andrew Zimmerman, *The George Washington University, Washington, DC*

Todd Herzog, *Crime Stories: Criminalistic Fantasy and the Culture of Crisis in Weimar Germany*, Berghahn: Oxford, 2009; 182 pp., 15 illus.; 9781845454395, £45.00 (hbk)

Herzog's analysis is based on different kinds of crime stories that are used as a source for the analysis of culture. He focuses on the popular, the scientific and the

literary discourse on crime during the Weimar Republic, a period which is often described as a culture of crisis, or a culture in crisis. The link between reportage and sensation was not unique to post-war Germany – this can be observed in other contemporary countries as well. But the relationship to crime is different: (1) concerning the extent to which the stories are used as a mirror of society; (2) as to the role evidence played. For the Weimar Republic Herzog observes a breakdown of several boundaries: between fantasy and reality; between criminal and noncriminal; between individual and society. The book examines 'social historical developments in Weimar society as well as literary historical developments in modernist crime fiction' (9) and links the two. At the core of the study is therefore the self-imagining of Weimar society.

Many Weimar intellectuals shared a fascination with crime with the general public; they saw it as 'point of access to modernity' (14). Besides other traits, European modernity called into question the idea of a possible installation of rationality and causality: whereas the old detective novel insisted on rationality and causality, German crime stories during the 1920s – in contrast to their English and French counterparts – dispensed with the detective and focused on the criminal. Intellectuals such as Walter Benjamin, Bertold Brecht and Siegfried Kracauer were fascinated by the mechanisms of crime fiction and linked them to the experience of modern life. Herzog combines their texts with a modernist theory of detective fiction that is characterized on the one hand by taking seriously popular texts, and on the other hand by assuming the existence of an active reader of these crime stories.

Although crime rates decreased significantly from 1924 onwards, cultural production continued to focus on crime. 'This was a culture fascinated by criminals and their crimes' (2). Herzog analyses different kinds of crime stories: on the one hand intellectual crime novels as Walter Serner's short stories, Brecht's *Threepenny Opera*, and the series *Outsiders of Society*. All of these deal with the crisis of narration, they dispense with the classic form of causality and rationality in crime fiction through the creation of a new genre, the documentary crime novel, set on the border between fact and fiction and intermingling the two. They were multiperspective and therefore often contradictory in their narration, focusing rather on the investigation than on the persons investigated. The same is true for Alfred Döblin's texts *The Two Girlfriends and their Murder by Poison* and *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, as Herzog points out. The central focus is here the life of the criminals, their position within society and what led them to commit crimes. These rather sophisticated crime stories depict a paradox: although a coherent rational narrative seems to be impossible under the perspective of a modernist focus, a need to tell stories is indispensable.

On the other hand Herzog analyses popular culture productions, such as the media reporting on the case of the serial killer Peter Kürten, Fritz Lang's film *M* and Erich Kästner's children's book *Emil and the Detectives*. These popular crime stories did not focus on the problem of narrativity but on the collection of visual evidence and the tracking of the criminal. Criminal anthropology followed a

similar approach that tried to differentiate between various criminal types. Although the ambition was similar – to catch the criminal – they used different methods: while fictional crime stories were concerned with the identification of the individual criminal, the anthropological school tried to identify criminal types by visual evidence. Two social traits eroded this ambition to identify criminals by visual traits: the figure of the Hochstapler, the impostor, as for example the *Captain of Koepenick*, who enjoyed great popularity, as well as the perceived normality of serial killers. Weimar society was thus portrayed in different media as a society characterized by criminality, in which was stressed the importance of an informed public, a powerful mass that was tracking the criminal after the usual methods of investigation had collapsed. In media productions, as, for example, *M* or *Emil and the Detectives*, it is the public, a 'mass community united by a shared trauma and against a common enemy' (129), that finally tracks the criminal.

The book ends with a short overview on criminal fantasy in Nazi Germany and Germany after 1945. Surprisingly, basic characteristics of the Weimar documentary crime novels were taken over by the National Socialists, and became part of state policy. For example the mobilization of the public as an aid to the police was a central trait of Nazi crime fiction. German criminalistic fantasy after World War II, in contrast, refocused on the documentary style of Weimar crime fiction and often tried to examine the period of the National Socialist dictatorship.

Herzog sees these very different genres of crime fiction as evidence for the pervasiveness of the Weimar criminalistic fantasy. Convincingly argued, the book combines socio-historical, literary and media analyses for an astonishing and fascinating depiction of Weimar culture.

Wenke Nitz, *Universität Konstanz*

Geert H. Janssen, *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic: Patronage and William Frederick of Nassau (1613–64)*, Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2008; 232 pp., 1 b& w illus.; 9780719077586, £55.00 (hbk)

Willem Frederik (1613–1664), Count and since 1654 Prince of Nassau-Dietz, was a younger son of the junior branch of the Nassau family in the Dutch Republic. His father was a field-marshal in the Dutch army and *stadholder* of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. The highest military rank, that of captain- and admiral-general of the Union, and the *stadholderate* of Holland, the most prosperous of the seven provinces of the Dutch Republic, was the preserve of the descendants of William I, the 'taciturn'. Willem Frederik seemed destined to live the life of so many lesser nobles: i.e. to retain the rank of colonel at best. His chances for social and military ascendancy only improved after his elder brother, Hendrik Casimir I, was killed in battle in 1640. Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange-Nassau, intended to unite all provinces under his leadership, but the States of Friesland thwarted him by choosing Willem Frederik. However, the overt hostility that Frederik Hendrik

displayed toward his 'Frisian' cousin, made it highly unlikely that Willem Frederik would be able to attain the rank of general in the Dutch army. It was not until Frederik Hendrik's death in 1647 and the election of his only son, Willem II, to the highest public and military offices in the Dutch Republic, that Willem Frederik's prospects started to improve. In 1664 he was finally entrusted with his first independent military command: the capture of the Dijlerschans, a fort in East-Friesland which had been occupied by troops from Münster. At long last the rank of field-marshal seemed within his grasp, but an accident while cleaning his pistols prevented this (24 October 1664). He died a week later.

This overview of Willem Frederik's chequered life on the fringes of Dutch political and military life, makes the question pertinent why Geert Janssen chose him as the subject for his study of 'princely' power in the Dutch Republic. On the face of it he is certainly not the most likely candidate for this. Two reasons, however, offer compensation for his relatively low position: first, he has left us a rich and well preserved archive which contains both the letters and memoranda he received and the minutes of his replies; and second, he kept a diary in which he minutely recorded his thoughts on the political, military and social occurrences of his day. Together, Willem Frederik's records offer the historian a rare insight into the activities and concerns of a historical figure who struggled to make a name for himself in the Dutch Republic.

In his study Geert Janssen sets out to show the workings and different shapes of patronage in the Dutch Republic. He distinguishes three different levels: Willem Frederik as a patron in his own right – a German noble – as *stadholder* of Friesland, and after the demise of Willem II in 1650 also of Groningen and Drenthe, and as captain-general of the troops in Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe. Janssen runs quickly into difficulties when he tries to prove the role of Willem Frederik as a patron in political matters, pointing out that the regents of Friesland were powerful and wealthy men who did not want to be governed by a strong *stadholder*. For this very reason they elected Willem Frederik to the *stadholderate* in 1640 and not Frederik Hendrik. Willem Frederik was certainly not the patron of the Frisian regents but rather their 'servant' who could only plot his own course when the regents were divided. Willem Frederik's limited personal wealth also limited his possibilities to build up a clientele as a lesser noble. Besides it is questionable whether everyone on Willem Frederik's role should be classified as a client, as Janssen seems to do (see 76). It does not seem to make sense to fit a cook, stable boy or house maid into the patron–client model.

Willem Frederik's prospects of elevating his political and military powers improved on the death of Willem II in 1650. The Orange-branch of the family was for the time being prostrated. This was reflected by the fact that Frederik Hendrik's widow had to offer her daughter's hand in marriage to Willem Frederik as the only member of the Nassau family who still held a high office in the Dutch Republic. This was quite a step back compared to Willem II's marriage to the daughter of the King of England in 1641. Unfortunately Janssen is not overly interested in Willem Frederik's activities after 1650. He devotes only scant

attention (149–50) to his repeated attempts to gain the title of a field-marshal in the Dutch army. Willem Frederik's military capacity is all together neglected, probably because of Janssen's misconception that 'the captain-generalship of the province [of Friesland] was not a military rank but an administrative position' (62). This is not completely true. As provincial captain-general the *stadholder* not only had the right to appoint the officers of the companies of his province, but it was also his duty to command the troops in battle. An exception was made for the field army, the gathering of troops from all seven provinces, when supreme command rested with the captain-general of the Union, a rank that was discontinued on the death of Willem II and was only reinstated in 1672 with the appointment of William III. Willem Frederik's chances of becoming a powerful figure within the Dutch Republic would therefore increase in the years after 1650. His command of the expedition to the Dijlerschans seemed to be the stepping-stone to his gaining at last the rank of field-marshal. His accidental death precluded this.

Janssen analyses the fledgling years of Willem Frederik's public and private life, but as a study of princely power in the Dutch Republic, his book is less convincing. Rather it deals with a 'public servant' of the States of Friesland and a reluctant client of the House of Orange. Perhaps this picture would have been more balanced had the author engaged with an analysis of Willem Frederik's mature years (1650–1664).

Olaf van Nimwegen, *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*

Lotte Jensen, Joep Leerssen and Marita Mathijsen, eds, *Free Access to the Past: Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation*, Brill: Leiden, 2010; xxii + 346 pp., 13 illus.; 9789004180291, 99.00 (hbk)

The collection *Free Access to the Past: Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation* – the second volume in the National Cultivation of Culture series – investigates the relationship between a developing bourgeois public sphere, the rise of romanticism and changing conceptions about the past, the popularization of history, the broadening of audiences and the nationalization of society.

Joep Leerssen's introductory essay outlines the central theme, namely the crucial shift around 1800 from private to public history. At the turn of the nineteenth century, history went beyond the realm of private associations and collections and fully entered the sphere of public museums, libraries, archives and university institutes. The past was disseminated by way of text editions, philological studies, historical novels, plays, operas, paintings, monuments and restorations. This shift was part of the modernization process. The secularization of monastic libraries throughout Europe opened up long-forgotten documents to public scrutiny and access. This rediscovery of history resulted in the spread of a romantic national historicism. A new conception of the past emerged: the past as different and unfamiliar, rather than a mere continuation of traditions into the present. Due to the

concomitant rise of romanticism, the past was no longer solely evoked in 'universally Western' scenes from biblical or Greco-Roman times, but increasingly constructed according to *topoi* celebrating the medieval and tribal roots of the nation.

It is Leerssen's explicit aim (and a central concern of his prolific work) to complement materialist narratives of socio-economic modernization – in explaining the rise of nationalism – with a sensitivity for the autonomy of culture. Leerssen contends that cultural developments are no mere reflection of a socio-economic base, but have a logic of their own which sometimes contradicts purely material evolutions. Leerssen argues that already around 1800, national historicism pervaded European societies, at least coterminous with the modernizing processes that are central to several theories of nationalism.

The 14 chapters included in the volume mainly focus on Western Europe (the exceptions being three chapters respectively on Hungary, the US, and West-Africa and Indonesia), and are divided into four main parts. In the first part, 'The Appropiation of the Past', Leerssen offers a case study of the intellectual milieu of the Grimms. Peter Fritzsche and Marita Mathijsen both survey changing views of the past due to the French Revolution. Anne-Marie Thiesse analyses the Gauls as a *lieu de mémoire*.

The three remaining parts contain detailed case studies of diverse subjects. Part two, 'Monuments for the Past', includes chapters on state funerals in London and Paris (Eveline Bouwers), editorial scholarship in Sweden (Paula Henrikson) and the rise of historical literary genres in the Netherlands (Lotte Jensen). Part three, 'A Public for the Past', contains articles on art reproductions in Europe (Robert Verhoogt), the national museum in the Netherlands (Ellinoor Bergvelt), an analysis of three operas in terms of European imperialism (Peter Rietbergen), national opera in Hungary (Krisztina Lajosi), and history education in revolutionary France (Matthias Meirlaen). The final part, 'Past and Present', focuses on the question of whether issues about public history and romanticism can be applied to the US (Sharon Ann Holt) or to twentieth-century postcolonial states (Susanne Legêne).

This division into four main parts is fairly loose; it is unclear why certain contributions feature in one part rather than in another and there is no clue as to the general structure of the volume. For instance, we only learn in passing that these are the proceedings of a conference (an oblique mention on p. 291), and a general conclusion is also lacking. This is unfortunate because a comprehensive conclusion bringing together the common threads of the contributions, and reaching back to Leerssen's introduction, could have provided unity to the volume. As they stand now, the case studies are interesting as examples of the past becoming public, but few address the complex nexus of issues raised by Leerssen. Most contributions remain silent about the autonomy of the cultural sphere or the conjunction between socio-economic modernization and the rise of national historicism. Bergvelt is the only one who directly tackles these questions in her chapter on the Dutch national museum. She argues that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the national art museum did not focus on the masters of the Dutch Golden Age, or on romantic

depictions of the nation's past, because art historians were still influenced by neo-classical standards rather than romantic ones. The cultural preferences of Dutch art historians proved more important. This is clearly a case of the cultural realm trumping political and socio-economic constraints, as Joep Leerssen's central thesis claims.

All in all, this is a volume with interesting case studies, but it could have been more coherent.

Maarten Van Ginderachter, *Antwerp University*

Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori, eds, *European Union History: Themes and Debates*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2010; 268 pp.; 9780230232693, £58.00 (hbk); 9780230232709, £19.99 (pbk)

In recent years, many textbooks on the history of European integration have been published. All these textbooks pursue slightly different approaches and draft their respective narratives of European integration. However, most of them, with only a few exceptions, fail to discuss competing interpretations comprehensively, and thereby fail to provide orientation for their readers in a further expanding and diversifying field of research.

This is the starting point for Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varsori in their edited volume on themes and debates in European Union history. Unlike most of those textbooks dealing with the history of European integration, their book focuses on the course of European integration historiography; intending 'to provide a sophisticated and comprehensive introduction to research trends and themes and debates in the historiography; or, in other words, to sketch the partly competing answers historians have given to questions of why and how European integration developed, on the basis of a chronology of facts that readers can access elsewhere' (3). Overall, this book fulfils its promise, and offers inspiring prospects for future research in this field.

The book has 10 thematic chapters arranged into three overall sections. One section, on the general context of European integration historiography, considers research networks and collaborative research projects, publication trends and their integration into Modern European history and European studies. Another, on conceptual approaches, deals with federalist perspectives, research on national governmental policy-making and supranational approaches focusing on the Community political system, while the third, on thematic dimensions of European integration history, discusses the economic and business dimension, social and cultural dimensions, the American role in European integration and the external dimension of foreign policy beyond the nation-state. This sample of themes is reasonable, even though other themes, such as domestic and judicial affairs, could also have been given their own chapters. Not much research has been done by historians in this respect, but the same applies to the European

Community's external relations on which Giuliano Garavini has contributed one of the most inspiring chapters of the book.

Most chapters advocate closer links between European integration historiography, and contemporary European history in general, as well as considering the wider international context. As Antonio Varsori points out, the history of European integration cannot be reduced to the history of the European Community/European Union. Furthermore, most chapters demand a stronger 'cross-disciplinarity' (Wolfram Kaiser) of European integration historiography, and an increased awareness of theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues. As most chapters underline, historians do not need to start from scratch, and, according to Katja Seidel, European integration historiography has already experienced 'a phase of refinement' characterized by more sophisticated conceptual, multilateral and transnational perspectives, instead of conceptually underdeveloped and more traditional state-centred approaches. This even holds true for federalist perspectives and research on national governmental policy-making, as Daniele Pasquinucci and Michael Gehler highlight. In this respect, only the chapter by Mark Gilbert suggests a continuing emphasis on questions of diplomatic history when considering the American role in European integration – at least in the literature considered by Gilbert. Given the complexity of the Community system, as N. Piers Ludlow asserts, it is unavoidable to combine various perspectives anyway. For Morten Rasmussen economic approaches to European integration history also need 'to be combined with a history of ideas, institutions and politics' (138). This cross-disciplinary approach, according to Lorenzo Mechi, has already made considerable advances in the historiography of the social aspects of European integration, adopting concepts and methodological tools from the social sciences, economics and law. Giuliano Garavini, also pleading for analysing the European Community's external policies in the broader context of the political, socio-economic and cultural history of contemporary Europe, finally points to 'the normative danger of falling into the trap of considering European integration as a positive outcome in itself, and thus to view everything it has produced or encouraged, as civilized, peaceful and positive for the rest of the world' (207). Consequently, research on the external dimension of European integration has to consider extra-European perspectives, too.

The editors have aimed the book at a very broad readership: researchers in the field of European integration, historians of modern and contemporary Europe, social scientists, even European policy-makers, and not least postgraduate and advanced undergraduate students. Despite some shortcomings as a teaching tool, this book is indeed suitable for a very wide audience.

All chapters have a comprehensive bibliography, even though, unfortunately, they omit most of the textbooks the editors suggest for accessing the 'chronology of facts' (3). There is also an equally comprehensive and utterly reliable, well-structured index.

Alexander Reinfeldt, *Universität Hamburg*

Stefanos Katsikas, ed., *Bulgaria and Europe: Shifting Identities*, Anthem Press: London, 2010; xv + 254 pp.; 9781843318460, £60.00 (hbk)

Bulgaria is one of the two countries which joined the European Union during the latest round of enlargement. It has now been four years since this Balkan country acquired full member state status, and, as it is still continuing its efforts to join the Schengen zone and the EMU, an appraisal of its relationship with, and perceptions of, Europe seems more than appropriate. This edited volume traces the often 'problematic' trajectory of Bulgaria's convergence path towards Europe, starting off with the establishment of a Bulgarian state in the nineteenth century, and moving on to the Cold War, the transition period and beyond. One of the advantages of the book is the breadth of its approaches, which reflect the contributors' areas of expertise; it contains chapters by historians, international relations specialists, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, as well as experts on migration, political economy, and literature, among others. The editor has done a remarkable job tying together all the different approaches to form a coherent whole; this becomes quite clear in the sturdy introduction (co-written with Peter Siani-Davies), which also introduces both the term 'Europeanization', and the varying Bulgarian conceptions of Europe.

The structure of the volume follows a chronological sequence, with the first chapter focusing on the genesis and early development of Bulgarian political institutions, and the degree to which institution-building was influenced by, and related to, Western European countries. In the second chapter, Galin Tihanov discusses Bulgaria's cultural contacts with Europe, through an examination of two literary examples from the first half of the twentieth century. In the following chapter, Marietta Stankova masterfully combines a study of domestic political developments, with a discussion of international events and the role of Britain, in particular, to explain the factors that contributed to the establishment of communism in Bulgaria ('a moment of the absence of Europe in Bulgarian history' [61]). The fourth chapter deals with the Bulgarian state's policy towards minorities, and Iskra Baeva and Evgenia Kalinova set out to show how this has been influenced by Europeanization through a case study of Bulgarian Turks after the collapse of Zhivkov's regime. Tatyana Kotzeva focuses on the social policies of Sofia vis-à-vis Bulgarian women since 1989. In the fifth chapter she divides the post-socialist period in two phases and offers an outline of the main social-demographic trends that formed the landscape for women's employment in Bulgaria. In chapter six, Eugenia Markova presents the findings of her research on Bulgarian immigration into Spain and Greece. Dimitar Bechev's contribution to the volume charts the course of Bulgaria's accession into the EU from the troublesome immediate post-1989 period, through the negotiations, to the 2007 end result. Benchev analyses the international and domestic factors that contributed to Bulgaria coming closer to Europe, and eventually becoming a member of the EU. Stefanos Katsikas identifies the harsh realities that made Bulgaria relinquish its erstwhile irredentist policies in

the Balkan region, and concentrate on integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions. In the ninth chapter Elitza Ranova explores the impact of 'Europeanization' in the fields of arts and culture, to explain two different social phenomena: the rise of an elite-in-the-making, and the resurgence of national pride. The last chapter of the book has regional policy at its heart and Vassilis Monastiriotis explains the reasons behind Bulgaria's limited regional economic performance, stressing the issues of intraregional disparities and polarization, as well as the catalytic role of the EU towards a more efficient regional policy.

All in all, this edited volume serves as an ideal introduction to those interested in understanding where Bulgaria is coming from, where it stands today, and where it may be heading. It provides an informative glimpse of modern Bulgaria, with all its uniqueness and inherent contradictions, its foreign and domestic policies, and its social, economic and cultural peculiarities. Equally importantly, the book manages to live up to the reader's expectations by providing a clear and coherent picture of the interrelationship between Bulgaria and Europe (from the creation of the Balkan state to the present day), on a variety of levels. The focus on shifting identities and perceptions is an integral part of the volume, with all the contributors shedding light on the ways that the relationship between the Bulgarian state and society and Europe and the EU have changed. This is a well-written and thoroughly researched addition to the literature on Bulgarian history and politics, and will be of interest both to Balkan and to EU scholars.

Alexandros Nafpliotis, *London School of Economics*

Douglas B. Klusmeyer and Demetrios G. Papademetriou, *Immigration Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany: Negotiating Membership and Remaking the Nation*, Berghahn: Oxford, 2009; xvi + 330 pp.; 9781845456115, £56.00 (hbk)

Since its foundation, the German state (whether the *Kaiserreich*, Weimar Republic, Third Reich, Federal Republic or German Democratic Republic) has pursued a policy of labour importation. As some of the statistics provided in this volume indicate, Germany has had some of the highest percentages of migrants in its population amongst European states over the last century, exceeding even the USA in recent decades. Klusmeyer and Papademetriou are certainly not the first scholars to tackle migration in modern German history, as a whole army of people work in this area, following, in particular, the pioneering efforts of Klaus Bade and Ulrich Herbert. Nevertheless, their volume has a lot to offer, representing a concise summary of the key themes and research not simply on the history of migration policy in the Federal Republic, but also since the end of the nineteenth century.

The book has a series of key strengths. In the first place, it takes an interdisciplinary approach which works. This is not some weak edited book barely holding together and based upon a conference at which a variety of scholars from disparate academic disciplines have spoken. This is a tightly constructed, well thought out

book written in close co-operation by two scholars who understand their themes in depth. The interdisciplinary aspect lies in the varying approaches. For instance, for historians, it provides a useful sketch of the key developments in the evolution of migration policy since the end of the nineteenth century, admittedly based heavily on some of the key texts. However, the sections on the *Kaiserreich* and the Nazi period offer an essential background to the discussions on policy within the Federal Republic. The thoroughness of the post Second World War sections deserve comment, as they are the core of the volume. Particularly useful for anyone interested in immigration is the legalistic approach. The book provides an in-depth and incisive analysis of all of the key pieces of legislation involved in the evolution of Germany's immigration policy since 1945. The authors provide useful commentary upon every step in the legal history of immigration to Germany as well as the underlying provisions in the Federal Constitution.

The second key strength of this book consists of the thorough approach it takes towards all aspects of immigration into the Federal Republic. This is not a conventional history of labour importation, but one which analyses all of the policy towards the various streams of people who have moved to Germany since the Second World War. This means that the book does go over the issue of labour importation. At the same time it also provides an in-depth analysis of the evolution of refugee policy from the acceptance of the Germans fleeing the post-War settlement in Eastern Europe and of those who would continue to arrive as *Aussiedler* into the 1990s. The analysis also covers the evolution of policy towards non-German refugees, from the Federal Constitution to the asylum compromise of the early 1990s. The description of such events does not simply focus upon the changes in legislation itself, useful as they are in themselves, but also examines the consequences. Throughout, the book focuses on integration policy towards all of the different groups which have moved to Germany in the last 65 years, which increasingly becomes a key theme. It also provides masses of statistical information with numerous extremely useful tables. Furthermore, the book places German immigration, asylum and integration policy within the context of the European Union, offering once again, an extremely useful and detailed analysis on the relationship between German and European immigration policy, while demonstrating the dependence of the former on the latter.

It has become increasingly fashionable in recent years in historical circles, especially in Britain, to look down upon general approaches and studies of important themes. Many scholars make their careers without ever writing a general approach to anything, preferring, instead, the comfort of their primary-based approach. But such general histories often prove much more difficult to execute well than any narrower theme. To produce a book as thorough and useful as this one represents a major achievement. Anyone wanting an introduction to immigration in the Federal Republic should start with Klusmeyer and Papademetriou.

Panikos Panayi, *De Montfort University*

Barbara Kosta, *Willing Seduction: The* Blue Angel, *Marlene Dietrich, and Mass Culture*, Berghahn: Oxford, 2009; 208 pp.; 9781845455729, £35.00 (hbk)

The film *Blue Angel* came onto the market in a situation of social and political crisis during the late Weimar Republic. Barbara Kosta examines the film within this wider cultural context. In her analysis, it is a film which deals with the binary oppositions between representation/illusion and reality; between mass culture and high culture (the clash between *Zivilisation* or modernity) on the one hand, and *Kultur*, seen as traditional culture, on the other hand. The *Blue Angel* is set on this rupture between different forms of culture, presenting the extreme tensions in regard to the culture that characterizes the interwar period. In this perspective the relationship between Rath and Lola equals the correlation between the two media-formats, literature and film, as two different expressions of culture.

In the first chapter Kosta positions the film in the larger context of the debates on cinema, mass culture and national identity, with culture and art historically playing an important role for the construction of a German identity. In these debates mass culture was often seen as a form of Americanization that undermined traditional ideas of culture and therefore was supposed to be harmful to a German audience.

The second chapter analyses the spectator's relationship to the sphere of visibility, that is the sphere of the image. Here Professor Rath's disavowal of reality is related to a misinterpretation of the means and ends of modern mass culture. He is captivated by the image of the seductive female, the entertainer Lola, being at the same time exposed to modern visual mass culture, and surrenders to the appeal of the image and the sexualized body of the modern woman. The concept of modern women is analysed in detail in chapter three: female employment as new societal development and the visibility of women as part of a modern city evoked social transformations, calling into question the binary attribution of women as either whore or mother. Multiple models of femininity developed instead, reflected in a multiplicity of different female roles in both Weimar Germany and in the film itself. Based on this transformation of female roles, the public sphere had to be redefined.

As the *Blue Angel* was one of the first German sound-films, chapter four points out the importance of sound for demarcating two different social and cultural spheres connected to the two main characters: whereas Rath is associated with traditional music, classical culture and the *Bildungsbürger*, Lola is depicted as the embodiment of the modern woman, a present-day siren. In this context Rath's failure to differentiate between illusion and reality and his personal downfall recall the fate of a failed Odysseus. Finally chapter five pays attention to the revival of interest in Marlene Dietrich and the film in unified Germany after 1989, which can be regarded as a paradigm of a problematic German past. Although opinions about the Hollywood star and her legacy remained divided, Dietrich was transformed into a national icon. Kosta argues that Dietrich's image was used in many ways to evoke a new German identity, an identity associated with crisis during the

twentieth century. 'The new republic eagerly drew and continues to draw on Dietrich's symbolic value as Germany's "first international star" to give a reunified Germany its facelift' (143). By setting the *Blue Angel* in its broader cultural context, Kosta captivates the reader and provides important insights into cultural debates during the Weimar Republic.

Wenke Nitz, *Universität Konstanz*

Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White, eds, *Venice, Cità Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, trans. Linda L. Carroll, The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore MD, 2008; 640 pp., 46 b& w illus., 3 maps; 9780801887659, $54.00 (hbk)

Despite being among the most important writers of his time, Marino Sanudo (in Latinized form, Sanuto) is today remembered primarily by a limited number of specialists. Therefore, the present book, the first to make his writings available to the non-Italian reading public, is most welcome.

Marino Sanudo (1466–1536) was born into an old noble Venetian family. In his youth, he acquired an extensive knowledge of the classics that led him to build up a magnificent library of books and manuscripts and to participate in the cultural life of late Renaissance Venice. By virtue of his noble status, Sanudo was a member of the Maggior Consiglio (Great Council) of Venice, and served as a Senator and member of various magistracies. Imbued with a passionate love of Venice, he stood for the preservation of the laws of the Republic and denounced corruption and irregularity.

Although Sanuto wrote many works still valued by scholars today, he is best remembered for his *Diaries* describing events day by day, from 1496 to 1533, a 'super-blog'. The *Diaries* were published over a 24-year period, between 1879 and 1903 in 58 folio-size volumes of double-columned pages with small print, and re-issued in 1969–70. These volumes contain a total of almost 40,000 columns, which, with 51 lines per column and an average of seven to 10 words per line, adds up to the prodigious number of well over 15,000,000 words, with on average over a hundred additional columns of indices per volume.

Sanudo's assertions that 'I was continually in the public squares investigating every occurrence, no matter how minimal, how unimportant it was' and 'everything I saw and heard, I noted down' were not as great an exaggeration as might be assumed. Legislation, decrees, accounts of debates, reports of ambassadors, official and unofficial letters, as well as documents provided by friends all found their way into his *Diaries*, together with accounts of every unusual thing that he saw or heard. And Sanudo had very sharp eyes and broad interests. The reader quickly begins to feel a part of the dynamic Venetian scene, accompanying the author on his rounds and participating in a kaleidoscope of Venetian life.

The current volume was painstakingly edited by Patricia Labalme, who sadly passed away as the volume was being completed, and Laura Sanguineti White who

both consulted with numerous specialists in the field for the compilation of insightful, up-to-date notes. The translation of the text of Sanudo, written in Venetian chancellory vernacular with technical terms and Venetian expressions and often-awkward syntax with run-on sentences peppered with Latin phrases and sayings, was skilfully undertaken in a most readable manner by Linda Carroll.

The volume opens with a section entitled 'About the Translation', in which the editors explain the care with which they prepared the current translations, painstakingly comparing the printed version of the passages selected for translating with the original manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, noting words omitted or added in the printed version, as well as occasional misreadings, incorrect numbers, misinterpreted abbreviations, and misleading added punctuation. The introduction, 'Marino Sanudo, His Life, His City, and His Diaries', serves as a concise orientation to the selections themselves. They are divided into nine units, with further introductions to the units and their subdivisions: Sanudo on Sanudo; The Venetians Govern; Crime and Justice; Foreign Affairs: War and Diplomacy; Economic Networks and Institutions; Society and Social Life; Religion and Superstition; Humanism and the Arts; and Theatre in Venice, Venice as Theatre. Two valuable appendices, 'Money, Wealth and Wages', and 'Glossary and Terms', followed by the bibliography and index complete the volume.

I would like to suggest one minor, easily implemented addition: to facilitate consultation of the excellent translation and the most valuable textual and contextual notes, it would be very useful to include in future editions of this work a chronologically ordered list of all the selections with the corresponding pages of the translation.

Sanudo had written: 'no writer will ever make much of modern history who has not seen my diaries'. He intended to use these diaries as the basis for a more elegantly written formal history that he never wrote; however, that is not an unmitigated misfortune, for it assured the preservation of his priceless *Diaries* and of innumerable documents, letters and descriptions that otherwise might have been lost to posterity. Certainly, every student of the Venetian republic and its contemporary world will have their knowledge and insight greatly expanded by this volume of *Diary* selections. We are indebted to the editors, the translator, and all named in the Preface who had a hand in its preparation.

Benjamin Ravid, *Brandeis University*

Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010; 3 vols: 664 pp., 43 b/w illus., 6 maps; 640 pp., 39 b/w illus., 5 maps; 688 pp., 42 b/w illus., 3 maps, 3 tables; 9780521839389, £275.00 (hbk)

The three-volume *Cambridge History of the Cold War* (CHCW) is an important investment in the field of Cold War studies which offers – after 20 years – a

comprehensive overview of the era that influenced so many people's life in so many different ways. Although the Cold War era is clearly past, the Cold War still has implications for the contemporary world; it influences our thinking, identities, communication and culture.

This three-volume history is a large, multinational research project, involving 73 contributors from 18 different countries, and providing almost 2000 pages of thoroughly weighed information about the Cold War from different perspectives. This is indeed a heavy package of Cold War history. With this in mind, the CHCW is reviewed here as a whole, concentrating on the main ideas and without focusing on individual chapters.

The CHCW claims to be the first comprehensive historical re-examination of the Cold War period from the beginning until the very end, and to provide 'a transformation of the field from a national – primarily American – to a broader international approach', aiming at the same time at illuminating 'the causes, dynamics, and consequences of the Cold War'. The editors seek to relate the Cold War to its influence on the international system today, and all the contributions aim to go beyond the diplomatic affairs and delve deeper into social, economic and intellectual history in order to understand the evolution that took place during the Cold War era and why the Cold War ended.

The context for the research is the bipolar conflict. The research agenda is extremely wide, focusing on a variety of geographical angles, not only the United States and the Soviet Union but also Europe, Asia and other 'critical regions' of the Cold War era, from the national level to the global context. This is an important aspect of this work, given that 'traditional' or 'mainstream' Cold War research has mainly focused on the higher echelons of political decision-making in the international arena of the Cold War. Here, other actors and different levels have been taken into account; transnational organizations beyond the superpower politics, as well as different levels of investigation, are present in the chapters, and the perspective varies from the analysis of individual states to wider – even global – trends. This brings to the fore those actors that were not at the core of Cold War policy-making but were nonetheless extremely important for the overall development of the Cold War.

The research agenda of the volumes gives due weight to Eastern Europe. As the preface observes: 'the Cold War has gradually become history'; in other words there is enough distance to look back and analyse what the Cold War era was all about from a critical and less biased point of view. The emergence of the Eastern view is a part of this process: a full picture of the Cold War era requires all the parties to the conflict to be present – East and West, at all the different levels. From this point of view, the CHCW is as serious as it is ambitious, with chapters focusing not only on the Eastern bloc but also on Asia, Africa, the Far East and South America. The themes and topics range from the history of diplomacy and the arms race, to culture, consumption and the biosphere.

All three volumes have a clearly-defined chronology and structure. Volume I, *Origins*, focuses on the early years of the Cold War, and aims at elucidating 'how it evolved from the geopolitical, ideological, economic, and socio-political

environment of the two World Wars and the interwar era'. It focuses on foreign policy, economy and the main actors of the early years of the Cold War, in order to find out how markets, ideas and cultural interaction affected political discourse, diplomacy, and strategy after the World War II. It considers 'influential statesmen' and the roles they played at the start of the Cold War, but also strives to take account of the lower levels of the societies involved. Although the volume does not fully achieve its ambition to 'illuminate how people experienced the increasing bipolarization of the world', it introduces new perspectives and ideas.

Volume II, *Crises and Détente*, 'examines the developments that made the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union a long-lasting international system during the 1960s and 1970s'. The chapters focus on the development of détente; how the Cuban crisis in 1962 stabilized into the period of detente during the early 1970s. The volume concentrates especially on foreign policy, that is, key crises during the 1960s and 1970s and includes chapters that go beyond this theme, drawing on cultural aspects of the Cold War and introducing topics such as counter culture and human rights. The focus broadens from Europe to the wider world with special emphasis on the third world, looking at the important role of economics during the détente period, both in relation to the socio-political aspects of the Cold War and to East–West competition.

Volume III, *Endings*, covers the period from the Helsinki conference in 1975 until the end in 1991. The focus is on the key leaders, their personalities and policies, during the last phase of the Cold War. Although political leaders were important actors at the end of the Cold War, other factors, political, economic, cultural and geopolitical, played their part. In this final phase, new and different issues began to influence the evolution of the Cold War, and the scale of events and dynamics had become global. The outcome of the Helsinki process, human rights, non-governmental organizations and environmental issues came to the fore and started to influence people's attitudes. This volume has benefited greatly from the new archival materials which have been becoming accessible to researchers. But new archival evidence is not the main factor in shaping the new directions of research. New approaches, new topics and new questions are also needed. From this perspective, the references in this volume are extremely valuable, as they allow the reader to evaluate the information and arguments presented in the chapters. This, of course, is a double-edged sword from the point of view of the contributor: the reader will seize on innovative approaches and/or new materials, and be dissatisfied with old questions from old materials. The utility of the volumes is further enhanced by the bibliographical essays they each contain. These selective and critical essays – surveying the latest literature on the specific topic and providing full bibliographical information – are extremely useful.

The Cold War is perhaps even more fascinating today than it was during the Cold War era. The research field is widening outside the history of international relations and diplomacy as new and young researchers, topics and approaches emerge. An emphasis on cultural and social questions are bringing about change in Cold War research and filling out our picture of the complex structure of the

Cold War era. A strongly bipolarized view during the Cold War era, and the unipolar approach of the years immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union were important parts in the evolution of the field. We are now moving towards 'multi-voiced' research agendas and new questions, of which this three-volume set provides a good example.

Sari Autio-Sarasmo, *Aleksanteri Institute Helsinki*

Matthieu Leimgruber, *Solidarity Without the State? Business and the Shaping of the Swiss Welfare State, 1890–2000*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2008; 330 pp., 16 tables; 9780521875400, £55.00 (hbk)

This book provides a masterly account of the shaping of the Swiss pension system during the twentieth century. It convincingly shows that one of the main drivers of this history was the issue of how to divide labour between social insurance bodies (or the State) and private pension provision (or private firms and insurers), and demonstrates in great detail how Swiss federal public authorities always strove to preserve the prerogatives of employers and insurers in the field of pension provision. Hence, the book focuses on the intricate nexus between public and private provision and underlines that social protection cannot be envisaged as the exclusive responsibility of public institutions, but can, and very often is, taken over by other actors, among which firms and private insurance companies play a prominent role. In Switzerland, the evolution of pay-as-you-go public pensions (the so-called AHV or old-age and survivors' insurance) cannot be fully grasped if it is considered independently from the issue of private provision. Indeed, at all stages, the nexus between public and private tools for provision was at the core of the evolution of the Swiss pension system: the refusal of the first proposal for an AHV law in the 1930s can be accounted for by the wish to preserve private provision devices (conceived of as powerful tools for capital accumulation and personnel management) from the risk of being undermined by the emergence of an all-encompassing public system; the enthusiastic adoption of the AHV in the late 1040s is certainly the outcome of the post-war climate in favour of human rights and social protection, but it also derives from the option (favoured by Federal Councillor Walther Stampfli and endorsed – though with less enthusiasm – by left parties and trade unions) to limit AHV to paying basic cash benefits, thus leaving ample space for complementary private provision facilitated by tax exemption; finally, the inscription of the three-pillar doctrine into the Swiss federal constitution in 1972, officially presented as the unmistakable sign of the Swiss genius for partnership and welfare mixes, is also, and even in the first place, the outcome of the employers' and insurers' willingness to maintain their prerogatives over the private provision assets accumulated from the 1920s on. This corporate objective to limit the scope of social insurance and prevent it from taking over the occupational plans set up by private firms and insurers, was widely shared by political actors and social partners, as is also illustrated by the very late adoption of (modest)

legislative provisions for regulating the management of private pension assets. Under such circumstances, private occupational plans were allowed to flourish with pensions assets reaching 150 per cent of the gross domestic product in the 2000s.

The book offers a powerful analysis of the intricate relationships between private interests and public actors in the Swiss context. It sheds light on the interdependencies between the public politics of social insurance (conducted in official arenas with highly visible political battles) and the more subterranean politics of private pension coverage (mostly confined to more confidential fields such as fiscal policy and financial regulation of pension assets, or more technical issues such as portability rights). The role played by the main actors in both fields is emphasized throughout the book, especially the rather ambivalent positions held by Federal Councillors and trade unions. The links between the federal administration and corporate interests is also demonstrated, as many actors such as Federal Councillors Edmund Schulthess and Walther Stampfli or Civil Servant Peter Binswanger successively represent both points of view. Business interests are presented as 'conditional consenters towards social insurance programs' (283), thus emphasizing that their concessions were mainly driven by the ambition to maintain their hold over the capital accumulated via occupational plans.

In analytical terms, the most significant contribution of the book is to show that to understand the welfare state, the analysis needs to go beyond public actors and arenas, and to take into account other forms of social protection and their potential competition with public social insurance systems. A more systemic approach to social policy is advocated: not only institutional actors or systems (as it is the case in most neo-institutionalist accounts along the line of Esping-Andersen's analyses), but also their relationships with other providers (firms, associations, etc.) ought to be integrated into the empirical investigation.

One could somewhat deplore that international comparisons are not always used in the most appropriate way. While comparison with the US case clearly illuminates the evolution of the Swiss system, this is not always the case when comparison involves The Netherlands, Canada, Sweden, or the UK. But this is a really minor point, and there is no doubt that this book will be an important milestone in welfare state research. Hopefully, it will boost more encompassing empirical investigations bearing on all components of the complex nexus between the State, private companies, and associations.

Jean-Michel Bonvin, *University of Applied Sciences Western Switzerland*

Francisca Loetz, *Dealings with God: From Blasphemers in Early Modern Zurich to a Cultural History of Religiousness*, trans. Rosemary Selle, Ashgate: Aldershot, 2009; viii + 326 pp.; 9780754668831, £70.00 (hbk)

Francisca Loetz's study of blasphemy in Zurich makes a valuable contribution to the field of early modern history, but it is somewhat of a chore to read.

As the author explains in the foreword, the book is a 'radically shortened' and translated version of a German *Habilitationsschrift*, but one that still bears 'all the hallmarks of Teutonic scholarship'. This is unfortunate, for while Loetz's research is in many ways fascinating, the long, dense explanations of theoretical models and the sometimes nearly impenetrable prose weaken the book's overall impact.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I is a lengthy theoretical and historiographical introduction. Part II forms the heart of the book, and describes hundreds of cases of blasphemy that the author found in the records of the morals courts of the city and territory of Zurich. Loetz adopts the historical definition of blasphemy as cursing, swearing, or abusing God and shows how these 'speech acts' – a term borrowed from modern communication and linguistic theory – related to the social, political and cultural contexts of the time. For example, she describes how some cases of blasphemy reveal how early modern people struggled with the 'paradoxes' inherent in the Christian religion, such as divine omnipotence and the trinity. In Part III, Loetz analyses historical trends in blasphemy in Zurich over time and provides a comparative chapter on the Catholic city of Lucerne. In Part IV, Loetz summarizes her evidence and offers conclusions. Her main argument is that the study of blasphemy points towards a 'new cultural history of religiousness'. By revealing how people attempted to 'deal' with God in their everyday lives, she argues, the study of blasphemy makes religion 'visible beyond church religiosity and theology'.

One could argue about precisely how 'new' this approach to early modern religion is; Loetz is surprisingly and, at times, unjustly dismissive of much of the scholarship on the Reformation and early modern religion of the past 20 years (for example, see pp. 19 and 44). Another weakness, already mentioned above, is the lack of readability. What Loetz refers to as 'Teutonic scholarship' can be a barrier to understanding, even for experts. The theoretical introduction is longer than it needs to be, and the evidence in Parts II and III is not as accessible as one would like, partly because of dense prose and partly because of the lack of visuals. Apparently the original German publication of the *Habilitationsschrift* (Göttingen, 2002) contained tables, charts and graphs, but these visuals unfortunately fell victim to downsizing in the preparation of the English version.

Nevertheless, Loetz's descriptions of the blasphemy cases offer a fascinating look into the lives and minds of early modern people, and the evidence leads to some important conclusions. For example, she demonstrates that the Reformation was not a watershed in terms of ideas about blasphemy or its prosecution. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the attitudes and practices of secular and spiritual authorities changed very little and were remarkably similar in Protestant Zurich and Catholic Lucerne. Instead, the important chronological turning point was the eighteenth century, when religion was increasingly viewed as a private matter and prosecutions for blasphemy plummeted. Loetz's study also offers significant challenges to various theoretical models that have been popular among early modern historians in recent decades. As she explains, 'Our conclusion that religious policy in Zurich promoted neither state formation nor modernization, and

that prosecution and stigmatizing of blasphemers depended largely on popular support and horizontal control, has momentous consequences for the interpretation of the Early Modern Era' (283). Similarly, Loetz's findings highlight weaknesses in acculturation theory, and, more broadly, in the idea of a strict division between popular and elite culture. As she explains, blasphemers in Zurich 'were not subjects clinging to their own worldview and resisting an alien interpretation; neither were they passive people on whom such an interpretation was being imposed' (283). The rejection of the elite vs popular divide and promotion of a more fluid model of culture is not new, but Loetz's evidence confirms and deepens this important historiographical development.

Francisca Loetz's *Dealings with God* is a difficult read; it is not a book for the uninitiated. The reader's efforts are rewarded, however, with conscientious, original research and some important conclusions for scholars of religion and culture in early modern Europe.

Carrie Euler, *Central Michigan University*

Oliver Lubrich, ed., *Travels in the Reich, 1933–1945: Foreign Authors Report from Germany*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago IL, 2010; vii + 379 pp.; 9780226496290, $30.00 (hbk)

For all the research into life in Germany under the Nazi regime, there remains a striking lack of attention granted to sources emanating from foreign observers. Angela Schwarz's monograph on the written responses of British visitors to the Third Reich, published almost 20 years ago, remains an isolated example of historians engaging closely with documents of this type. This is all the more surprising given the wealth of such sources: the international controversy surrounding Hitler's government, not least in its earliest phases, had drawn curious foreign observers to Germany from across the political spectrum. In the 1930s, not least in Britain, a whole sub-genre emerged of the 'man on the spot' who had gone to 'see for himself'. Such documents hold particular interest for shedding as much light on the assumptions of the visitors, and on their own societies, as they do on the Germany of the time.

Lubrich's documentary collection gathers together 52 such extracts by 35 different authors, divided into two sections: the first covering the pre-war years, the second beginning with the outbreak of war and concluding with the collapse of the regime in May 1945. While most have already been published in some form, the extracts by Samuel Beckett and John F. Kennedy are made available to the general reader for the first time. Many of the excerpts capture well the complexity of reactions to the regime. Martha Dodd, daughter of the US ambassador, finds herself crying 'Heil Hitler', swept along with the excitement of the crowd; shortly afterwards, her enthusiasm is shattered as her party witnesses the public humiliation of a woman accused of 'race defilement' (47). Annemarie Schwarzenbach's letter to Klaus Mann is at once poignant testimony to the feeling of powerlessness felt by

German intellectuals at the victory of Nazism, while also hinting at some of the reasons for that failure, with its smug assertion that 'any halfway intellectually oriented person, if European at least, naturally belongs to the opposition' (38).

The success of source editions depends on two criteria: the selection of the documents, and their contextualization. Here, there is a suspicion that many of the authors have been chosen more for their renown than for the light they shed on Nazi society. Virginia Woolf journeying through Germany with her marmoset, and Kennedy gallivanting across the country as a young Harvard student, are momentarily diverting, but tell us little about either the Third Reich or the opinions of the authors; Albert Camus is represented in a piece of precisely nine lines. Other selections tend towards the predictable: it is hard to believe that many with an interest in Weimar and Nazi Germany will not already be familiar with Christopher Isherwood and William Shirer. None of the writers analysed by Schwarz feature here, nor is her work referenced, while some authors are accorded three separate excerpts.

The extracts overwhelmingly deal with life in Berlin, with other regions of Germany underrepresented. Furthermore, given that Lubrich himself notes that 'the system of terror and persecution of the Jews' were among the aspects of the Third Reich that foreign authors considered 'noteworthy' (2), it is all the more remarkable how little precisely these aspects figure in the book. In contrast, two different extracts describe the same November 1943 air raid on Berlin. This absence is especially glaring in the section on the pre-war years, as it fails to reflect that – contrary to Lubrich's assertions (7) – travellers' curiosity often stemmed precisely from their political engagement; many went specifically to find out if there was truth in the stories in their domestic media about atrocities in Germany. Visitors flocked to visit the concentration camps for exactly this purpose: Dachau alone was a port of call for Christopher Sidgwick, *Daily Telegraph* journalist George Gedye, and the British Legion, to name but a few – all of whom published their thoughts. The only discussion of the camps of any length in Lubrich's book, in contrast, comes in a self-pitying monologue by an SS guard employed at Mauthausen (292).

Swedish explorer Sven Hedin, extracted twice here, also visited a camp. The example of Hedin raises the second issue: the lack of sufficient contextualization. A Nazi sympathizer, Hedin published *Germany and World Peace* in 1937; a contemporary review in the *Manchester Guardian* blasted it as a work of crude propaganda for the Third Reich, not least on the basis of his laudatory account of Sachsenburg concentration camp. Hedin later presented himself, with some success, as an opponent of Nazism. Yet the reader of the book under review learns nothing of all this. Instead, the extracts reproduced here, from a later book published in 1949, describe meetings with Hitler and Göring. The former sees Hedin attempt to distance himself from a man he met on four separate occasions; that this might have been part of a wider strategy of dissociating himself, post-war, from inopportune connections with the Third Reich, likewise passes without comment. This is symptomatic of a general trend in the book, with Shirer's Germanophobic

views, for example, not placed in their wider context of similar sentiments held by his contemporary Anglo-Saxons, not least Allied policy-makers.

Lubrich includes a helpful guide to further reading on each author, although the inclusion of an index would have rendered the book more user-friendly. It is to be hoped that this collection will spur readers to seek out the original books, and others of the same type, and ultimately stimulate further research into this still neglected aspect of the Third Reich.

Paul Moore, *Birkbeck College, London*

Morag Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750–1830*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore MD, 2009; viii + 228 pp.; 9780801893094, $55.00 (hbk)

The title of Morag Martin's well-written and enjoyable *Selling Beauty*: *Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750–1830* conveys much of the subject of her book. She is interested in the business of make-up: how French merchants marketed cosmetics. But she also engages centrally with histories of consumption, medicine, social status, gender, and the body. In so doing, she casts new light on the question of long-term continuities and ruptures across the French revolutionary divide.

Martin begins with the common perception that the artifice and frivolity associated with early modern elites gave way to a new emphasis on restraint and naturalness over the course of the eighteenth century. This entailed a series of changes in the use of cosmetics as well as fashion more generally; men ceased to wear make-up by the early nineteenth century and the only women to do so regularly were actresses and prostitutes. Martin shows that while this account of changing practices corresponds to an important cultural shift in how people viewed beauty, it is also deceptive. Sales of cosmetics actually expanded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as merchants developed innovative marketing techniques and ways of appealing to non-elite customers.

The first three chapters focus directly on commerce. Martin begins with the courtly world of white-powdered wigs, rouge, and black silk beauty spots. Most cosmetics were homemade before the eighteenth century; Martin traces a shift from esoteric and expensive recipes to more accessible ingredients, and by the second half of the century, a further shift to store-bought products. She uses account books of bankrupt perfumers to explore their clientele, contending that make-up became a relatively cheap way for both women and men to participate in the consumer revolution.

Chapter 2, 'A Market for Beauty' investigates how merchants of beauty learned to sell new products, which did not fall neatly under the ambit of any one guild. Here her focus is on the strategies of individual entrepreneurs, especially the vinegar-maker Maille, most associated today with the brand of mustard. In the following chapter, 'Advertising Beauty', Martin turns to the *affiches*, popular

newspaper advertisements. While French advertising was less sophisticated than its English counterpart, Martin argues that it reveals innovative marketing ploys. She succeeds in showing a variety of creative business practices, from patents designed to assuage fears of charlatanism and reduce the risks of counterfeiting, albeit often with limited effectiveness, to lists of fixed prices that served to make purchases more predictable.

In the next three chapters, Martin directly tackles critics of make-up. In some of the most innovative parts of her book, she shows the increasing importance of doctors in both attacking and legitimating cosmetics. Critics associated cosmetics with corrupt aristocracies, ridiculous *petit maîtres*, and deceptive *coquettes*, but also with physical depravity. Over half of the beauty manuals written between 1750 and 1818 referred to medical opinion. In Chapter 5, Martin shows how medical testimonials about the safety of particular beauty aids could also provide practical solutions for those wanting to use cosmetics without being deemed immoral. In Chapter 6, 'Selling Natural Artifice', she explores how savvy merchants were able to use medical language and patents to associate their products with health, hygiene and natural beauty. Here she focuses especially on the rouge industry's attempts to repackage its goods.

The two concluding chapters address more specific themes. Chapter 7, 'Selling the Orient', shows that the harem was associated with exotic desirability and secret knowledge, but also with sexual depravity. Martin argues that merchants increasingly solved this tension by removing images of harem women or odalisques from advertisements; the 'new hero was the astute entrepreneur who ferreted secret goods out of the East into the arms of French women' (153). Her argument is intriguing, but it would be interesting to see further how such advertisements intersected with the continued prominence of early nineteenth-century paintings of harem women, like Ingres' 1814 *Grande Odalisque*.

Martin considers both women and men as sellers and consumers of cosmetics throughout the book, but her final chapter looks most directly at male beauty culture. Here she nuances the 'great masculine renunciation', the idea that by the early nineteenth century, most men had ceased to wear colourful clothes or use beauty aids. Men actually remained active consumers of cosmetics – at least for hair products. Hair powder disappeared as artificial wigs fell out of fashion, and as the starch used to make hair powder became associated with bread shortages. But creams and oils to stop hair loss became a major market, as did more realistic wigs. Men, as well as women, could be enticed to buy aids for an attractive 'natural' appearance.

Martin creatively and effectively combines different kinds of source materials, juxtaposing portraits with bankruptcy ledgers and advertisements with medical treatises. The illustrations are well chosen, although it is a shame that a work about beauty and make-up could not include colour plates. The book's thematic structure can also sometimes make it difficult to be clear about the timing of the changes Martin documents and to gauge the impact of the French Revolution in accelerating or reframing trends. Nonetheless, *Selling Beauty* suggests both

remarkable continuities and innovations over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – not only in the direct realm of cosmetics, but also the connected arenas of consumption, physical appearance, gender roles and social status. Pots of rouge and powders may disguise, but Martin shows that looking closely at their history can also reveal much about broad social and cultural developments.

Jennifer Heuer, *University of Massachusetts Amherst*

J. R. McNeill, *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620–1914*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010; 390 pp., 12 maps; 9780521452861, £55.00 (hbk); 9780521459105, £16.99 (pbk)

In his compelling new book, J. R. McNeill asserts that over the course of two centuries historical events in the Americas shifted on tides of fevered sweat and black vomit. As disease-carrying mosquitoes colonized the Americas along with their human counterparts, they introduced malaria and yellow fever to their new environs, with dire consequences for humans and their affairs. In McNeill's analysis, these bloodthirsty small critters, potent vectors of contagion, emerge as important historical actors, playing key roles at pivotal junctures in the history of the Greater Caribbean in which disease proved a decisive factor – and, in some cases, arguably *the* decisive factor – in the success or failure of colonizing ventures, imperial contests and revolutions.

From Suriname and French Guyana to Jamaica, Havana, and the American South, the collision of African and European microbes with the New World environment resulted in what McNeill aptly characterizes as a new 'creole ecology'. But as these regions' cocktail mix of contagions varied over time, the epidemiological landscapes of human populations also changed, at times giving a decided edge to one party over another based on accrued immunities and disease resistance. McNeill convincingly argues that by charting such shifts in the disease environment and the resultant differential immunities among populations, we can see more clearly how disease factored into American history.

Scholars have long argued that the European conquest of the Americas was unwittingly facilitated by the invisible weapon of novel diseases that devastated indigenous populations. As this severe asymmetry of immunities eventually equalized, however, Europeans lost their epidemiological dominance. Rather ironically, as McNeill points out, their wholesale transformation of the West Indian landscape speeded this process since sugar plantations and urban seaports favoured the necessary preconditions for epidemics, namely high concentrations of infected mosquitoes and vulnerable non-immune hosts. By the 1690s, yellow fever and malaria had become endemic throughout the Caribbean and the early colonial period was characterized by intense, sporadic epidemics with extremely high death rates. In the face of this scourge, concerns over disease entered into the geopolitical realm, although its causes, modes of

transmission and treatments were not well understood. As local populations slowly gained a buffer of herd-immunity, epidemics settled into predictable, less virulent seasonal patterns, while still ruthlessly felling newcomers. Thereafter, however, every large European expeditionary force of non-seasoned troops dispatched to the American colonies suffered hideous mortality, as practically whole armies were scythed down in their camps.

In his last chapter, McNeill investigates how mosquitoes aided creole insurgents to oust imperial rule, often against seemingly insurmountable odds. During the American Revolution, for example, American regiments confronted superior British forces in the Deep South. McNeill makes the case that, but for the disabling effects of yellow fever, the British might well have tightened their hold in the South, rallied Loyalists to their side, and retained the lower colonies as a southern version of Canada. Instead, illness swept through the British army, killing many more than American bullets ever did. Fearing a calamitous erosion of his army, Cornwallis withdrew to Yorktown where he was forced to surrender. McNeill notes that since French and American troops were also falling ill, if the British had held out a little longer they might well have triumphed. In pondering this fascinating counterfactual, McNeill shows how disease played an important, if accidental, role in the American Revolution, largely overlooked by other historians. He facetiously concludes that, in fairness, Americans must count female mosquitoes among their Founding Mothers.

Still more compelling is the role of disease in the Haitian Revolution where throngs of ill-equipped ex-slaves faced down imperial armies. Counting on his mostly African and creole soldiers' greater disease resistance, Touissant L'Ouverture resorted to guerrilla warfare, strategically timing his offensives to coincide with seasonal epidemics, laying low during the dry season and attacking when the rains brought him reinforcements, armies of mosquitoes who ruthlessly felled his enemies. His brilliant strategy ultimately helped secure Haitian independence. While this facet of the Haitian story is fairly well known, it has added significance when we consider it within the larger context that McNeill offers. Enslaved Africans, brought to the Caribbean precisely because of their superior immunities as compared with indigenous workers or indentured European servants, eventually parlayed their knowledge of differential immunities to achieve their freedom.

One of the more disconcerting questions that McNeill raises is why, knowing the risks and high costs of disease, imperial powers nevertheless insistently, pointlessly sent their armies into harm's way. Again and again, and again, European armies were dispatched to the Caribbean where thousands of men died miserably, often within days of arriving, of fevers, agues and bloody flux. In the service of misguided imperial ambitions, McNeill concludes, they ended their days as 'luckless virus fodder' in a hopeless bid against the buzzing tyranny of mosquitoes.

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Beate Meyer, Hermann Simon and Chana Schütz, eds, *Jews in Nazi Berlin: From Kristallnacht to Liberation*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago IL, 2009; 9780226521572, $40.00 (hbk)

When the Gestapo called to take away retired opera singer Therese Rothauser, she made one final request of the Gestapo officials. Explaining that she wished to bid her piano farewell, she took her seat at the piano and sang a song, while the officials removed their hats and listened. Therese, a Jewess by birth, had written to Hermann Göring asking to be added to his list of cherished artists who should be spared deportation. Her request went unheeded however, and following her deportation to Theresienstadt on 21 August 1942, she died in April the next year. This poignant tale is one of many told in *Jews in Nazi Berlin*, which shines the spotlight on the experiences of persecution in the Reichshauptstadt. Before the Nazi seizure of power, Berlin was home to the largest Jewish population in Germany. A resident population of 160,000 Jews at the start of the 1930s, this was dramatically reduced to 8000 by the end of World War Two. Despite this, little academic research has been carried out into what it was like for Jews to be living in Berlin at this time. This collection of articles focuses in particular on the experiences of Jews who remained in Berlin after the major waves of expulsion and deportation had taken place.

Probably most familiar in our narrative of the twisted path to Auschwitz is the escalating discrimination against German Jews during the 1930s, with the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws in September 1935 and the violence of Kristallnacht in November 1938, culminating in the deportation of Jews to the East from late 1941. Particularly memorable signs of discrimination are the yellow stars which Jews had to wear, the signs outside Jewish shops telling people not to go in, and park benches marked with 'Juden verboten' (Jews forbidden). Albert Meirer's contribution shows other, less well-known ways in which Jews were harassed, revealing just how needlessly vindictive Nazi policies were. Not content simply to make Germany 'judenfrei' (free of Jews) as quickly as possible, the Nazi leadership sought to persecute Jews in as cruel and humiliating a way as possible. Take, for example, the requisitioning of all Jewish-owned radios. Not only were Jews forced to hand over their radios in September 1939, they were also required to take them in person on a specific day, chosen by the Nazi leadership to be Yom Kippur, one of the most important days in the Jewish calendar. Similarly vindictive was the announcement at the beginning of 1942 that Jews had to hand over all woollen clothing. Even if these garments had been intended for German soldiers in the field, the regulations were deliberately complicated and difficult to follow, leading to the arrest of many Jewish men and women for violating them.

In light of this catalogue of persecution, it is safe to say that while there are many points of contention within the historiography of Nazi Germany, Jewish victimhood is understandably not considered to be one of them. *Jews in Nazi Berlin* however, muddies the water of common assumptions whereby there were

cold-blooded Nazis and innocent Jewish victims. By moving beyond this familiar dichotomy, it shows how Jews remaining in Berlin from 1943 were sometimes forced to walk a moral tightrope between protecting fellow Jews and collaboration with the Nazis. It was the Jewish community itself, Christian Dirks shows, which was forced to arrange the deportations of Jews. We hear from Paul Scheurenberg, a former transport marshal, who explained that marshals risked deportation themselves if they did not comply with orders. Indeed he recalled an occasion where a deportee had run off, and two marshals were put on the transport as 'replacements'. At the same time, the Gestapo instituted a Search Service intended to root out Jews hiding underground. Offering select Jews the chance for them and their families to be spared deportation, the Gestapo demanded in return that they help to round up the remaining Jews. Some Jews refused to be corrupted and were deported, others committed suicide, but around 18 Jews worked as spies for the Gestapo. The Reichsvereinigung, the only institution in Nazi Germany representing Jewish interests, also faced a moral quandary. Since the Gestapo was its supervisory body, the Reichsvereinigung had limited power to protect Jews. In working with the regime, it sought to 'do as much good as possible for those concerned', but in reality, as Beate Meyer points out, 'the representatives became entangled in the Nazi policy of extermination, for which they were at the same time not responsible'.

This collection is thought-provoking and well-written. There is some repetition between chapters, and the decision to launch the Final Solution is assumed throughout to have been taken at the beginning of the war, when in fact the timing is still very much hotly debated. Overall though, it covers important but hitherto overlooked aspects of Jewish persecution in Nazi Germany.

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Norman M. Naimark, *Stalin's Genocides*, Princeton University Press: Princeton NJ, 2010; 163 pp.; 9780691147840, $26.95 (hbk)

Kevin McDermott and Matthew Stibbe, eds, *Stalinist Terror in Eastern Europe. Elite Purges and Mass Repression*, Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2010; 235 pp.; 9780719077760, £60.00 (hbk)

Norman Naimark's book seeks to demonstrate that 'Stalin's mass killings of the 1930s should be classified as ''genocide''' (1). Naimark recognizes the difficulties in arguing that case, given that in the USSR there was no one, single, act of genocide, but rather 'a series of interrelated attacks on ''class enemies'' and ''enemies of the people''', and he argues that this period, when millions of people were repressed in the USSR, should be regarded as 'an important chapter in the history of genocide' (2), and that the governmental system created at that time in the USSR should be seen as a genocidal regime.

While international law understands genocide to mean the annihilation of individual groups of the population according to racial, national, ethnic or religious criteria, or the deliberate creation of conditions of life calculated to destroy a group wholly or in part, Naimark seeks to broaden the concept. In his definition, genocide is 'systematic mass murder – intentionally perpetrated by the political elite of a state against a targeted group within the borders of or outside the state – that should distinguish genocide from other forms of mass killing, like pogroms, massacres, and terrorist bombing' (4). He argues his case in chapters dealing with Stalin himself, de-kulakization, the Ukrainian famine ('Holodomor'), the deportation of whole nationalities and the 'Great Terror' of the 1930s. The conclusions he draws are not particularly original, and the whole work is more of a political rather than a historical investigation. It has no separate discussion of historiography and sources, which leaves an impression that the author has ignored evidence which does not fit the picture he is trying to present.

Naimark argues that Stalin did not start with genocidal intent, but the pressure of circumstances pushed him that way. One reason for that might be that Stalin, who often declared himself to be Lenin's pupil, enthusiastically continued with Lenin's punitive policies. Naimark's definition of 'genocide' could equally well be applied to the Soviet decree abolishing the social estates of Tsarist Russia (10/23 November 1917) and the persecution of people of noble origin, or to the process of de-Cossackization in 1919–20 which put an end to the Cossacks as a separate military caste. Moreover, when the Cheka's M. Latsis declared in 1918 that 'we are not struggling against individuals, we are destroying the bourgeoisie as a class', this could also count as an incitement to genocide.

The weaknesses of Naimark's formulation become apparent when it is tested against Soviet realities, even though its humanistic intent should be welcomed. There is a difference between the destruction of six million Jews by the Nazi regime – a clear case of genocide – and what happened in the USSR. To be sure, Soviet Jews suffered persecution, many Soviet nationalities were deported wholesale, and de-kulakization was a tragedy for millions of peasants, but in the USSR they were not put into gas chambers, they were sent to special settlements, in sparsely-populated areas of the country, with restrictions on their freedom of movement.

The term 'Great Terror', denoting the repression in Russia in the 1930s, became popular following the publication of Robert Conquest's eponymous book 1974. However, one could argue that there was just one ongoing state terror against Soviet citizens, inaugurated by the government decrees of 18 February 1918, which brought in extrajudicial execution, and of 5 September 1918, on the Red Terror. By 1922, Red and White terror had already claimed 1.5 million victims. Stalin merely continued and perfected Lenin's repressive policies.

While arguing that the 'Great Terror' had 'genocidal qualities', Naimark recognizes that it cannot be directly described as genocide (136). As he points out, the terror intensified after the end of July 1937, when NKVD chief Ezhov and the CPSU approved Decree No. 00447. On the basis of that decree, former kulaks,

criminals, former activists in other parties, opponents of Bolshevism, members of religious communities, former Tsarist civil servants and Cossacks were shot or imprisoned. Between August 1937 and November 1938 around 800,000 people were sentenced, approximately half of them to death, the rest to long sentences in prisons and corrective labour camps. The sentences were passed by extra-judicial bodies: three- and two-man panels, special conferences and the like. But while this was a crime against hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens, it is hard to discern truly 'genocidal qualities' within it.

During the Soviet period, the years 1921–22, 1932–33 and 1946–47 were years of famine, but, thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian diaspora, it was the famine of the early 1930s which got the name 'Holodomor'. This famine, Naimark argues, was an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people (71–5). In 1993 an Association of Researchers into the Famine-Genocide of 1932–33 was formed in Ukraine, so Naimark is not the first to allege this. But there is no consensus on this question. At a conference of Russian and Ukrainian historians in May 2007 on the 1932–33 famine, there was just one question on which the historians could not agree – was the famine in the Ukraine an act of genocide against the Ukrainians? The Russian historians were categorically opposed to such a characterization, and the final resolution of the meeting recommended that the question be considered 'in a strictly scientific, rather than a journalistic and speculative way'.

Naimark uncritically adopts the standpoint of Ukrainian politicians and certain historians, arguing that although Stalin did not kill or deport the Ukrainians he 'wanted to destroy them as a hostile nation' (78–9). He disregards alternative perspectives from Russian historians, and pays no attention to the polemic between V. P. Danilov and Robert Conquest, or to V. V. Kondrashin's study on the famine of 1932–33, which showed that it affected an area far beyond Ukraine.

Unfortunately, Naimark's book is excessively politicized, and its contentions are not adequately demonstrated. Nonetheless, his attempt to widen the concept of 'genocide' will certainly stimulate further study.

Kevin McDermott and Matthew Stibbe's collection, *Stalinist Terror in Eastern Europe* stands in stark contrast to Naimark's book. It is much more academic and objective in its arguments. Its ten chapters contain detailed accounts of the Stalinist terror in the Baltic states (Aldis Purs), Soviet Moldavia (Igor Caşu), Eastern Germany (Matthew Stibbe), Poland (Łukasz Kamiński), Czechoslovakia (Kevin McDermott), Hungary (László Borhi), Romania (Dennis Deletant), Yugoslavia (Jerca Vodušek Starič), Bulgaria (Jordan Baev) and Albania (Robert C. Austin). The editors' introduction deals with different perspectives and interpretations of the subject.

The authors examine the realities of Stalinist terror in the countries concerned, where political show trials of prominent figures were virtually carbon copies of the Soviet trials of the 1930s. They draw attention to the specific features of the repression and persecution of dissidents. The introduction notes that the authors in the volume do not have a single view as to the motives for the terror in the countries they are discussing. Some consider that external factors (the Soviet occupation, or

the presence of Soviet advisors) were the main reasons for the repression; others attribute it to the desire of the new communist authorities to be rid of possible opponents and establish their own authoritarian power, while yet others blame it on a mixture of internal and external factors. Purs, for example, remarks that in the Baltic states, 'terror was "Soviet in form, local in content"' (5). The introduction argues that the basic causes of these terroristic actions were Stalin's policies themselves, and the ceaseless attempts by the security organs under Soviet tutelage to find 'enemies'. The 'enemies' identified by the new rulers followed Soviet archetypes: kulaks, private entrepreneurs, minsters of religion, social-democrats, former army officers and civil servants, etc. (5–6). The individual chapters contain data on the numbers of victims of the terror, and the forms it took (prison, execution, making examples of people, and so on).

This collection is both interesting and informative. It raises many questions which need to be studied further, such as a comparative analysis of the Soviet and Nazi occupations. Moldavia and the Baltic states experienced Soviet occupation between 1940 and 1941, then Nazi occupation under their fascist-leaning leaders, followed by a second Soviet occupation after 1944. In this way, they were repressed three times. Although Yugoslavia broke away from Soviet influence in 1948, and Stalin even tried to have Tito liquidated, the communist terror nevertheless continued in Yugoslavia. And Poland, whose leadership Stalin continually mistrusted, could suddenly become 'the freest cell in the socialist camp', as the Soviet poet Bulat Okudzhava neatly put it. The articles in this collection provide a solid foundation for further investigation into these questions.

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Paul du Quenoy, *Stage Fright: Politics and the Performing Arts in Late Imperial Russia*, Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park PA, 2009; xiii + 290 pp.; 9780271034676, $65.00 (hbk)

This is a wonderfully unusual book about Russian theatre. Its story is governed not by legendary directors, prima donnas, backstage myths, first-night scandals, wicked dim-witted state censors, nor by the later Brechtian assumption that oppressive politics makes for good drama and wise, self-aware audiences. On the contrary, when streets become dangerous, people stay home and theatrical enterprises go bankrupt. The catchphrase 'culture and power', invoked by du Quenoy with some irony throughout his book, is resolved unambiguously at the end: theatre was one thing that faltering Tsarist Russia did right. With the delicacy of a surgeon piecing together bits of injured tissue, du Quenoy re-examines falsely politicized 'affairs' – Rimsky-Korsakov's temporary dismissal from the St Petersburg Conservatory in 1905, for example (91–99) – to strip off the crude revolutionary labels that have distorted the record of musical, dramatic and balletic activism.

The performing arts, du Quenoy insists, were a showcase 'in Imperial Russia's ongoing evolution from autocracy to pluralism... a highly visible and relatively successful aspect of the Empire's burgeoning civil society' (253).

His case is persuasive. Russian theatre censorship was more permissive than its Western counterparts – the licensing commissions and vice squads of fin-de-siècle Britain or the USA (44–54). The administration of the Imperial Theatres, as well as the state-subsidized 'People's Houses' with their diverse dramatic repertories, indulged Russia's stage stars, sponsored *risqué* or radical plays (if they promised a decent box office return), underwrote actors' aid societies, and rarely punished politically dissident actors. Drawing on a vast archival and in-print database, du Quenoy whittles away at the myth that art was seen by theatre-going Russians as oppositional, sacred, or (as Symbolist theorists so hoped) some mystical ritual. His documents range from ticket stubs, fiscal reports, newspaper columns and memoirs to the percentage of male orchestra members drafted into the Great War. From this mass of detail, du Quenoy extracts a series of real-life stories in the economic and psychological sphere. His conclusion: that audiences wanted to be entertained– not mobilized, preached at, or recruited to a cause. Actors wanted to perfect their craft – and if the perks of stardom were beyond their reach, they hoped at least for some guarantee of a living wage for long days of work. Students in drama schools, ballet academies and conservatories dreaded any interruption in their highly demanding daily regimen. Theatre managers sought material security. Political unrest (the benchmark year is 1905) threatened these civic values and was resented by the performing arts community. Of primary interest to this community, and to du Quenoy, is the task of training professionals, maintaining a solvent theatre, and mounting a show.

Du Quenoy divides his findings into six chapters. Chapter one provides institutional background on the three tiers of Russian theatrical life: the six Imperial theatres; the abundant, struggling, often transient private stages and cabaret venues; and the 'popular stage' financed by the government for working-class patrons, as cultural enrichment and an alternative to nightly drunkenness (37). Chapter two focuses on the disastrous effect that Bloody Sunday 1905 had on the health, morale, and finances of this vigorous and largely a-political performance community. Chapters three, four and five deal respectively with Imperial Theatre personnel, private and popular theatre performers, and audiences. Each title is preceded by a quote from some exasperated participant in that chapter's story: 'Politics are Death' (ch. 3), 'Our Theater Will Not Strike!' (ch. 4), 'You Dare Not Make Sport of Our Nerves!' (ch. 5). All testify to the same reality: that the institutions of Russian theatre were conservative (that is, oriented toward commercial success), their personnel well-treated, and their tickets inexpensive and accessible to all classes. We are hardly surprised when veteran actress Mariya Savina, reigning prima donna at Petersburg's Aleksandrinskii Theatre from the 1880s until 1915 and a powerful influence on performing arts management, remarked in an interview in

October 1905: 'As is well known, art does not like trouble' (112). What *does* surprise is the intense resistance at all social levels against bullying left-wing agitators who tried to radicalize theatres into striking (with boorish behaviour but at times with revolvers and poison gas). It was widely felt that the tsarist police was insufficiently severe with these dangerous elements. For good reasons did the progressive intelligentsia look aghast at this gifted body of theatre folk, whose tastes ran to 'melodrama, suspense, human relations, comedy, and general ''decadence'' inherent in the newer and more explicit themes of sex and violence' (213). As Jeffrey Brooks demonstrated in 1985 with his path-breaking revisionist study *When Russia Learned to Read: Literary and Popular Culture, 1861–1917*, when Russians learned to go to the theatre, they went for their own reasons.

Stage Fright is a book, as the Russians say, 'with a tendency'. It seems du Quenoy has two targets: one easy to attack, the other more viable and entrenched. The easy target is the Soviet-era historian, inclined (or required) to glorify pre-1917 theatres as sites of radical protest. The other target, one suspects, are Western theatre historians and theorists dazzled by the rebel, the revolutionary, the mean Old Regime that justified Lenin's thrillingly mean methods of fighting back – and dazzled too by the possibility of forcing people to partake in experiences that will alter their vision, appetites and goals. Du Quenoy has little patience with the avant-garde. When the rise of Vsevolod Meyerhold (224–42) is told not from the perspective of an enraptured 1920s–30s but as experienced by scandalized actors who considered their creativity repressed, or by irritated bored audiences who didn't wish to be manipulated but entertained, the whole picture of this period shifts. Simply in terms of filling the house and paying their bills, most radical theatre manipulators failed. 'Idea' plays flopped; parodies of them survived.

The only parts of this impressive study that do not ring wholly true or fair are its two final chapters, 'Russian Modernism and its Discontents' (ch. 6) and 'A Conclusion'. Du Quenoy tends to classify all post-Realist experimentation – from Symbolist mystery plays through Evreinov's 'monodrama', Tairov's rhythmically-based Moscow Chamber Theatre, and of course Meyerhold – as 'modernist' and thus doomed to dissatisfy the public. Only what these post-Realists learned from the Moscow Art Theatre (and this was a great deal) is reliably praised. But Modernism is simply too crude a tool for a cultural historian of du Quenoy's precise methods. These groups polemicized creatively among themselves and won devoted fans. The 'Conclusion' likewise moves too quickly and generalizes too cavalierly through what is, for this book, the aftermath: the Stalinist and post-Soviet periods. Lunacharsky and Gorky, Shostakovich and Prokofiev flicker in and out in a paragraph, usually with the worst parts of their careers given prime time. The great merit of du Quenoy's work is its devastating command of the historical record in late Imperial Russian theatre. The worlds that followed are best left to their own light and darkness.

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Dirk Schumann, *Political Violence in the Weimar Republic, 1918–1933: Fight for the Streets and Fear of Civil War*, Berghahn: Oxford, 2009; 346 pp., 10 illus., tables; 9781845454609, £60.00 (hbk)

Timothy S. Brown, *Weimar Radicals: Nazis and Communists Between Authenticity and Performance*, Berghahn: Oxford, 2009; 213 pp., 31 illus.; 9781845455644, £50.00 (hbk)

Political extremism is one of the characteristics of Weimar Germany. Its differences, escalating in murder and open street violence, have been considered to be one fundamental reason for the decline of the contested democracy. In retrospect its failure seemed almost inevitable. It is a challenging task for historians to analyse history as an open process and not to interpret it deterministically, blinded by the light of the already known outcome. This is what Dirk Schumann took as a principle when he started his investigation of political violence in the Weimar Republic. Published in German in 2001, his study has recently been translated into English and released in a revised and slightly shortened version. It continues to be an important contribution for better understanding this issue.

Political radicalism and violence have been explained as arising both out of the Bolshevik revolution (with fascism as its countermovement) and out of a common 'brutalization' deriving from front-line experiences of war. However, such civil-war-like conditions did not last longer than two years following the war. According to Schumann, political violence must rather be seen as a 'by-product of a fight for public space'. He does not put into question the consensus on its destructive impact but insists that it should be conceived mainly as 'a symbolic show of force' that could have been bridled if a government would have been strictly determined to do so. For this reason, Schumann suggests a view of the Weimar state as one certainly 'with alternatives to the Nazi takeover' (viii).

In order to achieve deeper empirical insight, Schumann's examination concentrates on a 'mid-size level', the Prussian province of Saxony, a highly industrialized but in some areas still agricultural province (it equates today, with the exception of some smaller districts, to the federal state of Saxony-Anhalt). Paramilitary forces of the right like the 'Stahlhelm', the largest of the Combat Leagues, and the 'Wehrwolf' as well as the social democratic and bourgeois-republican 'Reichsbanner' and the communist 'Rote Frontkämpferbund' were founded in this part of Germany (in the cities of Magdeburg and Halle). The only attempted revolutionary uprising of the KPD, the 'March action' of 1921, also took place in this region. Schumann primarily draws on provincial government and administration files, but also on the internal communication of the KPD and the regional daily press. The book contains a helpful index of subjects as well as an index of peoples and places.

The period of fierce political violence at the beginning of the Weimar Republic accentuated by the assassinations of republican representatives like Erzberger and Rathenau can be considered as a 'circumscribed civil war' (1). However, this was

not typical for the Weimar Republic as a whole. In the subsequent years 'small' violence became endemic (xiii). 'Small' means that it was of limited nature, often consisted in ritualistic street fighting and did not repeatedly lead to deadly confrontations between large numbers of combatants. While admitting that the roots of the violence can be traced back to the time before the war, Schumann turns his attention to the prevalent and diffuse fear of the bourgeoisie vis-à-vis the workers' movement which was transferred to the radical left. Right-wing extremist groups seemed to avoid a danger that never became real. Moreover, it was right-wing extremist claims of the public sphere that were the source of similar processes of mobilization and organization on the social democratic and communist sides, confirming even more the apprehension of the middle classes and consolidating their inclination to ignore if not to accept the violence of the Nazis. Henceforth, violence was ascribed regularly to the extreme left. However, in the end it was not the fear of the Communists that ultimately led to the underestimation of National Socialism but rather the ease of using National Socialism as the rising mass movement of choice necessary for dissolving the unpopular republic.

It has often been stated that a more stable foundation for democracy could have been achieved at an early stage, at the turn of 1918/19. Schumann backs up this thesis by discovering the 'relative unimportance' of the Home Guards (308). The role of the Communists should also not be overrated since, by this time, the bourgeoisie was not primarily concerned with the threat of a Bolshevik revolution. Sustainable changes in bureaucracy, justice, the military and the economy would have been possible and there was another missed opportunity to save the republic in its final stage: the chance for a decisive advance against the SA was not seized in 1932. Nevertheless the history of the Combat Leagues for Schumann implies the pessimistic vision that, even without the Great Depression and the surrender to the Nazis, an 'authoritarian revision of the political system' would have been likely (313).

As Schumann suggests, those involved in violent encounters were neither especially 'brutalized' veterans nor the 'youth' but mostly adults already having their own families. Apart from the last phase of the republic marked by the economic crisis, the majority of them would have had a job although their occupational profile is not obvious. It remains difficult to explain the political violence by the specific characteristics of its perpetrators. Given the imprecise delineation of a multiplicity of political milieus or subcultures, Schumann prefers another model to describe the political culture of the Weimar Republic. Citing the work of Karl Rohe, he suggests that three 'camps' – a catholic, a socialist and a national camp – can be distinguished within the political electorate. This would make it easier to explain disintegrative tendencies in the bourgeois party spectrum and the growth of the NSDAP. As regards political violence in Schumann's narrative, basically two – ideologically and organizationally – distinguishable groups were clashing in the streets and trying to conquer the public terrain: 'Back in the middle Weimar years, the boundary between the bourgeois-national and the socialist camps had rigidified, which was reflected not least in the way political violence

developed' (313). Maybe in this view 'left' and 'right' are presented by Schumann as somewhat more monolithic than they were perceived by contemporaries.

That is where Timothy S. Brown sets the starting point of his study on Weimar radicals. As he argues in the very beginning, narratives focusing on ideology and organization 'risk closing down inquiry at precisely the point at which it should be opened up' (3). Therefore, he takes another perspective, interpreting radicalism not against the backdrop of ideology but as a certain habitus. In many cases radicals of the left and of the right not only lived in the same neighbourhood, but also shared a 'culture of radicalism' with a common 'set of ideas and terms', for example 'socialism', 'nationalism' or 'revolution', to which Brown refers, after Helmuth Plessner, as a 'discourse of social radicalism' (4). The 'Zersetzungsschriften' (subversion papers), distributed by both sides to influence each other, function within this discourse. The case of the former Nazi Richard Scheringer, a defendant in the Ulm Reichswehr trial who switched to the Communists, provides a prominent example of defection. But it seems doubtful whether defection was a widespread phenomenon before the Nazi takeover.

In order to guard against possible misunderstandings, Brown insists at the end of his appraisal that Nazism and German Communism should not be seen as 'two sides of the same totalitarian coin' (149). Nonetheless they made up part of a '"semiotic community" operating at multiple levels' (William Sewell) (8). Applying three 'space metaphors' Brown tries to shape the object of investigation. First, Nazism and Communism do not occupy opposite ends of a spectrum but rather constitute 'poles' in a field of converging forces (5). Second, and consequently, there is not a space 'between' but a 'zone of conflict' in which militants outside the movements are canvassed and in which they participate in the creation of the discourse (6). Third, a 'vertical distinction' is made within political movements, 'between "top down" and "bottom up"'. Attempts to stage radicalism 'from above' subsumed under the notion of 'performance' were often thwarted by a need for 'authenticity', of those 'from below' judging their movements on the basis of values like 'heroism', 'honesty' or 'solidarity' that had the 'potential to cut across ideological and organizational boundaries' and that could qualify one under the category of the 'ideal revolutionary' (12). This third distinction serves to enlighten the conflicts within the competing movements, e.g. the Stennes or Stegmann Revolts.

Focusing on the creation of meaning, Brown attaches great importance to relying on 'the classic source materials of social history' such as police reports or the work of political spies (9). The book contains a considerable number of figures – fliers and cuttings from the radical press – which he adroitly uses to underline his argument.

Whereas Schumann finally shifts the responsibility for the failure of the Weimar Republic predominantly to the middle classes, incorporating them in a 'bourgeois-national camp' together with the National Socialists, Brown does not want to 'assign blame'. He is looking for common characteristics and emphasizes 'the extent to which Nazism as a mass movement drew on a widely shared world of

ideas, and that the widely shared nature of these ideas is one of the things that gave National Socialism its force' (147). One might add to this conclusion that if there were somebody to blame, it would be a much larger group. This is not deterministic but it undoubtedly ingrains National Socialism more deeply in Weimar society.

David Bruder, *University of Konstanz*

Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010; 368 pp., 4 figs, 30 tables; 9780521768337, £55.00 (hbk)

When, in 1944, the Soviets returned to the region acquired in 1939–40 – the Baltic countries as well as formerly Polish and Romanian territories which were incorporated into the USSR – they encountered armed opposition. It took until the 1950s to subdue this challenge.

Soviet counterinsurgency in the Western borderlands was complex and sophisticated, argues this impressive study. Its central pillar was agrarian revolution, flanked by deportation of real or assumed enemies, intelligence gathering, misinformation, covert operations, arrest of sympathizers and search-and-destroy missions to root out resistance cells. Local militias were recruited in an attempt to transform the insurgency into a civil war; amnesties allowed doubters to leave the ranks of the enemy; and the church was drafted into state service as well. Overall, the policy was a success, despite extreme levels of unauthorized violence and the often criminal conduct of security troops.

Not all went smoothly, of course. The Soviets were often their own worst enemies. While the initial agrarian reforms, confiscating land from 'the rich' and giving it to 'the poor', were meant to bring over 'class allies' to the side of the Bolsheviks, the known threat of collectivization fuelled resistance, as it was universally resented by peasants. The blanket repression of rich peasants (or those construed as such) on the assumption that they would be sworn enemies of the Soviet regime, became a self-fulfilling prophecy as it left those targeted little choice but to resist. The unwillingness and inability to bring the security troops' excesses under control ensured the guerrillas a constant flow of recruits, even from those the Soviets considered 'class allies'.

It was to the benefit of the occupiers that their main opponents were a match in terms of brutality and ruthlessness. Rather than valiantly opposing the new rulers, most resistance movements focused on 'soft targets' (128): 'The primary activity of the resistance was terror against local residents marked as collaborators' (123–4). Such behaviour created a situation where the majority of the population was forced to take sides, and many chose the obviously stronger party: the state. Similarly, the vicious search for suspected police agents made Soviet amnesties all the more appealing to rank and file fighters in danger of being killed by their own side.

Statiev's book is an impressive achievement in the transnational history of Eastern Europe in the prolonged period of violence starting with the First World

War and ending only with the pacification after the end of the Second. It demonstrates that the study of this region has reached maturity. His detailed, subtle and complex analysis was possible because he could not only read central Soviet archives located in Moscow but also peruse voluminous source collections assembled since the 1990s. In some sense, this even includes one of his archives – the Peter Potichnyi Collection on Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Ukraine, held at Toronto. Containing copies from three Ukrainian archives, it allowed him to forgo additional time-consuming research trips.

Statiev made excellent use of this source base to examine the entire Western borderlands in the longer sweep from 1914 to the early 1950s. Rather than the widespread interpretive scheme where 'the Soviets' fight 'the people', we encounter different groups fighting or collaborating with each other as well as the changing state authorities, while the majority of the population tried to survive. Chapters two to four, which recount the history of the region from 1914 onwards, are an important contribution to a history of violence in Eastern Europe where the Nazis and the Stalinists are not the only actors. Moreover, Statiev also transcends the existing literature which often makes sweeping statements about the entire region based on one case study. Instead, he stresses differences between the countries and sub-regions of this far from uniform part of the world.

Not everybody will like this book. To Baltic, Ukrainian or Polish nationalists, it will be too soft on the Soviets and too unsympathetic to the guerrillas; romantics will find the view of the insurgents galling and the chosen problematic too far on the side of law and order; surviving cold warriors will accuse the author of apologetics for Stalinism while Russian nationalists will find his documentation of Soviet war crimes unbearable. His claim that torture was not always counterproductive but also 'gave the police an enormous amount of intelligence' (249) is guaranteed to cause controversy and many will find the constant citing of Kalyvas's *Logic of Violence in Civil War* too reminiscent of the evocation of other holy scriptures. But such irritations are unavoidable given the political passions surrounding both counterinsurgency in general and the history of Eastern Europe in particular. Nobody working on either topic can afford to miss this stimulating and well-crafted study.

Mark Edele, *University of Western Australia*

Alan E. Steinweis, *Kristallnacht 1938*, Belknap Press: Cambridge MA, 2009; ix + 214 pp.; 9780674036239, $23.95 (hbk)

In the libraries dedicated to documenting the history of the Nazi persecution of Jews and the Holocaust, one might find a good-sized shelf containing studies of the November 1938 pogrom known as the '*Kristallnacht*'. A reader may, then, be entitled to wonder whether a new book on the topic, and a relatively compact volume at that, can have anything new to tell us about that state-sponsored

crime wave that marked a significant escalation in the persecution of Jews in the Greater German *Reich*. Pleasingly, this new study by Alan E. Steinweis justifies its publication, not only by offering an admirably concise narrative of the events of 9–10 November 1938, but also by the use of fresh source material to shed considerable light on the extent of grassroots participation in the pogrom at the local level.

The decision by Hitler late on 9 November, at the urging of Goebbels, to respond to the shooting of the German Paris embassy official Ernst vom Rath by the young Herschel Grynszpan, with a wave of destruction aimed at synagogues and Jewish businesses and the arrest of thousands of Jews, is well documented. Steinweis shows that the top-level decision was preceded by an epidemic of grassroots violence against Jews, throughout 1938 but especially after the shooting of vom Rath on 7 November. Centres of violence included areas where anti-Semitism had long been virulent, such as Kurhessen.

Steinweis convincingly reconstructs the process by which the pogrom was ordered, generally verbally down the chain of command of the NSDAP and the SA (along with the sometimes under-acknowledged participation of the SS). The pogrom was hastily improvised, literally overnight, but the violence against persons and property was so widespread and unfolded so quickly due to 'the readiness of tens of thousands of Germans to commit violence against their Jewish neighbours' (55).

Steinweis makes compelling use of the records of German local and district courts which prosecuted offenders responsible for crimes during '*Kristallnacht*' under the Allied occupation from 1945 to 1949. These cases demonstrate what Steinweis portrays as the 'intimacy' of violence against Jews in small communities (63), where perpetrators often knew their victims, and took advantage of the officially sanctioned pogrom to settle personal scores: in one community, a Jewish woman was beaten up over a debt of 80 pfennig. These records document a significant amount of voluntary participation by local German citizens outside the structures of the Nazi party or the SA, who readily joined in the anti-Jewish acts of the latter. This degree of voluntary participation is one of the main findings of Steinweis's book. It is, as Steinweis acknowledges, difficult to quantify. Post-war courts prosecuted relatively few men who had been youthful offenders in 1938, but teenage males were clearly active in the violence of *Kristallnacht*. The Nazi party's own courts had their own narrow definition of 'excesses', which left the majority of anti-Jewish acts unpunished, although egregious unauthorized acts of looting and extortion (outside the massive state-organized shake-down of the Jewish community that followed the pogrom) were sometimes prosecuted. Steinweis notes the frequency of unauthorized looting, often involving women.

Steinweis dwells relatively little on the widespread (but not, he stresses, universal) popular disapproval of the lawlessness and destruction of property associated with *Kristallnacht*, which has been a theme of some other studies since Ian Kershaw's ground-breaking work on popular opinion and the persecution of the Jews some 30 years ago. Such disapproval expressed discomfort with the overt

violence of the pogrom and the destruction of valuable property at a time of increasing economic austerity, and with violations of bourgeois norms of propriety, but was not necessarily the product of any sympathy for Jewish victims. On the other hand, Steinweis finds that there were at least some cases where disapproval did express such sympathy, but again he is explicit about the limitations of the available sources: disapproval was rarely openly articulated in such terms under the conditions of the Nazi dictatorship.

Steinweis's account traces the aftermath of the *Kristallnacht* and its consequences for the victims who survived the immediate pogrom but later suffered and died in camps, including the unhappy Herschel Grynszpan himself, and he traces the later history of the pogrom in historical memory and in the courts. His material on the post-war trials, conducted by German courts under Allied occupation, before the advent of the Adenauer administration in the Federal Republic delivered amnesty to a myriad of 'minor offenders', is fascinating. These trials, the records of which have become relatively recently available to researchers, merit a major study in their own right. Steinweis's concisely written book is a fine example of how the historical understanding of a relatively familiar topic can benefit from a fresh body of source material, and a fresh pair of historian's eyes.

Andrew G. Bonnell, *University of Queensland*

Gareth Stockey, *Gibraltar: 'A Dagger in the Spine of Spain?'*, Sussex Academic Press: Brighton, 2009; 256 pp.; 9781845193010, £55.00 (hbk)

Gareth Stockey looks at trans-border relations between Gibraltar and Spain during the first half of the twentieth century, with particular focus on the years spanning the fall of the Second Republic, the Spanish Civil War and Second World War, and the lead up to the 1954 visit to Gibraltar by Elizabeth II. These years are dealt with in great detail, with Stockey analysing the complexity of interactions between both countries and across different sectors and interest groups on either side of the frontier. The Gibraltar/Spain border is therefore of central consideration, and, indeed, Stockey's point of departure is the construction, by the British military authorities, of the fence on the neutral ground in 1908, an event which, he suggests, 'marked for the first time in over a century, the existence of a physical ''border'' between Gibraltar and the Campo'. A fence had in any case always existed at the Spanish edge of the neutral ground but Stockey places some emphasis on this development given that the relocation of the British fence was only possible through the absorption, by the British authorities, of their section of the neutral ground into 'mainland' Gibraltar. The shifting of the boundary not only brought Gibraltar physically closer to Spain, it also redefined her territorial limits. Still, the question of proximity is a central consideration here as Stockey sets out to 'challenge the importance of a formal frontier as a dividing force between two communities', going as far as to suggest that these communities were so close by the first

half of the twentieth century that it might not be inaccurate to suggest that they functioned as one rather than two separate entities. Such a thesis raises all sorts of questions, especially when considered in light of the powerful geopolitical discourse that followed the closure of the frontier in 1969. The closure not only kept communities apart, but also gave rise to insecurity and the belief, on the part of Gibraltarians, that proximity to Spain, culturally or otherwise, challenged their Britishness, an important factor when it came to keeping the Spanish territorial claim at bay. These complex feelings and some of the historiography that followed tended to transplant the sentiments of 1969 onto the historical past as a means to explain Franco's decision to close the frontier.

Then again, these are precisely the readings that Stockey sets out to address; ones which he terms as 'present-day attitudes' (although these are increasingly less current), and which have served to define constructs of a Gibraltarian identity and perceptions of her relationship with Spain. The focus on the frontier has been such that the barriers (political, class, economic, institutional or linguistic ones) that existed within Gibraltar and between the Garrison and the civilian population were rarely discussed.

Stockey extends his challenge of a formal frontier to include discussion on those other barriers within, making this a very detailed study of Gibraltar society of the day. The emphasis Stockey gives to the complex levels of interactions is considerable and significant. He goes to great lengths to demonstrate that far from a divider, the border with Spain facilitated an economy and the transfer of cultural norms. We are also dealing with trans-border relationships based on dependencies; that of El Campo on the Gibraltar economy and just as important, that of Gibraltar on El Campo for a workforce. This very fact ensured, as Stockey argues, that every diplomatic effort was made during some very challenging times (see for example the Second World War and the threat posed by Spain's alliance with the Axis), to maintain fluidity across the frontier.

We see therefore, that despite diplomatic tensions and the more local ones stemming from, on the whole, the contraband trade, the frontier between Gibraltar and Spain operated with fluidity and ease. A fence or frontier constructed by officials may well have caused friction, but on the ground it did little to alter the relationship between Gibraltar and El Campo. Whether or not such interface led to these communities, or at least certain sectors from each, being more similar than dissimilar, or whether or not they functioned as one larger community rather two separate ones remains a compelling question. Stockey seems to suggest that it was during this first half of the twentieth century that Gibraltarians became progressively more 'socially, culturally, linguistically and increasingly politically', closer to El Campo. It would also be useful to look back to at least the nineteenth century to determine if this trend forms part of a natural progression, one which peaked in the twentieth century, or if we are dealing with a pattern of interactions informed by ruptures over a period of time. It is also interesting to note that it was precisely Gibraltar's status as a separate (from Spain) economic and sovereign jurisdiction

that fuelled, if not sustained, the impressive level and range of interactions across both spaces.

Jennifer Ballantine Perera, *Gibraltar*

Daniel Szechi, ed., *The Dangerous Trade: Spies, Spymasters and the Making of Europe*, University of Dundee Press: Dundee, 2010, xvi + 199 pp., 24 illus.; 9781845860608, £25.00 (hbk)

The Dangerous Trade: Spies, Spymasters and the Making of Modern Europe brings together a collection of essays which provide an important and accessible addition to the burgeoning works on early modern espionage. Focused strongly on 'espionage and covert action to defend the interests of the state' (2), Szechi draws together a series of studies of individual lives in which espionage or 'the dangerous game' was a significant component, although rarely a complete career. However these studies are not merely biographical, but engage also with the wider questions of direction, organizational structures and assessment of individual influence within the early modern state and the European state system, ranging from the sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century. Drawing heavily on contemporary scholarship and intelligence nomenclature for analytical structure, contributors seek to assess the success or failure of their subject in a shifting, patronage based system of personal networks largely without institutional intelligence structures. Influence is thus related to circumstance, opportunity and proven reliability as an agent or informer and, not infrequently, to formal diplomatic or military office.

Despite appointment as Spanish ambassador to Venice in 1571, Diego Guzmán de Silva is shown by Michael J. Levin to have failed in his attempt to read Venetian policy or influence it in Spain's favour. Designated as a 'case study in structural intelligence failure', Guzmán's difficulties in obtaining accurate information from one of the most secretive of states were never overcome. Steve Murdoch's study of Sir James Spens, a Scot appointed as ambassador to Sweden but whose loyalties spanned both countries, shows an effective spymaster who took full advantage of his contacts and opportunities to intervene in the complex relations between Sweden, Poland-Lithuania and Britain in the 1620s. Sir Robert Walsh's career in the mid-1650s as a failed royalist double agent provides an example of the opportunist adventurer. While recounting Walsh's failure to become a trusted agent either in the Royalist community in exile or with John Thurlow as intelligence chief to Cromwell, Alan Marshall uses Walsh's career to explore the methods and priorities of the Protectorate intelligence system, in the process casting doubt on the extent of Thurlow's control on intelligence in England during the 1650s and the amount of state finance devoted to intelligence gathering.

As in Walsh's case, espionage offered an opportunity for reinstatement and return from exile to the Spanish political and legal reformer Melchor de Macanaz. Christopher Storrs's account of Macanaz's exile in France from 1715 to 1760 examines his less well known interventions within the wider context of

Spanish policy and European politics, in which Mancanaz sought to provide diplomatic guidance and intelligence, drawing on secret correspondence, agent networks and occasional diplomatic appointments during the uncertainties of the French succession crisis and shifting diplomatic alliances. Paolo Preto's essay on Giacomo Casanova's short-lived career as a Venetian domestic informer highlights an episode which Casanova largely omitted from his *Histoire de ma vie*, but also explores the nature of Venetian intelligence during Venice's last years as an independent Republic, both as social fact and political instrument. Daniel Szechi's account of the career of Nathaniel Hooke explores the actions of a more successful agent, who used his contacts and a growing reputation for reliability to advocate covert operations in Scotland. Hooke acts as a focus for an analysis of the Jacobite exile community and French policy, and their attempts to undermine British involvement in the war of Spanish succession, culminating in an unsuccessful invasion attempt in 1708.

Although the subtitle of the work refers to the 'making of Europe' it is perhaps debatable how far the individuals mentioned had a direct influence in key events as many were failures and physically removed from direct involvement at court or government level. However this volume does illustrate the importance of the network and the individual as part of the system of intelligence and information transfer underlying diplomacy in early modern Europe, and in this sense they were undoubtedly part of the 'making' of it. Inevitably, given the format, the volume appears to be made up of a series of biographical vignettes, but the authors place their subjects firmly within their historical and historiographical contexts. The result is a well written and stimulating volume which will appeal to both the specialist intelligence scholar and those with interests in international diplomacy, exile communities and the states system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Louise Atherton, *University of East Anglia*

Toby Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels: Life and Death*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2009; 407 pp., 46 illus.; 9780230228894, £25.00 (hbk)

Toby Thacker has written an interesting and provocative biography of the dynamic Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. Thacker stresses Goebbels' close relationship with Adolf Hitler as the Nazis rose to power, his key role as Propaganda Minister during the war, and his surprisingly pivotal involvement in setting the stage for the Holocaust.

With a PhD in literature, Goebbels had far more formal education than any of the other Nazi leaders. Culture, particularly music, film and literature, were his passion, and Thacker describes how Goebbels used his skills as a writer to rise to prominence in the Nazi movement. As his political ideas began to form, he wrote articles and editorials to advocate for the cause. His diaries – 26 volumes in total – constituted another of his major writing projects. Thacker argues that, although

Goebbels had no hesitation about lying in his propaganda work, he scrupulously told the truth in his diaries, thus making them a tremendously important source for understanding the man, his hero Adolf Hitler, the Nazi movement, and the era.

During the Nazi drive towards power, Goebbels became a master of the many tools he would use as Propaganda Minister. He worked with Hans Schweitzer who, under the name Mölner, drew cartoons and posters, with Albert Speer to create rallies and parades, and with Leni Riefenstahl on films. Goebbels even used funerals to create martyrs and unify the faithful, most spectacularly in the case of the thug Horst Wessel whom he transformed into a national hero and whose poem he made into a second national anthem.

Thacker describes how Goebbels found his voice and became an enormously successful speaker, second only to Hitler in the Nazi movement. Goebbels particularly liked speaking to hostile audiences and, although small and with a deformed foot, relished the physical violence that accompanied the speeches as the Nazis drove towards power. Goebbels was an advocate of violence towards his enemies, particularly Germany's Jews.

His role in planning *Kristallnacht* was critical. 'I lay the whole matter before the *Führer*', Goebbels wrote in his diary. 'He agrees: let the demonstration proceed. The police to hold back. The Jews for once get a feeling of the Volk's anger. That is correct. I immediately give corresponding instructions to the police and party. Then I speak briefly before the party leadership. Strong applause. All rush straight to the telephone. Now the Volk will act'(206). Although Thacker makes the questionable assumption that Goebbels had a conscience of sorts, he argues that Goebbels had no sympathy for Jews. 'His racially centred view of the world', Thacker states, 'put the Jews beyond any of this [sense of conscience]; he considered them as a whole and without exception, so fiendish and diabolical that they merited absolutely no empathy' (207).

One of the striking features of the book is Thacker's argument that Goebbels played a major role in the development of Nazi policy. 'Although [Goebbels'] formal office as Propaganda Minister might suggest that he was involved directly only with presentation and with the manipulation of opinion', Thacker concludes, 'he used his position to intervene more widely in the formation of policy' (178).

Goebbels participated as the Nazi leadership discussed war. Violent as he was towards internal enemies, Goebbels initially feared war because he doubted Germany's capacity to win, and he advised Hitler to wait at least until Germany was better prepared. Then, caught up in the early military successes, he briefly envisioned victory, underestimated the Russians and Americans, and supported Hitler's public dismissive attitude towards Germany's enemies. Thacker thinks that Hitler underestimated the Americans, but there is evidence that he had a more accurate assessment of the Americans and knew they were key to Germany's defeat in World War I, even though he publicly attributed the defeat totally to enemies at home. Goebbels' enthusiasm wore off quickly, however, and he saw defeat coming long before Hitler acknowledged it.

Early in the book, Thacker focuses on Goebbels' unfulfilled relationships with women, particularly Anka Stahlherm and Else Janke, noting that these women saved themselves a great deal of grief by resisting Goebbels' sexual advances. In contrast, Magda Quandt, a divorcée, married Goebbels, had six children with him in spite of a continually stormy relationship, and shared suicide with him in Hitler's bunker in 1945 after poisoning their children. Hitler was close to Magda, and Thacker speculates that he might have considered her as a partner for himself. He played a role in their family life, mediated disputes, and pressured Goebbels to break off his relationship with his mistress, the Czech actress Lisa Barova.

This biography is an important addition to the study of the Nazi era and its successful Propaganda Minister. It raises important questions about how policy was made and what led to such key events as the Holocaust. All serious students of the Nazi regime should read it.

Paul Bookbinder, *University of Massachusetts Boston*

Richard Weikart, *Hitler's Ethic: The Nazi Pursuit of Evolutionary Progress*, Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2009; xiii + 254 pp.; 9780230618077, £55.00 (hbk); 9780230112735, £16.99 (pbk)

Never judge a book by its cover. Richard Weikart's study of Hitler's evolutionary views is a case in point. The woodcut image of lantern-jawed soldiery advancing, swastika flag aloft, towards their destiny does not really suggest scholarly sophistication or nuanced analysis. In fact the book looks like something found in a charity shop, sandwiched between *The Greatest Tank Battles in History* and *Luftwaffe Fighter Aces*. This is not an irrelevant observation, since a book entitled *Hitler's Ethic* is bound to provoke suspicion. Might this be some sensationalist tract seeking to cash in on the public's obsession with Nazi criminality? Weikart is clearly aware of those suspicions but does little to allay them in his introduction, which reads like a mixture of a television voiceover and the worst kind of undergraduate essay. Take his opening line, 'Why was Hitler so evil?' Most academic readers, unless tasked with reviewing the book, would surely have put it down at this point and never given it a second thought.

This is unfortunate since Weikart's book is a respectable piece of research. In nine densely referenced chapters, he takes us through Hitler's guiding philosophy, based on a close reading of the Führer's recorded utterances. The material examined is impressively comprehensive, ranging from the minor pieces of Hitler's early years, via the familiar core documents of Nazism, to the transcripts of secret addresses that have surfaced in recent years in Moscow (among the masses of material looted by the Russians after the war). Weikart knows his sources. What he says should therefore carry weight. He contends that Hitler's pronouncements amount to a coherent, if idiosyncratic ethical system, which guided the Nazi leader throughout his political and genocidal career.

The idea that men, knee-deep in blood, should nevertheless have regarded their murderous actions as 'ethical' may not be quite such a new thing. A decade ago or so Michael Burleigh wrote a book entitled *Ethics and Extermination* (a title curiously absent from Weikart's otherwise substantial bibliography); and the recognition that the Nazis believed in evolution is again not exactly ground-breaking. If the two principal premises of Weikart's study then are familiar enough, his study still has merit. The merit lies in the way he has combined the two, and backed them up with a systematic trawl of the documents. The result is a persuasive image of Hitler's personal belief-system: a kind of secular religion, based on a cult of evolutionary progress. As in all religions, there were moral imperatives. Nothing, in Hitler's universe, should be allowed to interfere with the laws of natural selection. Anything that kept the weak alive threatened to undermine evolutionary progress and was thus morally repugnant because it denied humanity the opportunity of genetic advance. Compassion, for Hitler, was not just perverse, it was *immoral*. Weikart reminds us that Hitler did not merely order the murder of disabled Germans but worried that fighting men, wounded at the front (but still potentially able to procreate), might not find a hospital bed because the wards were clogged up with those earmarked for destruction by Nature itself. There was, in other words, not just method in this murderous madness but moral purpose, albeit one that turned on its head the Christian precepts by which Europe had sought to live for centuries. This is an important finding. We shall have to be more careful in future in describing Hitler's policies as 'cynical' and 'amoral'. They may deserve that description by any objective standard but, as Weikart has shown, by *subjective* Nazi standards they were not. And those subjective standards are what shaped behaviour in the Third Reich.

This intriguing book has two notable weaknesses. One lies in its focus on Hitler. We are never told if Hitler's ethics were also Göring's or Goebbels', let alone the ethics of ordinary Germans. Weikart does mention at one point that Himmler was more radical than Walther Darré (and that Hitler backed Himmler). What is needed is a clearer sense of how 'Hitler's ethics' were disseminated within the party and at least some inkling of how far they were able to penetrate beyond. For there is a difference between obeying orders and regarding those orders as *morally* motivated.

The book's second weakness stems from its emphasis on intellectual developments *inside* Germany. Intentionally or not, Weikart plays down the wider ramifications. Yet Nazi racist and eugenic thought was dependent to quite a remarkable extent on Anglo-American antecedents. There was nothing remotely original about the Nazis. That intellectual debt matters because Hitler also repeatedly reminded his listeners that British and American history, in particular, was rich in episodes of mass murder, and that the Anglo-Saxons owed their present pre-eminence to the fact that they had embraced biological evolution, dispossessing the 'lesser races' on entire continents, and killing or deporting those 'natives' that got in the way. That, above all, is why the cover of Weikart's book is so unhelpful. It obscures the fact that Hitler had set out to copy what he regarded as the Anglo-American example.

If we are to understand 'Hitler's ethics', we need to acknowledge the raw racism that underpinned Western expansion and that was so closely enmeshed with self-exculpatory notions of evolutionary progress. 'Why was Hitler so evil?' Because he invariably tried to outdo those he wished to emulate.

Gerwin Strobl, *University of Cardiff*