

BULLETIN

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PREFACE

"What exactly does the German Historical Institute do?" All of us at the GHI have been confronted with this question at some point, and none of us can give a quick or simple response that does the Institute justice. The outlines of a proper answer can be found, however, in the Table of Contents of this issue of the *Bulletin*. The Features reflect the different types of public events the GHI organizes over the course of the year. Maestro Kurt Masur was the most recent in a series of distinguished *Zeitzeugen*—participants in pivotal events of the recent past—the GHI has brought to Washington as part of its public outreach program. Masur enchanted a capacity audience with his reflections upon his art and his role in East Germany's peaceful revolution of 1989. Ralf Dahrendorf qualifies as both *Zeitzeuge* and commentator. Whether as scholar, politician, or educator, Dahrendorf has been an eloquent participant in public debate for over forty years. "Enlightenment Applied, Enlightenment Betrayed: A Story of Liberty under Pressure," his contribution to this issue of the *Bulletin*, was delivered at a program jointly sponsored by Columbia University and the GHI in honor of renowned historian Fritz Stern, who, much like Dahrendorf, has long acted on his belief that scholars can and should speak out on issues of contemporary concern. The lecture by Gerhard A. Ritter and the comment by James J. Sheehan published in this issue of the *Bulletin* were presented at what could be described as a "classic" GHI event: a dialogue between two leading historians of Germany, one German, one American, on a critical point of intersection between their countries' historical professions. That the GHI seeks to promote scholarly dialogue across not only national but also disciplinary boundaries is evidenced by Anne Whiston Spirn's essay "Urban Nature and Human Design." Spirn, a pioneering landscape architect, was the keynote speaker at the conference "The Place of Nature in the City in Twentieth-Century Europe and North America." A report on that conference, which brought together scholars from nearly a dozen fields and a dozen countries, appeared in the Spring 2006 issue of the *Bulletin*.

The four projects described in the GHI Research section typify the different forms of historical scholarship the institute supports. GHI Research Fellow Bernd Schaefer is presently conducting interviews for an oral history of postwar German-American relations. Research Fellow Christoph Strupp, in a collaborative project with the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg, is preparing an edition of American consular reports from Germany dating from the time of Hitler's ascent to power to

Germany's declaration of war on the United States nine years later. Frank Uekötter, the recipient of the GHI's 2005 Breuninger Fellowship, is writing a monograph on the environmental history of agriculture. With the financial assistance of the Gerda Henkel Stiftung, GHI Research Fellow Simone Lässig and Cornelia Wilhelm of Rutgers University are compiling a guide to source materials on the history of German Jews in the United States. Oral history, source edition, monograph, reference work: research takes many forms at the GHI.

What exactly does the GHI do? "Organize conferences" is the answer that the 500 or so scholars who participate each year in GHI-sponsored seminars and symposia, workshops, and conferences might give. In recent years, an ever-larger portion of the GHI's conferences have looked beyond North America and Europe. Some of our conferences, such as "Removing Peoples: Forced Migration in the Modern World" and "Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and the Environment," set out to compare a broad range of case histories drawn from across the world. Others, notably "German *Ostpolitik*, 1969–1974: The European and Global Response," attempt to bring a global perspective to topics and issues traditionally set in more circumscribed analytical frameworks. The GHI's encouragement of work in comparative and world history does not come at the expense of its traditional core areas of concentration. Conferences such as "Crossovers: African Americans and Germany" and "Max Liebermann and the Course of German History" testify to the GHI's ongoing commitment to the fields of American and German history.

Many of the conferences and other events described in this issue of the *Bulletin* were organized by the GHI in cooperation with other institutions. An important though seemingly invisible partner in a large share of the GHI's collaborative ventures is the Friends of the German Historical Institute. The Friends provide crucial financial support for programs such as the one in honor of Fritz Stern mentioned above. Likewise, it was only thanks to assistance from the Friends that the GHI was able to host the fascinating theatrical experiment "The Lights are Going Out All Over Europe"; and the Friends also play an important role in the documentation project on the German anti-Nazi resistance that has been made possible by Judith and Horst von Oppenfeld. On behalf of the entire staff of the GHI, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Friends of the GHI for their engagement on the Institute's behalf.

Christof Mauch

FEATURES

MY RELATIONSHIP TO BEETHOVEN

Seventh Gerd Bucerius Lecture, Washington DC, May 31, 2006

Kurt Masur

Music Director, Orchestre National de France

Principal Conductor, London Philharmonic

The Bucerius Lecture Series, endowed in memory of the publisher Gerd Bucerius, honors individuals who have made important contributions to the development of civil society. This year's lecture honored the conductor Kurt Masur, Gewandhauskapellmeister of the renowned Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig from 1970 to 1996, who played an important role in the peaceful revolution of 1989 in East Germany. Kurt Masur spoke about his long engagement with the composer Ludwig van Beethoven, offering many spontaneous asides and anecdotes, and even occasionally breaking into song. He then answered audience questions at length. Since no printed text can capture this remarkable performance, we only print selected excerpts here. A video recording of the lecture will be available on DVD. If you would like a free copy of this DVD, please send an email to events@ghi-dc.org by January 31, 2007.

Discovering Beethoven

We wanted to talk about Beethoven. My story is very personal and I will try to show you a little bit how things changed. Of course, my picture of Beethoven is not completed yet. I am still growing into it, I am still studying it, but it is much more than it was at the beginning. When I was five years old, I was often alone. Therefore I discovered a piece of furniture, which was called the piano. I was five years old and my mother was not there, my sisters weren't there. So I went up to the piano and I started to try to play all the tunes I had learned, children's songs and so on. This was my beginning with music. After a while, I discovered that I never felt alone again because I could communicate with the music. I later discovered that this was the source of my feelings about music. How much I still need it today. I still need to make music to stay healthy. When I was ten years old, I finally got a piano teacher. Then I started playing some Beethoven piano pieces and discovered others. And I wanted to know more about him.

Then, when I was six years old, Mr. Hitler came to power. And then Beethoven played a very important role because of his heroism. And

Beethoven became a hero! A “German hero,” of course. He had lived and worked in Vienna, but this was his mistake. As far as the Nazis were concerned, he was born in Bonn, and that was that. While making Beethoven an example for every German could be seen as a positive sign, the Nazi image of Beethoven meant forgetting about the Beethoven who was full of humor, love, romanticism, imagination, and philosophy. And, of course, Hitler never mentioned that Beethoven subscribed to the ideals of the French revolution: liberty, equality, fraternity. These ideals were a kind of guiding light in Beethoven’s life from beginning to end. It has been fascinating for me to discover this again and again, as I read the scores.

My path was, of course, typically German. I was in high school and then I became a soldier to try to save Germany. As you know, fortunately without success. Then I came to the conclusion: What was your life until now? I became a soldier at the age of seventeen. I left for war together with 135 youngsters, all 17 years old, and we fought in Holland, and of 135 only 27 returned. When we arrived back in Emden, in northern Germany, the first thing I discovered was a piano and I started to play for my fellows. And some of them shouted: “Stop it! I cannot bear that anymore.” So music can hurt, also. As beauty can hurt, if you lost someone. For me, however, in these postwar circumstances, Beethoven played a very important role. One simply feels the enormous strength of this man. Think about the beginning of the Ninth Symphony. It is like darkness, like chaos, beginning and ending with the *Ode to Joy*. What Beethoven achieved he achieved because he believed that God gave him a talent, which gave him the duty to be as good as he could be, to use his talent and to take a message to the people. This was for me the most fascinating thing because I thought, if you want to be a musician, this is the only way your life makes sense. Not to show people how good you are, but to make them believe and to learn, to understand what music can mean.

Conducting

We cannot measure nineteenth-century conducting by the standards of our time. In the nineteenth century, orchestras were led in a way where everybody tried to do what they wanted. Regarding Beethoven, we know that he tried to lead the orchestra still in the Ninth Symphony performance, but he had lost his hearing. There was an assistant behind him who tried to help. The Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra played all nine Beethoven symphonies in his lifetime in a cycle without a conductor. The *Gewandhauskapellmeister*, the musical director of the orchestra, only conducted concerts if there was a choir or a soloist. The first conductor you can call a conductor in the modern sense was Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn was the first conductor who insisted at the Gewandhaus Orchestra that

he would be conducting everything. He did not want to let the orchestra play only alone because, he said, the conductor's leadership was not technical but to inspire the orchestra, to have a musical unity, to try to make people understand what the music means.

Beethoven and Shostakovich

I went to meet Shostakovich in Moscow in 1974 for the first time, and then again in 1975. And then I told him that I would like, on his birthday, to start a concert cycle with the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra with all his symphonies in one half and all Beethoven's symphonies in the other half. And he asked me: Why? And I said: Shostakovich, both you and Beethoven reflect the happenings of your times. It was not only the *Leningrad Symphony*; there was a lot of other music where Shostakovich was with his people. When I started this cycle in Leipzig, people said: Masur is crazy, he will not have an audience. There's a very nice story about that. At the first concert we played Beethoven's First Symphony in the first half, and Shostakovich's First Symphony in the second. So I started with the Beethoven symphony, and after the break, 30 percent of the audience had left because they did not want to hear Shostakovich. This was not only because of the composer, but because of the animosity toward the Russian people after the Second World War. The next evening, I turned around to face the audience and announced that because of technical reasons, we would start with Shostakovich. And the cycle of concerts became a success. People understood, and suddenly they understood Shostakovich. Shostakovich was one of the greatest composers of symphonic pieces in the twentieth century.

Masur's Role in East Germany's "Peaceful Revolution" of 1989

The peaceful revolution was not my work; the media gave me the role because I was one of the best-known people in Leipzig at that time. To be *Gewandhauskapellmeister* in Leipzig does not just mean being the conductor of the orchestra. The Gewandhaus was the pride of the city for centuries. This meant that the Gewandhaus was an institution in which people believed. I was happy to be there and to be one of those who were brave enough to try to make people see: we have to change, something must be changed, but peacefully. It was a miracle. On the crucial evening seventy thousand people demonstrated in the streets of Leipzig, and not one window was broken—because of the intelligence of the people. They avoided violence because they wanted to achieve what they desired: freedom of thinking. It was not about German unification at that moment. They did not want to be West German people; they did want to be free. So my role was that of one citizen among the whole city.

ENLIGHTENMENT APPLIED, ENLIGHTENMENT BETRAYED: A STORY OF LIBERTY UNDER PRESSURE

*Lecture delivered at a symposium in honor of Fritz Stern, at
Columbia University, New York, February 27, 2006*

Ralf Dahrendorf

Member, British House of Lords

Former Director, London School of Economics

This lecture is dedicated to Fritz Stern on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. The great historian of the modern world has explored many of the varieties of history, but two themes stand out in his work because they have engaged his passions as well as his mind. One is the painful question of Germans and Jews, or more precisely, the German Question as seen in terms of the Jewish destiny in that country. The other theme is that of enlightened values, their emergence and spread, their early detractors, their decline and almost fall when so many succumbed to the temptations of totalitarianism, their eventual victory but also the continuing threats to their prevalence.

This is by no means just a German story. It is one of many if not all countries, including the standard-bearers of a free world. Thus it is also a story of the United States of America. Since my theme will be that of Enlightenment values under pressure, the American experience will never be far from my argument. The case is, however, more general. Liberty is never safely and irreversibly given. In fact its unchallenged presence is the exception rather than the rule. Humans, I shall argue, are probably not liberal by nature. They miss liberties when they are absent, but they take them for granted when there is no immediate threat. It is this circumstance which makes authoritarianism such a widely tolerated condition that one is tempted to call it normal. The early twenty-first century is certainly a period in which a creeping authoritarianism is threatening to become the dominant characteristic of what can no longer unreservedly be called a free world. In these circumstances, the defense of the liberal values of the Enlightenment becomes a task for an active minority. Fortunately there are some who are prepared to face this task. They keep the flame of liberty alive against the odds. Fritz Stern is one of them, and there is every reason to praise him and encourage those who share his sense of active liberty.

In the early 1960s I wrote a little book about “society and sociology in America” and gave it the title *Enlightenment Applied*. In this book I ex-

plored not just the notion of practical rationality but three features of American society which embody the liberal tradition of the Enlightenment: equality, mobility, and community. By equality I meant Tocqueville's notion of democracy in America, that is to say the assumption and increasingly also the reality of civic equality. Mobility was the answer to Werner Sombart's question "Why Is There no Socialism in the United States?" Its thrust is that people believe that they can achieve by individual effort what elsewhere requires collective action. Community referred to the strange fact that despite high mobility a sense of cohesion was characteristic of the American ideology if not reality. At the time I made much of David Riesman's *Lonely Crowd*; more recently Amitai Etzioni and communitarianism would have provided examples. Underlying such analysis is the difficult question: What are the conditions under which the constitution of liberty thrives? The social scientist in me has always looked for structural conditions. The way in which conflict is handled plays a part; in Germany it was unfortunately not Kant's acceptance of the "unsociable sociability of man" by which civil society thrives, but Hegel's belief in the state as the "reality of the moral ideal" which determined public thinking and policy. Fritz Stern in his numerous approaches to the subject concentrated more on attitudes. His justly famous dissertation on *The Politics of Cultural Despair* sees a deep cultural rejection of modernity as one of the obstacles to liberty and to applied enlightenment. Either way, it is what Immanuel Kant called (with a phrase that is hard to translate) the *selbstverschuldete Unmündigkeit* of people which provides the energy for illiberal forces. Literally, Kant's term means "self-inflicted minority," a deliberate refusal to grow up and come of age.

Some countries developed early the social structures and public attitudes which helped them resist the illiberal temptations of the twentieth century. Neither fascism nor communism gained much of a foothold in Britain, or in the United States, or in a number of smaller countries like Sweden and Switzerland. Others, and notably Germany, fell for the temptation of National Socialism with disastrous consequences for Europe and the world. I was one of those who (in a book on *Society and Democracy in Germany*) set out to explore the features of Germany's "special path" into the modern world. Fritz Stern the historian did not find the debate of Germany's *Sonderweg* particularly useful. In a sense, every country has found its own *Sonderweg* into the modern world. But given the Holocaust—and his own family history—he also sought to identify the unique features of German history. Today I too am convinced that others are equally unique. This is notably true for my country of choice, Britain, which I used as the template for modernization in freedom. Britain resisted the temptations of totalitarianism because it had managed to absorb into its strong tradition of civil society and democratic government

many of the forces of modernity which proved so disruptive in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Britain in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s was far from a perfect democracy. It had strong elements of privilege and resembled more Aristotle's polity with its mix of democratic and aristocratic ingredients. But as it engaged in the slow yet stubbornly advancing process of modernization and democratization, it was able to use its change-promoting political institutions while keeping civil society strong. Similar analyses may be possible for other countries which in their various ways kept the liberal tradition alive. But my point in this lecture is a different one. Having resisted the two great totalitarian threats in the twentieth century is a remarkable achievement for countries as for individuals. We all benefit from the fact that in the end a free world prevailed. But history provides no guarantee for the future. It is by no means certain that those who proved immune to communism and fascism will be equally resistant when it comes to new threats to liberty. The task of defending freedom never ends, and today it may be as demanding in some old democracies as it is in countries that have found their way to liberty more recently.

On re-reading my book on America as the home of applied enlightenment, I was struck by the skeptical, even gloomy tone of the chapter on "democracy and social structure in America." It was clearly determined by the Eisenhower years. I spoke of the sobering phenomena of the lost dynamism of the country, the imperfections of civil rights, the dissipation, indeed dissolution, of the sense of community, the forward march of the "unpolitical American." I thought I detected the emergence of "a new form of authoritarian government" and warned of the betrayal of enlightenment by a new version of *selbstverschuldete Unmündigkeit*. American society, I wrote, "needs the liberal imagination more urgently than ever before." This tone was to no small extent the result of several extended North American visits in the late 1950s and early 1960s. One of the most impressive persons I met at that time (thanks to Fritz Stern) was Richard Hofstadter. It pays to re-read his books today. What I called *applied* enlightenment he saw as "anti-intellectualism." He mocked the insistence on "practicality," thus the absence of respect for what his friend and colleague Lionel Trilling called the "liberal imagination." This made the Great Inquisition—McCarthyism—possible, which was directed "against liberals, New Dealers, reformers, internationalists, intellectuals, and finally even against a Republican administration that failed to reverse liberal policies." But Hofstadter the historian also knew that this was at the most one-half of the "American political tradition." In his book under this title he shows how time after time presidents of the United States advocated and brought about change in the name of America's traditional values. Whenever the country got stuck in a phase of authoritarian

rule, someone would remind it of the values of enlightened American rationality, of democracy and opportunity. Hence the Progressive Era, the New Deal, and later the New Frontier and the Great Society. There is no other country with a similar capacity to get out of the rut, though there may be few which from time to time get as deeply into it as the United States of America.

But I am rushing ahead of an analysis which has yet to be offered, the analysis of enlightenment betrayed. There can be little doubt that, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the great democracies are recommending to the rest of the world, indeed imposing on it, a socio-economic and political system which is under threat in their own backyard. Liberty is under pressure in the United States, in Britain, and in other traditionally democratic countries. More than in the 1950s, a creeping authoritarianism has set in which begins to threaten the values which have attracted generations to the United States and still inform the rhetoric of its political leaders.

Two trends in particular need to be mentioned. One is institutional; it is the simultaneous increase in the control of civic life by the executive and public indifference. As the longstanding chairman of the Select Committee on Delegated Powers of Britain's House of Lords, I have watched the frightening increase of the number and range of enabling clauses in government-sponsored legislation. At this moment we are considering an entire bill—the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill—which would enable Secretaries of State to bypass parliament over a wide range of matters and govern by orders which cannot be amended in the legislature. (The House of Commons has no committee to check such developments and is liable to pass such bills without protest, indeed virtually without debate.) This is a technical issue, but it is not unrelated to the growing number of acts of legislation that restrict civil liberties, often in the name of the fight against terrorism. To take the British example again: While we do not have a Patriot Act, we are debating—and no doubt enacting—almost simultaneously the prosecution of expressions of racial hatred at the expense of freedom of speech, the introduction of identity cards and a national register to go with it, and measures to extend the period of detention without trial. In fact, almost every measure now put before the Parliament of Westminster aims to restrict civil liberties rather than to extend them.

Perhaps a certain built-in authoritarian tendency of the executive is not altogether surprising. What makes it worrying is the near-total absence of public protest. Totalitarianism is based on the permanent mobilization of all; it may be hard to fight but it is clear to see. Authoritarianism is more insidious. Public acquiescence is an important part of it. People simply lose interest. Indeed, if and when they are asked, they are

just as likely to accept and support restrictions of their liberties in the desire for the security of a quiet life. The present British government owes its 65-seat parliamentary majority to 20 percent of the total electorate (35 percent of those who turned out to vote)—a civic apathy familiar from the American experience but now spreading everywhere. So what are people interested in? This takes us to the second trend of the time that puts liberty under pressure. There is now a widespread and profound quest for security among the citizens of democracies. I have long been a little puzzled by the peroration to one of my favorite books, the first volume of Karl Popper's *Open Society*: "But if we wish to remain human, then there is only one way, the way into the open society. We must go on into the unknown, the uncertain and insecure, using what reason we may have to plan for both security and freedom." Security and freedom: does "security" really belong here? And are the two compatible? But then we remember that this was written in the middle of the Second World War. The security of which Popper spoke was quite elementary; it was the security of civil government which Thomas Hobbes yearned for and which a generation and a civil war later John Locke described. Today, the quest for security has taken on a different complexion. Now it is on the one hand social security which has come to be under pressure in an age of economic globalization. On the other hand it is the security of emotional certainties.

To those of us who have lived through the great temptations of the twentieth century, this "fear of freedom" (to quote but one author of the time, Erich Fromm) is not altogether new. In one of his most brilliant and profound essays, Fritz Stern has dissected "National Socialism as a Temptation"; that is, the way in which this ideology filled a void sensed by many in their lives. The other temptation, that of communism, was if anything an even more effective and certainly longer-lasting ersatz religion. "The God that failed" (as Richard Crossman entitled his collection of confessions by communist renegades) may have been a false deity but it certainly took the place of religion in the minds of those who had lost the religion of their fathers. Manes Sperber, who rediscovered freedom and became one of its staunch defenders, has described the hopes and pains of this process unforgettably in his novels and autobiographical volumes.

What is happening today is not quite the same. There are no organized ideologies on which a new totalitarianism could be based, not even the militant wing of fundamentalist Islam. But there is a spreading mood which can only be described as a new wave of counter-Enlightenment. It takes many different forms. Religious fundamentalism is certainly one of them, and it is not confined to Islam. Much of it is in fact evangelical, though perhaps not in any sense Protestant. As widespread as funda-

mentalism are probably the more diffuse versions of counter-Enlightenment sentiments. There is the disappointment with the ideas and institutions of liberalism. People do not warm to them, and of course they are cool, just as reason itself is at best a quiet passion. Disappointment feeds public apathy. It may also feed a variety of escape mechanisms, ranging from withdrawal into a strictly private world at a time at which there is no compelling need or excuse for it, to more extreme modes of behavior, to drugs and dysfunctional activities of one kind or another. In any case, the heroes of our time are not the men and women of reason but those who raise and represent emotions. Raymond Aron was one of the great Enlightenment figures of the last century, whereas his *petit camarade* Jean-Paul Sartre fell for most fashions of the time; but as was evident when they died, it was Sartre who brought many thousands to their feet in the *cortège* to Montmartre.

Relativism, too, is a version of counter-Enlightenment. Ernest Gellner has brought the three—relativism, fundamentalism and what he calls “Enlightenment Puritanism”—into play in his beautiful Kings College (Cambridge) sermon of 1992 on “The Uniqueness of Truth.” The three are locked in a hopeless struggle in which each can overcome the other, only to be overcome in turn, “a little like the children’s game of scissors, paper, stone: scissors cut paper, paper covers stone, stone blunts scissors.” But Gellner does not leave it there. Relativism, the notion that anything goes, may be fashionable in academia but is also marked by “affectation, insincerity, self-contradiction, hidden condescension.” While its sense of toleration is laudable, it is lacking one key ingredient of enlightened thought: “Our world is indeed a plural one, but it is based on the uniqueness of truth.” Fundamentalism after all? No; Gellner adds for good measure that while truth matters, it is not revealed. It has to be sought, and this is probably an unending quest. Gellner takes the children’s game to its bitter end: “The Fundamentalist and the Enlightenment Puritan share a sense of and respect for the uniqueness of truth; the Enlightenment Puritan and the Relativist share a penchant for tolerance; and the Relativist and the Fundamentalist share a reasonably well furnished, habitable world, as opposed to the arid emptiness of the world of the Enlightenment Puritan.”

Why then be an Enlightenment Puritan? Here the Czech-born Englishman Gellner took refuge in the pragmatism of his adopted country. The enlightened view has worked rather well, and we should count our blessings. This may not be quite enough, and is certainly less than the remarkable philosopher-social scientist did before his early death. He did much to improve (to cite his last book) the *Conditions of Liberty* in the post-communist world. For liberal minds this was a rewarding task whose success became ever more evident. It was a joy to be alive in those

years after the revolution of 1989. While the blossoming economic landscapes which the German Chancellor Kohl promised took and still take a long time in coming, civil society was blossoming in East and South East Europe, and parliamentary democracy looked like it was taking root. Above all, people loved their new freedoms, reading newspapers and watching television, speaking their minds, making choices, and perhaps above all travelling to see the world that was closed to them for so long. For a while, liberty was positively popular. But, alas, only for a while. When the protagonists of the revolution of 1989 met again ten years later, the "normalization" which they had all fought for had begun to happen, and most of them did not like it. Where was the "new politics" of which they had dreamt? Worse still, how could people return to vote for the rulers whom they had got rid of in apparent triumph a decade ago? It was then that I thought for the first time: Apparently, humans are not naturally liberal. Enlightenment, pure or applied, is the exception rather than the rule. It is above all a minority concern, much as it is aimed at all men and women and their freedom. Given normalization, many, indeed the majority, will fall back into a mood of unconcern about public affairs.

The paradox has a tragic element. The battle for freedom is *inter alia* a battle to allow people to live their lives without having to defend their privacy. When public events interfere deeply in our lives, as they did in Fritz Stern's and mine, things have gone wrong. Self-determined private lives and civil society are the signs of a free world. But privatization in this sense, putting the state and politics in their place, also opens the gates to authoritarian trends. And whereas totalitarianism is intrinsically catastrophic, authoritarianism of the milder sort can last a long time. Only those who live by freedom will actively mind. Most will accept it and adjust without even noticing. Thus the gain of liberty is also the source of new threats to it.

What is the answer? Indeed, is there an answer? The German answer to these questions has some attraction. It was impressively given by the country's first postwar president, Theodor Heuss, a man of liberal persuasion and historical depth. He insisted that democracies need democrats, and democrats need to be educated as such. Thus, political education is the answer. In the Federal Republic of Germany, a great deal of money and time goes into political education. The same is true in other European countries. Even in the United Kingdom, successive Speakers of the House of Commons have come to promote "citizenship studies" (as it is called). All this is fine, and it should continue. There are no signs, however, of such civic education leading to an increase in the turnout of first and second voters, nor does the study of citizenship have a noticeable impact on resistance to encroachments on civil liberties.

At the risk of surprising an audience steeped in the democratic tradition I have to inform you that my own conclusion from nearly a lifetime of thought and experience is that an active minority is needed to defend the cause of liberty. When the drowsiness of normalization envelops most people's lives, and a nomenklatura class manages to cement its power without having to fear challenge, those of us who realize that liberty is as crucial to life as the air which we breathe have to remain alert and active. It may be that intellectuals have a special role to play at such times, but they have no monopoly of the liberal imagination, even less of the gut sense of liberty. Of the alternatives of Albert Hirschman's *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*, voice should never be underrated, and voice is by no means confined to intellectuals however much they may enjoy talking. Fritz Stern is very concerned about the United States of America today, and I dare say he is not the only one. "I have become ever more concerned," he writes, "that this country's generous liberal spirit, itself ever in need of renewal and correction, has in the last half century been under attack. I opposed the radical detractors of liberalism in the 1960s and since then I have watched pseudo-conservatives and fundamentalists undermine the nation's famous commitment to reason and tolerance." But if the outsider who has long admired and liked the United States is allowed an observation, it would be: Do not despair. The United States of America not only has the active minority which exercises moral vigilance on behalf of the country's liberal tradition, it also has the capacity for change. Change without violence is one of the first virtues of democracy, and American democracy shows no sign of wishing to default on that virtue. Thus liberty is under pressure, it needs the voices of those who care, and in this country more than most others, hope for a revival of the enlightened spirit of liberty is well-founded in its history of institutions. Thus the reversal of the trends which put liberty under pressure may well be just around the corner in this country and, I hope, in others as well.

Lord Dahrendorf's original lecture has been edited for publication.

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MEINECKE'S PROTÉGÉS: GERMAN ÉMIGRÉ HISTORIANS BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Lecture delivered at the GHI on May 15, 2006

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The basis for this lecture is a new edition of letters from the papers of Friedrich Meinecke, the founder of the history of ideas in Germany.¹ The selected letters illuminate Meinecke's relationship with those of his students who were forced to emigrate after 1933 and show these students' close bond with their teacher, to whom they reported about their lives in the United States and about their scholarly plans, and whom they helped after the war by supplying CARE packages and medicines unavailable in Germany. The letters from Meinecke's papers have been supplemented when possible by letters and notes from the papers of the émigré scholars as well as by analysis of certain aspects of their research.

The letters allow us to explore many questions, including the question of German-Jewish identity. The letters throw light on emigration and remigration, on restitution, and on the lives and scholarly development of Meinecke's students. Here, I will deal primarily with the tension between their love for their native country and their loyalty to and affection for the United States, which had offered them refuge and the opportunity to continue their scholarly careers after they had been driven from Germany. Meinecke tried to persuade his students to return to Germany after the war or at least to accept visiting professorships and to participate in German historical research projects. In a letter to his successor as editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, Ludwig Dehio, dated July 21, 1947, Meinecke recommended his students Hajo Holborn, Felix Gilbert, Hans Rosenberg, and Helene Wieruszowski. "On the whole, I have the impression that these Jewish émigré historians do not look upon our fate with émigré resentment, that they know and understand us better than the Americans, and that they could do much good for our scholarship as intermediaries." Time and again, he and his wife commented with great feeling on the "loyalty" of his former students teaching in America, and they were especially proud of them.

I have selected Hajo Holborn, Dietrich Gerhard, and Hans Rosenberg for discussion here because in my opinion they best illustrate the challenge of grappling with life in two worlds. For reasons of time, I have to exclude a number of other Meinecke protégés such as the great Renaissance historian Felix Gilbert, the major founder of *Zeitgeschichte* in Ger-

many Hans Rothfels, the Bolivar-biographer Gerhard Masur, the Renaissance scholar Hans Baron, who alone among the émigré scholars did not resume contact with Meinecke after 1945, and the medievalist Helene Wieruszowski. Some of them will, however, figure in my conclusions. I will also only marginally touch on Meinecke, although there is much new that could be said about his relationship to the United States and American historians.

Hajo Holborn

Hajo Holborn (1902–1969) was the son of Ludwig Holborn, the noted physicist and one of the directors of the Imperial Institute for Physics and Technology; he grew up in the academic world of Berlin. Holborn had to emigrate because his wife, his closest collaborator and translator of many of his works, was the daughter of a Jewish professor of medicine. Moreover, Holborn was also a committed democrat and supporter of the Weimar Republic.

Holborn felt obliged to become active in public life. He wrote to his older friend Dietrich Gerhard on October 14, 1924 that although he would never abandon history as a profession, he was still lured by the thought of “direct participation in public life,” a “yearning,” he wrote, “that at times robbed [me] of all inner calm.” He thought, however, that Gerhard was probably right in thinking that his interests in scholarship and politics could in principle be reconciled, perhaps even melded together.

Holborn’s historical work initially focused on traditional diplomatic history—his doctoral dissertation was a study of German-Turkish relations from 1878 to 1890—and the era of the Reformation. In collaboration with his wife, Holborn published a selection of the writings of Erasmus of Rotterdam, and his Heidelberg *Habilitationsschrift* was a biography of Ulrich von Hutten. Working in the tradition of the history of ideas developed by Meinecke, Holborn linked the shaping of Hutten’s character to humanism, nascent national consciousness, and Protestantism, but he also made clear the importance of Hutten’s social position as a knight.

In 1929, the Imperial Historical Commission [Historische Reichskommission], which Meinecke chaired, commissioned Holborn to write a history of the origin of the Weimar constitution. His search for source material and contemporary witnesses brought him into direct contact with leading German politicians of the day. This project marked Holborn as a confirmed supporter of Weimar democracy, which greatly diminished the chance that any German university would offer him a professorship. Nevertheless, in 1931 he was appointed to the professorship in history and international relations funded at the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik in Berlin by the Carnegie Foundation. The appointment was

only temporary, however, and he combined it with a teaching position as a *Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin. His research on the Weimar constitution, the extensive source materials for which can be found among his papers at the Yale University Library, resulted in several essays, but not in the envisioned book.

Holborn clearly thought at first that his emigration would be temporary. He wrote to Dietrich Gerhard on September 11, 1933 that they were not leaving "in a bitter frame of mind": "We feel ourselves no less tied to all that you treasure. But we do not want to be in a position where we would have to offend against what we see as our responsibility and obligation to our background and our intellectual position . . . for the time being, that means only remaining true to one's profession and one's self and making the best of one's fate. Thus I am trying to conceive of our departure now as a sort of study trip that will one day end [with us] at home again."

Thanks to family connections, and with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, Holborn found a permanent position in his field much more quickly than the Meinecke students who were to arrive in the United States later. He taught at Yale University with only a few interruptions from 1934 until his death in 1969, rising from assistant professor to holder of a prestigious endowed chair. Without abandoning his deep grounding in the cultural and intellectual world of Europe, he very consciously became an American. In a long letter to Meinecke dated February 7, 1935, he reported on the difficulties in getting settled, but he also stressed the readiness of the German émigrés to help one another and the generally friendly reception he had experienced in his host country. He commented perceptively on the fundamental differences in the effects of the international economic crisis on Europe and the United States: "It is amazing to see what has become of the self-confident and optimistic Americans over the past five years. Young people above all have been shaken in their beliefs and traditions. It is interesting to see how the crisis has made people here more socially aware and more liberal. They have become more open and less prejudiced than they had previously been. European matters have always been studied, but what had earlier been more a matter of curiosity is now an instrument of serious comparison. Under these circumstances, the activities of the Germans here might perhaps be truly fruitful."

Like the other Meinecke students who emigrated to the United States, Holborn was a supporter of President Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. In his view, two "tremendous transformations of almost revolutionary scale" that had fundamentally changed contemporary America had been brought about. The first was the "permanent establishment of a

new middle-class democracy in place of the former predominance of the rich and the most affluent groups." "This far-reaching social transformation," he argued in 1955, "meant the end of classical laissez-faire capitalism in the economic sphere and the realization of a social-liberal system that many people would call in plain terms welfare-state liberalism. The second and even greater revolution was America's abandonment of the policy of isolation and its new position in international politics." Holborn saw his great task as a political educator in the United States to be to support this second revolution, to help accustom the Americans to great power politics, and to improve their understanding of Europe and Germany in particular.

During the war, Holborn served as the special assistant to William Langer, the famous historian of international relations, at the time Director of Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Studies, the forerunner of the CIA. He was the contact to the War Department's civilian affairs division and was involved in planning for postwar military government, on which he published a book in 1947. After the war, too, Holborn played a direct role in politics. He served as an advisor to the State Department on German issues, and in 1960 he became director of the American Council on Germany. In the latter capacity, he served both as an interpreter of Germany in the United States and as an advocate of American policy in the Federal Republic.

Holborn's most important achievement in the long run was the development of German and Central European history as a recognized subdiscipline at American universities. He could count some of the most important postwar American historians of Germany among his students: Leonard Krieger, Otto Pflanze, Theodore S. Hamerow, Arno J. Mayer, Richard N. Hunt, Herman Lebovics, and Charles McClelland, to name only a few. When Meinecke asked him in March 1946 whether he thought it possible that émigrés who had become American citizens would accept academic appointments in Germany, he indicated that he himself would not out of consideration for his children and his students. In a letter to Meinecke of September 23, 1946, he wrote:

In general I would love nothing better than to help German historians to rebuild historical studies in Germany and you may call on me any time you think I could be of help. . . . However, I would not consider accepting an appointment at a German university. Our children are American children. They have spent all their formative years in this country, and if we go back to Germany they would be exiles. Knowing what that means, we certainly would not want them to go through that experience unnecessarily. Moreover, we have not become American citizens in

name only. We are deeply devoted to the country of our adoption. We have been happy here after getting through the first years of difficult adjustment. I have been particularly lucky in attracting a large number of unusually good students. Some of them are already teaching in various places; others, delayed by the War, will soon start their academic careers. I do not feel that I could leave them. I believe it to be my function in life to finish the task of helping to educate and train a new generation of college teachers of European history in this country and I feel that by doing this I shall contribute at least indirectly to maintaining or rebuilding German historical research.

He was prepared, however, to visit Germany on a regular basis and to teach and publish in Germany.

As for the country of his birth, Holborn thought he could make a contribution to political education by supporting democracy and the integration of Germany within the reconstruction of Europe. It would take us too far astray to discuss Holborn's writings on German history in detail here, especially his three-volume history of Germany since the Reformation. He sought a critical evaluation of German history. He rejected the argument that the failures of the past were rooted in national character, as well as the notion that there was a clear line of development leading from Luther via Frederick the Great and Bismarck to Hitler. Holborn was especially concerned to defend Luther against his critics. In Holborn's view, Germany first set off on the path to disaster in the early nineteenth century. He outlines his thoughts on this topic in what is probably his most important essay, "German Idealism in the Light of Social History" [*"Der deutsche Idealismus in sozialgeschichtlicher Betrachtung"*], which, tellingly, was published in the festschrift for Meinecke in 1952. German idealism, he argued, was the creation of a small educated elite. It did not have a fundamental understanding of the importance of religion and the churches in integrating society, and it thereby contributed to the deepening of social division and the detaching of Germany from the Enlightenment and the European natural law tradition. By stressing the importance of the power of the state and also with its promotion of a culture of inwardness, idealism distracted from the problem of overcoming the authoritarian state. In this essay, Holborn implicitly took issue with Meinecke, who had not considered the connection between ideas and social development in his work on intellectual history. In a debate with Meinecke in 1950, Holborn, invoking Ranke, stressed the moral responsibility of all individuals and all peoples for their decisions. The responsibility of power was a central theme of Holborn's historical

writing and, quite appropriately, the title of the festschrift published in his honor.

Holborn remained firmly convinced of the importance of the history of ideas and made it the subject of his presidential address to the American Historical Association; he was, incidentally, the first historian not born in the United States elected to that office. This address demonstrated his deep grounding in ancient Greek thought and European, especially German, culture. It also testifies to his long engagement with the history of ideas. In Holborn's view, the history of ideas was the field that best conveyed the unity of the past and its significance for the present. He warned against the danger of a fragmentation of history through increasing specialization within the historical profession, and held firm to his belief that the task of history was to study human nature within its social context. He underscored the central importance of historical thinking in Greek culture and in Western civilization. Holborn thus remained true to Meinecke even though he was interested in trying to anchor ideas in their social context much more firmly than his teacher had done.

Holborn played a central role as an intermediary and bridge-builder in German-American relations. It is highly symbolic that only hours before his death in the early morning of July 20, 1969, he was presented with the first Inter Nationes Prize for Understanding Between Peoples in a deeply moving ceremony in Bonn.

Dietrich Gerhard

Dietrich Gerhard (1896–1985) was the oldest of Meinecke's Berlin students considered here, and the only one to have fought in World War I. Gerhard's rather naive patriotic enthusiasm following the outbreak of the war comes through in his first letter to his teacher. Meinecke, whose *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* had inspired him to study history, was the "leader" who had shown him the way, Gerhard wrote, and whose work had made clear "the connection between state and culture, between power and spirit," the connection between "Schiller's nation of humanity and Bismarck's national state." Gerhard, too, came from Berlin's upper middle class. His father was a noted lawyer and notary, his mother a well-known writer who had ties to Meinecke. Because of her Jewish ancestry, Gerhard's mother later had to emigrate to the United States, as did his sister, the *Germanistin* Melitta Gerhard. Gerhard had a particularly close personal relationship with Meinecke, and in the years 1925 to 1927 and again in 1933 he assisted Meinecke in editing the *Historische Zeitschrift*. His doctoral dissertation on the historical and political thought of Barthold Georg Niebuhr took Meinecke's approach to intellectual history as its model. Niebuhr in his history of the ancient Roman Empire was

not only the founder of the historical-philological method of source criticism but also a diplomat and government office-holder in Denmark and, later on, Prussia. In his introduction to the first volume of Niebuhr's correspondence he edited with a Danish classicist, Gerhard described the tragic conflict between the *vita active* and the *vita contemplative* Niebuhr experienced during an era that "did not know the division between intellectual-creative life and political life."

With Meinecke's encouragement, Gerhard broadened his range of interests during his studies in Denmark, and this openness to new fields and new questions was to be a hallmark of his subsequent career. This was a result of his intense engagement with problems of social and economic history, as well as of his concern with the basic problems of European history. Gerhard was especially influenced by two things: his close reading of Ranke, especially Ranke's interest in universal history; and his two-year residence in Great Britain as a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation to conduct research for his *Habilitation* project on England and the rise of Russia in the eighteenth century. For Gerhard, London was "a window on the world at large." The subject of his study was the "growth of the geographic and economic integration of the world." It was thus a contribution to the early history of globalization. His research also made him aware of the tremendous importance of economic interests and overseas trade in British politics.

Gerhard began teaching in Berlin in 1932, offering courses on political and economic history, the history of England, and the history of the British Empire. The onset of Nazi rule meant that Gerhard would not be able to hold on to his position at Berlin in the long run and that he would have to give up all hopes of pursuing an academic career in Germany. In early 1934, he delivered a series of lectures in Edinburgh; late in 1935 an invitation to spend a year as a visiting professor at Harvard provided the occasion for Gerhard's emigration to the United States. From 1936 until 1965, he was an exceptionally successful teacher at Washington University in St. Louis. He offered courses on Europe since the Reformation, German and Russian history, and the history of the British Empire. The focus of his teaching was less the differences between the European nations than the common features that distinguished them from both the United States and Russia. Taking a comparative approach to constitutional and social history, he underscored the stability and continuity of European history from the High Middle Ages to the French and Industrial Revolutions.

In a twelve-page letter to Meinecke dated August 20, 1948, Gerhard set out his scholarly agenda. This letter makes clear that he was less interested in building upon Meinecke's work than upon the comparative studies of Otto Hintze, another famous Berlin professor of history. His

interests, as he explained to Meinecke, were shaped by three factors: first, his experience in the United States; second, the upheavals of the twentieth century that had largely destroyed the old European order; and third, his conception of his role as a teacher of European history in the United States, where the corporate structures characteristic of Europe did not exist. Gerhard developed his ideas more fully in an essay entitled "*Regionalismus und ständisches Wesen als ein Grundthema europäischer Geschichte*" ["Regionalism and the Corporate Society as a Basic Theme of European History"] that he contributed to the festschrift published on the occasion of Meinecke's ninetieth birthday in 1952 and later in a series of essays and his book *Old Europe: A Study in Continuity, 1000–1800*. As that title suggests, Gerhard saw the era stretching from the eleventh century through the end of the eighteenth century as a unit. His work is characterized by its comparative focus, which implicitly took the United States and Russia into account, and its "universal" perspective, which nonetheless excluded large parts of the globe.

Conservative by temperament, Gerhard was uncommonly open and accessible to his students, even by American standards. He became a U.S. citizen shortly before Pearl Harbor and took an active part in civic affairs. Shortly after the war, for example, Gerhard tried to organize donations in St. Louis to help the destroyed regions of Europe and to build local support for the policies of European reconstruction. Later, Gerhard—along with his close friend, historian Theodor von Laue—was deeply involved in the civil rights movement.

Gerhard indicated to Meinecke in 1948 that he would gladly return to Germany as a visiting professor. In both 1950 and 1951, he spent a semester at the University of Münster. He taught at the University of Cologne in 1954, and in the following year he accepted a professorship in American Studies at Cologne. During his six years as a faculty member in Cologne, Gerhard also held on to his position in St. Louis in order to maintain his U.S. citizenship, and he devoted great energy to teaching American history in Cologne and European history in St. Louis on a regular basis. He sought to make his institute in Cologne "a bridge for reciprocal German-American understanding." The United States now gained a firm place alongside Europe and Russia in his research. He had already made his first contribution to American historical scholarship in 1953 with a lecture on the development of the credit system in the American universities; he later expanded upon that lecture in a comparative study of American and continental European universities. At least implicit comparison with Europe also figured in Gerhard's work on the development of American society and the role of churches in American life. He also wrote several studies on Abraham Lincoln. He demonstrated that Lincoln considered the expansion of slavery a threat to the idea of a

free society and also fought to preserve the Union because he feared that the collapse of what was then the only large-scale democratic republic would be a setback for democratic ideas worldwide.

Gerhard was particularly interested in Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis on the importance of the frontier in the shaping of American democracy. Taking his cue from Turner, he considered the movement of frontiers in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, along with medieval Germany's colonization of eastern Europe and czarist Russia's eastward expansion. He demonstrated that social transformation depended not only upon geographic space but also, and more importantly, upon the concrete historical circumstances and institutions of the times.

With his work on American history and on European society, Dietrich Gerhard saw himself working in the tradition of Alexis de Tocqueville, whose writings on American democracy as well as on the historical continuity from the *ancien regime* to Revolutionary France were of fundamental importance for his own conception of both American and European history. Gerhard in his works on American history did not intend to add to the specialist research produced by his American colleagues. Rather, he consciously sought to illuminate and interpret the main lines of American history from a European perspective.

From 1961 to 1967, Gerhard was director of the modern era section of the Max Planck Institute for History in Göttingen. Late in their lives, Gerhard and his wife lived in Constance, where their oldest daughter, who happened to be married to a historian, resided.

Gerhard did not dispute the importance of ideas in his later work, but he saw them as closely linked to the development of institutions, political forces, and economic interests. At a time when historians, especially in the United States, are giving increased attention to non-Western cultures and the interactions between different cultures, Gerhard's ideas might strike some as passé. Nonetheless, his approach to universal history, his studies of globalization during the eighteenth century and, above all, his method of comparison can still serve as means for discerning and understanding basic historical developments.

Hans Rosenberg

Like many of the Meinecke students who emigrated, Hans Rosenberg (1904–1988) was what the Nazis termed a "half Jew." His father was a Jewish merchant, while his mother came from a Protestant family of civil servants in Brandenburg. Rosenberg was raised as a Protestant but eventually became an atheist. Born in 1904, he experienced World War I and the revolution of 1918–1919 as an adolescent, and that experience turned him into a firm democrat.

Of the three historians I am considering here, Rosenberg probably had the closest personal relationship with Meinecke, but was also the most critical of Meinecke's work. He wrote to Meinecke for the first time on April 23, 1924. Stressing his interest in intellectual history and the philosophy of history, Rosenberg asked Meinecke to supervise his planned doctoral dissertation on Wilhelm Dilthey as historian. Dilthey was the most important figure in the development of intellectual history in Germany. Quite unusually, Rosenberg went on to write that he not only respected Meinecke as a "great scholar and researcher" but also had a "feeling of personal love" for him. Meinecke was a kind of father figure for Rosenberg, whose father had died in 1918. He showered Meinecke with CARE packages after 1945, and during his first Berlin stays he took lodgings across from Meinecke and saw him regularly for breakfast. Until his death, Rosenberg had a photo of a bust of Meinecke hanging as the only picture in his study; that photo now hangs alongside a photo of Rosenberg in my own study. Rosenberg had distanced himself early on from Meinecke's style of intellectual history and its concentration on the great minds of the past. In a later brief note on Meinecke, he described himself and his friend Eckart Kehr as the "heretics" of the Meinecke school, and Rothfels, Kaehler, Holborn, Baron, Gilbert, Gerhard, and Masur as its loyal members.

On Meinecke's advice, Rosenberg wrote his doctoral dissertation and *Habilitationsschrift* on the historian, philosopher, and politician Rudolf Haym, a representative of classical mid-nineteenth-century German liberalism. One of his goals was to bring to light a German tradition of liberal political culture and thereby take a clear stand against the "anti-democratic, conservative-nationalist outlook" that prevailed among historians at that time. Simultaneously, though, he also made clear the limits of classical liberalism, especially its lack of connections to most of German society and its reluctance to take on the ruling powers.

Rosenberg's move away from the history of ideas as practiced by Meinecke occurred in two stages. First, in the late 1920s, Rosenberg wrote a series of essays on collective political mentalities during the *Vormärz* era and their bearers in the middle and lower classes. With these essays, which appeared together in book form in 1972 under the title *Politische Denkströmungen im Vormärz*, he attempted to build bridges "between research on intellectual history, on social history, on political groups, on associations, on parties, and on interest groups." Rosenberg was later quite critical of these essays and their inadequate grounding in the social sciences, but he also saw them as a first step away from the prevailing methods and issues of German historiography. Rosenberg achieved a breakthrough in historical inquiry and insight with his pioneering study of the international economic crisis of 1857–1859. Written during the

Great Depression in the years 1932–1933, this study drew on the theories of economic cycles to investigate the first international economic crisis of the modern era. By adopting this approach, Rosenberg distanced himself greatly from the topics, sources, and methods prevailing in the German historical profession. He was interested above all in analyzing the influence of economics and economic cycles on politics and society. He wanted to illuminate the interactions between the triad of state, economy, and society, which had traditionally been neglected in German historiography as a result of a one-sided concentration on the state.

Rosenberg's position became untenable once the Nazis came to power. He left for Britain in 1933. Meinecke however succeeded in preventing Rosenberg's dismissal as researcher for the Historische Reichskommission for nearly two years. That gave Rosenberg the opportunity to improve his English and to publish three books, thereby strongly bolstering his chances of securing a scholarly position abroad. In 1935, Rosenberg left Britain for the United States. Emigration did not change his liberal political views or his scholarly interests and methods. After an extremely difficult transition period in which both Depression-era economic troubles and antisemitism played a part, Rosenberg finally succeeded in securing what was to become a permanent position at Brooklyn College in 1938. In 1959, he accepted an endowed chair at the University of California, Berkeley, and remained there until his retirement in 1970.

Rosenberg seriously considered returning to Germany after the war. On May 6, 1946, he wrote to Meinecke that "should the opportunity arise" he would be willing "to return to a German university" despite the long years of hardship likely awaiting Germany. But in 1947, he declined to take over the chair previously held by his "*Habilitation*-father" Johannes Ziekursch at the University of Cologne. Rosenberg's decision was spurred in large part by the reservations of his wife, who had been quite shaken by a visit to her destroyed native city. In a letter to his wife from September 10, 1948, he expressed his regrets, however: "As far as the intellectual and political meaning and purpose of professional life within the framework of personal capabilities are concerned, teaching at a university in Germany during the next ten to fifteen years would offer an entirely unique opportunity that will not arise again. From this perspective, I realize more clearly today than I did last winter that it was a fundamental mistake and a betrayal of inner conviction, of my better conviction, to decline the call to Cologne." A year later, Rosenberg was offered a professorship at the newly founded Free University of Berlin; once again, he declined the offer. His view that Berlin's situation as an enclave within the Soviet zone was not viable in the long run was then probably crucial to this decision. Rosenberg did, however, teach in Berlin as a visiting professor, and he had an exceptional impact as a teacher,

particularly during the semesters he spent there in 1949 and 1950. His Berlin students and, in turn, their students were to have a decisive influence in the development of social history in West Germany.

Immigration influenced Rosenberg's historical writing in several ways. For one, it spurred him to engage in non-German historical scholarship much more intensively than he had previously. It brought him into closer contact with the fields of economic and social history, which were further developed in the United States, Great Britain, and France than in Germany. And it provided an opportunity to expand his engagement with related social science disciplines, notably economics, political science, and sociology. In addition, Rosenberg's teaching responsibilities, which required him to deal with the whole of European history from the High Middle Ages to the present, prompted him to give more attention to the sorts of comparative questions Otto Hintze had raised, and to think about longer time-frames. He repeatedly warned his German students about the danger of intellectual provincialism that could come with overspecialization—a danger he thought was particularly acute in the field of American history—and he stressed that it was the historian's task to analyze major historical causal connections. On the subject of specialization, Rosenberg once told me, "One knows more and more about less and less until one finally ends up knowing everything about nothing."

Rosenberg's research, which he was able to take up again seriously in 1940, centered on two main sets of questions: first, the formation and long-term influence of elites in German political, economic, and social life; and second, the dynamics of economic change, in particular the influence of economic cycles on mentalities, social structures, and historical processes. These questions brought him, in turn, to the subject of the Weimar Republic's inherited burdens, its collapse, and the Nazi seizure of power. Analyzing that complex of topics was intended to help prevent such a catastrophe from ever occurring again.

Rosenberg's main work on the first set of questions was to be a major study of the Prussian Junker class from the thirteenth century through World War II. He was interested in the long importance of the Junkers as large-scale rural landowners, as leading members of the bureaucracy, and as military officers. The study was never published in the form originally envisioned in the 1940s. An almost-finished manuscript with many notes on planned revisions survives in Rosenberg's papers, and some sections were published during his lifetime. In 1958, he published an extensively reworked version of the central portion of the work under the title *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1600–1815*. This book was well received, not only by historians but also sociologists and political scientists in the Anglo-Saxon world. In Germany, on the other hand, little notice was taken of it on account of the lack of a trans-

lation and because of Rosenberg's criticism of the "Prussian legend," which ran counter to the position of many Germany historians.

Rosenberg's papers also include outlines for two projects on the history of social elites. One of the projects, conceived around 1953–1954, would be a continuation of his completed but not-yet-published work on the German bureaucracy; it would focus on the bureaucracy, the German tradition of the authoritarian bureaucratic state, and the German elites in the century from 1815 to 1918. The second project, which Rosenberg planned in 1964, was to deal with inequality in Germany from 1348 to 1525—in other words, from the demographic crisis of the Black Death to the so-called Peasants' War.

In his second area of interest, the impact of economic cycles, Rosenberg in 1967 published a book on the so-called Great Depression in the Bismarck era. This study had a tremendous influence on the development of the field of social history in West Germany. It examined the negative consequences of the so-called long wave of recession from 1873 to 1896 on economic, social, and political life, and on political ideas and mentalities in Germany and Austria. Here, too, Rosenberg sought to analyze the conditions that were later to make the Nazis' rise to power possible.

As a self-described wanderer between two cultures, Rosenberg repeatedly grappled with his identity as both a German and an American. On his acquisition of U.S. citizenship, he wrote to his wife in July 24, 1944 that "one in principle [should] really look at this matter from only a practical viewpoint. With an American passport and American cash, the world will stand open to you after this war. That is the flipside of emigration. Even an American court recently ruled that acquiring citizenship does not carry the moral obligation to become an American 'patriot,' but rather merely the obligation to respect American law. . . . Culturally, I am a German and will remain one forever." Rosenberg explained his position even more clearly in a report on his Junker project that he wrote on January 31, 1947 for the president of Brooklyn College. "My outlook is no longer that of an emigrant. By degrees I have acquired the mentality of an immigrant who has taken roots in the land of his adoption. . . . At the same time, however, I do not consider it a disloyal attitude if I in a humble and restrained way . . . remain faithful to what I value as the fruitful kernel of the German university tradition which, however perverted in recent years, has made no trifling contribution to the common treasures of our Western civilization. In all fairness to my old academic masters, now dead, maimed, or half-starved, it must be said that it was the magic of that to some extent transplantable tradition rather than stirring intellectual events at Brooklyn College which furnished me with

the major incentive to tackle a bigger and more difficult job [than] I had ever ventured to handle before."

It was with great interest and personal satisfaction that Rosenberg later followed the development of the new social history in West Germany. At the urging of his wife, who wanted closer contact with her grandchildren after the death of her son from a previous marriage, Rosenberg returned to Germany in 1977. The University of Freiburg made him an honorary professor, and the University of Bielefeld awarded him an honorary doctorate. He saw these honors as "a symbolic act of intellectual restitution." Despite initial misgivings about relocating, he eventually felt very much at home in Germany. He was in close contact with his German students and made new friends. I found it deeply moving that many residents of Kirchzarten, the Black Forest town where Rosenberg lived, attended the memorial service for him at the University of Freiburg, and paid their respects to their "dear neighbor Hans Rosenberg" in a newspaper death notice.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to summarize a few points raised in this lecture.

1. The decisive influence on all of the historians I have considered here—and the same applies to Rothfels, Masur, Gilbert, Baron, and Wieruszowski—was German and European culture, and that influence came before they emigrated, above all through their studies at German universities. All of them were very positive about their German university experiences. That did not, however, prevent them from criticizing German universities' failure to resist National Socialism, their hierarchical organization, or their inadequate relationship with the broader public after 1945. These historians' thinking was also deeply influenced by their engagement with political developments in their native country before and after 1933 and by the broadening of their horizons through emigration.

2. The degree to which these émigré historians were "Americanized" varied. Holborn very consciously became an American; Gerhard emphasized that he was deeply rooted in older European traditions, and Rosenberg, in German culture.

3. With the exception of Gerhard, there was a marked continuity in the topics the historians considered here worked on before and after emigrating.

4. In the United States, Meinecke's émigré protégés supported President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal Policies, which Holborn and Gilbert viewed as a domestic and foreign policy revolution.

5. All three historians saw themselves as bridge-builders between the United States and Germany. This was especially clear in the case of Holborn, who wanted to explain American politics in Germany and German politics in America, and Gerhard, who sought to make America comprehensible to the Europeans and Europe to the Americans. Rosenberg sought to explain “the German problem” for the English-speaking world. All wanted to support the process of democratization in the Federal Republic through critical engagement with the German past. For Rosenberg in particular, that also meant modernizing historical studies in Germany by incorporating the questions and methods of social history and related social science disciplines.

6. I was surprised that, with the exception of Rosenberg, the historians considered here saw Ranke as their great master, along with Jakob Burckhardt. Likewise, Gilbert and Masur, the latter of whom had written his doctoral dissertation on Ranke’s concept of world history, had grappled first and foremost with Ranke and Burckhardt. All of them directly or implicitly engaged with Meinecke throughout their careers. All saw themselves as his students, but not as members of a “Meinecke school,” a notion Meinecke himself rejected. Holborn—and for that matter Gilbert, Baron, and Masur, too—sought to build upon Meinecke’s approach to the history of ideas, whereas Gerhard and Rosenberg ended up going their own ways. All except Baron were also stimulated by Otto Hintze’s concept of a broad-ranging comparative constitutional history.

7. The historians considered here were uncommonly successful teachers. For a time, Holborn had an almost dominant influence on the development of German history as a field of study in the United States. His direct influence on historical study in Germany, on the other hand, was limited, in contrast to that of some of his students. Rosenberg’s influence on revising the German image of history after 1945 was greater than Fritz Fischer’s. Fischer, for all his sharp criticism of German policy before and in the First World War, used traditional sources and methods, unlike Rosenberg. Rosenberg also had a more decisive influence on the development of modern social history than Werner Conze. Gerhard helped spur international interest in the history of corporate societies, and contributed to the development of American studies as an academic discipline in Germany. Gilbert and his fellow Meinecke-student Hans Baron played a key role along with other German émigrés like Paul Oskar Kristeller in making the United States a major center of research on the Italian Renaissance and early humanism, fields in which the Federal Republic has still not recovered from the blood-letting of 1933.

In sum, it is remarkable that despite the economic crisis in the United States during the 1930s, despite the cultural chasm between Germany and the United States, despite sometimes considerable difficulties with the

English language and in getting established after emigrating, all of the emigrated Meinecke students succeeded in pursuing academic careers in America, and often ended up in leading positions. They were able to do so thanks to their originality, their diligence, and their determination, as well as their training. They were also undoubtedly helped by the increased American interest in Germany and Europe spurred by Nazi rule and the war and, later on, by the Cold War. Emigration and remigration, hard as it was for the émigré historians and their families, proved to be a boon to scholarship in both countries.

Translated by David Lazar

Notes

¹ *Friedrich Meinecke: Akademischer Lehrer und emigrierte Schüler—Briefe und Aufzeichnungen 1910–1977*. Eingeleitet und bearbeitet von Gerhard A. Ritter (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006). Biographische Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte. Herausgegeben im Auftrag des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte von Elke Fröhlich und Udo Wengst. 514 pp. The letters quoted here have been translated from the German, except the letter of Holborn to Meinecke of September 23, 1946 and Rosenberg's letter to the president of Brooklyn College of January 21, 1947, both of which were written in English.

THREE GENERATIONS OF GERMAN GELEHRTENPOLITIK

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In 1922, the *Historische Zeitschrift* published an article by its editor, Friedrich Meinecke, entitled “Drei Generationen deutscher Gelehrtenpolitik.”¹ *Gelehrtenpolitik* is one of those words that look easy to translate until one tries to do it: for our purposes, we can render it as “the relationship of scholars to politics.” The occasion for Meinecke’s essay was the nearly simultaneous appearance of three books: the collected critical essays of Friedrich Theodor Vischer (1807–1887), a philosopher and historian of art, and the political writings of Gustav Schmoller (1838–1917), an important economic historian and a founder of the Verein für Sozialpolitik, and of Max Weber (1864–1920), the great social theorist. Using these three works as his point of departure, Meinecke traced the shift from idealism to empiricism to realism, from Vischer’s slow reconciliation with a Prussian-dominated Germany to Schmoller’s unquestioning acceptance of the Kaiserreich to Weber’s critical and increasingly pessimistic nationalism. *Gelehrtenpolitik*, Meinecke wrote, can surely be found outside of Germany, but nowhere else is it so tightly wound up with decisive moments in national history.²

Gerhard Ritter’s richly informative and deeply moving paper also presents us with three generations of German scholars: first, there is Meinecke’s generation—he was born in 1862, two years before Weber, although he lived thirty-four years longer, until 1954; next, the generation of his protégés—born around the turn of the last century; and, finally, there is Professor Ritter’s own generation, that is the generation that was born at the end of the Weimar Republic, experienced Nazism as children and adolescents, and then came of age in the years after 1945. Following Meinecke’s model, I want to reflect on each of these generations and suggest what they can tell us about the changing character of German *Gelehrtenpolitik* in the twentieth century.

I begin with Meinecke himself. Meinecke’s discussion of Weber in his 1922 essay clearly had an autobiographical element. After all, Weber belonged to his own generation: both men were marked intellectually by what Meinecke once called a new appreciation for the fragmentary quality of life and politically by a growing concern for the political problems created by the Kaiser’s erratic personality and the nation’s unresolved social conflicts.³ Meinecke set these experiences against both Vischer’s idealism and the greater confidence—at once philosophical and political—that characterized Schmoller’s approach to scholarship and politics.

Just as the centerpiece of the section on Vischer is his reconciliation with Bismarck's Germany, so the center of the section on Weber is the disruptive power of war, military defeat, and political revolution.

From our perspective, however, the most striking characteristic of Meinecke's life is not disruption but connection. Part of this is simply chronological, a connection of past and present, the traditional and the modern: born four years before the battle of Königgrätz into what was a very old-fashioned social milieu, he died nine years after the battle of Berlin, in a world shaped by total war and shadowed by the danger of nuclear cataclysm. Intellectually, Meinecke bridged the evolution of German historiography from Ranke—whose funeral he attended as a student—and Droysen, through Nietzsche and Dilthey, to Weber and Troeltsch. Meinecke's politics also stretched across a broad span of historical experience: He lived in the Prussian monarchy, the German empire, republic, dictatorship, and finally in occupied and divided Berlin. Nevertheless, he remained, in many ways, a liberal nationalist,—small l, small n—whose values and attitudes were shaped by the patriotic Protestant *Bildungsbürgertum* to which he belonged. From his early biography of the military reformer, Hermann von Boyen, to the core chapters in his magisterial *Vom Weltbürgertum zum Nationalstaat*, Meinecke was drawn to the era of Prussian reforms and national revival in the early nineteenth century—the critical chapter in liberal nationalism's grand narrative of German history. He remained a monarchist at heart, but he became, as Professor Ritter shows us, a republican by conviction, which certainly was an important reason why he attracted the progressive young men and women who became his protégés. This political flexibility, combined with personal integrity, a deeply rooted tolerance, and remarkable generosity of spirit, made him—as Felix Gilbert wrote—"one of the very few whose work and voice helped to join present and future with the better traditions of German scholarship."⁴

These same qualities also make Meinecke a tragic figure, a representative of a lost Germany, one of those decent, well-meaning men who were unable to prevent or even fully to understand their nation's catastrophic course. There is something heroic about Meinecke's book on the German catastrophe, written under difficult circumstances in the deep winter of his own and his nation's life. But it is also, I think, a sad and disappointing book.⁵

Meinecke arrived in Berlin in 1914 to take up the most important chair in German history, but for obvious reasons his impact on the next scholarly generation was delayed by the war. Among his protégés, only Dietrich Gerhard was old enough to serve. The rest—born in the first years of the twentieth century—experienced the war vicariously, through newspapers and what they heard from their older contemporaries. In his

remarkable autobiography, Sebastian Haffner (born in 1907) has left us a vivid picture of what a wartime boyhood was like. Meinecke's protégés had, of course, scholarly temperaments. They were certainly committed to the Republic and attracted by the vibrant culture of Weimar Berlin, but they also did what young historians must do, spending more time in archives and libraries than in night clubs and cabarets. I am eager to read the letters Gerhard Ritter has assembled, but the autobiographical material I have seen is remarkably restrained about their emotional lives. Felix Gilbert's memoir, *A European Past*, for example, is a wonderful book in many ways, but it is also extraordinarily—one might say frustratingly—discreet. It is not easy to imagine these serious young scholars in the Weimar scene described, for example, by Klaus Mann (born 1906) in his memoirs.⁶

These scholars were, as Professor Ritter shows us, drawn to Meinecke not simply because of his political sympathies but also—perhaps mainly—because of his reputation as an innovative historian, someone who was not tied to the narrow forms of political history practiced by the neo-Rankean establishment. It is striking how much of their early work—Gilbert on Droysen, Rosenberg on Haym—remained within the liberal national tradition, even if its political tone was sharper and more critical. From the start, however, Meinecke's protégés were a diverse group, differing from one another in scholarly interests and in temperament. To quote Gilbert once again: Meinecke "was a great teacher because he urged his students to find their own way, the way most appropriate to their personality." His students, Gilbert went on, "have worked in the most varied areas of history: political, social, institutional, intellectual. It was Meinecke's concern for their finding in history both a strict discipline and creative expression that brought students close to him and generated veneration for him, even if in their life and work they went on different roads."⁷

This diversity increased during the protégés' time in the United States: Dietrich Gerhard, as Ritter has shown us, was intellectually closer to Otto Hintze than to Meinecke. Hans Rosenberg quickly abandoned intellectual biography, first for economic history, then for a politically shaped social history. In some ways, Holborn and Gilbert stayed closer to their teacher, in their continued concern for political ideas and the history of historiography. But they too moved far away from the grand intellectual history that represented Meinecke's most significant work.

But despite the differences among them, we should not lose sight of two important things that Meinecke's protégés shared. First, all of them were attracted by, and became part of, the American historical profession, absorbing many of its values, reading widely in its literature, and contributing to its common life. Gerhard and Gilbert both published impor-

tant works on American history. Holborn became president of the American Historical Association. And Rosenberg's scholarly development after 1933 was deeply influenced by his engagement with American contributions to history and the social sciences.⁸ And yet, while all four scholars flourished—not, it should be noted, without varying degrees of difficulty and at considerable cost—in their adopted homeland, all of them remained German. This is the second important thing they had in common: All of them returned to Germany—Rosenberg and Gerhard to spend the last years of their lives. After 1945, all of them resumed their ties to Meinecke and to other German friends. All of them had strong institutional connections to postwar German academic life. In the moving remarks he gave in 1977, on the occasion of being given an honorary degree at Bielefeld, Hans Rosenberg offered his listeners this description of himself: "Before you," he said, "stands an engaged historian, a non-Marxist, liberal-democratic, cosmopolitan German-American historian from the generation of 1904."⁹ In this self-definition, the three most important words are German, American, and historian.

Because they were all German and American historians, Meinecke's protégés served as living links between the world they had been forced to leave and the new one in which they found a place. This was their great contribution to the generation of German historians who began their careers in the wreckage of the postwar world. What Gilbert said about Meinecke was even more powerfully and significantly true of these émigrés: their work and characters "helped to join present and future with the better traditions of German scholarship." And equally important, they helped to join the postwar generation to the scholarly world outside of Germany, and especially to Britain and the United States. As teachers, mentors, colleagues, and friends, the émigrés enriched both their new homes and their old, weaving connections that transformed Americans' understanding of Germany and Germans' understanding of America. They were, therefore, one—among many others—thread from which the political and cultural fabric of transatlantic relationships was woven. Professor Ritter, I know, would agree that postwar German historiography is impossible to imagine without them.

A final word about generations: In his classic essay on the concept of generation, first published in 1928, Karl Mannheim wrote: "Were it not for the existence of social interaction between human beings—were there no definable social structure, no history based on a particular sort of continuity, the generation would not exist as a social phenomenon; there would be merely birth, aging and death."¹⁰

We historians are drawn to the concept of generation precisely because it helps us to understand both separation and connection, that

constant interplay of continuities and changes that gives history its peculiar form and endless fascination. In the three generations of German historians who have been our subject this evening, we can see the formative power of distinctive historical experiences: for Meinecke, the crisis and collapse of Bismarck's Reich; for his protégés, the failure of democracy and the anguish and opportunities of exile; and for the first postwar generation, the shadow of Nazism and the challenge of building a new democratic state. And yet spanning these great historical ruptures were powerful lines of continuity—lines of continuity woven from personal ties and also from a shared commitment to the scholar's calling. These lines of continuity unite our three very different generations and join them to the long and complex genealogy of German *Gelehrtenpolitik*.

We are all indebted to Gerhard Ritter for his splendid account of Meinecke and his protégés, in which he so eloquently portrayed the bonds of friendship and scholarly commitment that connect these generations to one another—and to many of us.

Notes

¹ Reprinted in Meinecke's *Werke*, vol. 9 (Stuttgart, 1979), 476–509.

² That this essay was the subject of Felix Gilbert's contribution to the *Festschrift* for Hajo Holborn links it even more closely to the subject of Gerhard Ritter's paper: "Political Power and Academic Responsibility: Reflections on Friedrich Meinecke's *Drei Generationen deutscher Gelehrtenpolitik*," *The Responsibility of Power: Historical Essays in Honor of Hajo Holborn*, edited by Leonard Krieger and Fritz Stern (Garden City, 1967), 402–15.

³ For Meinecke's own description of his generation's political and intellectual orientation, see his *Erlebtes*, reprinted in *Werke*, vol. 8 (Stuttgart, 1969), 100.

⁴ Gilbert, *History: Choice and Commitment* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), 67–68.

⁵ *Die deutsche Katastrophe* was written in the immediate aftermath of the war. It is reprinted in Meinecke's *Werke*, vol. 8, 323–447.

⁶ As Michael Wildt has shown, members of this generation—from a very different milieu than Meinecke's students—played key roles in Nazism's terror apparatus: *Generation des Unbedingten* (Hamburg, 2003).

⁷ Gilbert, *History*, 87.

⁸ On the role of the émigrés in the United States, see *An Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan (Cambridge, 1991).

⁹ "Rückblick auf ein Historikerleben zwischen zwei Kulturen," *Machteliten und Wirtschaftskonjunkturen: Studien zur neueren deutschen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1978), 12.

¹⁰ "The Problem of Generations," reprinted in *From Karl Mannheim*, edited by Kurt Wolff, 2d. ed. (New Brunswick, 1993), 366.

URBAN NATURE AND HUMAN DESIGN

Keynote lecture, Conference on "The Place of Nature in the City in Twentieth-Century Europe and North America," December 1, 2005

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Human survival depends upon adapting ourselves and our landscapes—cities, buildings, gardens, roadways, rivers, fields, forests—in new, life-sustaining ways, shaping contexts that reflect the interconnections of air, earth, water, life, and culture, that help us feel and understand these connections, landscapes that are functional, sustainable, meaningful, and artful.

My career as landscape architect and planner, teacher, scholar, author, and photographer has been dedicated to advancing this goal. I once thought that the obstacle to achieving it was lack of knowledge, and I wrote my first book, *The Granite Garden: Urban Nature and Human Design*, to fill that void. The book presents, synthesizes, and applies knowledge from many disciplines to show how cities are shaped by natural processes, and, thus, are inseparable from the natural world, and to demonstrate how cities can be planned and designed in concert with natural processes rather than in conflict. Organized by sections on air, earth, water, life, and ecosystems, the book contains successful cases from scales of house and garden to city and region. After the book's publication in 1984, I was astonished by how many people, including scientists and naturalists, resisted or ignored the evidence that human settlements, including cities, are part of the natural world. "What's your book about?" people would ask me. "About nature in the city and about how differently we would design cities if we thought of them as part of nature rather than separate from it," I would answer. A puzzled frown would invariably appear: "Nature in the city? What nature?" Then an expression of dawning realization, "Oh, you mean trees and parks!"

Until confronted by readers' reactions, I had taken for granted my own definition of nature: the belief that nature consists of the biological, physical, and chemical processes that create and sustain the earth. I was also blind to my own emphasis in *The Granite Garden* on nature's value in sustaining and enriching human life. I became aware of this bias after encountering the hostility of a reader who stressed, instead, the value of natural features such as trees and animals in and of themselves, over any value to humans. To that reader, the word "humanist" was an epithet. I have come to realize that ideas of nature and what is natural stem from strongly-held feelings and beliefs. These views are highly personal and

varied, and changing them is not simply a matter of marshaling compelling verbal arguments, but of reaching both mind and heart. Reflecting on the varied responses to the book's portrayal of urban nature and human design also helped me understand the conflicts and confusion that plague my own profession of landscape architecture.

It is impossible to make a garden, or even to shape a larger landscape, without expressing ideas about nature. For thousands of years, nature has been both mirror and model for landscape design and planning, has been looked to for inspiration, guidance, and authority. Those like Frederick Law Olmsted, who established landscape architecture as a profession in the United States in the nineteenth century, accepted the challenge George Perkins Marsh laid down in his book of 1864, *Man and Nature*: "In reclaiming and reoccupying lands laid waste by human improvidence or malice . . . the task is to become a co-worker with nature in the reconstruction of the damaged fabric."¹ Landscape architects have explored and debated what it means to design with nature for well over a century.

Most landscape architects today regard ecological science as an important source of principles for landscape design. Some, however, embrace ecology as the primary authority for determining the "natural" (and therefore correct) way to design landscapes. To its most extreme practitioners, ecological design is deterministic, its "laws" couched in terms that recall religious dogma. Debates over what constitutes a "genuinely ecological practice of landscape architecture" escalated in the 1980s and 1990s, with various groups accusing each other of "non-ecological" behavior.² There have been bitter quarrels over the proper materials, styles, and methods of ecological landscape design. Some advocate the exclusive use of native, as opposed to naturalized, plants. Some urge the eradication of "exotic" "invaders" and condemn others for planting naturalized, non-native plants. Some conceal the artifice of their works; others celebrate the human ability to transform landscape.

Designers who refer to their work as "natural" or "ecological" make ideas of nature central and explicit, citing nature as an authority to justify decisions to select some materials or plants and exclude others, to arrange them in particular patterns, and to tend the result in certain ways. But appealing to nature as the authority for landscape design has pitfalls: to describe one sort of landscape as natural implies that there are unnatural landscapes which are somehow different (and presumably wrong). Yet, over time and place, quite different sorts of landscapes have been claimed as natural, much the same way opposing nations claim to have God on their side, and some designers invoke nature to call upon divine authority. To Frank Lloyd Wright, for example, nature was the manifestation of

God: "Nature should be spelled with a capital 'N,' not because Nature is God but because all that we can learn of God we will learn from the body of God, which we call Nature."³

Now, too, the authority of science is cited to augment the authority of nature and God. Ecology as a science (a way of describing the world), ecology as a cause (a mandate for moral action), and ecology as an aesthetic (a norm for beauty) are often confused. It is important to distinguish the insights ecology yields as a description of the world, on the one hand, from how these insights have served as a source of prescriptive principles and aesthetic values, on the other. The perception of the world as a complex network of relations, with humans as one part of that web, has been a major contribution of ecology. There has been a tendency, however, to move directly from these insights to prescription and proscription, citing ecology as an authority in much the same way that nature was employed in the past to derive laws for landscape design and to define a single aesthetic norm, in this case "the ecological aesthetic."⁴ Laurie Olin has criticized this approach as "a new deterministic and doctrinaire view of what is 'natural' and 'beautiful'" embodying a "chilling, close-minded stance of moral certitude."⁵

Such conflicts and the confusion they engender are about conflicting ideas of nature: whether humans are outside or inside nature, whether human impact is inevitably destructive or potentially beneficial, whether one can know an objective nature apart from human values. Differences in basic assumptions are so fundamental they may make it impossible to resolve the conflicts, but it is possible to clarify differences and dispel confusion. Much confusion comes from launching the debate without defining its terms.

So what is nature? For the past twenty years, I have asked my graduate students that question. Their responses have included the following. Nature was given as a trust to humans by God. Nature is trees and rocks, everything except humans and the things humans make. Nature is a place where one cannot see the hand of humans, a place to be alone. Nature consists of creative and life-sustaining processes which connect everything in the physical and biological worlds, including humans. Nature is a cultural construct with no meaning or existence outside human society. Nature is something that cannot be known. Nature is sacred. Nature is God. While this is a broad range of definitions, it does not represent the full spectrum of possible answers. The experiential and spiritual aspects of nature are cited frequently, for example, and nature as material resource is rarely mentioned; students of geology or engineering might produce a different range of definitions.⁶

Nature is the word Raymond Williams called “perhaps the most complex word in the [English] language.”⁷ It comes from the Latin *natura*, which comes in turn from *nasci*, to be born. Thus nature is linked to other words from the same root, such as nascent, innate, native, and nation. In English, as in French and Latin, the word nature originally described a quality—the essential character of something—then later became an independent noun. Williams identified two additional areas of meaning: “the inherent force which directs either the world or human beings or both” and “the material world itself, taken as including or not including human beings.” Nature is an abstraction, writes Williams, a set of ideas for which many cultures have no one name, “a singular name for the real multiplicity of things and living processes.”⁸

As products of culture, ideas of nature vary from people to people, place to place, period to period. Even in a particular time and place, what constitutes the “natural” way of doing things has been disputed. In the early twentieth century, for example, Frank Lloyd Wright and Jens Jensen, fellow residents of Chicago and Wisconsin, friends throughout most of their lives, agreed that nature was the authority for design, and sought to express the moral messages or “sermons” they read in hills and valleys, rivers and trees. Despite this apparent common ground, the two men “argued incessantly about the nature of nature,” about what form a “natural” garden should take.⁹

Wright’s understanding of nature was grounded in his family’s Emersonian philosophy.¹⁰ He had contempt for what he called “some sentimental feeling about animals and grass and trees and out-of-doors generally,” as opposed to reverence for nature as an internal ideal, the very “‘nature’ of God.”¹¹ To Wright, landscape was often an imperfect manifestation of nature; the task of the architect was to bring its outer form into conformity with an inner ideal, its nature, or essential characteristics. Wright derived his principles for design from the underlying structure of flowers, trees, and terrain, and his landscape designs were often abstract versions of regional landscapes of prairie or desert.

If Wright’s obsession was to extract and express an ideal inner nature, Jensen’s was to protect and promote the “native” features of regional landscapes. Jensen believed there was a correspondence between a region’s climate, physiography, and flora and its human inhabitants; landscape fostered, then symbolized, a relationship between people and place. Unlike Wright, Jensen gave no impression in his published works that he believed humans could improve upon the native landscape: “Nature talks more finely and more deeply when left alone.”¹² He revered what he called the “primitive,” and found his “main source of inspiration . . . in the unadulterated, untouched work of the great Master.”¹³ These ideas led Jensen to imitate the outward appearance of the local

landscape, its meadows, woodlands, and riverbanks: "Through generations of evolution our native landscape becomes a part of us, and out of this we may form fitting compositions for our people."¹⁴

Many of Jensen's ideas, such as the relationship he saw between nature and nation and his advocacy of native plants, were common ideas in Europe and North America at the time.¹⁵ Contemporary ecological theories drew parallels between plant and animal communities and human communities and, in some cases, extended this analogy to justify certain human activities as natural.¹⁶ Ideas of the relationship between native plants and "folk" were carried to ideological extremes under National Socialism in Germany. In 1939, for example, the Central Office for Vegetation Mapping of the German Reich declared that it was necessary to "cleanse the German landscape of unharmonious foreign substance." Such ideas became part of official policy as "Rules for the Design of the Landscape" developed by Heinrich Himmler's staff in 1942 for Polish territories annexed in 1939.¹⁷ The use of "native" plants and "natural" gardens to represent the Nazi political agenda should dispel forever the illusion of innocence surrounding the words nature, natural, and native and their application to garden design. Nature is one of the most powerfully loaded, ideological words in the English (and German) language.

"Nature" and "natural" are among the words landscape architects (or ecologists, for that matter) use most frequently to justify their designs or research or to evoke a sense of "goodness," but they rarely examine or express precisely what the words mean to them, and they are generally ignorant of the ideological minefields they tread. Invoking nature, they imagine they are talking about a single phenomenon with universal meaning, when in fact their ideas may be entirely different from one another, even antithetical. At first the abstraction of the word nature conceals differences. Then when arguments inevitably ensue, it befuddles and confounds.

The history of twentieth-century landscape architecture has been told largely as a history of forms rather than a history of ideas and rhetorical expression. This has been especially true of the history of "natural" or ecological design. Gardens of different periods built to imitate wild landscapes may appear similar, yet express different, even divergent, values and ideas. The Fens and Riverway in Boston and Columbus Park in Chicago, for example, were built to resemble what the designers describe as the "natural" scenery of their region, but the motivations that underlie them were quite different in important respects.¹⁸ Proponents of an ecological approach to landscape design often cite these projects as precedents without critically examining their underlying values and motives, contributing further to the confusion around issues of nature as model and authority for landscape design.

Boston's Fens and Riverway, designed by Frederick Law Olmsted, were built over nearly two decades in the 1880s and 1890s, the first attempt anywhere, so far as I know, to construct a wetland.¹⁹ The function and the form of the Fens and Riverway were revolutionary; the wild appearance was in contrast to the prevailing formal or pastoral styles.²⁰ These projects, built on the site of tidal flats and floodplains fouled by sewage and industrial effluent, were designed to purify water and protect adjacent land from flooding. They also incorporated an interceptor sewer, a parkway, and Boston's first streetcar line. Together, they formed a landscape system designed to accommodate the flow of water, removal of wastes, and movement of people; Olmsted conceived them as a new type of urban open space that he took care to distinguish from a park. This skeleton of woods and wetland, road, sewer, and public transit structured the growing city and its suburbs. The Fens and Riverway were a fusion of art, agriculture, engineering, and science. Olmsted's contemporaries knew that these parks were constructed, for they had seen and smelled the stinking, muddy mess the Fens replaced; the recognition of the transformation was part of their social meaning and aesthetic power.

Thirty years later, in 1916, Jens Jensen designed Columbus Park in Chicago to "symbolize" a prairie landscape. He made a large meadow, excavated a meandering lagoon, and planted groves of trees as a representation of the Illinois landscape: prairie, prairie river, and forest edge. All the plants used in the park were native to Illinois; they "belonged," as Jensen put it. In outward appearance, the "Prairie River" looked much like the Fens. Both Olmsted and Jensen intended their projects to expose townspeople to what they saw as the beneficial influence of rural scenery, particularly those people who were unable to travel outside the city and were barred from "neighboring fields, woods, pond-sides, river-banks, valleys, or hills."²¹ Despite these similarities, the aims of the two men and the goals of their projects were very different in important ways.

Jensen's agenda at Columbus Park was to bring people, especially "the growing minds" of youth, into contact with their "home environment," for he believed that "We are molded into a people by the thing we live with day after day."²² Every region should display the beauty of its local landscape: "This encourages each race, each country, each state, and each county to bring out the best within its borders."²³ Jensen elaborated on these ideas of "environmental influences" in his writings, attributing certain characteristics among populations of European countries and American regions to the influence of their landscapes. While he stressed that each regional landscape has its own beauty, he repeatedly revealed his prejudice for the superiority of northern regions and peoples with such statements as: "Environmental influences of the hot south have almost destroyed the strong and hardy characteristics of . . . northern

people."²⁴ Jensen drew parallels between people and plants, and advocated the sole use of species native to a place: "To me no plant is more refined than that which belongs. There is no comparison between native plants and those imported from foreign shores which are . . . novelties."²⁵

Like many of his contemporaries, Olmsted thought that environment influenced human behavior, but his perspective differed from Jensen's. He believed that contemplation of "natural scenery" had beneficial physical, mental, and moral effects, and that the lack of such opportunity could lead to depression and mental illness.²⁶ In constructing such natural scenery, Olmsted advocated the practice of mixing native and hardy exotic plants, as described in William Robinson's book of 1870, *The Wild Garden*, and he argued with Charles Sprague Sargent, who opposed using non-native plants in the Riverway. The upshot was that a mixture of native and non-native species was planted on the Boston side of the Riverway, while only native species were planted on the other side, in Brookline, where Sargent had the authority to approve the plantings.²⁷ The primary purpose of the Riverway was "to abate existing nuisances, avoid threatened dangers and provide for the permanent, wholesome and seemly disposition of the drainage of Muddy River Valley."²⁸ The Fens and Riverway are an application of the ideas proposed by George Perkins Marsh in 1864 in *Man and Nature*. In reclaiming polluted tidal flats and derelict floodplain, Olmsted planned to "hasten the process already begun" by nature, thereby achieving more than the "unassisted processes of nature." He would have been familiar with Marsh's well-known book, *Man and Nature*, which was reprinted several times in the nineteenth century. The attempt to manage landscape processes to restore land and water polluted by human wastes and to promote human health, safety, and welfare was what made these projects so significant. Such goals were largely absent from Jensen's work.

The natural garden movement in the early part of the twentieth century, of which Jensen was a proponent, and the ecological design movement of the latter part seem to have much in common. Both have stressed native plants and plant communities as material and model for garden design. Beyond these and other similarities, however, there are deep differences in the ideas of nature underlying the two movements. In the United States, natural garden design in the early twentieth century was part of the larger context of regionalism expressed in art, literature, and politics. American regionalism was a populist movement that promoted the local roots of place and folk over the increasing power of the federal government, the growth of national corporations, and the influence of foreign styles.²⁹ Jensen's intention in using regional landscapes and native plants was to shape human society; he did not discuss the value of plants, animals, or biological and physical processes apart from their

significance for human purpose. This anthropocentric context is a contrast to late-twentieth-century environmentalism, where animals, plants, and ecosystems may be accorded value and even legal rights, not just for the present or future value they may have for humans, but also for *themselves*.³⁰

Authors from Cicero to Karl Marx have distinguished between a “first” and “second” nature, where the first represents a nature unaltered by human labor. Cicero defined second nature thus: “We sow corn, we plant trees, we fertilize the soil by irrigation, we confine the rivers and straighten or divert their courses. In short, by means of our hands we try to create . . . a *second* nature within the natural world.” John Dixon Hunt calls gardens a “third nature,” a self-conscious re-presentation of first and second natures, an artful interpretation “of a specific place . . . for specific people.”³¹ But Cicero’s “first nature” exists only as an ideal; there is no place unaltered by human activities. His “second nature” and Hunt’s “third nature” are landscapes, the expression of actions and ideas in place. To call some landscapes “natural” and others “artificial” or “cultural” misses the truth that landscapes are never wholly one or the other.

Landscape associates a place with all who dwell there, past and present. The Danish word *landskab*, the German *Landschaft*, and the Old English *landscipe* combine two roots. “Land” means both a place and the people living there (earth, country, nation). *Skabe* and *schaffen* mean “to shape”; suffixes *-skab* and *-schaft*, as in the English *-ship*, also mean association, partnership. Still strong in Nordic languages, these original meanings have all but disappeared from English. Modern English dictionaries define landscape as a static scene of rural fields, hills, forests, water, “a portion of land that the eye can comprehend in a single view.”³² But landscape is not a mere visible surface, static composition, or passive backdrop to human theater. Nor is landscape only rural. Cities are landscapes, too.

Landscape in its original sense—the mutual shaping of people and place—encompasses both the population of a place and its physical features: its topography, water flow, and plant life; its infrastructure of streets and sewers; its land uses, buildings, and open spaces. And humans are not the sole authors. The urban landscape is shaped by rain, plants and animals, and human hands and minds. Rain falls, carving valleys and soaking soil. Grasses, shrubs, and trees colonize abandoned land and produce new habitat. People mold landscape with hands, tools, and machines, through law, public policy, the investing and withholding of capital, and other actions undertaken hundreds or thousands of miles away. The processes that shape landscape operate at different scales of

space and time: from the local to the national, from the ephemeral to the enduring.

Language has consequences. It structures how one thinks, what kinds of things one is able to express, and how one acts. Language makes it possible to conceive ideas and see new meanings. It can also suppress thought, disguise meaning, and make people blind. Take the word “nature.” Is nature a sacred entity, where humans are one with all living creatures, or a wilderness requiring protection from humans? Are natural phenomena, like trees and wind, animated by gods, or is nature merely a bunch of resources for human use? Is nature a web of life-sustaining processes that connects everything in the physical and biological worlds, including humans? These and other ideas of nature coexist. They influence whether people think cities are part of the natural world or *not*, and how they act to shape cities. Someone who believes that the city has degraded “nature” is apt to see only pollution there. Someone who assumes that the city has destroyed or displaced “nature” is not likely to see the effects of the natural processes that still shape its landscape. Such perceptions have profound effects on how cities are designed, built, and sustained (or *not* sustained) over time.

Given the problems of conflicting definitions, I now use the word *nature* sparingly, deliberately, and explicitly. For me, nature consists of the creative and life-sustaining processes that connect everything in the biological world and the physical universe, including humans. When I use the word, it is in that sense. For me, nature is not a place, not a location in space, and not a particular feature like a tree or a mountain. I am always taken aback when someone says that they are going to “go out into nature” (presumably somewhere in the countryside or where there are few humans) or when someone speaks of “bringing nature into the city” (as if natural processes ever went away). This reaction makes me a bit odd, in my culture, but such ways of thinking are not as innocent as they may seem. They can have terrible consequences; the recent tragedy of Hurricane Katrina’s impact on New Orleans is but one small example. I use the word landscape as freely as I use nature sparingly, for I hope to recover the original meanings of the word.

To see landscape as mere scenery is to emphasize appearance over habitability and to conceal what is hidden from view, the deep context underlying the surface. The words environment and place, commonly used to replace landscape in twentieth-century English, are inadequate substitutes, for they refer to surroundings or locale and omit people. Landscape connotes a sense of the purposefully shaped, the sensual and aesthetic, and embeddedness in culture, and the roots of the word imply a mutual shaping of people and place.

Landscape architects design and plan landscapes to serve human purposes at scales from garden to region. This range in scope is fundamental to the discipline, and my proposals include designs for small urban parks and plans for vast urban watersheds. My work aims to understand how the interaction of natural and cultural processes shapes landscapes and how to intervene in and shape those processes to achieve desired goals. While the methods and means of designing and planning landscapes at the scales of garden, neighborhood, city, and region may differ, the processes that shape those landscapes—natural, social, economic, and political—are the same. Understanding landscape as the product of interacting processes provides a way of seeing relationships among actions and phenomena that may appear unconnected, but are closely related.

Consider the example of several serious issues that are usually addressed individually with narrowly-defined, single-purpose solutions that compete for limited resources: the flooding of homes and businesses; pollution of rivers and harbors; and the deterioration of low-income, inner-city communities.

Large portions of many American cities contain extensive tracts of vacant land, once covered by buildings. These are commonly regarded as problems, but they also afford opportunities to restore the city's natural environment and to rebuild inner-city neighborhoods. What is rarely recognized is that much of this vacant land is concentrated in valley bottoms. I first discovered this correlation between buried floodplains and vacant land in Boston in 1985, when I visited low-income neighborhoods and noticed that hilltops and hillsides had very few vacant lots, while valley bottoms were largely open. Old maps showed that streams had once flowed through the valleys. I traced the successive settlement and abandonment of these neighborhoods by comparing maps from 1876 to 1984. Homes were built first on hilltops and upper slopes, while floodplains and streams were filled in and developed last with cheaper housing. Some buildings were abandoned as early as 1910; by 1964 extensive areas in the bottomlands were vacant. Water flowing underground, flooding basements and undermining foundations, contributed to the abandonment. The abandonment was also fueled by political processes and social discrimination that discouraged investment in old urban neighborhoods while encouraging the development of new suburban communities, and by socio-economic phenomena like population migration and arson. In the 1970s, many landlords burned down their decaying buildings to collect fire insurance, and by 1985 even more land was vacant. Local people and city officials believed the only causes were socio-

economic. They did not see the connection to the natural processes of poor drainage and subsidence in the buried floodplains and, tragically, they rebuilt on low-lying vacant land.

Similar conditions exist in many other American cities. In the Mill Creek neighborhood in West Philadelphia, where I have worked since 1987, there is a broad band of vacant land and buildings that follows the course of an old stream. In the late nineteenth century, the stream was buried in a sewer, the floodplain was filled in, and buildings were built on top. Periodically, since the 1930s, buildings constructed along the sewer have caved in.

Burying streams like those in Boston and Philadelphia, and turning them into huge conduits carrying both stormwater and sewage, created another problem besides flooding and subsidence: combined sewer overflows. After a heavy rain, so much stormwater comes off the streets and flows into the sewer—mixing with all the wastewater from homes and businesses—that there is too much volume for the sewage treatment plant to handle. As a result, untreated sewage overflows directly into the river. This is a big problem in Philadelphia and in many other old cities built when it was standard practice to combine sanitary and storm sewers.

In the 1970s, many cities separated the sanitary and storm sewers, so that stormwater flows directly into rivers and does not overload treatment plants. Then scientists discovered that this change did not improve the quality of river water as much as they had expected, because urban stormwater is also polluted. The current wisdom is that cities should probably treat stormwater runoff as well as sanitary sewage. It actually is an advantage to have a combined system. The problem, then, is how to deal with massive volumes of water that need to be treated after a rain-storm. Do you build enormous new sewage treatment plants, as some cities have done?

An understanding of natural processes suggests another way to prevent combined sewer overflows: detain the stormwater above ground in order to extend the time it takes the water to get to the sewage treatment plant. Look again at the buried floodplains in urban neighborhoods. They ought to be recognized as an important structural part of the landscape, a special zone where new buildings should not be built. Imagine if they were reconstructed as greenways and parks like Olmsted's Fens and Riverway were. A landscape infrastructure designed to detain and filter stormwater would prevent floods and combined sewer overflows downstream, improve regional water quality, and improve living conditions in inner-city neighborhoods.

I first proposed these ideas in Boston in 1985.³³ Then, in Philadelphia, I worked for years to convince the City Planning Commission and the

Philadelphia Water Department that the buried creek was both a force to be reckoned with and a resource to be exploited, but failed to convince the planners and engineers. When the plan for West Philadelphia was released in 1994, there was no mention of the problems that Mill Creek posed. The planners and engineers could not see what was right before their eyes. I began to understand that the underlying problem was a kind of illiteracy. I wrote my next book, *The Language of Landscape*, to help people relearn this fundamental skill.

Literacy in landscape language enables people to read environmental, social, economic, and political stories embedded in their local landscape, and empowers them to think about how to tell new stories. *The Language of Landscape* begins with a prologue, "The Yellowwood and the Forgotten Creek." The text, adapted here, conveys my reasons for writing the book.

Once a yellowwood stood by an old library—leafing, flowering, fruiting, setting seed; roots grabbed hold, sucked air and water from beneath a plaza of brick. Students sat each spring under the yellowwood, listening to their names named, glad for green shade, walked under it to the library, breathed musky June flowers, kicked yellow leaves of October across red bricks.

For many years the yellowwood grew; while red stone blackened, the building decayed. Then men came to fix the library, piled stacks of tools, tiles, and sacks around the tree, sealing soil under bricks. Two years later, the library reopened, leaded glass gleaming, blackened stone brightened. "How elegant," people said. That fall the tree lost its leaves early, in September.

In May, the yellowwood flowered, also early, and profusely. Thousands of fragrant white blooms hung in long clusters; petals covered bricks, blew across grass. "How beautiful," people said. How sad, though. Several years' bud scars bunched against each twig's growing tip. Abundant flowers signaled a dying, and seeds found no purchase in the plaza. People admired the tree and walked on; they had lost the language that gives tongue to its tale. Once a yellowwood stood. No more. And few knew why.

One day a street caved in. Sidewalks collapsed into a block-long chasm. People looked down, shocked to see a strong, brown, rushing river. "A truck fell into a hole like that years back," someone said. "A whole block of homes collapsed into a hole one night a long time ago," said someone else. They weren't sure where. Six months later, the hole was filled, street patched, side-

walks rebuilt. Years went by, new folks moved in, water seeped, streets dipped, walls cracked.

Once a creek flowed—long before there was anyone to give it a name—coursing down, carving, plunging, pooling, thousands of years before dams harnessed its power, people buried it in a sewer and built houses on top. Now, swollen with rain and sewage, the buried creek bursts pipes, soaks soil, floods basements, undermines buildings. During storms, brown water gushes from inlets and manholes into streets and, downstream, overwhelms the treatment plant, overflowing into the river from which the city draws its water.

Vacant lots overgrown by meadows and shrubby thickets near boarded-up homes and community gardens filled with flowers and vegetables follow a meandering line no one seems to see. In a school that stands on this unseen line, the gym floods every time it rains. Once a year, teachers take students on buses to a place outside the city to see and study “nature.”

On a once-vacant lot, brand new houses—red brick, yellow siding, green sliver of lawn out front, gates open—rise in contrast to nearby older, shattered houses and land laid waste: “First Time Buyers own this home for less than you pay in rent,” a sign urges. The houses have been built by churches from coins and foundation funds, the land a gift from the city. “How beautiful,” people say. No one wonders why the land was free, why water puddles there, why the name of the place is Mill Creek.

Signs of hope, signs of warning are all around, unseen, unheard, undetected. Most people can no longer read the signs: whether they live in a floodplain, whether they are rebuilding an urban neighborhood or planting the seeds of its destruction, whether they are protecting or polluting the water they drink, caring for or killing a tree. Most have forgotten the language and cannot read the stories the wildflowers and saplings on vacant lots tell of life’s regenerative power; many do not understand the beauty of a community garden’s messy order. They cannot hear or see the language of landscape.

Architects’ drawings show no roots, no growing, just green lollipops and buildings floating on a page, as if ground were flat and blank, the tree an object not a life. Planners’ maps show no buried rivers, no flowing, just streets, lines of ownership, and proposals for future use, as if past were not present, as if the city were merely a human construct, not a living, changing landscape. Children’s textbooks, from science to history, show no nearby

scenes, suggest or demand no first-hand knowing, just formulas and faroff people and places, as if numbers and language had no local meaning, as if their present had no past, no future, the student a vessel not an actor.

The yellowwood was the first yellowwood I ever saw, its perfumed flowers an amazing surprise my first year as a graduate student, the same year the hole and the river emerged near my apartment. The yellowwood, gone, is still on my daily path; the forgotten creek is now the heart of my work. Back then I knew nothing of dying trees or buried rivers. Now I have learned to read what sloping valleys and sinking streets tell, what bud scars say. Landscapes are rich with complex language, spoken and written in land, air, and water. Humans are story-telling animals, thinking in metaphors steeped in landscape: putting down roots means commitment, an uprooting is a traumatic event. Like a living tree rooted in place, language is rooted in landscape.

The meanings landscapes hold are not just metaphorical and metaphysical, but real, their messages practical; understanding may mean survival instead of extinction. Losing, or failing to hear and read, the language of landscape threatens body and spirit, for the pragmatic and the imaginative aspects of landscape language have always coexisted. Relearning the language that holds life in place is an urgent task.³⁴

The Yellowwood and the Forgotten Creek are not just parables, but true stories of failure; the school is real, and so are the new houses for first-time homeowners, built on the buried floodplain. I decided to organize my teaching and research to address these failures. My students and I began a program with a public school in the Mill Creek neighborhood, Sulzberger Middle School, the school in the Prologue to *The Language of Landscape*. Mill Creek is one of the poorest neighborhoods in Philadelphia, and the population is now virtually all African-American, though until recently it had been racially integrated for more than a century. The program at Sulzberger had four parts: teaching the children (ages ten to thirteen) to read their landscape, to propose landscape change, to build landscape improvements, and to document their accomplishments. By working with children and their teachers, I hoped to reach parents and other adults. What began as a community-based, environmental education program organized around the urban watershed grew into a program on landscape literacy and community development. In the process, I learned that the consequences of landscape illiteracy are far greater than I had imagined.

A Sulzberger teacher told me that her students called their neighborhood "The Bottom." So they already know it's in a floodplain? "No, they mean it's at the bottom." Both meanings of the word can be read in the area around the Sulzberger School: standing water after rain; slumping streets and sidewalks; vacant, rubble-strewn house lots; whole square blocks of abandoned land; men standing around street corners on a work-day afternoon, jobless.

The school's environmental science curriculum treated at length such topics as tropical rain forests and exotic wildlife, while issues of local importance like watersheds and the plant succession taking place on vacant lots a block or two from the school received scant attention or none at all. One popular science teacher took students once a year to an environmental center in the suburbs to see and study "nature." To change the teachers' and students' perceptions that Mill Creek had nothing to do with "nature" was quite a challenge. It was equally hard to persuade students that the neighborhood had ever been different or that it might be changed.

At the start of the Mill Creek Program, as the Sulzberger teachers called it, my students taught weekly workshops on Mill Creek and its urban watershed. They led a field trip outside the school to look for signs of the buried creek (slumping sidewalks, cracks in walls, manhole covers). One eighth-grade teacher followed up with further assignments, including an essay on the buried creek, the problems it posed, and ideas for solutions. The students did what was asked of them, but the creek was not real to them. When my students spoke of designs for change, the children told them all the reasons the proposals would fail. "It won't happen." "Someone will wreck it." Studying the history of the neighborhood proved to be the key that unlocked the students' imagination.

The breakthrough came six months into the Mill Creek Project. The catalyst was a series of weekly classes taught by students in my seminar. Each of my university students led a group of six or seven eighth-graders in ninety-minute workshops. The sessions focused on particular time periods. There were no lectures and no secondary sources. At the end of every class, two students from each group "reported out" by telling the rest of the class what they had discovered.

My students brought in texts, maps, and photographs. To help the children draw out meanings from the documents, they posed a series of questions. By breaking up big questions into smaller questions to which the children could find answers, my students led them to develop a hypothesis and then to find further evidence to support it. Only after the Sulzberger students had identified potential explanations for what they observed did my students tell them about further information. The idea

was to encourage the Sulzberger students to form the habit of looking for significant detail, of framing questions, and of reasoning out possible answers. The goal was to enable the Sulzberger students to transfer this process of reading historical documents to the reading of their landscape, which is itself a kind of historical document.

During the third class, one thirteen-year-old looked at a photograph from 1880 showing a stream, a mill, and workmen dwarfed by the huge sewer they were building, with new row houses in the distance: "You mean, there really was a *creek*!?" she exclaimed. From then on, the kids were hooked. The students' energy carried over into the next class, which focused on planning for the future. A few weeks later, staff from the City Planning Commission and the West Philadelphia Empowerment Zone visited the class. Sulzberger students asked the planners: "Why did you let those new houses be built on the buried floodplain? Did you warn the people who bought them?" "What are you doing about the Mill Creek sewer?" "What have you done about redlining?" "Why haven't you started a community bank?"

Landscape literacy entails more than reading, it means shaping landscape also. Each student wrote and illustrated a proposal for how the creek might be transformed from a liability into a neighborhood asset. The essays and drawings were published at the end of the school year in a booklet and a website.

At the beginning of the semester, Sulzberger students described their neighborhood in negative terms and said they would not live in Mill Creek if they had a choice. Only one student planned to attend college. Two months later, all but one student said they planned to attend college. The teacher reported that his students' performance in all subjects had improved dramatically. He attributed this to the way that primary materials challenged and made history real for them and to their growing perception of how their own lives and landscape were related to the larger city, region, and nation.

Ten years ago, I thought that the worst effect of landscape illiteracy was to produce environmental injustice in the form of physical hazards to health and safety. The Sulzberger students taught me that there is an even greater injustice: to be ashamed of where one lives. To feel ashamed of one's home neighborhood saps self esteem and can engender a sense of blame and resignation. Before the students at Sulzberger Middle School learned to read their landscape more fully, many believed that the poor conditions were their fault. Learning how the landscape came to be that way gave them a sense of relief. Once they gained the skill to read the landscape and its history, they began to see their home in a more positive light and brimmed with ideas for how it might be improved. Secure in

their knowledge, they challenged public officials and impressed them with articulate proposals. To read and shape landscape is to learn and teach: to know the world, to express ideas, and to influence others.

If humans are to survive, we must find new ways to adapt ourselves to our surroundings, ways that let us see the interconnections of the world around us and our part in it. We must also find ways to adapt our landscapes along the lines summarized here. I have devoted my career to promoting this. But I have shifted away from my earlier conviction that the main problem lies in ignorance: Now I believe that language, too, is key. Language is not merely a tool for communication, but a medium, also, for thought and action. Language can liberate and provoke thought, but it can also impede thinking. Language inspires and channels what we do.

And language is more than words. Landscape itself is a form of language. I believe that the language of landscape is our native language. Landscape was the original dwelling; humans evolved among plants and animals, under the sky, upon the earth, near water. Everyone, in every culture, carries that legacy in body and mind. Humans touched, saw, heard, smelled, tasted, lived in, and shaped landscapes before the species had words to describe all that it did. Landscapes were the first human texts, read before the invention of other signs and symbols. Clouds, wind, and sun were recognized as clues to weather; ripples and eddies were read as signs of rocks and life under water, caves and ledges as promise of shelter, trees as guides to food and water, bird calls as warnings of predators.

The language of landscape can be spoken, written, read, and imagined. "Speaking" and reading landscape is a byproduct of living and a strategy of survival—creating refuge, providing prospect, growing food. To read and shape landscape is to learn and teach: to know the world, to express ideas and to influence others. Landscape as language makes thought tangible and imagination possible. Through it, humans share experiences with future generations, just as ancestors inscribed their values and beliefs in the landscapes they left as a legacy, a rich lode of literature: natural and cultural histories, landscapes of purpose, poetry, power, and prayer.

Not everyone is a fisherman or a farmer for whom landscape is livelihood, but all can learn to read landscape, to understand those readings, and to inscribe new wisdom into life in city, suburb, and countryside, to cultivate the power of landscape expression as if one's life depended upon it. For it does.

Notes

This essay is adapted from several of my prior publications: *The Language of Landscape* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); "The Authority of Nature: Conflict and Confusion in Landscape Architecture," in *Nature and Ideology*, ed. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C., 1997); "One with Nature: Landscape, Language, Empathy, and Imagination," 2001 International Cosmos Prize Address; and "Restoring Mill Creek: Landscape Literacy, Environmental Justice, and City Planning and Design," *Landscape Research* 30:3 (July 2006): 395–413.

¹ George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature* (1864).

² See George Thompson and Frederick Steiner, eds., *Ecological Design and Planning* (New York, 1997). This collection of essays reveals some of the conflict and confusion in the field in the late 1990s, as well as some pitfalls of appealing to "ecology" or "nature" for authority in landscape design. This criticism should in no way be interpreted as a rejection of "ecological" design, but rather should be seen as an attempt to construct firmer ground for future discussions.

³ Quoted by Brendan Gill in *Many Masks* (New York, 1987), 22. Another version, almost word for word, is transcribed from a tape of August 4, 1957 in Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, *Frank Lloyd Wright: His Living Voice* (Fresno, 1987), 88. Wright spoke with Mike Wallace in 1957 on the television program "The Mike Wallace Interview." "I've always considered myself deeply religious," said Wright. "Do you go to any specific church?" asked Wallace. Wright replied, "My church [pause], I put a capital 'N' on Nature and go there." For a discussion of how ideas of nature are expressed in the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, see my essay, "Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect of Landscape," in *Designs for an American Landscape: 1922–1932*, ed. David DeLong (New York, 1996), 135–69.

⁴ Carol Franklin, "Allowing the Land to Live," in Thompson and Steiner, eds., *Ecological Design*.

⁵ Laurie Olin, "Form, Meaning, and Expression in Landscape Architecture," *Landscape Journal* 7:2 (1988): 150. A special issue on "Nature, Form, and Meaning," edited by Anne Whiston Spirn.

⁶ On the first day of class, I ask students to define nature. Sometimes at the end of the semester I ask them to write a short paper defining nature once again. Their answers are more articulate and reflective, but rarely change in substance from the first brief statement. I have concluded that ideas of nature are deeply held beliefs, closely tied to religious values, even for those people who do not consider themselves "religious." By the age of twenty-five, most students' ideas of nature seem set, or at least not modified greatly by a single course on the subject. (Students ranged in age from twenty-two to fifty; most were in their mid- to late twenties). While largely North American, approximately one-third have come from other parts of the world, including Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, South America, and Australia. Of the North Americans, most grew up in the suburbs or in rural areas; a higher proportion of foreign students are from cities.

⁷ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (New York, 1983), 219. Many essays and entire books have been written on the origins, history, use, and significance of the word nature. See, for example: Raymond Williams, "Ideas of Nature," in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London, 1980), 67–85; C.S. Lewis, "Nature," in *Studies in Words* (Cambridge, 1967); Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Some Meanings of 'Nature,'" in A.O. Lovejoy et al., *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas* (Baltimore, 1935), 447–456; Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Nature as Aesthetic Norm," in *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore, 1948), 69–77; R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of Nature* (London, 1945); Clarence Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1967); William Leiss, *The Domination of Nature* (Boston, 1974); Neil Evernden, *The Social Creation of Nature* (Baltimore, 1992); William Cronon, ed., *Common Ground: Toward Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York, 1996).

⁸ This description of the origins of the word nature draws from Williams, *Keywords*.

⁹ Personal communication, Cornelia Brierly of the Taliesin Fellowship. Brierly was assigned to assist Jensen when he visited Wright at Taliesin.

¹⁰ See William Cronon, "Inconstant Unity," in *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect*, ed. Terrance Riley (New York, 1994) for an excellent discussion of the roots of Wright's philosophy.

¹¹ Wright, "An Autobiography," in *Collected Writings*, Volume 2, ed. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer (New York, 1992), 163.

¹² Jens Jensen, *Siftings, A Major Portion of The Clearing, and Collected Writings* (Chicago, 1956), 94.

¹³ Jensen, *Siftings*, 23.

¹⁴ Jensen, *Siftings*, 21.

¹⁵ Jensen was born of a Danish-speaking family in the Slesvig region—a border zone of northern Germany and southern Denmark. This region was politically and culturally contested ground for more than a century. Despite two good books on Jensen's life and work, his complex relationship to Danish and German ideas of nature and nation has not been fully explored. See Leonard Eaton, *Landscape Artist in America: The Life and Work of Jens Jensen* (Chicago, 1964); Robert E. Grese, *Jens Jensen: Maker of Natural Parks and Gardens* (Baltimore, 1992); and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn's review of Grese in *Journal of Garden History* 15 (1995), 54–55. For perspectives on contemporary Danish and German ideas of nature and natural gardens, see Kenneth Olwig, "Historical Geography and Society/Nature Problematic: The Perspective of J.F. Schouw, George Perkins Marsh, and E. Reclus," *Journal of Historical Geography* 6:1 (1980), *Nature's Ideological Landscape* (London, 1984), and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "'The Peculiar Garden': The Advent and the Destruction of Modernism in German Garden Design," in *Masters of American Garden Design III: The Modern Garden in Europe and the United States, Proceedings of the Garden Conservancy Symposium (March 1993)*, ed. Robin Karson. See also Frank Waugh, *The Natural Style of Landscaping* (Boston, 1917) for a North American perspective and Alan Ruff, *Holland and the Ecological Landscape* (Stockport, 1979) for an introduction to the work of Jacques Thijssse, J. Landwehr, and the Dutch Heem (home) parks.

¹⁶ For a history of the Chicago school of ecology and the interplay between science and a social philosophy that stressed the value of cooperation over conflict, see Gregg Mitman, *The State of Nature: Ecology, Community, and American Social Thought 1900–1950* (Chicago, 1992).

¹⁷ For a discussion of ecological theory in Germany during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and parallels between the eradication of non-native plants in Nazi Germany and the extermination of non-Aryan human populations, see Gert Groening and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "Some Notes on the Mania for Native Plants in Germany," *Landscape Journal* 11:2 (1992), 116–12. There is some evidence that Jensen was sympathetic to at least some of these ideas; see Wolschke-Bulmahn, "'The Peculiar Garden.'"

¹⁸ Grese in *Jens Jensen* presents a useful comparison of the work of Olmsted and Jensen in this and other respects, but emphasizes similarities and does not probe their ideological differences.

¹⁹ For more detail on Olmsted's approach, see Anne Whiston Spirn, "Constructing Nature: The Legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted," in Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*.

²⁰ The Ramble at Central Park was planted to appear "wild," but it was only a small part of the park. William Robinson, an English acquaintance of Olmsted, published his book *The Wild Garden* in 1870. Olmsted was undoubtedly also aware of Martin Johnson Heade's contemporary paintings depicting marshes along Boston's North Shore.

²¹ Frederick Law Olmsted, "Parks, Parkways and Pleasure Grounds," *Engineering Magazine* 9:2 (May 1895), 253–254.

²² Jensen, *Siftings*, 83.

²³ Jensen, *Siftings*, 46.

²⁴ Jensen, *Siftings*, 35.

²⁵ Jensen, *Siftings*, 45.

²⁶ Such views were common at the time, and Olmsted discussed them frequently in relation to his work. See, for example, Frederick Law Olmsted, "The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees: A Preliminary Report" (1865), reprinted in *Landscape Architecture* 43 (1952), and *General Plan for the Improvement of the Niagara Reservation* (New York, 1887).

²⁷ For quotations of Olmsted's and Sargent's disagreement on this subject, see Cynthia Zaitzevsky, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System* (Cambridge, 1982), 196.

²⁸ Frederick Law Olmsted, *General Plan for the Sanitary Improvement of Muddy River and for Completing a Continuous Promenade between Boston Common and Jamaica Pond* (Boston, 1881).

²⁹ Robert Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America* (Chapel Hill, 1993).

³⁰ See Donald Scherer and Thomas Attig, eds., *Ethics and the Environment* (Englewood Cliffs, 1983). At its most extreme, contemporary environmentalism can even sound anti-human. Ian McHarg referred to humans as a "planetary disease" in 1969 with the publication of his book *Design with Nature* (Garden City, 1969). Despite misanthropic rhetoric, McHarg had close links to the earlier regionalist movement through his mentor Lewis Mumford.

³¹ From Cicero, *De natura deorum*, quoted and translated by John Dixon Hunt, "The Idea of the Garden, and the Three Natures," in *Zum Naturbegriff der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1993), 312.

³² Merriam-Webster, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, Unabridged (electronic version, 2006).

³³ For an account of the Boston case, see Anne Whiston Spirn, "Reclaiming Common Ground: Water, Neighborhoods, and Public Spaces," in *The American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy*, ed. Robert Fishman (Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Md., 2000). For the Philadelphia case, see Anne Whiston Spirn, "Restoring Mill Creek: Landscape Literacy, Environmental Justice, and City Planning and Design," *Landscape Research* 30:3 (July 2006): 395–413.

³⁴ Anne Whiston Spirn, *The Language of Landscape* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 10–11.

WHY CARE ABOUT DIRT? TRANSATLANTIC PERSPECTIVES ON THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE

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Can one compare German and American agriculture? Few fields of history have a weaker comparative record than agricultural history, and for a reason.¹ Comparative history has usually been best whenever there was an enticing mixture of similarities and differences, and in the case of agriculture, it might appear that the balance is tilting excessively toward the latter. The situation of, say, a New England colonist or a nineteenth-century prairie farmer seems to bear little resemblance to that of a German peasant, who had to cope with the remnants of feudalism until well into the twentieth century. Whereas the frontier myth endowed American farming with an aura of autonomy and self-reliance, German rural affairs evoke notions of conservatism and backwardness, of “eternal peasants” and, at worst, “blood and soil.” The rural utopia of Thomas Jefferson was truly a world away, in more than one sense, from the paleoabsolutist longings of the West Prussian lord of the manor Elard von Oldenburg-Januschau, who achieved historic notoriety with his 1910 remark that the German emperor should always be in a position to decree the closure of parliament by military force.² The situation might appear even more dismal when one focuses on environmental issues. There seems to be no obvious equivalent in German agricultural history to the prodigious disaster that the Dust Bowl meant for U.S. agriculture, or to the impressive rise of a soil conservation bureaucracy that it begat. Six years after its foundation in 1933, the United States Soil Conservation Service (SCS) comprised 13,290 employees, with 20,000 additional employees working on soil conservation issues within the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Emergency Relief Administration.³ In contrast, the Dust Bowl inspired little more than a lukewarm discussion over the perils of “desertification” in the German context, led mostly as a one-man crusade by the “National Landscape Advocate” of Nazi Germany, Alwin Seifert.⁴ A group of soil specialists, set up and funded by the West German Min-

istry of Agriculture after World War II, had not grown to more than a dozen members by 1967.⁵

The prospects for comparative approaches look more promising when one takes a step back from these diverse phenomena and considers the general context of twentieth-century farming. In both countries, agriculture was increasingly driven by consumer demands since the late nineteenth century. The crucial link between rural producers and urban consumers is better known in the United States than in Germany as a result of William Cronon's influential *Nature's Metropolis*, a study of Chicago's pivotal role as a hub for natural commodities.⁶ At its root, the market revolution of the nineteenth century was a transportation revolution, and it is revealing that transportation issues figured prominently in late-nineteenth-century farm policy. In the United States, concerns over unfair railroad tariffs helped to fuel the populist revolt; in eastern Germany, grain producers successfully stalled the construction of the *Mittel-landkanal*, a canal that was to connect Berlin and the eastern provinces with North Sea harbors, thus facilitating market access for cheap grain imports.⁷ But fighting the transportation revolution soon turned out to be a hopeless cause: the *Mittellandkanal* was completed during the interwar years, and farmers realized that the best way to stay in business was to increase productivity. And for German and American farmers alike, the most important way to boost agricultural productivity was to apply scientific expertise.

The rise of the agricultural sciences is still one of the most understudied fields in the history of science. Little has changed since 1990, when Deborah Fitzgerald remarked, "Just as agricultural historians have neglected the relationship between science, technology, and agriculture, so historians of science and technology have been rather reluctant to examine the origins and development of the agricultural sciences in the United States."⁸ A few years ago, German historian of science Margit Szöllösi-Janze made an almost identical remark.⁹ As a result, the immense transformative power of scientific expertise is strangely absent from many agricultural history books; for example, Ulrich Kluge's recent overview of German agricultural history in the twentieth century, for all its apparent merits, does not include a chapter on these themes.¹⁰ Yet twentieth-century agriculture saw nothing short of a scientific revolution: gradually, scientific expertise evolved into a force that challenged practically every aspect of farming. Scientific experts influenced the farmers' choice of seeds and fertilizers as well as the breeding of animals, and paved the way for the use of high-tech machinery, often determining "good practices" to such an extent that farmers became mere executioners of expert advice.

In order to understand the true extent of the challenge of “scientific farming,” it is crucial to recognize the ambiguity of the overarching goal of agricultural productivity. Farmers could pursue very different paths to profitability, and the best option was and remains anything but obvious. Farmers may boost per-acre yields by specializing in a certain crop, but that makes them more dependent on price fluctuations for this one commodity. Farmers may seek maximum yields by massive doses of pesticides and fertilizers, only to realize that the costs did not justify the results. Most importantly, the exact meaning of agricultural productivity was closely dependent on the time frame. The “suitcase farmers” of the Midwest—urbanites who bought parcels of land, put in seed in the spring, returned to their regular jobs, and then returned in the fall to see if anything had grown—could be a profitable business model in the short term, but it implied an enormous risk for soil fertility in the long run.¹¹ With market forces pushing a huge number of agricultural producers out of business over the course of the twentieth century, pressure was strong for German and American farmers alike to focus on short-term gains and neglect long-term sustainability. Therefore, a transatlantic comparison should include an environmental perspective: the history of twentieth-century agriculture is not only about farmers and scientists, commodities and machinery, but also about precarious ecological resources like land and water. While traditional agriculture, for better or worse, often took these resources for granted or modified them to a rather limited extent for lack of sufficient technology, modern agriculture has enormously increased mankind’s transformative capabilities. Much has been written about water resources in Germany and the United States.¹² But the soil deserves no less attention: after all, agriculture, and in fact any kind of plant life, is dependent on a small band of earth rarely more than a foot thick that includes organic matter in sufficient quantities. Even more, one of the essential characteristics of fertile soil is the low speed of chemical and biological processes, making the dynamism inserted into the soil by modern farming practices all the more delicate. And this situation accompanied a widespread ignorance of soil microbiology and chemistry among farmers and their experts: often, the farmers’ ability to transform their soils grew much more quickly during the modern era than the corresponding body of knowledge. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that both countries experienced a soil crisis during the twentieth century, and a transatlantic comparison of these crises tells a lot about agriculture in both countries, as well as the secular trend of the industrialization of agriculture in general.

The most obvious case of a soil crisis was, of course, the Dust Bowl that plagued the southern Great Plains in the 1930s. Given its prominence in U.S. history and (thanks to John Steinbeck) world literature, the litera-

ture on the Dust Bowl is still surprisingly small.¹³ In fact, interest in the ensuing westward migration has been much stronger than interest in the event itself: "When the story of the Dust Bowl is told, it is most often the story of those who left," Pamela Riney-Kehrberg remarked, emphasizing that this focus ignores the fact that no less than three-quarters of the residents chose to stay in the face of enduring hardships.¹⁴ With meager research and without a consensual definition of the term, the Dust Bowl continues to be a myth as much as an actual event, resulting in textbook descriptions with a notable lack of precision.¹⁵ One of the most enduring myths, most recently restated by Joachim Radkau in his world environmental history, holds that the Dust Bowl was a wakeup call for the vulnerability of the soil, inspiring global efforts to control erosion.¹⁶ However, reality was more complicated.

Dust Bowl narratives tend to move smoothly from a description of the farmers' misery on the southern plains to an outline of the efforts of the federal Soil Erosion Service, founded in 1933 and renamed the Soil Conservation Service in 1935. Led for almost two decades by the charismatic Hugh Bennett, the agency sought to promote soil-conserving farming techniques, ultimately earning a reputation as "one of the more successful agencies spawned by the New Deal."¹⁷ But such a reading is mistaken on at least two points. Bennett was far less impressed by the misery in the Midwest than conventional narratives assume. Bennett was a native of North Carolina, and the water erosion problems of the American South were always higher on his list of priorities than the wind erosion on the southern plains.¹⁸ While Bennett gave numerous speeches all over the southern states, this author was unable to identify a single speech in the Dust Bowl region during the 1930s.¹⁹ Furthermore, what has been depicted as a science-based crusade was in reality pretty much the opposite: a haphazard, improvised campaign driven far more by the wayward reactions of farmers, the lack of expert knowledge, and the law of unintended consequences than by science and planning. In an interview conducted in 1967, Walter Lowdermilk, the SCS's second in command during the 1930s, frankly admitted that soil conservation policy had not evolved according to a comprehensive master plan: "This work is like a chess game; we make a move and then see what happens to direct us to make another move. Each step leads to another step."²⁰

Hugh Bennett was eager to stress the cooperative nature of all soil conservation efforts. "Much of our success in the soil and water conservation program has been due to our ability to bring farmers and ranchers to understand that the primary responsibility for conservation is theirs, not that of the government," Bennett noted in a speech of 1951.²¹ His successor Robert Salter even chastised "compulsion by government

edict" as "the way Mr. Stalin is introducing technology into Soviet agriculture."²² These latter abjurations notwithstanding, Bennett's original intentions were very much along the lines of compulsion and government planning. In a memorandum that he wrote for the Secretary of the Interior in January 1934, some four months after the start of the program, Bennett found it "apparent that the solution lies in measures of erosion control and in certain restricted regulations of land use in the public interest."²³ As late as 1947, the Soil Conservation Service published a brochure on "Land Use Regulation in Soil Conservation Districts" in a vain effort to push the local soil conservation districts toward legal coercion.²⁴

It is a matter of debate whether there was a realistic chance to impose and enforce rules and regulations on soil conservation. However, it is clear that cooperation and education figured prominently in SCS rhetoric from its inception, and the themes of expert advice soon moved beyond soil conservation necessities, especially after Bennett's retirement in 1952. While Bennett liked to depict soil conservation as essential for the survival of American civilization, the actual SCS work drifted toward general advice in the pursuit of agricultural intensification. The new direction did not become clear until a press dispute between Bennett and his successor in the journal *Country Gentleman*, when Salter, charged by Bennett with "wrecking soil conservation," laid out his ideas. Whereas soil conservation had always ranked first and foremost in Bennett's speeches, Salter sought "to protect the soil and build up its productivity, both at the same time."²⁵ On another occasion, Salter likewise insisted that "there's more to conservation farming than controlling erosion. It involves the prevention of soil deterioration and erosion, more productive use of the rain that falls on the land, proper drainage and irrigation, rebuilding eroded soil, building up soil fertility, and increasing yields and farm income—all at the same time."²⁶ It is clear in retrospect however that the change had already been under way during Bennett's tenure. One of the signs had been a growing interest in drainage work, an activity that was far more important for productivity than for soil conservation. "There are some 31 million acres now in farms that need drainage," Bennett noted in an address of 1944, tacitly glossing over the fact that draining land would, if anything, boost farm production but increase the risk of erosion.²⁷

It is important to recognize that the key impulse in this shift of focus came from the field personnel of the SCS, the people who were trying to enlist farmers in the drive against erosion. A soil surveyor who had joined the service in 1939 later recalled that his work in Alabama was "a little like selling insurance," and that captured the dominant experience in the field.²⁸ The Soil Conservation Service was dealing with a reluctant

constituency, and converting farmers to the cause of soil conservation often required more than good expertise. This was a scarce commodity during the 1930s; in fact, soil erosion specialists were one of the few professionals in short supply during the Great Depression. The Soil Conservation Service often solved these difficulties by offering financial incentives. To give just one example, the director of the Extension Service in Stillwater, Oklahoma reported in 1935 that while his own men sought to encourage farmers to use contour plowing by offering ten cents per acre for fuel or feed, the staff of the SCS, operating a similar program across the border in Texas, presented farmers with a far more generous offer, even supplying them with free fuel for the tractors.²⁹ This kind of generosity was clearly common in the service, especially during the early years, and financial incentives became so essential to soil conservation work that they were never flushed out of the service's arsenal. In fact, it appears that no one ever seriously tried to pursue a purely consultative approach.³⁰ The results were reflected in many reports from soil conservation districts in the 1950s and 1960s, where subsidies for lime and cheap offers for the use of heavy machinery were usually the key selling points. What had begun as a soil conservation drive was now effectively a support program for the intensification of agriculture.

German agriculture had a soil crisis as well, though it is not remembered as vividly as its American counterpart for lack of spectacular dust storms. The German soil crisis was the result of World War I, when German farm production declined by about one-third. With nitrates no longer available as fertilizers due to their military importance, and organic wastes shrinking as a result of poor feed and a massive decline in the number of hogs, yields per acre declined dramatically.³¹ After the war, the general rallying cry was for an increased use of mineral fertilizers: agricultural scientists, administrators, and lobbyists from the fertilizer industry were unanimous in their opinion that with greater doses of nutrients, the situation would be remedied quickly. In fact, fertilizer use became an issue of life or death from the agricultural community's point of view. A memorandum of the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture solemnly declared in 1920, "The necessary amounts of mineral fertilizer are available, and can be purchased and put into the soil. If that does not happen, people will starve."³²

With the Haber-Bosch synthesis, mineral fertilizer became available for the first time, and farmers, encouraged by the universal propaganda, bought and used it in unprecedented quantities. The quick regeneration of agricultural soils turned out to be elusive, however: for some plants, it took more than a decade to return to pre-war average yields. Farmers were disaffected for both financial and ecological reasons. In economic terms, the pervasive call for more intensive fertilizer use resulted in mis-

directed investments. Expenditures for fertilizers were usually the greatest single item in the farmers' budgets, and with many farmers struggling to pay their mortgages in the late 1920s—a crisis immortalized in Hans Fallada's novel *Bauern, Bonzen und Bomben*—malinvestments were clearly a sensitive topic.³³ In a 1931 book, Hans Schlange-Schöningen noted that fertilizer doses were "one of the greatest sources of risk in agriculture," warning farmers that they should not "take a gamble" in this regard.³⁴ However, the ecological consequences of intensive fertilizer use were potentially even more severe: the massive use of ammonium fertilizer induced a widespread acidification of agricultural land, which in turn severely curtailed soil fertility. Acid soil was "a threat that has received insufficient attention so far," a 1923 study noted.³⁵ While precise figures on the nationwide extent of acidification were lacking, observers generally agreed that the problem was widespread; in the Prussian province of Saxony, the Chamber of Agriculture [Landwirtschaftskammer] estimated that 50 to 60 percent of the lighter soils were suffering from acidification.³⁶ Even more, quick solutions were not at hand: it took two to three years to regenerate acid soil with lime, in addition to the expenses that this remedy entailed.³⁷ In short, the agricultural science establishment was facing a massive crisis of confidence as a result of its ill-directed fertilizer propaganda, and it was no coincidence that the 1920s saw the rise of alternatives to conventional farming, most prominently in the form of biodynamic farming as defined by Rudolf Steiner in 1924.³⁸ Characteristically, many farmers were enthusiastic when they heard of the new type of organic farming, seeing the prospects of substantial savings and sensing that organic farming was actually a return to the farming practices of their venerable forefathers.³⁹

It is not possible to discuss here the full range of consequences of the acidification crisis.⁴⁰ But from a transatlantic perspective, it should be noted that it did not lead to greater awareness of the precarious nature of soil fertility among either farmers or scientists. Quite the contrary: The acidification crisis paved the way for agricultural intensification, quite similar to the role of the Soil Conservation Service in the United States. In order to detect acid soils, agricultural scientists called on farmers to conduct chemical soil analyses. The chance to learn about a dangerous condition these analyses offered made them quite popular among farmers.

Moderate costs helped encourage the farmers' interest: since 1926, the federal government sponsored a program with subsidies for chemical analysis.⁴¹ In some areas, such as the administrative region of Kassel, the Chamber of Agriculture even offered soil analysis for free.⁴² The Prussian Ministry of Agriculture reported 37,709 soil analyses for acid soils during the 1931 calendar year, with 35 percent showing a need for lime. The

same report also showed some 10,000 soil analyses for 2 other nutrients, potash and phosphorus, and these figures point to the ambiguous side effects of the drive to monitor soil acidity.⁴³ Soil analyses for these nutrients were far more unreliable than the traditional pH tests for acidity. In fact, the chair for agricultural chemistry at the Berlin Agricultural College called for "utmost caution" regarding laboratory analyses of soil in a report to the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture of 1931, noting that they could not offer more than a "general orientation" and should in no case take the place of classic field experiments.⁴⁴ But this warning, which accompanied numerous other voices pointing to the staggering lack of precision of potash and phosphate tests, did not stop the program of subsidies, or even significantly irritate the users of soil analysis. The tests for acidity had established the credibility of these tests, and farmers readily extended this sense of trust to soil analysis in general. In this way, the soil crisis of the 1920s allowed the pervasive introduction of soil analysis, an important step in the growing use of scientific expertise in twentieth-century farming.

Lack of precision remains a notorious problem of chemical soil analysis in the present; a recent handbook noted that they allow "only an approximate" description of plant nutrition.⁴⁵ But there was more to soil tests than the use of an imprecise method: By focusing on nutrients only, they presented a highly selective view on soil fertility. From the viewpoint of chemical soil analysis, a fertile soil contained nitrogen, potash, phosphate, and lime in sufficient quantities, thus rendering issues of humus and organic matter marginal. To be sure, few people argued that humus was actually unimportant for soil fertility, but soil analysis induced them to focus on other issues. Even more, soil analysis encouraged a thinking in short time spans: tests showed the need for nutrients for the next three or four vegetation cycles but ignored the fact that in the long run, soil fertility also depended on a healthy humus layer of sufficient size. As a result, the humus layer slowly moved to the margins of attention, not because someone challenged its general importance for sustainable farming but rather because the dominant knowledge system focused ever more narrowly on the here and now.

Therefore, the soil crises in Germany and the United States had a similar outcome: In the long run, the quick fixes clearly prevailed over the sustainable ones. Neither crisis led to a general change in attitude toward the soil or a popular awareness of the frailty of soil fertility, let alone a commitment to honor this precious resource through soil conservation practices. On the contrary, short-term solutions reigned supreme in both countries, and crisis management ultimately favored the process of agricultural intensification, rather than challenging it from a long-term ecological perspective. Therefore, a transatlantic perspective demonstrates

not only striking similarities in the process of agricultural intensification but also a second, more worrisome phenomenon: the enormous momentum of the agricultural revolution of the twentieth century. Even Hugh Bennett, a person with immense energy and knowledge and a well-publicized disaster at hand, was unable to stem this trend; in fact, his own agency, set up to save the soils of America from erosion, came to encourage their more intensive use. As a result, erosion continues to be a huge and widely underestimated problem. In 1997, the National Resources Inventory found that the United States is losing 1.9 billion tons of soil per year due to erosion.⁴⁶

In his widely acclaimed history of the Dust Bowl, Donald Worster saw the erosion crisis as the prodigious disaster of agricultural capitalism: "The Dust Bowl . . . was the inevitable outcome of a culture that deliberately, self-consciously, set itself that task of dominating and exploiting the land for all it was worth."⁴⁷ A transatlantic perspective might inspire some doubt about such a far-reaching indictment; after all, German peasants had been producing for urban markets since the Middle Ages. But Worster was right in sensing that the Dust Bowl was far more than an accidental event, an unfortunate incident caused by an untimely drought. The Dust Bowl was but one variant of a general dilemma of modern farming: how to bring business cycles and ecological cycles into sync. With market pressures accumulating in the wake of a global market for agricultural commodities, the tendency was strong among farmers anywhere to focus on short-term gains and become oblivious to the long-term ecological implications. It was not that the farmers on the southern plains were particularly unlucky. Rather, farmers elsewhere were lucky that their own soil crises were of a less spectacular variety.

It may be time, in agricultural history and elsewhere, to start rereading Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*. In this book, originally published in 1944, Polanyi described how the market system, traditionally embedded into other social systems, emerged as the dominant system with the rise of the modern world, putting old coping mechanisms and old safety nets under stress and ultimately breaking them before new ones were developed. While markets had been one aspect of economic and social life up to the nineteenth century, they now emerged as the dominant force, reducing work and nature to mere commodities with no inherent value but market value. From an environmental history perspective, the crucial aspect is Polanyi's insistence that, pervasive free-market rhetoric notwithstanding, markets continue to be embedded in society. The history of agriculture in the twentieth century provides a showcase of the merits of the concept of embeddedness: Contrary to the myths of the market economy, agricultural soils remain an entity of nature, with their own autonomous logic. Market forces may influence the internal dy-

namic of soils, but they cannot determine these processes. In other words, there is no guarantee that the cycles of business and the ecological cycles of farmland can be compatible; in fact, with both proceeding according to their own rationales, it is unlikely that they will be compatible. Disasters like the Dust Bowl or the German acidification crisis may make scientists more informed about certain practices, and certainly did in both these cases. But they cannot resolve, at least by themselves, the fundamental dilemma of twentieth-century farming.

What then are the advantages of a transatlantic historical perspective? For a number of years, agriculture has been the subject of intensive discussions in both Germany and the United States. Environmentalists criticize the severe ecological toll of modern farming, while others attack the hazards of modern food production for consumers; farmers are still disaffected with their average incomes, while economists chastise the disturbing impact of Western farm commodities on rural markets worldwide. It is difficult to make sense of the current situation. On the one hand, fertilizer use is no longer growing, as it did for most of the twentieth century, but rather stagnating and even declining to a significant extent. On the other hand, the trend toward more intensive production continues unabated, with hog farms of giant proportions, for example.⁴⁸ So is industrialized agriculture finally losing its momentum and reaching its apogee, paving the way for some “new roots for agriculture?”⁴⁹ Once more, a transatlantic perspective may challenge convenient modes of perception: While German agricultural reformers continue to celebrate organic farming as the model of the future, American researchers have become more skeptical of the “agrarian dreams” of alternative producers.⁵⁰ If farming goes global, shouldn’t historians of agriculture do the same?

Notes

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¹ Characteristically, the recent handbook on German and American history during the Cold War does not include a chapter on agriculture. Detlef Junker, *Die USA und Deutschland im Zeitalter des Kalten Krieges 1945–1990. Ein Handbuch*. 2 vols. (Stuttgart and Munich, 2001).

² Heinrich August Winkler, *Der lange Weg nach Westen*. Bd. 1: *Deutsche Geschichte vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zum Untergang der Weimarer Republik* (Munich, 2000), 310.

³ National Archives of the United States RG 114 Entry 1040 Box 1, Report of the Chief of the Soil Conservation Service for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1939, 77.

⁴ On Seifert, see Thomas Zeller, *Straße, Bahn, Panorama: Verkehrswege und Landschaftsveränderung in Deutschland von 1930 bis 1990* (Frankfurt and New York, 2002).

- ⁵ Bundesarchiv Koblenz B 116/18259, memorandum for Referat II A 2 of January 30, 1967.
- ⁶ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991).
- ⁷ Cf. Robert C. McMath, Jr., *American Populism: A Social History 1877–1898* (New York, 1993); Hannelore Horn, *Der Kampf um den Bau des Mittellandkanals: Eine politologische Untersuchung über die Rolle eines wirtschaftlichen Interessenverbandes im Preußen Wilhelms II.* (Cologne and Opladen, 1964).
- ⁸ Deborah Fitzgerald, *The Business of Breeding: Hybrid Corn in Illinois, 1890–1940* (Ithaca and London, 1990), 1.
- ⁹ Margit Szöllösi-Janze, "Die institutionelle Umgestaltung der Wissenschaftslandschaft im Übergang vom späten Kaiserreich zur Weimarer Republik," in Rüdiger vom Bruch and Brigitte Kaderas (eds.), *Wissenschaften und Wissenschaftspolitik: Bestandsaufnahmen zu Formationen, Brüchen und Kontinuitäten im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2002), 72.
- ¹⁰ Ulrich Kluge, *Agrarwirtschaft und ländliche Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2005).
- ¹¹ Cf. Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford et al, 1979), 93.
- ¹² Cf. Rita Gudermann, *Morastwelt und Paradies: Ökonomie und Ökologie in der Landwirtschaft am Beispiel der Meliorationen in Westfalen und Brandenburg (1830–1880)* (Paderborn, 2000); Marc Reisner, *Cadillac Desert: The American West and its Disappearing Water* (New York, 1987); Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York et al, 1992); Mark Fiege, *Irrigated Eden: The Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West* (Seattle and London, 1999).
- ¹³ Cf. R. Douglas Hurt, *The Dust Bowl: An Agricultural and Social History* (Chicago, 1981); Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl*; Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, *Rooted in Dust: Surviving Drought and Depression in Southwestern Kansas* (Lawrence, 1994); Paul Bonnifield, *The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression* (Albuquerque, 1979); and most recently Timothy Egan, *The Worst Hard Time: The Untold Story of Those Who Survived the Great American Dust Bowl* (Boston, 2006).
- ¹⁴ Riney-Kehrberg, *Rooted in Dust*, 2.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Harry C. McDean, "Dust Bowl Historiography," *Great Plains Quarterly* 6 (1986): 118n.
- ¹⁶ Joachim Radkau, *Natur und Macht: Eine Weltgeschichte der Umwelt* (Munich, 2000), 212.
- ¹⁷ Willard W. Cochrane, *The Development of American Agriculture: A Historical Analysis* (2d edition, Minneapolis and London, 1993), 292.
- ¹⁸ Cf. Donald Worster, "A Sense of Soil," in Worster (ed.), *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (New York and Oxford, 1993), 72.
- ¹⁹ Cf. the collection of speeches in Iowa State University Library, Special Collections Department, Ames, Iowa, MS-164, Box 10.
- ²⁰ Walter Clay Lowdermilk, Soil, Forest, and Water Conservation and Reclamation in China, Israel, Africa, and the United States. An Interview Conducted by Malca Chall, University of California, Bancroft Library/Berkeley, Regional Oral History Office, Berkeley, 1969, vol. 1, 151n.
- ²¹ Iowa State University Library, Special Collections Department, Ames, Iowa, MS-164 Box 1 Folder 5, Statement by Hugh H. Bennett, Chief, Soil Conservation Service, Requested by the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, Regarding Committee Print of S. 1149 on Reorganization of the Department of Agriculture, September 24, 1951, 15.
- ²² National Archives of the United States RG 114 Entry 1039 Box 2 Folder "Speeches—Salter," The Job Ahead. A Talk by Dr. Robt. M. Salter, Chief, Soil Conservation Service, at the 6th annual meeting of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts at Cleveland, Ohio, on February 28, 1952, 3.
- ²³ National Archives of the United States RG 114 Entry 1 Box 1 Folder "February 1934," H. H. Bennett, memorandum for the Secretary of the Interior, January 27, 1934.

²⁴ Cf. National Archives of the United States RG 114 Entry 1039 Box 8 Folder "Historical Materl. on SC Districts," U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Land Use Regulation in Soil Conservation Districts (SCS MP-29), January, 1947.

²⁵ Cf. Hugh H. Bennett, "They're Wrecking Soil Conservation," *Country Gentleman* 72:12 (December 1952): 21, 52, 56; and Robert M. Salter, "We're Speeding Up Soil Conservation," *Country Gentleman* 73:1 (January, 1953): 40–42. Quote, 40.

²⁶ National Archives of the United States RG 114 Entry 1039 Box 2 Folder "Speeches—Salter," America's Capacity to Produce Food. An address by Dr. Robert M. Salter, Chief, Soil Conservation Service at the National Farm Institute, Des Moines, Iowa, February 15, 1952, 4.

²⁷ National Archives of the United States RG 114 Entry 1021 Box 2 Folder "Illinois," The Mission of Soil Conservation. Address by Dr. H. H. Bennett, Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, during the National Convocation on The Church in Town and Country, at Elgin, Illinois, November 16, 1944, 4.

²⁸ Iowa State University Library, Special Collections Department, Ames, Iowa, MS-198 Box 1 Folder 4, Oral History Interview with William B. Davey, 8.

²⁹ National Archives of the United States RG 114 Entry 1 Box 1 Folder "May 1935," D. P. Trent, Director, Extension Service, Stillwater, Oklahoma, to Dr. Rexford G. Tugwell, Under-Secretary of Agriculture, May 11, 1935.

³⁰ Cf. Bruce L. Gardner, *American Agriculture in the Twentieth Century: How It Flourished and What It Cost* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2002), 194.

³¹ Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Die Urkatastrophe Deutschlands: Der Erste Weltkrieg 1914–1918* (Stuttgart, 2002), 93.

³² Bundesarchiv R 3602 no. 606, Denkschrift des preußischen Landwirtschaftsministers zur Frage der Volksernährung, November 1, 1920, 1.

³³ Hans Fallada, *Bauern, Bonzen und Bomben* (Berlin, 1931).

³⁴ Hans Schlange-Schöningen, *Das Wirtschaftsjahr des praktischen Landwirts* (Berlin, 1931), 23.

³⁵ Ernst Niggel, *Bedeutung und Anwendung der Kalkdüngung* (8th edition, Berlin, 1923), 5.

³⁶ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin I. HA Rep. 87 B no. 10557 p. 394r. See also Schellenberger, *Zeitgemäße Vorschläge für die Düngung der landwirtschaftlichen Kulturpflanzen* (Dresden, 1924), 17.

³⁷ Paul Wagner, "Das Thomasmehl als Frühjahrsdünger," in Verein der Thomasmehlerzeuger (ed.), *Unseren Freunden vom Thomasmehl* (Berlin, 1929), 4.

³⁸ Cf. Gunter Vogt, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des ökologischen Landbaus* (Bad Dürkheim, 2000), 98–133.

³⁹ Staatsarchiv Münster Landwirtschaftliche Kreisstellen Nr. 698, newspaper article of January 12, 1931.

⁴⁰ See Frank Uekötter, "Know Your Soil: Transitions in Farmers' and Scientists' Knowledge in the Twentieth Century," in John McNeill, Verena Winiwarter (eds.), *Soils and Societies. Perspectives from Environmental History* (Cambridge, 2006), 320–338, for a more intensive discussion.

⁴¹ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin I. HA Rep. 87 B no. 10421 doc. 29.

⁴² Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin I. HA Rep. 87 B no. 10557, 400.

⁴³ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin I. HA Rep. 87 B no. 10423, attachment to Preußischer Minister für Landwirtschaft, Domänen und Forsten to the Reichsminister für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft, March 12, 1932.

⁴⁴ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin I. HA Rep. 87 B no. 10423, Institut für Agrikulturchemie und Bakteriologie der Landwirtschaftl. Hochschule to the Ministerium für Landwirtschaft, Domänen und Forsten, Berlin, October 10, 1931, pp. 2, 5.

⁴⁵ Wulf Diepenbrock et al, *Spezieller Pflanzenbau* (3rd rev. edition, Stuttgart, 1999), 86.

⁴⁶ Cf. <http://www.nrcs.usda.gov/technical/land/meta/m5852.html>. This figure does not include erosion on land uses other than cropland and land in the Federal Conservation Reserve Program which provides subsidies for the retirement of land. Also, the figure does not include gully erosion, the most severe form of water erosion.

⁴⁷ Worster, *Dust Bowl*, 4.

⁴⁸ Cf. Carolyn Johnsen, *Raising a Stink: The Struggle over Factory Hog Farms in Nebraska* (Lincoln and London, 2003).

⁴⁹ Wes Jackson, *New Roots for Agriculture* (San Francisco and Salina, Kan., 1980).

⁵⁰ Cf. Julie Guthman, *Agrarian Dreams: The Paradox of Organic Farming in California* (Berkeley, 2004).

OBSERVING A DICTATORSHIP: AMERICAN CONSULAR REPORTING ON GERMANY, 1933–1941

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I.

"During the critical period under survey the political reporting of the consular offices has on the whole been satisfactory and in many instances of great value to the Embassy. . . . [T]he Embassy relies upon the consular offices not only to report local happenings of moment, but also to furnish it with information concerning sectional reactions to national trends which help this Mission in forming a comprehensive picture of the German political situation."¹ At the end of 1939, Alexander Kirk, chargé d'affaires ad interim at the American embassy in Berlin, gave his consuls a good grade—literally, because the embassy had developed a system of six grades that rated the political reports it received. Throughout 1939 Frankfurt Consul General Emil Sauer had been the most productive with forty-one submissions. However, "some of Mr. Sauer's reports are of a very vague and discursive nature and depend for their material upon the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. . . ." Kirk criticized the fact that Sauer did not get more politically relevant information out of the business community of the city. Equally frankly, he criticized Cologne Consul General Alfred W. Klieforth: Although with thirty-two submissions Klieforth, too, was an ardent writer, his reports suffered from overly subjective viewpoints and "a lack of critical insight." Kirk also noted the lack of information on the Catholics in the Rhineland. Sauer's colleague from Stuttgart fared much better: Consul General Samuel W. Honaker received the top rating of "excellent" no fewer than four times. "In addition to being opportune, his reports indicate a comprehension of local opinion and its relation to national events and furthermore are always extremely readable. . . ." Well received were also Vice Consul Stephen B. Vaughan's reports from Breslau, not least because "[t]he Embassy was favorably impressed by Mr. Vaughan's initiative in traveling to many points in his consular district for information as well as by his evaluations and powers of observation."²

In the early 1930s, the State Department maintained Consulates General in Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Munich. Consulates existed in Bremen, Breslau, Cologne, Dresden, Leipzig, and Stuttgart. After the Ger-

man annexation of Austria in March 1938, the Consulate General in Vienna also came under the supervision of the Berlin office, and in the fall of 1939 Breslau was closed and an American consulate opened in Königsberg in East Prussia instead. Until July 1941, when all American consulates were ordered closed by the German government, the regular reporting of its consuls helped the embassy in Berlin and the State Department in Washington gain insight into a broad range of political, social, and economic aspects of life in Nazi Germany. The United States could then adjust its policies accordingly.³ The consuls transmitted publicly available information from German newspapers or official reports as well as information that was acquired informally in personal conversations, from confidential letters, or through observations on the spot. They did not give policy recommendations but were certainly encouraged to include their own evaluations of the material. Whereas some of the reports consisted of just a page or two and included information on a particular problem or event, others were twenty or thirty pages long and discussed fundamental questions of German politics and society.

Today the American consular reports form a treasure trove of uncensored information on the "Third Reich" that so far has been largely ignored by historians.⁴ In comprehensively analyzing the reports for the first time, the GHI joins forces with the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg (FZH) and contributes to its comparative research project "Foreign Views on the 'Third Reich.'" ⁵ Under the guidance of FZH director Axel Schildt and research fellow Frank Bajohr, a dozen international historians will tap into the reports of consuls from twelve different countries to shed new light on the character of German society in this period, the perception of Nazi politics in the different regions of Germany, and the extent to which its population supported Hitler. More than twenty years after the ground-breaking publication on everyday life in Bavaria in the Nazi period by Martin Broszat and the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte, there is still no scholarly consensus on these questions, as recent publications by Peter Longerich, Götz Aly, Robert Gellately, Ian Kershaw, and many others have shown.⁶

The sources that have been used so far to assess public opinion and public morale in Germany all have their limitations and shortcomings. Published memoirs, personal diaries, and collections of letters are available in large numbers, but their range is limited to the experiences of individuals, and information usually cannot immediately be cross-referenced. Editions of confidential situation reports [*Lageberichte*] of the German secret police and other official institutions have a broader scope but suffer from the fact that these sources have been generated by the perpetrators themselves. Even though they were supposed to offer the

political leadership accurate insight into what everyday Germans were really thinking and talking about, the way the secret police gathered and processed this information calls for caution when using it for scholarship.⁷ A critical stance is also necessary in dealing with the several thousand pages of reports the Social Democratic Party published from exile in the 1930s on the situation in Germany.⁸ Lastly, newspaper coverage by foreign correspondents probably comes closest to the consular reports in terms of a broad and well-informed perspective on German events, but due to its public nature, foreign journalists had to take into account possible repercussions by the Nazis, thus limiting the journalists' freedom.⁹

By focusing broadly on foreign consular reporting from Germany, the Hamburg project attempts to introduce new sources into the scholarly discussion and to open new paths of interpretation. There are already examples of critical editions and studies that have successfully utilized diplomatic and consular reports in a similar way for other time periods and historiographical questions.¹⁰ The project of the Forschungsstelle, however, is unique in its scope. It will include several European states: France, Italy, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. It will also examine the United States and Japan. In addition to Costa Rica, one more country from Latin America will be selected later. This list has been designed to cover allies of the Nazi regime, neutral states, and states with which Germany went to war after 1939.

Today most research on foreign policy and international relations takes into account the importance of mutual perceptions of states, governments, and their representatives, as well as the influence of public opinion and other "soft" factors outside the focus of traditional political historiography. Historians who are interested in ideas, images, and perceptions and their consequences for policy decisions have become increasingly aware of the methodological challenges involved. Every form of perception is selective and depends on many hidden factors, and the American consular reports in the end come down to individual perceptions and the processing and aggregation of these perceptions in writing.¹¹ Consuls may have genuinely attempted to report truthfully and inform their superiors as well as possible, but the institutional setting of the reports already constituted a first element of distortion. Varying personal interests and different levels of acquaintance with the situation in Germany further influenced their findings. The limits of their contacts, usually focused on local elites in the bigger cities, affected their judgment. Established images of Germany and prejudices between peoples also came into play.¹² Obviously, the information in the consular reports cannot simply be taken at face value. The "alien" view of trained diplomats

may be revealing in many particular cases, but generally the observations of the consuls were not more “objective” or “neutral” and pose as many interpretive challenges as the confidential German sources. On the other hand, the availability of the German documents and additional materials such as diaries will greatly facilitate the “reality test” (Niedhart) of the American perceptions.

This project aims to produce a collection of substantial scholarly articles that will summarize and analyze the consular reports for each country with a special focus on consensus and dissent in the *Volksgemeinschaft* and on the persecution of the Jews. In a second step, a selection of the original documents will be published, most likely in a digital format, to make them available for further research. The American component is in part set up as a trial run. Depending on its results, it may help clarify research strategies for the other countries.

II.

In the 1930s, the American embassy in Berlin certainly had far-reaching opportunities to observe Nazi politics from up close and to gather public and confidential information, even though Ambassador William E. Dodd, who held the post from July 1933 until the end of 1937, is largely considered to have been ineffective.¹³ The embassy was well aware of the additional opportunities its network of consulates throughout Germany offered. With ten posts, this network was not as extensive as it had been up until World War I, when many smaller consulates closed and never reopened. Nevertheless, it could still facilitate a steady stream of information on regional and local developments in Germany.¹⁴ The embassy and in turn the State Department welcomed and at times actively commissioned reports from its consuls.

Since the turn of the century, a series of reforms had professionalized the American foreign service and had brought about “the triumph of careerism over amateurism.”¹⁵ President Theodore Roosevelt had taken the first steps toward replacing the spoils system with appointments based on merit and proven qualification. Trade issues and—after 1914—the new demands World War I brought upon American diplomats accelerated the changes.¹⁶ Heated debates in the State Department revolved around opportunities of promotion in the service and adequate salaries for diplomats. Politicians and the public alike discussed the outdated schism between the political responsibilities of diplomats and the purely economic and administrative tasks of the consuls. Finally, the social composition of the service gave reason for concern. Consuls were reasonably paid, were not necessarily based in expensive cities, and were not expected to engage in extensive socializing. By the early 1920s, consuls

typically had a middle-class background and could come from any region of the United States. They had attended public schools and college, though they rarely had an Ivy League education. They were “keen, highly-trained, and efficient to the last degree,” and their work yielded concrete results. Ambassadors, however, basically needed to be financially independent to fulfill their duties. More than 60 percent had graduated from Harvard, Yale, or Princeton, and more than 75 percent came from the New England and Middle Atlantic regions of the United States. The general public tended to view them as upper-class snobs who were alienated from and not representative of a democratic society.¹⁷

The various initiatives, suggestions, and criticisms culminated in the Rogers Act of 1924. This removed the career barrier between diplomatic and consular services and combined the two into one personnel system without fully fusing them. Proponents of the bill hoped for more practical sense and economic expertise in the embassies when consular officers received the opportunity to serve under ambassadors, and for more diplomatic skills in sensitive consular posts. The consular service benefited from the reforms primarily in terms of prestige and opportunities for promotion. The Hoover and Roosevelt administrations supported the consular interpretation of the Rogers Act, which stressed interchangeability on the personnel level and assigned a greater role to the consuls in the conduct of American foreign affairs.¹⁸ In addition to their traditional tasks—looking after the economic interests of the United States, issuing passports, assisting American citizens in need, and issuing visas to foreigners—by the 1930s, political reporting had become an accepted responsibility of consular officers. Some viewed this as an opportunity to qualify for prestigious diplomatic positions. Others may have seen it as a burden and a distraction from their administrative functions.¹⁹ With the ever-growing number of visa applicants after 1933, these functions strained the resources of the consulates in Europe anyway.

A look at the diverse social, educational, and professional background of the American consuls serving in Germany in the 1930s shows that as a group they were well-qualified and in some ways probably even better suited as political observers than the career officers at the embassy.²⁰ Carlton B. Hurst, consul at Bremen and later Breslau, held a Ph.D. from the University of Tübingen. Berlin consul Raymond H. Geist had received a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1918. Orsen N. Nielsen, consul general at Munich in 1939, apparently wealthy and for a while one of Washington’s “most eligible bachelors,” had been a student at the University of Berlin. Emil Sauer, consul general at Frankfurt, Alfred R. Thomson, consul general at Dresden from 1935 to 1940, and Leonard G. Dawson, who served as consul at Munich for two years beginning in 1933, had all joined the foreign service after working for other federal

agencies.²¹ Ralph C. Busser in Leipzig, John G. Erhardt, consul general at Hamburg from 1933 to 1937, and his successor Wilbur Keblinger held law degrees, but Keblinger had also worked as a journalist. Douglas Jenkins, consul general in Berlin as of 1934, had an almost identical professional background, with experience in law and journalism. Arminius T. Haeberle at Dresden had been a school teacher, Leon Dominian, consul general at Stuttgart in the first half of the 1930s, was a geologist, Edward A. Dow, in charge of the Leipzig office from 1939 to 1941, came from the real estate and insurance business, and George A. Makinson, Sauer's predecessor at Frankfurt, had a technical background.

Even if they had not spent time at German universities as Hurst and Nielsen had, many of the other consuls were well acquainted with the country after having served for years at different posts throughout Germany. Haeberle held the appointment at Dresden from 1925 until his retirement in 1936. John E. Kehl had served at Stettin around the turn of the century, and beginning in 1921 held successive appointments at Berlin, Breslau, and Stuttgart before becoming consul general at Hamburg in 1929. Alfred W. Klieforth, consul general at Cologne, had spent the second half of the 1920s in Berlin. Sauer had been at the Cologne post from 1915 to 1917 and again from 1919 to 1925. Others could rely on pre-war experience as well: Busser had been assigned to Erfurt before the war, Makinson had worked at the Berlin and Sorau offices from 1908 to 1914, and Thomson had been a consul in Berlin from 1912 to 1914.

Unfortunately, only George S. Messersmith, consul general in Berlin until 1934, seems to have left papers that are available for research. This collection has been used in many projects on German-American relations in the 1930s.²² So far we have not succeeded in tracking down additional collections, not even for Raymond H. Geist, the long-time Berlin consul, influential "trouble-shooter" and "most widely-known American official in Germany," as the *New York Times* characterized him in 1939.²³ With the exception of a collection of letters published by Alfred Thomson's wife Marion that contains little of value on his time in Dresden, there are no memoirs or other published documents by the consuls that could provide background on their service in Germany.²⁴ There also seems to be no research on the consular offices so far.²⁵ This will add to the difficulties in determining whether variations in their reporting in terms of frequency, topics, and evaluations were the result of different personal attitudes, different work conditions at the consulates, or differences in the flow of information between larger and well-connected cities such as Hamburg or Frankfurt and more provincial posts such as Breslau. The lack of biographical or institutional research and additional sources will also hamper any discussion of the intellectual origins of their interpretations and their "image" of Germany.

Access to the consular reports themselves is also more complicated than one would expect because with minor exceptions for the American consulates in Bremen and Cologne, all other original consular papers from Germany for the 1930s are lost.²⁶ The same is true for the records of the American embassy in Berlin, which were destroyed in a fire during the war.²⁷ Therefore, the fall-back collection has to be the State Department records in the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, which contain all reports sent from Berlin and some of those from the other consulates.²⁸ Since 1910, the State Department filed all documents in an elaborate decimal system that assigned each document a number identifying it by topic, the country involved, and the date. Even though consular reports from Germany can be found in several subseries, by far the most relevant subseries for this project is 862: "Germany, Internal Affairs," which is also available on microfilm.²⁹ Its subdivisions cover the broadest possible range of topics: from overviews of the domestic political situation to matters of justice, public health, the military, race relations, religion, education, transportation, and the press. Almost half of the material is devoted to economic and financial topics.³⁰

As has been mentioned before, so far the consular reports as a whole have not figured prominently in historical research. In the early 1980s, the reports by George Messersmith, Raymond Geist, and Ambassador Dodd on the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936 became the topic of two short articles.³¹ Given the importance of economic aspects in American international relations in the 1930s, it is no surprise that Messersmith's analyses of the German economic situation and the consequences of Hitler's ascent to power also have been featured in several studies. Messersmith had a keen eye for the problems of German-American economic relations and strongly supported American interests in trade issues. His expectations that economic necessities would force Hitler to soften his political positions or would lead to an early downfall of the regime, however, proved to be wrong.³²

Messersmith's reports on the violence in the early months of the Nazi regime and the antisemitic movement in Germany have received considerable attention from his biographers.³³ The actions of the Hitler government caused public and political concern in the United States almost from the beginning, and in March 1933 the State Department requested the first comprehensive report on the situation. It was authored by Messersmith, and several more extensive memoranda would follow.³⁴ A few years ago, Richard Breitman reevaluated the work by Messersmith and Consul Geist on the situation of the Jews, both of whom supplemented their reports with additional letters to government officials in Washington. Breitman concluded that both men clearly saw the extent of the anti-Jewish actions

by the regime, but also distinguished between the Nazis and the German people and may have underestimated popular antisemitism.³⁵

The perception and evaluation of German antisemitism and the danger for Jews—which Messersmith and Geist in Berlin both took seriously—should have had consequences for U.S. visa policies, but this was not the case. State Department and foreign service officials alike upheld the restrictive regulations of the 1920s and early 1930s.³⁶ In Germany only the American consuls in Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart, and, after 1938, Vienna had the authority to grant immigration visas. The Israeli historian Bat-Ami Zucker has done extensive research on these “‘gate-keepers’ who held the key to freedom and safety” and paints a generally unfavorable picture of the consuls.³⁷ Zucker strongly criticizes the restrictive handling of the immigration laws in the 1930s, the unwillingness to overcome bureaucratic hurdles in the interest of humanitarian help, and the lack of compassion for the victims of racial and political persecution in the Third Reich. “Though the consuls by no means acted uniformly, the overall results . . . indicated a clear preference for delay or denial of immigration visas, frequently for no substantial reason.”³⁸ For Zucker, this included Messersmith, who championed a restrictive application of the immigration laws throughout his tenure in Berlin, Vienna, and later at the State Department.³⁹

Zucker blames a deeply rooted antisemitism in the foreign service and in American society in general that had gained ground in the 1920s and led to ever-stricter and racially biased immigration policies.⁴⁰ In the economic crisis of the early 1930s, consuls were ordered to rigorously apply the so-called “LPC clause” and to refuse visas to anyone who was “likely to become a public charge.” This policy was relaxed slightly in early 1937 but basically remained in effect until the war. It proved disastrous for many refugees who could not obtain affidavits or whose documents were considered insufficient.⁴¹

III.

After 1933 the situation of the Jews in Germany became a key issue in the reports of the consuls, and Messersmith’s and Geist’s memoranda certainly deserve the attention they have received in the literature so far. However, as has been indicated above, the range of topics addressed by the consuls was much greater. The following examples are intended to offer a first glimpse at the full scope of the project and the types of information and evaluations the reports contain.

Given the traditional responsibility of the consulates in economic and trade issues, it comes as no surprise that they continued to be of crucial importance in the reporting after 1933. The consuls did their best to pool

information on German economic policies, the response from the business world, and the complicated organizational structures that emerged under the Nazi regime.⁴²

At the end of 1935, Raymond Geist undertook a broad review of the German economic situation and tried to assess the political consequences. Geist focused on the export losses and the passive trade balance of the country, the danger of inflation, and the volatile status of the German currency. He hinted at tensions between the “unorthodox” economic ideas on public works programs within the party and the concepts of Hjalmar Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, and Finance Minister Count von Schwerin-Krosigk, both of whom favored private industrial initiatives.⁴³

In terms of politics, Geist distinguished between the bureaucracy, the army, and industrial circles, which he considered all predominantly conservative. The Nazi party was unified by antisemitism and a “constant state of aggression,” in need of “an ever present object of attack.” It was also characterized by strong but undefined socialist tendencies. The labor classes by now had lost confidence in the socialism of the Nazi party and strongly rejected its antisemitism. In fact, according to Geist, antisemitism was “a barrier which prevents union between the members of the old socialistic parties and those of the Nazi movement.” Over the summer and fall of 1935, the “Schacht-Schwerin-Seldte group” had come under pressure, whereas the “Goebbels-Streicher-Rosenberg group” had considerably gained in prestige, a fact that caused concern in the business world. “Among the broad masses there is growing indifference regarding the pathos-propaganda of the Party and a real bitterness on account of mounting cost of living, the large deductions for Party purposes from wages which are already inadequate, and the long hours (ten- to twelve-hour shifts) in the factories. . . .” Even though an economic collapse of the country was not imminent, Geist expected a major crisis in the future, and closed with thoughts on who could take over the political leadership of the country. In his opinion, no single group—neither the army, the churches, industry, nor the labor movement—was capable of such a step. “In this sense Germany today is identical with Adolph [sic] Hitler, as is sometimes openly proclaimed by ecstatic Party members. There is no longer chance of any organic change in the regime. Whoever may be the new participants in any future constellation[,] the basis will remain that created by Hitler. . . .”⁴⁴

Other reports paid even more attention to unrest or resistance against economic measures of the regime. In July 1935, Berlin Consul General Douglas Jenkins forwarded information on a plan by Hjalmar Schacht to establish an export subsidy fund of one billion marks with mandatory contributions from the different industries. Jenkins pointed out that the

reaction among businesses had been "extremely unfavorable" and so far only the iron and sugar beet industries had paid their share.⁴⁵ In early 1936, Consul Klieforth submitted a report from Cologne on a meeting between regional government leaders and business representatives: "the first instance in this district that has come to my attention of a definite and organized registration of dissatisfaction on the part of industry with the authorities, especially with respect to governmental interference in business and the Jewish program."⁴⁶

Another important topic the Americans followed closely was the "Kirchenkampf," the conflict between the regime and the Catholic and Protestant churches. Ambassador Dodd and his consuls sent a steady stream of detailed memoranda to Washington.⁴⁷ Initially it was the attempt by the regime to gain control of the Protestant churches that caught their attention. In August 1933, Consul Geist wrote a comprehensive report on the appointment of a head commissioner for the Prussian Protestant churches and the subsequent "storm of protest from the great masses of the clergy as well as from the majority of those who have always taken active interest in church matters."⁴⁸ He described the activities of the "German Christians," the spearhead of the "National Socialist onslaught on the Protestant Churches," and President Paul von Hindenburg's plea for restraint in religious matters in a letter to Hitler from July 1933. Geist interpreted the new constitution of the unified Protestant church that was ratified in July of that year as a document that, even though basically of Lutheran character, acknowledged the existence of other forms of Protestantism in Germany. It was, however, at odds with the centuries-old tradition of regionalism and the strong identification of German Protestants with their state church. Geist pointed out that the new constitution did not create an official church, guaranteed Protestant independence, and contained no clause excluding non-Aryans. However, he did not expect this to last. Under the new organizational scheme it already was easier for the Nazi regime to deal with Protestants and to utilize the church in their educational campaigns. Geist also foresaw a major conflict between the regime and all Christian denominations over the anticipated racial and eugenic marriage laws. The quasi-religious character of the National Socialist movement would inevitably lead to attempts to supplant or at least diminish the Protestant and Catholic churches. On the one hand Geist had faith in the ministers in this struggle, asserting that "only under coercion will the majority of the clergy teach the fanatical racial doctrines of the National Socialists" and citing examples of open resistance from the pulpit in northern Germany and Berlin. On the other hand he acknowledged that under the current dire economic circumstances the fear of losing his position could easily force a minister "to act directly contrary to his conscience."⁴⁹

The Berlin reports were corroborated by information from the regions. In April 1935 Stuttgart consul Honaker shed light on the situation in Württemberg and Baden.⁵⁰ He described in detail the conservative attitude of the church in Württemberg, a stronghold of the Confessing Church; the role of the popular state bishop Theophil Wurm, who would gain fame openly criticizing the terror of the regime in the 1940s; and the massive internal conflicts among the Protestants in the years 1933 and 1934.

Beginning in the mid-1930s, tensions also escalated between the state and the Catholic church. In the face of rising outrage in Congress, the State Department let it be known that its European experts were keeping a close eye on the situation.⁵¹ In April 1937, J. Webb Benton from the Bremen consulate pointed out how harmful the actions of the regime were: "A large proportion of the younger generation of Catholics in this part of the country, appreciating no doubt many of the benefits that National Socialism has brought to Germany, were at first heart and soul with the movement. Now, largely as a result of the continued attacks on religion, they are disillusioned, sick at heart and absolutely opposed to the present government." Benton emphasized that the constant political pressure had been leading to a rapprochement of the two major denominations in northern Germany. Pope Pius XII's critical encyclical "With Burning Sorrow" on the situation of the church in Germany had advanced this process. Benton recounted incidents of religious defiance: At a local Catholic church after mass the priest had been confronted in the vestry by state officials who forcibly confiscated his copy of the papal encyclical. The priest did not hesitate to make this immediately known to his congregation. A shop owner in Oldenburg found his window display of religious books painted with graffiti reading "No one should believe this rubbish." After failing to get help from the authorities, he simply exchanged the bibles for Hitler's *Mein Kampf*—and got his window cleaned.⁵²

American consuls did not just keep their superiors informed about general political, economic, and social developments in Germany. The Leipzig consulate, for example, also sent extensive reports on the trial of the Bulgarian communist Georgi Dimitroff, accused of being one of the masterminds behind the fire that destroyed the German Reichstag in February 1933, and on the massive pogrom of *Reichskristallnacht* of November 1938. In October 1940, Leipzig Vice Consul Paul M. Dutko reported on mysterious death notices in the local newspapers. Further inquiry through personal contacts revealed "fantastic and gruesome" circumstances. Rumor had it that in the Castle of Grafeneck in Württemberg mental patients were either given lethal injections or were used as test subjects for medical and weapons research. Similar things appeared

to be going on in Hartheim near Linz. Within two weeks no less than twenty-two of the death notices had been in the papers. Dutko reported that "[t]he inhabitants of Leipzig are not only shocked beyond description, but are genuinely perturbed and stricken with a fear of the far-reaching consequences of this horrible affair. A feeling of horror and complete insecurity of life has begun to set in." Because of the attention they aroused, the vice consul expected the public notices soon to be repressed.⁵³ Additional reports on the killings and on the protest of Bishop Wurm reached the embassy later from Stuttgart and Munich.⁵⁴

Whereas the Messersmith reports from 1933 and Dutko's observations in Leipzig are examples of consuls being fully aware of and reporting on the criminal character of the regime, not all reports demonstrate the same level of insight into the implications of Nazi measures, and not all consuls tried to verify information they received from government officials. Hamburg Vice Consul Malcolm C. Burke's report on the "Sterilization of the Unfit in Hamburg" from October 1934, for example, was entirely based on an interview with an anonymous "Public Health Officer" and contained mostly legal, procedural, and statistical information. Its tone is markedly more reserved than the sharp criticism of the sterilization law of 1933 by Ambassador Dodd at the same time. Apparently Burke found little reason to doubt the "conservative spirit" of the measure. He pointed out however that to his knowledge, of the more than nine hundred people who had been sterilized in Hamburg to date, about four-fifths were mentally incapable of understanding the issue.⁵⁵

Vice Consul W. Ware Adams's visit to the labor camps at Papenburg in the Ems-Moorland in 1935 resulted in an even more problematic report.⁵⁶ Even though Adams briefly pointed out that the "worst-run institutions would naturally not be exhibited to foreigners," his observations were uncritical and at times almost apologetic. He was impressed by the "value of the work being accomplished" in land reclamation, and assured his superiors that "[a]ll of those now held in the colony are duly convicted criminals, selected from prisons and penitentiaries in other parts of the country for their fitness for outdoor labor." He filed this report at a time when the famous pacifist Carl von Ossietzky was languishing in the nearby Esterwegen camp.⁵⁷ Adams's description of the barracks and the common rooms as "all furnished with modern equipment, . . . all well aired and lighted, with high ceilings and many windows" and "connected by neat paths of pebbles or cinders" evokes a vacation camp. Lectures, concerts, and sports activities, shared by prisoners and guards alike, took place to boost morale. "The entire camps appeared to be remarkably clean and comfortable for temporary quarters. . . . The prisoners appeared to be well-nourished, healthy, and clean." After three days, Adams left with exactly the "favorable impres-

sion" that officials of the Ministry of Justice, among them the infamous later Nazi judge Roland Freisler, had hoped to create when they approved the tour.

IV.

The examples presented here show the potential and the challenges of this research project on American consular reporting from Germany during the Third Reich. The memoranda reveal what the consuls knew about the strengths and weaknesses of the regime, about the public perception and discussion of Nazi policies, and about concrete events—from the burning of the Reichstag in February 1933 to the outbreak of World War II and the first two years of the war—as well as how they interpreted their findings. They also shed some light on what was only vaguely known or remained hidden even to careful observers. But the reports also need to be contextualized: Background information on trends and events described must be included and an understanding of the general line of interpretation of the individual consuls is necessary. Detailed knowledge of their relationship to German politics and culture would be helpful but is often not possible due to the lack of sources. The interpretation of individual reports will, however, benefit from a comparative approach: Information and interpretations will be compared to other American (and German) reports on the same topic, to reports on other topics from the same consulate or consul, and, at a later stage when the international project of the Hamburger Forschungsstelle has made progress, to reports from other foreign consuls.

Notes:

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¹ Alexander Kirk, Confidential Memorandum on Political Reporting by Consular Officers in Germany, December 27, 1939, in National Archives, College Park, MD, Record Group 59: United States Department of State, Central Decimal File 1930–39 (NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File), 862.00/3938.

² Kirk, Confidential Memorandum.

³ After they were ordered to leave, more than 230 consular officials, employees and their families from all over Europe, including thirty-seven consuls from Germany, had gathered in Frankfurt and then went on via France and Spain to Lisbon to meet with seventy-six officials coming from Italy and Greece. The entire group was picked up by a U.S. Navy vessel. See "Ousted U.S. Consuls Converge on Lisbon," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 21, 1941, 8.

⁴ See, however, Richard Breitman, "American Diplomatic Records regarding German Public Opinion During the Nazi Regime," in David Bankier, ed., *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933–1941* (New York, 2000),

501–10; George Eisen, “The Voices of Sanity: American Diplomatic Reports from the 1936 Berlin Olympiad,” *Journal of Sport History* 11 (1984): 56–78. For the 1920s, Sander A. Diamond, *Herr Hitler: Amerikas Diplomaten, Washington und der Untergang Weimars* (Düsseldorf, 1985), makes good use of diplomatic and consular reporting from Germany. On the practical organization of the reporting and the processing of the results in Berlin and Washington, see Diamond, *Herr Hitler*, 20–1, 46–7.

⁵ This part is based on the project description “Fremde Blicke auf das ‘Dritte Reich’: Konsultatsberichte über die deutsche Gesellschaft in der NS-Zeit 1933–1945” by Axel Schildt and Frank Bajohr from April 2006. See also Frank Bajohr, “Zwischen Wunschdenken und Realität: Die Berichte des britischen Generalkonsuls über die Judenverfolgung in Hamburg 1938/39,” in Andreas Brämer, Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, Michael Studemund-Halévy, eds., *Aus den Quellen: Beiträge zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte; Festschrift für Ina Lorenz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 2005), 325–33. The FZH, founded in 1960, is one of the leading German institutions for research on twentieth-century history with an emphasis on Hamburg and northern Germany. For additional information, see the FZH website (<http://www.zeitgeschichte-hamburg.de/>), and the interview with its director Axel Schildt in the spring 2006 *Bulletin* of the GHI: Christof Mauch and Richard F. Wetzell, “German Institutes of Contemporary History: Interviews with the Directors,” *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute, Washington*, DC 38 (spring 2006): 59–79.

⁶ Martin Broszat et al., eds., *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1977–1981); Peter Long-erich, *Davon haben wir nichts gewusst! Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Munich, 2006); Götz Aly, *Hitlers Volksstaat: Raub, Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005); Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 2001); Ian Kershaw, *The ‘Hitler Myth’: Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 2001). See also Richard J. Evans, ed., “Understanding Nazi Germany,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (2004): 163–270, with articles by Jeremy Noakes on the Nazi party and German society, David Welch on propaganda and “Volksgemeinschaft,” and Ian Kershaw on Hitler and the uniqueness of Nazism; Francis R. Nicosia, Lawrence D. Stokes, eds., *Germans against Nazism: Nonconformity, Opposition and Resistance in the Third Reich; Essays in Honour of Peter Hoffmann* (New York, Oxford, 1990).

⁷ Heinz Boberach, ed., *Meldungen aus dem Reich, 1938–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, 18 vols. (Herrsching, 1984). In addition, see the following publications with a regional or local focus: Hermann-Josef Rupieper, ed., *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei zur Provinz Sachsen 1933–1936*, vol. 1: Regierungsbezirk Magdeburg; vol. 2: Regierungsbezirk Merseburg; vol. 3: Regierungsbezirk Erfurt (Halle/S., 2003–2006); Wolfgang Ribbe, ed., *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei über die Provinz Brandenburg und die Reichshauptstadt Berlin 1933 bis 1936*, vol. 1: Der Regierungsbezirk Potsdam, ed. Sibylle Hinze (Cologne, 1998) (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preußischer Kulturbesitz; 40,1); Gerd Steinwascher, ed., *Gestapo Osnabrück meldet. . . : Polizei- und Regierungsberichte aus dem Regierungsbezirk Osnabrück aus den Jahren 1933 bis 1936* (Osnabrück, 1995) (Osnabrücker Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen; 36); Joachim Kuropka, ed., *Meldungen aus Münster 1924–1944: Geheime und vertrauliche Berichte von Polizei, Gestapo, NSDAP und ihren Gliederungen, staatlicher Verwaltung, Gerichtsbarkeit und Wehrmacht über die politische und gesellschaftliche Situation in Münster* (Münster, 1992); Peter Brommer, ed., *Die Partei hört mit*, vol. 2: *Lageberichte und andere Meldungen des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS, der Gestapo und sonstiger Parteienstellen im Gau Moselland, 1941–1945* (Koblenz, 1992) (Veröffentlichungen der Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz; 58); Christian Tilitzki, ed., *Alltag in Ostpreußen, 1940–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte der Königsberger Justiz, 1940–1945* (Leer, 1991); Peter Brommer, ed., *Die Partei hört mit*, vol. 1: *Lageberichte und andere Meldungen des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS aus dem Großraum Koblenz, 1937–1941* (Koblenz, 1988) (Veröffentlichungen der Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz; 48); Thomas Klein, ed., *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei über die Provinz Hessen-Nassau, 1933–1936*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1986) (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preußischer Kulturbesitz; 22); Klaus Mlynek, ed., *Gestapo Hannover meldet. . . : Polizei- und Regierungsberichte für das mittlere und südliche Niedersachsen zwischen 1933 und 1937* (Hildesheim, 1986) (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen

Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen; 39,1). On the value of these reports, see David Welch, "Nazi Propaganda and the Volksgemeinschaft: Constructing a People's Community," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (2004): 215.

⁸ *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, 1934–1940*, 7 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1980).

⁹ Several American correspondents published their unfiltered impressions of Nazi Germany after their return to the United States. See William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934–1941* (New York, 1941); Howard K. Smith, *Last Train from Berlin* (New York, 1942); Louis P. Lochner, *Always the Unexpected: A Book of Reminiscences* (New York, 1956). See Morrell Heald, *Transatlantic Vistas: American Journalists in Europe, 1900–1940* (Kent, OH, 1988); Michaela Hönicke, "Know Your Enemy": *American Interpretations of National Socialism, 1933–1945* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1998). Further contributing to the selective character of newspaper coverage were the interests and expectations of publishers and the audience. For a detailed discussion, see Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (New York, 1986).

¹⁰ See, for example, *British Envoys to Germany, 1816–1866*, vol. 1: 1816–1829, ed. Sabine Freitag, Peter Wende (Cambridge, 2000), vol. 2: 1830–1847, ed. Markus Mößlang, Sabine Freitag, Peter Wende (Cambridge, 2002); Detlef Wächter, *Von Stresemann zu Hitler: Deutschland 1928 bis 1933 im Spiegel der Berichte des englischen Botschafters Sir Horace Rumbold* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997); Karl Erich Born, "Französische Beobachtungen und Urteile zur Entwicklung der deutschen Wirtschaft im späten 19. Jahrhundert: Berichte der französischen Konsuln aus dem deutschen Kaiserreich," in Hans-Jürgen Gerhard, ed., *Struktur und Dimension: Festschrift für Karl Heinrich Kaufhold zum 65. Geburtstag*, vol. 2: *Neunzehntes und Zwanzigstes Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1997) (VSWG-Beiheft; 133), 120–33; Detlev Clemens, *Herr Hitler in Germany: Wahrnehmung und Deutungen des Nationalsozialismus in Großbritannien, 1920–1939* (Göttingen, 1996) (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London; 39); Claudia Breuer, *Die 'Russische Sektion' in Riga: Amerikanische diplomatische Berichterstattung über die Sowjetunion, 1922–1933/40* (Stuttgart, 1995) (Transatlantische Historische Studien; 3); Cornelis A. van Minnen, *Yankees onder de zeespiegel: De Amerikaanse diplomaten in de Lage Landen en hun berichtgeving, 1815–1850* (Amsterdam, 1991) (transl.: *American Diplomats in the Netherlands, 1815–50* (New York, 1993)).

¹¹ For a more detailed discussion, see the excellent overview article by Gottfried Niedhart, "Selektive Wahrnehmung und politisches Handeln: Internationale Beziehungen im Perzeptionsparadigma," in Wilfried Loth, Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Internationale Geschichte: Themen—Ergebnisse—Aussichten* (Munich, 2000) (Studien zur internationalen Geschichte; 10), 141–57. See also Johannes Paulman, "Grenzräume: Kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven für die Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen," in Christina Lutter, Margit Szöllösi-Janze, Heidemarie Uhl, eds., *Kulturgeschichte: Fragestellungen, Konzepte, Annäherungen* (Innsbruck, 2004) (Querschnitte; 15), 191–209.

¹² For the United States, see Thomas Reuther, *Die ambivalente Normalisierung: Deutschland-diskurs und Deutschlandbilder in den USA, 1941–1945* (Stuttgart, 2000) (Transatlantische Historische Studien; 11), 55–81; Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, "Between Hope and Skepticism: American Views of Germany, 1918–1933," in David E. Barclay, Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, eds., *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776* (New York, 1997), 191–216; Michaela Hönicke, "Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika (1933–1945)," in Klaus Larres, Torsten Oppeland, eds., *Deutschland und die USA im 20. Jahrhundert: Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen* (Darmstadt, 1997), 62–94; Hermann-Josef Rupieper, "Das amerikanische Deutschlandbild der Zwischenkriegszeit," in Henning Köhler, ed., *Deutschland und der Westen* (Berlin, 1984) (Studien zur europäischen Geschichte; 15), 131–9; Astrid M. Eckert, *Feindbilder im Wandel: Ein Vergleich des Deutschland- und des Japanbildes in den USA 1945 und 1946* (Münster, 1999) (Studien zu Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft Nordamerikas; 13).

¹³ Dodd was a professor of American history at the University of Chicago and a strong supporter of presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. He held a Ph.D. from

the University of Leipzig and admired German culture, even though in 1914 he had been one of the earliest and sharpest critics of the country in American academe. While trying to maintain an open mind during the first year of his ambassadorial appointment at Berlin, he became rapidly hostile to the Nazi regime after the Röhm Putsch in the summer of 1934. His observations were those of a professionally trained historian and devoted democrat, but his idealism and inexperience isolated him in Berlin as well as in the State Department. See Franklin L. Ford, "Three Observers in Berlin: Rumbold, Dodd, and Francois-Poncet," in Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds., *The Diplomats, 1919–1939, vol. 2: The Thirties* (New York, 1977), 447–60; Herbert Sirois, *Zwischen Illusion und Krieg: Deutschland und die USA, 1933–1941* (Paderborn, 2000), 46–9. See also William E. Dodd Jr. and Martha Dodd, eds., *Ambassador Dodd's Diary 1933–1938* (New York, 1941). Dodd's successor Hugh Wilson served for less than a year in Berlin. After him, the embassy remained in the care of Leland B. Morris as chargé d'affaires.

¹⁴ Between 1915 and 1917, consulates in Aix-la-Chapelle, Chemnitz, Erfurt, Kassel, Kiel, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Mannheim, Nuremberg, and Plauen closed. In the 1920s, they were followed by the closings of Koblenz, Königsberg, and Ludwigshafen.

¹⁵ Waldo H. Heinrichs Jr., "Bureaucracy and Professionalism in the Development of American Career Diplomacy," in John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and David Brody, eds., *Twentieth-Century American Foreign Policy* (Columbus, OH, 1971), 119.

¹⁶ Heinrichs Jr., "Bureaucracy and Professionalism," 119–57. See also Robert P. Schulzinger, *The Making of the Diplomatic Mind: The Training, Outlook, and Style of U.S. Foreign Service Officers, 1908–1939* (Middletown, CT, 1975); Warren Frederick Ilchman, *Professional Diplomacy in the United States, 1779–1939: A Study in Administrative History* (Chicago, Toronto, 1961), 85–172. Between 1880 and 1923 the consular reports on commerce and trade were published and made available to American businesses as a source of information (*Reports from the Consuls of the United States on the Commerce, Manufactures, etc., of their Consular Districts* (1880–1893); *Consular Reports* (1893–1905); *Special Consular Reports* (Washington, D.C., 1905–1923)). See also the following reports, published by the Bureau of Education: *Consular Reports on Industrial Education in Germany* (Washington, D.C., 1913) (United States Bureau of Education Bulletin; 565); Ernest L. Ives, *Consular Reports on Continuation Schools in Prussia* (Washington, D.C., 1913) (United States Bureau of Education Bulletin; 516).

¹⁷ Heinrichs, "Bureaucracy and Professionalism," 157, quoting "The Yankee Consul, New Style, On the Job," *Literary Digest* 68 (1921): 60–2; detailed data in Ilchman, *Professional Diplomacy*, 164–72.

¹⁸ Heinrichs, "Bureaucracy and Professionalism," 157–206; Ilchman, *Professional Diplomacy*, 172–243.

¹⁹ So far I have not been able to locate a copy of Cummins E. Speakman Jr., *Political Reporting by American Diplomatic and Consular Officers* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1955), 930 pp., which should shed light on these questions.

²⁰ The following biographical data are based on entries in: *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States*, vol. 16: 1930–1931 (Chicago, 1928); *Who was Who in America*, vols. 1–8 (New Providence, NJ, 1943–1985). Available on microfilm, though difficult to work with, are the handwritten personnel lists of the State Department for its consular posts in Germany: NA, RG 59, List of U.S. Consular Officers, 1789–1939, Microfilm M587 (21 rolls). Some additional information on Klieforth's work on Russia at the consulate in Riga (1927–29) is provided by Breuer, *Die 'Russische Sektion'*, 79, 84–5, 117, 170–1.

²¹ Jessie Ash Arndt, "Orsen Nielsen to Wed New York City Artist," *Washington Post*, August 11, 1936.

²² The Messersmith Papers are housed at the Department of Special Collections of the University of Delaware Libraries in Newark, DE.

²³ Otto D. Tolischus, "Trouble-Shooter in Berlin," *New York Times*, July 23, 1939, an informative portrait of Geist and his strenuous duties. As chief of the State Department's Divi-

sion of Commercial Affairs, Geist made headlines again in 1942, when he publicly declared that "the entire German people should be indicted for the 'lust for power' which led to the war." He attacked the universities and the churches "for failing to foster the proper spirit in the people" ("U.S. Official Indicts Entire German Nation," *Washington Post*, May 23, 1942.). A deposition by Geist from August 1945 on German militarization and the violence against American citizens in the early days of the regime for the Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality is available online. See *The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: Nazi Conspiracy and Agression*, vol. IV, Document No. 1759-PS (http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/imt/document/nca_vol4/1759-ps.htm).

²⁴ Marion Thomson, ed., *Historical Letters: A Collection of Letters of Historical Interest Written by a Career Officer in the American Foreign Service* (New York, 1946).

²⁵ Eberhard Brüning, *Das Konsulat der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu Leipzig: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Konsuls Dr. J. G. Flügel (1839–1855)* (Berlin, 1994) (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig: Philologisch-Historische Klasse; 134), is focused on the nineteenth century. It does contain, however, consul Ralph C. Busser's speech at the commemoration of George Washington's two-hundredth anniversary in 1932 (69–70), and a facsimile of Edward A. Dow's letter of July 2, 1941 to the mayor of Leipzig on the forced closing of the consulate (84). *175 Jahre amerikanische Konsuln in Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt und Thüringen: 175 years of U.S. consular representation in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia*, ed. U.S. Consulate General Leipzig (Leipzig, 2001) (online: <http://leipzig.usconsulate.gov/leipzig/img/assets/8617/leipzighistory.pdf>) is a short commemorative brochure with some useful data on the consular buildings and the consuls who served in the region, including Busser and Dow.

²⁶ Remnants in National Archives, College Park, MD, Record Group 84: Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, 1788–1990, subsection 3: Records of Consular Posts, 1790–1963. The consular records from Germany from the nineteenth century, by the way, have survived and are available on microfilm.

²⁷ Breitman, "American Diplomatic Records," 502.

²⁸ NA, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, subsection 2.5: Central Decimal File, 1910–1963. Two valuable tools, the so-called Source Cards and the Purport Lists, facilitate access to this collection. The Source Cards, also part of Record Group 59, are chronologically organized in a To and From section for each American embassy or consulate. The Purport Lists, which have been microfilmed and consist of several hundred rolls (M 973), registered each document in the same order as in the files resp. on film. For the 862 subseries and the years 1933–39/1940–41, microfilm rolls no. 412–414, 590, 594–595 are relevant.

²⁹ Reports on economic topics and international trade issues were grouped in different series. A spot check of the source cards for the city of Hamburg revealed regular monthly reports on the markets for opium, grain, and hide and skin, as well as reports on newly imposed German duties, import controls, or a new method of marking cattle, none of which were filed in the 862 subseries.

³⁰ The microfilm call number for this subseries at the National Archives is LM 193.

³¹ Stephen R. Wenn, "A Tale of Two Diplomats: George S. Messersmith and Charles H. Sherrill on Proposed American Participation in the 1936 Olympics," *Journal of Sport History* 16 (1989): 27–43; Eisen, "The Voices of Sanity," 56–78.

³² Kenneth Moss, "George S. Messersmith and Nazi Germany: The Diplomacy of Limits in Central Europe," in Kenneth Paul Jones, ed., *U.S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919–1941* (Santa Barbara, CA, Oxford, 1983), 114–6; Hans-Jürgen Schröder, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten, 1933–1939: Wirtschaft und Politik in der Entwicklung des deutsch-amerikanischen Gegensatzes* (Wiesbaden, 1970) (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abt. Universalgeschichte; 59), 186–8, 277–9; Arnold A. Offner, *American Appeasement: United States Foreign Policy and Germany, 1933–1938* (Cambridge, MA, 1969), 93–103. For a recent overview of German-American economic relations, see Sirois, *Zwischen Illusion und Krieg*, 88–99.

³³ Jesse H. Stiller, *George S. Messersmith: Diplomat of Democracy* (Chapel Hill, London, 1987), 34–40, 50–1; Moss, “George S. Messersmith and Nazi Germany,” 113–26; Kenneth Moss, “George S. Messersmith: An American Diplomat and Nazi Germany,” *Delaware History* 17 (1976–77): 236–49; Shlomo Shafir, “George S. Messersmith: An Anti-Nazi Diplomat’s View of the German-Jewish Crisis,” *Jewish Social Studies* 35 (1973): 32–41. See also Kenneth B. Moss, *Bureaucrat as Diplomat: George S. Messersmith and the State Department’s Approach to War, 1933–1941* (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1978) (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1986). Some of Messersmith’s letters to the State Department from 1933 are included in *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931–1941* (Washington, DC, 1943), 191–5.

³⁴ On the American response to the *Machtergreifung*, see also Sirois, *Zwischen Illusion und Krieg*, 38–41. At that time, American consuls tried but were often not fully able to protect at least those Jews who were American citizens: Bat-Ami Zucker, *In Search of Refuge: Jews and U.S. Consuls in Nazi Germany, 1933–1941* (London, Portland, OR, 2001), 72–8.

³⁵ Breitman, “American Diplomatic Records,” 501–10. See also Richard Breitman, *Official Secrets: What the Nazis Planned, What the British and Americans Knew* (New York, 1998), 20–23; Richard Breitman, Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Bloomington, IN, 1987), 39–44.

³⁶ On U.S. visa policy in general, the key players, and their motives, see also the well-balanced analysis by Breitman and Kraut, *American Refugee Policy*, 11–39. See further the older studies by David S. Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938–1941* (Amherst, MA, 1968); Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938–1945* (New York, 1970), 141; David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (New York, 1984), 134–6, 189–91.

³⁷ Zucker, *In Search of Refuge*, 5.

³⁸ Zucker, *In Search of Refuge*, 136. As limited as they were anyway, the immigration quota for Germans (25,557 per year) and Austrians (1,413) were only fully filled in 1939 (Zucker, *In Search of Refuge*, 60).

³⁹ Zucker, *In Search of Refuge*, 66–71, 174–7; Stiller, *George S. Messersmith*, 50–1; more nuanced Breitman and Kraut, *American Refugee Policy*, 43–51, 57–62.

⁴⁰ Zucker, *In Search of Refuge*, ch. 3. Other historians are more ambiguous about the role of American antisemitism. See Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews*, 190–1; Breitman and Kraut, *American Refugee Policy*, 9, 36. See also the new book by Bryan Mark Rigg, *Rabbi Schneerson und Major Bloch: Eine unglaubliche Geschichte aus dem ersten Jahr des Krieges* (Munich, 2006).

⁴¹ Zucker, *In Search of Refuge*, 40–4, 86–97.

⁴² See, for example, Charles Will Wright, The German Mining Industries under the Nazi Government, August 17, 1936, to which the consulates in Frankfurt, Cologne, Breslau, and Stuttgart had contributed memoranda (NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.63/54); Charles W. Thayer, Outline of the German Economic Organization, December 3, 1937, a document of more than thirty pages on a system that according to Thayer had “developed in an atmosphere of constantly conflicting theories” (ibid., 862.50/1008).

⁴³ Raymond H. Geist, The German Economic Situation with Particular Reference to the Political Outlook, Berlin, November 18, 1935, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.50/913.

⁴⁴ Geist, German Economic Situation. On the burden of the “voluntary” contributions to public collections organized by the party, see also in detail Henry P. Leverich, Announcement of a New Scale of Contributions for the Winter Relief Fund in Germany—The Adolf Hitler Donation of Industry and Business, October 4, 1935, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.50/904.

⁴⁵ Douglas Jenkins, Operation of Plan for Subsidizing German Exports, July 8, 1935, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.50/886.

⁴⁶ Alfred W. Klieforth, An Emergency Meeting of Rhineland Business-Men Called to Discuss "Depressed State of Business," January 10, 1936, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.50/920.

⁴⁷ In the first half of 1933, the Berlin Consulate General alone sent three reports (April 15, May 10, July 10—NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.404/12, 14, 22).

⁴⁸ Raymond H. Geist, Establishment of a United German Protestant Church and Promulgation of the Constitution of this New Church, August 31, 1933, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.404/30.

⁴⁹ Geist, Establishment. Geist continued his reporting with a seventeen-page memorandum on the massive conflicts in the Protestant church that arose in the fall of 1933: Raymond H. Geist, With Regard to Recent Developments in the "German Christians" Movement, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.404/42. See also Lowell C. Green, *Church Leaders in the Third Reich: Confessional Lutherans against Nazism* (New York, 2002); Doris L. Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996).

⁵⁰ Samuel W. Honaker, Aspects of the Evangelical Church Situation and Its Relationships to Internal Politics, Stuttgart, April 5, 1935, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.404/116.

⁵¹ "U.S. Watchful of Nazis' War Upon Catholics," *Washington Post*, July 20, 1935.

⁵² J. Webb Benton, The Church Question in Bremen and Oldenburg, Bremen, April 14, 1937, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.404/209. On the tensions between the Catholic church and the Nazi regime, see most recently Thomas Brechenmacher, "Teufelspakt, Selbsterhaltung, universale Mission: Leitlinien und Spielräume der Diplomatie des Heiligen Stuhls gegenüber dem nationalsozialistischen Deutschland (1933–1939) im Lichte neu zugänglicher vatikanischer Akten," *Historische Zeitschrift* 280 (2005): 591–645; Thomas Brechenmacher, "Pope Pius XI, Eugenio Pacelli, and the Persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany, 1933–1939: New Sources from the Vatican Archives," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute London* 27 (2005): 17–44.

⁵³ Paul M. Dutko, Mysterious Deaths of Mental Patients from Leipzig Consular District and the Connection therewith of the Black Guard (SS), October 16, 1940, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.143/12. On the details of the "euthanasia" program and its consequences, see Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of the Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996); Ernst Klee, "Euthanasie" im NS-Staat: Die "Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens" (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).

⁵⁴ Samuel W. Honaker, Alleged Liquidation of Inmates of Insane Asylums, November 16, 1940, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.12/ Report 369; Samuel W. Honaker, Protest by the Head of the Evangelical Church in Württemberg Against the Liquidation of the Inmates of Insane Asylums, February 7, 1941, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.12/33. On March 13, 1941, the embassy summarized the information it had received from various sources and forwarded a letter that the consulate in Munich had received from an anonymous German nurse. Its author claimed that thousands of people had been killed "in experimental stations with poison gas." (Leland Morris, Supplementary Information in Respect of the Killing of Mentally Diseased Persons by the State, March 13, 1941, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.1241/15).

⁵⁵ Malcolm C. Burke, Sterilization of the Unfit in Hamburg, October 13, 1934, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.124/6. On the reality of the program in Hamburg, see Christiane Rothmalder, *Sterilisationen nach dem "Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses" vom 14. Juli 1933: Eine Untersuchung zur Tätigkeit des Erbgesundheitsgerichtes und zur Durchführung des Gesetzes in Hamburg in der Zeit zwischen 1934 und 1944* (Husum, 1991); Elisabeth Fenner, *Zwangsterilisation im Nationalsozialismus: Zur Rolle der Hamburger Sozialverwaltung* (Ammersbek, 1990). See also Stefan Kühl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (New York, 2002).

⁵⁶ W. Ware Adams, Ems Moorland Penal Colony and the Land Reclamation Work Being Carried on by it, October 14, 1935, NA, RG 59, Central Decimal File, 862.6112/5. The tour

had been arranged at the end of the International Penal and Penitentiary Congress in Germany and included Adams and an American, Dutch, Portuguese, and Swiss delegate. On the Emsland camps, see Bruno Brückner, *Die Geschichte der Emslandlager und das Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum Emslandlager in Papenburg* (Papenburg, 1993); Hanne Weissmann, *Auf der Suche nach den Moorsoldaten: Emslandlager, 1933–1945, und die historischen Orte heute* (Papenburg, 4th ed., 2003).

⁵⁷ Manfred Weber, *Carl von Ossietzky und die Nationalsozialisten* (Berlin, 1999). A few months earlier, in June 1935, Ambassador Dodd had learned of Ossietzky's fate and the attempts to secure the Nobel Peace Prize for him from Gilbert L. McMaster, a well-connected Quaker representative in Berlin (Dodd Jr., Dodd, eds., *Ambassador Dodd's Diary*, 251).

TRANSATLANTIC MEDIATORS: AMERICAN PROTAGONISTS OF AMERICAN-GERMAN RELATIONS SINCE WORLD WAR II

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"Never underestimate the depths of German stupidity," U.S. National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger quipped in October 1970 when speaking on the phone to Ford Foundation and Council of Foreign Relations Chairman and former U.S. High Commissioner for Germany John J. McCloy (also called by some "the chairman of the American establishment"). In their conversation both men shared their misgivings about Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* and West Germany's self-assertive foreign policy. "We've fought the war and we won, and here a small minority is taking the ball away from us in a way that will profoundly affect the rest of us," McCloy stated. After Kissinger had promised to arrange a meeting for McCloy with President Nixon to fill the latter in on the dangers of Germany's current path, the former High Commissioner claimed, "I've been through the fire with Brandt." Kissinger added: "He is a public relations guy." McCloy continued: "I defended Berlin two or three times when the blue shirts [of the East German communist youth organization FDJ] were there." Kissinger then asserted regarding Brandt, "He's a weak man," and McCloy then noted, "If we had relied on Brandt we'd have lost the city." "Exactly," Kissinger replied.¹

German readers in particular might be astonished by such frank private talk between these two men, both considered solid pillars of close German-American relations through their entire postwar careers. Yet in the patronizing American perception, Germany's trajectory from defeated enemy to recruited ally and eventually to respected but unequal partner was always rocky under a smooth-looking surface. Skepticism and uneasiness over German national character and its ambivalent potential never fully waned on the U.S. side.² At various crossroads during the Cold War, such feelings became activated to a greater or lesser extent. At the highest levels of the government decision-making pyramid, German-American relations were actually on thin ice for most of the period between 1949 and 1990. Focusing exclusively on relations between presidents and chancellors over the entire course of the Cold War would reveal leaders stumbling from misperceptions and misgivings to crises, interspersed with a few periods of close cooperation and genuine trust when personalities on both sides matched. Yet in the wake of shared

perceptions of threats, pragmatism prevailed most of the time. Both sides were able to skillfully paper over differences to a significant degree.

Many German narratives, though, tend to downplay tensions and prefer to assume tight postwar bonds and a deeply rooted relationship with the United States. In a sense, these narratives might indeed be closer to the truth than government-focused accounts of misgivings. As Volker Berghahn has pointed out, works on the "postwar Atlantic elite" have mostly focused on a "few individuals at the top" with the result of gaining "little systematic knowledge about the next layer of these networks."³ With his study of Shepard Stone, Berghahn has made his own contribution to illuminating this "next layer." Indeed, looking at the broad spectrum of civil society promises to reveal more pertinent and permanent features of the American-German relationship than a perspective concentrating on elected officials and temporary officeholders. An exclusive focus on the American side and selected areas from the aforementioned layer allows for deeper understanding. Overall, relations between the United States and West Germany would turn out surprisingly stable, creating remarkable and enduring bonds between the two countries.

Within the framework of an oral history project, the GHI intends to interview around thirty "transatlantic mediators" of German-American postwar relations, both American-born and naturalized U.S. citizens. In all likelihood, focused questioning will bring to life some prevalent features of the German-American postwar relationship on a broad and diverse scale. Transatlantic ties and cooperation rested on many pillars, and the interviewees selected should be able to highlight most of them in an exemplary manner. The sample of personalities to be interviewed will focus on the following areas: government and intelligence agencies; philanthropic and policy institutions; academia; business; and the military.

The GHI plans to publish the interviews in condensed form, with an introduction, on the GHI's website by the summer of 2007.

Notes

¹ Telecon John J. McCloy, 31 October 1970. National Archives and Records Administration, Nixon Presidential Materials Project, Henry A. Kissinger Telecons, Box 7.

² Thomas A. Schwartz, "The United States and Germany after 1945: Alliances, Transnational Relations, and the Legacy of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 19 (1995), 549–568.

³ Volker R. Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone Between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (Princeton, 2001), 284.

GERMAN JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES: A GUIDE TO RESEARCH RESOURCES

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The history of German-speaking Jews in the United States was one of the German Historical Institute's earliest research interests. It is therefore only appropriate that the GHI should produce a guide on this subject in its series of reference guides. The GHI is currently working with the Department for Jewish History and Culture at the University of Munich and the Academic Working Group of the Leo Baeck Institute in Germany to prepare such a publication. The project will present archives, libraries, and special collections of central interest for this field in order to stimulate a new transatlantic perspective for research on German-speaking Jews. The main goal of the publication is to provide researchers with a comprehensive overview of the existence, distribution, and contents of relevant sources. The individual collections will be listed by country, state, and locality, and the research guide's entries for each collection will list the extent of the collections, record numbers, and the time period covered. The guide will also provide contact information for the individual archives and organizations, references to printed and online finding aids, and, where applicable, information regarding fellowships provided by the institutions for the analysis of their materials.

The project, supported by a grant from the Gerda Henkel Foundation, aims to provide new impulses to research on the history of German-speaking Jews in the United States. The guide will not be limited to the history of Jewish emigration from Nazi Germany, which has been at the center of research until recently. Instead, it will expand its perspective in terms of territory, content, and time period. It will not only include sources on the lives of German-speaking Jews in the United States, but also sources documenting the nearly two-hundred-year history of the relationship between the diaspora on both sides of the Atlantic.

The project begins with the Jewish Enlightenment (*Haskalah*), which provided an important foundation for the formation of a new, pluralistic, and decidedly modern Judaism. This development had its origins and early center in the German cultural and linguistic sphere. Transmitted and borne by a growing number of German-Jewish immigrants, this

modern understanding of Jewish existence spread quickly, intensively, and very effectively to the New World. This was true not only of religious and cultural aspects, but also of the social success of German-Jewish immigrants, whose impressive paths from poverty to wealth had already astounded contemporary observers. In this sense, the approximately 280,000 Jews who came to the United States between 1830 and 1914 had a lasting impact on the resulting American Jewish community.¹

Research has often emphasized the fact that German-Jewish emigrant groups formed a collective identity despite their great willingness to acculturate, while at the same time maintaining numerous connections and relationships to Germany and Europe. This German-Jewish community of values was stabilized not only by religion—a cosmopolitan, bourgeois, reformed, and critical Judaism—but also by the continued use of the German language, the passing-down of a bourgeois way of life, corresponding “cultural codes,” and the creation of networks at the intellectual-historical and philosophical, social, and family levels.

Building on this foundation, American Jewish communities and institutions developed a particular vitality, which in turn affected Europe in the iconic form of a “Jewish-American identity,” a classic example of a transatlantic transfer operating in both directions. This transfer also continued during the first third of the twentieth century, mostly in the context of religious, familial, cultural, or economic contacts, helping to make the United States one of the most desirable places of refuge when tens of thousands of Jews wished to emigrate from Nazi Germany beginning in 1933.² Clearly this continued to be the case during the decade following the end of the Second World War, as more liberal American immigration legislation helped encourage another “relocation” of German-Jewish emigrants who had initially fled to other countries during the Nazi era.

While these developments are familiar and have been relatively well researched, the history of German-speaking Jews in the United States has barely been addressed from the transatlantic perspective. There are many reasons for this. Specialists in German-Jewish history have not shown much interest in Jews overseas, or in American or American Jewish history. Empirical studies of the changeability of identity, its persistence or its hybridity, thus remain rare. Above all, researchers have so far had only very rudimentary insights into the contacts and relationships between “German Jews” in the United States and their Central European relatives.

American Jewish history and American ethnic history also show similar research deficits. Like American history as a whole, these fields long demonstrated little interest in transnational research questions or in differences within individual ethnic groups. Researchers have seldom

looked for the origins of Jewish-American identity in a complex web of relationships between German, Jewish, and American identities. This is true not only of research on the nineteenth century. Another good example of the lack of communication among the disciplines is the research on German-speaking emigration after 1933, only recently begun in the field of American Jewish history. Such research seldom considers the relevant German publications, and the contributions made by émigré German-Jewish historians are largely missing.³

Finally, research on the diverse population of German Americans has only occasionally been concerned with the Jews. Although they were clearly part of the large group of German-speaking immigrant groups in the United States, we know little about the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish German Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and how this relationship was shaped by class, education, and political background, or to what extent German Jews formed their own cultural profile separate not only from other Jews but also from other Germans.

If one examines the main research topics of the history of the German-American relationship, it is apparent that the general history of migration and emigration has been exhaustively researched.⁴ There is, however, a dearth of studies that use a broader definition of a “transatlantic relational history” of German Jews and that pursue new lines of inquiry. Among the neglected subjects is the development of a cultural “transatlantic modernity,” as reflected for example in the history of the entertainment industry—in theater, film, music, publishing, and in the new popular culture. Equally under-researched are cultural-historical aspects of trade, international banking, economic innovation, and the modernization of various economic sectors along “American” lines. All of these topics are closely connected to industrialization and the development of economic and communications networks in the Atlantic sphere. Especially in the nineteenth century, these developments were only possible due to the stabilizing influence of close family contacts in so-called “brothers businesses.”⁵

Subjects involving relationships between Jews, such as the organization of transatlantic Jewish solidarity through secular Jewish organizations like B’nai B’rith, the American Jewish Committee, or the Joint Distribution Committee, as well as their cooperation with German organizations such as the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden or the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, have also been little investigated. It is precisely these topics, however, that raise new questions regarding the organization of modern Jewish solidarity and identity in Europe and overseas. The interplay, areas of conflict, and model character of these volunteer secular associations, as well as this

transatlantic community's search for its place in civil society, provide rich material for research.

When searching for the reasons that have hampered transnational approaches to German-Jewish historiography, one has to note the highly dispersed, not to say chaotic state of the sources, caused by Nazism and the Holocaust, which has only worsened after the opening of several Eastern European archives after 1990 and the exchange of archival materials with American institutions. In part, the systematic collection and preservation of source material on the history of German Jews overseas has lagged because these "recent" Jewish communities did not view themselves as subjects of Jewish historical research, which concentrated on Europe and the Mediterranean sphere. Even in the United States, home to one of the largest Jewish diaspora communities, systematic collection efforts within the framework of American Jewish history did not begin until the middle of the twentieth century. Therefore sources on the history of German Jews are found in collections that focus on German non-Jewish migration.

With this in mind, it seems absolutely essential first of all to establish a sound basis for the systematic study of German Jews in transnational perspective. Scholars wishing to pursue research projects in this field require information about sources that provide a new perspective on the history of German Jews and that could foster international communication in this area of research. To be sure, a few key reference works already exist in the form of the biographical handbook on German-speaking emigrants and the archival guide published by John Spalek and Herbert Strauss.⁶ Nevertheless, the planned guide will open up a multitude of new sources to researchers. This is not only due to our guide's broader temporal and spatial scope: In the recent past, numerous members of the generation that emigrated after 1933 have died, resulting in the transfer of numerous private documents into archives. These documents could not possibly have been listed in the reference guides now available, as most of these guides are over two decades old. Thus these sources have been and continue to be either largely unknown or exceptionally difficult to access. In this respect, the planned reference guide will close a serious gap in documentation and lay the groundwork for further research efforts regarding the history of German-speaking Jews in the United States and the transatlantic character of the Jewish diaspora. Not only do German and German-Jewish history stand to gain from this project: It is hoped that the research guide will also benefit American history, especially American ethnic and religious history as well as the field of Jewish Studies.

Translated by Keith D. Alexander

Notes

¹ Avraham Barkai, *Branching Out: German Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820–1914* (New York/London, 1994); Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter With Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830–1914* (Philadelphia, 1984); Hasia Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration* (Baltimore/London, 1994).

² Werner Röder and Jan Foitzik, eds., *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration* (Munich, 1980).

³ Anita Kassof and Avi Y. Decter, eds., *Lives Lost, Lives Found: Baltimore's German Jewish Refugees, 1933–1945* (Baltimore, 2005); Herbert Strauss, ed., *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the USA*, 7 vols. (New York and Munich, 1979). Herbert Strauss also worked intensively on the handbook on German-speaking emigration.

⁴ Diner, *A Time for Gathering*; Henry Feingold, *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920–1945* (Baltimore, 1992); Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building: The Third Migration 1880–1920* (Baltimore, 1992).

⁵ Ron Chernow, *Die Warburgs: Odysee einer Familie* (Munich, 1994); Barkai, *Branching Out*, 55ff.

⁶ John M. Spalek, *Guide to the Archival Materials of the German-speaking Emigration to the United States after 1933* (Charlottesville, 1978).

CONFERENCE REPORTS

A FLANEUR BETWEEN RUBBLE AND RUINS: FRIEDRICH SEIDENSTÜCKER, PHOTOGRAPHS OF BERLIN AFTER 1945

Exhibition at the GHI, November 4, 2005 to January 27, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI and the Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, which houses the world's leading collection of Seidenstücker photographs. Curated by art historian and photo archivist Antje Schunke (Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

This GHI exhibition was the first individual show of Seidenstücker's photographs in more than twenty years and his first-ever American exhibition. Scheduled to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II, the show featured works from the immediate postwar period.

At the end of the war, Friedrich Seidenstücker (1882–1966) wandered through the ruins of the former capital of the German Reich as a “flaneur with a camera,” motivated only by a desire to capture what he saw. He did not intend to document politically significant events; instead, he was more intrigued by the small, necessary activities that made up everyday life in the destroyed city. Seidenstücker's photographs thus differ from the familiar pictures—propaganda materials and documentary photographs—that have shaped our collective memory of the postwar era. While many of his photographs can indeed be read as documents from an important chapter in German history, they are perhaps most powerful when viewed as personal expressions of an individual artist's perspective.

Within a decade, Seidenstücker took more than five hundred photographs of Berlin. The exhibition included approximately sixty works, which were presented in five sections. The first section, *Impressions of Ruins*, explored the manner in which Seidenstücker borrowed from long-standing aesthetic traditions to evoke the antique ruins or destroyed Gothic churches depicted in many nineteenth-century Romantic paintings. *New Rooms—New Views* focused on Berlin's drastically altered spaces and the new photographic vantage points they offered. With the fabric of the former cityscape torn apart, familiar elements appeared in unfamiliar contexts, and Seidenstücker captured the new relationships that emerged between various elements of the built and natural environ-

ments. By the end of the war, many of the city's most prominent official buildings either stood in ruins or had been stripped of their original functions. These well-known structures were the focus of the third section, *Portraits of Ruins*, which featured photographs of burned-out ruins, bombed churches and destroyed palaces. Unlike other photographers, however, Seidenstücker did not analyze these buildings in isolation but situated them within their larger surroundings, so that hints of street life can be glimpsed between the ruins of architectural landmarks. *Nature's Rubble* and *Landscapes of Ruin* explored the war's impact on the natural world, a subject of particular interest to Seidenstücker, who had trained as an animal sculptor. The final section, *People in Rubble*, brought human subjects to the fore. It was Seidenstücker's gift to capture the particularities of everyday life. A self-described *Momentknipser*, he found artistic inspiration in both the deficiencies of the postwar era and the creative improvisation that followed as a necessary result.

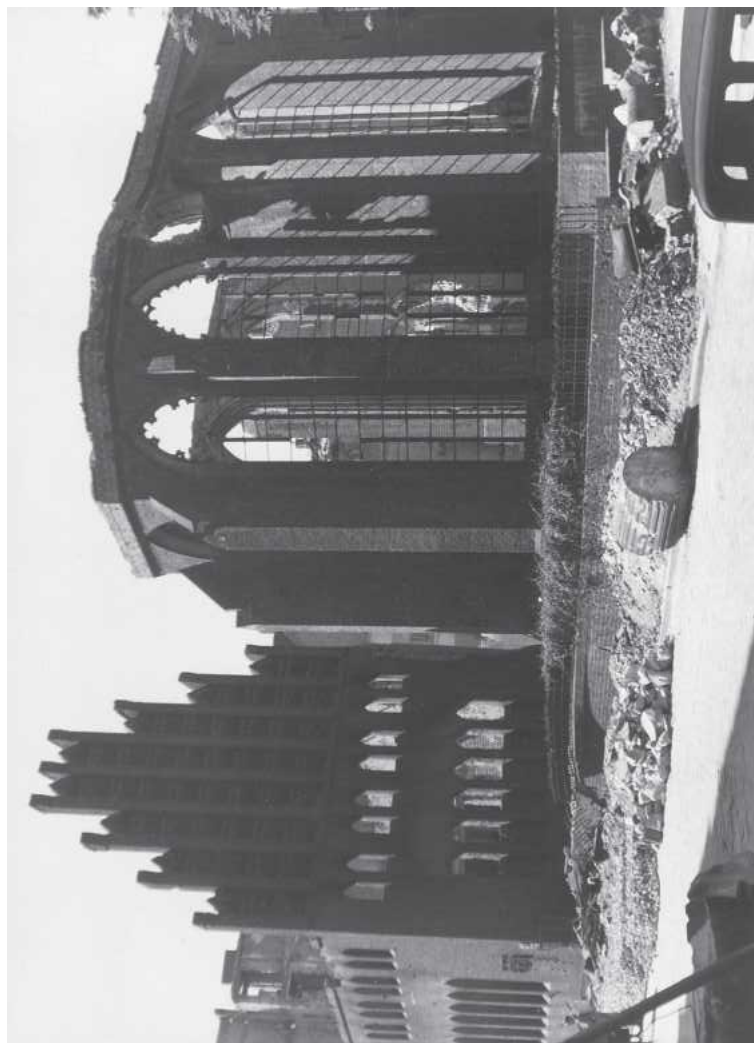
The Seidenstücker exhibition, together with introductory texts and additional biographical information, can be viewed online as part of *German History in Documents and Images* (<http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/>). The photographs and supporting materials can be found under "Images" in Section 8, *Occupation and the Emergence of Two States (1945–1961)*, edited by Volker Berghahn and Uta Poiger.

Kelly McCullough



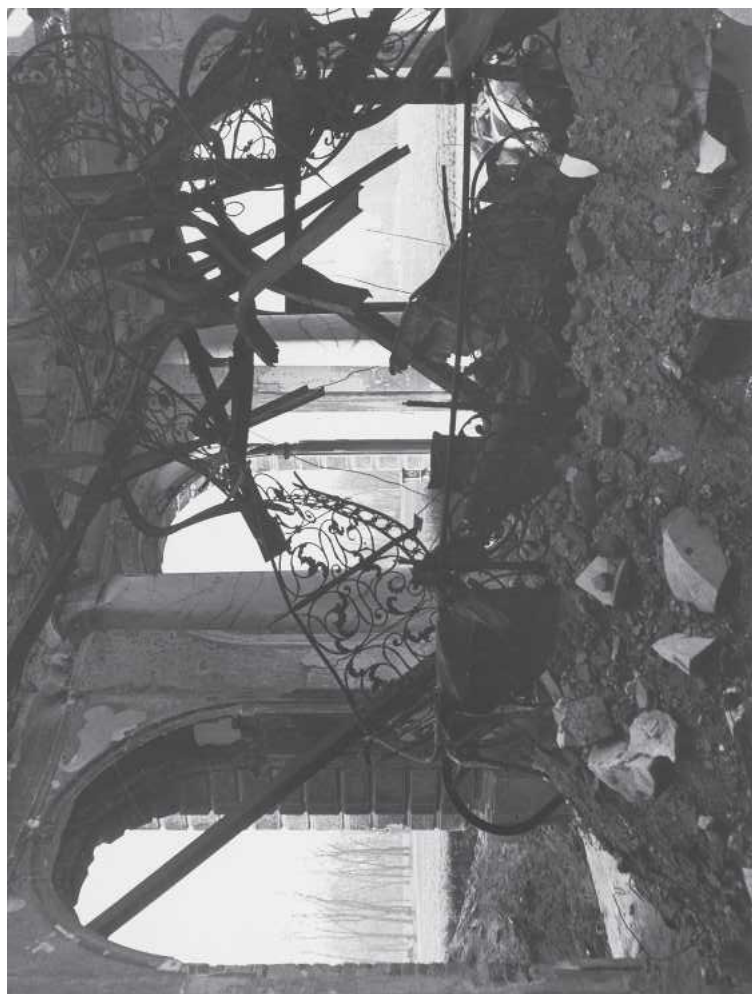
Impressions of Ruins

Friedrich Seidenstücker, Toppled columns from the Crown Prince's Palace, Unter den Linden 3. Berlin, 1946. Print from original negative. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



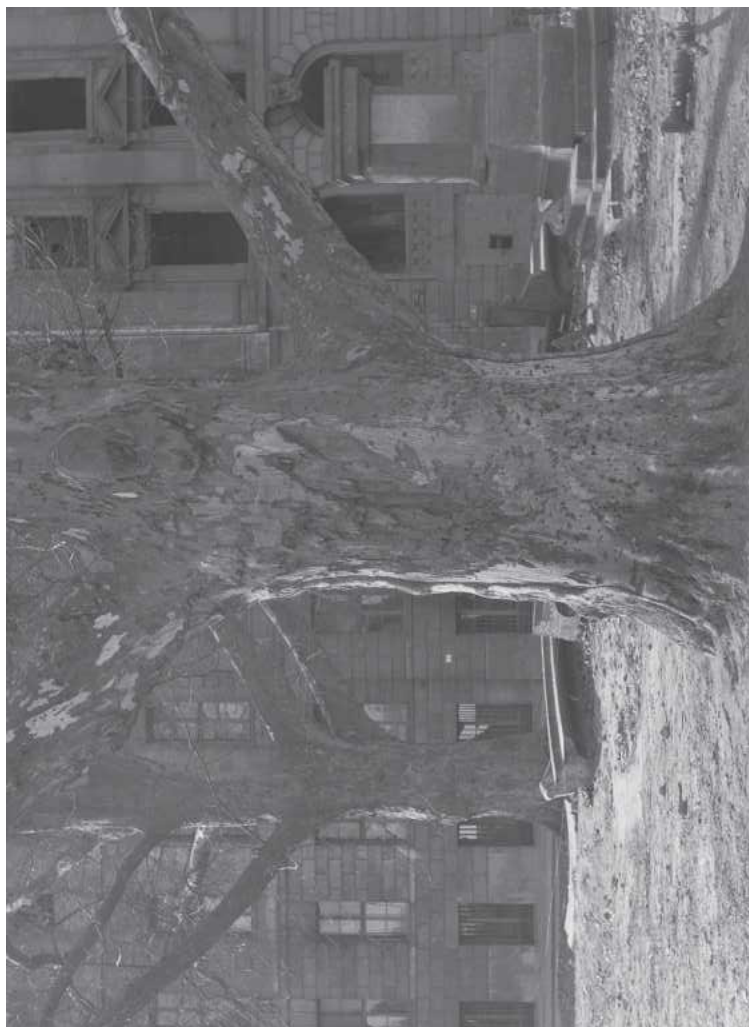
New Rooms—New Views

Friedrich Seidenstücker, View of the ruins of the medieval Franciscan Church. Berlin, 1946. Print from original negative. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Portraits of Ruins

Friedrich Seidenstücker, View of the staircase on the park side of Charlottenburg Palace. Berlin, 1946. Print from original negative. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Nature's Rubble and Landscapes of Ruin
Friedrich Seidenstücker, Bullet-marked plane trees in front of Darmstädter Bank, Schinkelplatz. Berlin, 1945. Print from original negative. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



People in Rubble

Friedrich Seidenstücker, Berliners waiting at a tram stop, 1946. Print from original negative. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

All of the photographs from the exhibition *A Flaneur between Rubble and Ruins: Friedrich Seidenstücker, Photographs of Berlin after 1945* are available on the *German History in Documents and Images* website (www.germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org). They are grouped together and appear as part of volume 8, *Occupation and the Emergence of Two States, 1945–1961*.

THE LIGHTS ARE GOING OUT ALL OVER EUROPE

Theater performance and roundtable discussion at the GHI, February 24 and 25, 2006. Co-sponsored by the Friends of the German Historical Institute, the German University Alliance, New York (University of Munich and the Free University of Berlin), the BMW Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, and the German Information Center, German Embassy, Washington, DC. Conveners: Roger Chickering (Georgetown University) and Christof Mauch (GHI).

Participants: Actors and technical staff of the Theater Sündenfall directed by Nikolaus Frei and Björn Potulski; Katrin Sieg (Georgetown University).

Putting war on the stage is a formidable theatrical challenge. Rising to this challenge, a group of young Munich actors has brought the July crisis of 1914 to the stage. The troupe Theater Sündenfall describes its documentary drama “The Lights are Going Out All Over Europe” as a *danse macabre* that seeks to illuminate the origins of the First World War. The play had its U.S. premiere at the German Historical Institute in Washington in February 2006.

Why, to paraphrase the famous observations of British Foreign Minister Edward Grey, did the lights go out in Europe? By way of an answer, Theater Sündenfall presented a collage of excerpts from a broad range of primary sources. Participants in the events of the summer of 1914, ranging from statesmen and generals to ordinary soldiers, take turns speaking for themselves in their native tongues—Grey in English, for example, Kaiser Wilhelm in German, Foreign Minister Sergei Sasanov in Russian. As is now common practice in many opera houses, translations were provided in supertitles. The one not strictly historical figure in the play was the allegorical figure of Death, who provided a commentary on the events of the summer of 1914 as they unfolded onstage and thereby cast a spotlight on the absurdity of national ambitions and the perversity of war.

Following the performance, historian Roger Chickering and literary scholar Katrin Sieg discussed “The Lights are Going Out All Over Europe” as a work of history and a work of theatrical art. Chickering pointed out that the play did an excellent job in bringing one of the central questions of European history to the stage—the question of who, or what, started World War I. The frivolity, the incompetence, and the nonchalance of the major protagonists was made manifest and juxtaposed with the responses of common soldiers to the events engulfing

them. For Chickering, the performance was “a study in human weakness.” Sieg set “The Lights are Going Out All Over Europe” within the tradition of documentary theater. Especially popular during the 1960s, this mode of drama typically gave pride of place to the experience of the ordinary person rather than to the doings of “great men.” The “phenomenon of transnational complicity” dramatized in the play and its “ironicization” of Europe’s leaders speak very much to the present moment, Sieg observed. World War I might for that reason provide better material for theater, she went on to suggest, than World War II.

The open discussion that followed centered on the question of why a group of young German actors had decided to take up the subject of the outbreak of World War I. The debacle of 1914 also raised the question of how—or whether—wars can be prevented. “The Lights are Going Out All Over Europe” played to two capacity audiences at the GHI, and the reviews in the local press were very positive.

Christof Mauch

WAR, CULTURE, AND PROPAGANDA: NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER AND THE U.S. "INFORMATION PROGRAM" IN LATIN AMERICA DURING WORLD WAR II

GHI-sponsored panel at the Latin American Studies Association conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 15–18, 2006. Organizer: Uwe Lübken (GHI). Participants: Gisela Cramer (Universidad Nacional de Colombia), Christof Mauch (GHI), Catha Paquette (California State University, Long Beach), Ursula Prutsch (University of Vienna).

This panel was to some extent a continuation of a cooperative effort that started in August 2005 with an international workshop on "Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs, 1940–46," sponsored by the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) in Tarrytown, NY. The main objective of this workshop was to draw together a group of scholars working on the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), in an attempt to reappraise a U.S. government agency that, despite developing and implementing a truly massive program to win Latin America's "hearts and minds" during the Second World War, has received surprisingly little attention until fairly recently. Drawing on various fields of expertise, including U.S. cultural diplomacy and inter-American affairs, the history of the United States and Latin America, art history, communications, and film studies, the RAC's participants focused on those components of the OIAA's programs that related directly to efforts to influence public opinion in Latin America and in the United States.

Due to the generous support of the GHI, some of the scholars present at the August 2005 meeting were now able to present their ongoing research to a larger forum, the annual conference of the Latin American Studies Association. Despite the fact that the panel on "War, Culture, and Propaganda" had to compete with a number of key events, not to mention the allure of the Caribbean beachfront, it drew a sizeable and supportive audience.

Following a brief introduction by Christof Mauch, Uwe Lübken's "Playing the Cultural Game: The United States and the Nazi Threat to Latin America" explored the policy context that gave rise to the OIAA's culture and propaganda programs and that shaped both the contents and the organizational format these programs would assume. The rhetoric employed during the war years stressed the importance of cultural interchange and understanding for inter-American relations. But since these programs were largely a result of U.S. security concerns, Lübken concluded, they were quickly abandoned after the war.

Catha Paquette's paper on "Wartime Politics of Culture: U.S. Government Arts Programs in Mexico and the United States," presented in Paquette's absence by Christof Mauch, focused on the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) as one of the major instruments to carry out the OIAA's programs in the field of the fine arts. She highlighted the ways in which MoMA modified its aesthetic orientation, institutional policies, and practices in response to pressures generated by foreign policy concerns.

Gisela Cramer's case study "The United States, Argentina, and Mass Communications During World War II" explored the OIAA's strenuous efforts to use radio as a means to reach and influence Argentine audiences, an endeavor that culminated in the establishment of a secret radio station in neighboring Uruguay. She analyzed the difficulties U.S. propagandists encountered in this part of the hemisphere where an increasingly hostile government restricted U.S. broadcasting activities and highly competitive radio markets severely limited the agency's operational options.

Brazil was undoubtedly the country where the OIAA's programs were the most extensive. In her contribution on "Nelson Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs in Brazil," Ursula Prutsch presented a wide range of activities, including large-scale health and sanitation projects, cultural exchange and media initiatives, and programs assisting the extraction of raw materials. Apart from highlighting the massive scope of the OIAA's activities, she discussed how these meshed with ongoing state-building processes.

In the subsequent discussion with the audience, various commentators raised the point that these papers and other findings would invite a historical reappraisal of the agency, and suggested a number of further avenues to explore.

Gisela Cramer

JESTERS, JOKES, AND LAUGHTER: THE POLITICS OF HUMOR IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Conference at the Munk Centre for International Studies, Toronto, March 16–18, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI and the Joint Initiative in German and European Studies (Toronto). Additional funding provided by the DAAD and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation (Cologne). Conveners: Martina Kessel (University of Bielefeld/University of Toronto), Patrick Merziger (Free University of Berlin), Dirk Schumann (GHI).

Participants: Vincent Brook (California State University, Los Angeles), Christie Davies (University of Reading), Modris Eksteins (University of Toronto), Eileen Gillooly (Columbia University, New York), Peter Jelavich (Johns Hopkins University), Jakub Kazecki (University of British Columbia), Peter Michael Keller (University of Zurich), Giseline Kuipers (Erasmus University, Rotterdam), Kaspar Maase (University of Tübingen), Monika Pater (University of Hamburg), Jan Rüger (Birkbeck College, London), Nicholas Sammond (University of Toronto), Kathleen Stokker (Luther College, Decorah, Iowa), Mark Winokur (University of Colorado, Boulder).

Comedy and laughter have long been perceived as anthropological constants, especially in fields like the philosophy of humor or the anthropology of laughter. Recently, however, historiography has come to view these phenomena as culturally specific forms of communication that themselves shape their temporal and social contexts. The content, structure, practice, and meaning of comedy and laughter are now understood to be historically variable. What is seen as funny, what is laughed about, what one is permitted and expected to laugh about, and who laughs with whom about what, all reveals information about a society or a group, while also affecting the society or group. Through comedy and laughter, social relationships are negotiated and society is constructed and shaped. The topic “Comedy and Laughter” at the same time opens up a realm that seems difficult for historical writing to address, as attested by the diffuse concepts involved, including mass culture, popular culture, or folk culture.

Historical works have long concentrated on the time period before the twentieth century, while film and literary studies, ethnology, sociology, and media and communications studies have been more concerned with current forms of comedy and laughter. Among historical works, the dominant approach has been that of Michael Bakhtin, who saw laughter as the expression of a primal folk culture that was then submerged in the

process of civilization. Accordingly, “subversion” came to characterize the dominant narrative for the twentieth century, thus presupposing an intrinsically oppositional function of comedy. Alternatively, commentators endowed comedy and laughter with a more negative meaning, viewing them as a sphere free of politics that nevertheless functioned to ease tension and prepare the public once again for the demands of the rulers.

The conference “Jesters, Jokes, and Laughter: The Politics of Humor in the Twentieth Century” looked for the social meanings of comedy and laughter beyond these descriptive approaches. The conference sought to bring together the results of previous efforts while also pointing out new ways to incorporate indisputably popular texts and practices. One important result of these efforts was the revelation of the important roles played by comedy and laughter in processes of inclusion and exclusion. In the course of the presentations and discussions, it proved useful to distinguish between the semantics of the comical and the practice of laughter. Participants agreed that it was necessary to bind comedy to its specific medium in order to explore the conditions and unique aspects of comedy in the various media and sectors of the public sphere, and to counteract the tendency to make assumptions about the timelessness of comedy and laughter.

In the opening presentation, Peter Jelavich examined the political and social conditions that caused jokes told by Jews about themselves to cease being harmless. In the process, he identified a striking difference between the *Kaiserreich* and the Weimar Republic. Before 1914, the comic theater of the brothers Anton and Donat Herrnfeld was very successful in bringing the cliché of Jews as another German tribe alongside Bavarians, Saxons, and Berliners to the stage without arousing protest or causing offense. Not until the Weimar Republic did the same jokes about Jews become a problem: The Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, the major interest group representing Jewish Germans, attacked cabaret performers for disparaging Jews. Jelavich interpreted the different reactions as a sign of relative cultural pluralism in the *Kaiserreich*, while the increased sensitivity in the Weimar Republic indicated increasing antisemitism. This antisemitism now was seen in comedy itself: Many cabarets were exclusively devoted to staging Jewish clichés, and joke collections perpetuated stereotypes about money-grubbing and sexual deviance, stereotypes that were never applied to other groups with the same degree of negativity and aggression. Jelavich therefore suggested interpreting comedy, a part of popular culture, as a yardstick for social change. The jokes and cabarets reveal the ebb and flow of a latent antisemitism that would otherwise be very difficult to track. Last but not least, they also had an impact on society in turn, in that they provided a vehicle for spreading antisemitism.

The presentation by Kaspar Maase used the case of World War I to test possible methodological approaches for researching comedy and laughter. He concluded from the increased production of joke magazines that the war had been a time of laughter. He cited the series *Tornister-Humor*, which was also oriented toward the civilian population, the humorous periodical *Der Brummer*, the title of which evoked the shells of the big Krupp cannons, and the extremely successful play *Immer fest druff* as examples of militarized forms of the comedic. Still, Maase advocated looking not only at these semantics, these military connotations, but also at laughter as a social practice existing independently from the interpretation of texts. Who can, may, and must laugh with whom can produce social formations that exist independently from the subject of the joke. Maase pointed out that the German populace's clear need for comedy and laughter could tell another story about the processing of the war experience that differs from the usual images of aggression and arrogance.

The next four contributions provided preliminary answers to questions about the meanings of comedy and laughter. The first presentation sought a more precise understanding of the subversive components of humor in war. Using Norway as an example, Kathleen Stokker presented a different interpretation of the so-called *Flüsterwitze*, or underground jokes, that have been repeatedly cited in order to construct myths of a popular resistance. By emphasizing the social practice of the telling of the joke, however, Stokker was able to interpret this kind of source in a new and productive way. She used underground periodicals to show that the relatively small group of active resistance members intentionally used jokes to advance their goals. Contemporary diaries demonstrate the prevalence of these jokes and their meanings for the populace. An eleven-year-old girl, for example, kept a diary of jokes, fully aware of the danger of doing so. These jokes were thoroughly conservative in content. Much more meaningful however was first the fact that information was passed on regarding the presence of the resistance, and second, that relating and listening to jokes were signs of a diffuse mentality of being different, indispensable for the work of the few active resistance members.

Peter Michael Keller examined a second popular myth, that of the cabaret as an institution where only the resistance-minded came together. The Zurich cabaret *Cornichon* is considered to have been a Swiss anti-fascist establishment during the Nazi era. Using stage photos, programs, manuscripts, and tape recordings for the period after 1945, Keller attempted to place the texts back into their contexts, a difficult undertaking because the situation of the performance seems to have been irretrievably lost. Nevertheless, he was able to uncover the multiple retrospective constructions and overlays of subversion. Thus the *Song of the Compromise*

of 1935 was an ironic depiction of Swiss particularism. From 1940 on, the ensemble sang it as an anthem to Switzerland. After 1945 the cabaret claimed that the song had been a battle song against National Socialism, and performed it accordingly. The cabaret thus adapted to the dominant Swiss self-representation of the times, not least of all because this sold well. Keller concluded by asserting that the political cabaret of the 1930s was an invention of the postwar era.

From these deconstructions of resistance legends, the presentations turned to the question of the forms and meanings of laughter and the comical in the era of the world wars. Jan Rüger emphasized the ambivalent interplay of popular comedic forms and political and military authority figures. Carl Braun was very successful at imitating the mannerisms, clothing, and voices of well-known personalities in Berlin cabarets and vaudeville shows. After Braun was censored by the authorities, he stopped imitating voices and was then able to recommence his parodies. On the one hand, these performances threatened to undermine authority by making politicians the butt of jokes. On the other hand, they could be understood as expressing and advancing the popularity of these politicians. Not only the meaning was ambivalent, however. Interested in popular entertainment, even if only as a censor, the government vacillated between seeking to satisfy the entertainment needs of the lower classes and seeking to control them. The laughter and comedy of this milieu thus became linked to the war effort, while also gaining acceptance and significance outside of the milieu.

Patrick Merziger, too, was concerned with the interaction between audience, producers, and the state. He advanced the thesis that the comedy of National Socialism is to be found in satires and caricatures if it is to be found at all. After 1933, National Socialist satire encountered resistance in the populace. The general public complained bitterly about satires at its own expense. At the same time, writers experienced satire as a paradoxical form that not only annihilated the opponent, but immediately brought him back into the dialogue. For this reason, too, satire and caricatures were unpopular. According to Merziger, the political meaning of comedy is not found primarily in the political satire of the time, but rather in its gradual disappearance. This disappearance prevented the social dissonances from being addressed while simultaneously rendering invisible the exclusions upon which National Socialism was built. Merziger interpreted the disappearance of satire as a sign of the desire of large parts of the populace to be able to live in a unified National Socialist community and to be able to forget about those persecuted under National Socialism.

The next presentations focused on laughter as a social practice, but were based on narrative sources. Jakub Kazecki found that memoirs of

the First World War went beyond polarized evaluations of the war to describe laughter as a social behavior in remarkably similar ways, whether in the works of Ernst Jünger, Erich Maria Remarque, or Walther Bloom. In these memoirs, laughter did not serve to ease the hardships of the front as official positions would have it, but was instead part of everyday life in wartime. "Laughing about" negotiated hierarchies that did not necessarily correspond to official hierarchies, "laughing together" created camaraderie, and "laughter at" produced exclusion. Laughter not only structured the social group of soldiers, however, but in this view also helped process the experiences and adapt to the new realities of warfare: According to Kazecki, a joke was often the response to atrocities and suffering of the populace.

Eileen Gillooly applied an otherwise little-noted distinction to the discussion about the social practice of laughter. Most presentations unquestioningly described comedy and laughter as a masculine practice. Gillooly pointed out that this is a traditional ascription traceable to the novels of the nineteenth century. All aggressive forms of comedy and laughter connote masculinity in western culture, while femininity is associated at most with empathetic humor and the mild smile. Authors like Jane Austen and George Eliot had internalized this cultural assignation, and their protagonists reproduced it. While Gillooly saw this distinction lose significance in the twentieth century because gallows humor or the grotesque were less marked by gender, she observed a renaissance around the end of the century, especially in the works of Barbara Pym, Anita Brookner, and Penelope Fitzgerald. This renaissance could be interpreted as an indication of the long life of these ascriptions. Because the protagonists' feminine humor is intentional and apparently appears as a deliberate quotation, it is also possible that it is recognized as an anachronism, thus again making it a comedic object.

Christie Davies and Giseline Kuipers addressed the actual telling of jokes. Davies viewed the ownership of jokes as an element to be used to reveal their meaning. The owner of a joke could be determined by searching for those who originated and publicized the joke. Jokes about Jews in Eastern Europe around the turn of the century were incomprehensible in their original form to non-Jews because the jokes played on special customs. Culturally transmissible versions were prepared by Jewish authors and publishing houses, leading Christie to attribute Jewish ownership to these jokes. By contrast, Davies described the Polish jokes that were popular in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States as jokes against Poles because these jokes did not address any uniquely Polish qualities, and the jokes were never adopted by Polish media.

Giseline Kuipers examined the changing meaning of ethnic jokes. She distinguished between a public based on media communication and

a public based on direct interaction. Her 1995 survey of Dutch students revealed that there was a unique, non-interchangeable joke script available for every ethnic group. The groups with the lowest social status were the targets of the most primitive jokes. At the same time, joke-tellers tended to combine ethnicities perceived as foreign into one group. In 2005 by contrast, the popular joke targets "Moroccans" were no longer broadly associated with Africa, and jokes played on cultural attributes rather than simply on associations with dirt. In 2005 a paradoxical situation intensified in that ethnic jokes were part of everyday practice, but there was no counterpart in the mass communications media. According to Kuipers, attitudes toward immigrants changed in public discussion in the Netherlands in the sense that coarseness actually became cultured. Still, jokes about immigrants could not be told because the subject was viewed as too sensitive.

The final presentations focused on the mass media. Mark Winokur used early-twentieth-century animation to show that in the field of comedy, too, technology could develop its own meaning independent from narrative. Rotoscoping, developed in 1914 by Fleischer Studios, involved projecting a motion picture on a screen and then sketching it frame by frame, producing an animated film. Thus original picture and overlay united to form a single image with an effect both grotesque and comical. To describe the resulting disturbing mixture, Winokur suggested the term "creolism." Two examples embodied this concept. The first was the cartoon hero Coco the clown, based on the white, Jewish David Fleischer but given African-American features during the animation process. The second, Betty Boop, is of indeterminate ethnicity. Thus this technique depicted ethnicities on the screen at a time when American society was marked by racism while tending to banish ethnic differences from the movies. These comic characters kept the suppressed present.

Monika Pater addressed programs containing comedic offerings and the political meaning and utility of these program structures. National Socialist radio broadcasters quickly realized that propaganda did not satisfy the needs of listeners and thus lent itself very poorly to direct political influence. Radio appeared more useful as a means to influence and organize moods. Pater described how the program was directed to the daily needs of listeners, for example with energetic music in the morning, which according to listener testimony promoted the punctual beginning of the workday. Production of laughter was held to be one means of shaping the week. Thus the program *Bunte Stunden*, 40 percent of which consisted of skits, was intended to put one in the mood for the weekend and to produce a sense of time well spent, irrespective of content. Pater claimed that it was precisely the constant repetition of subject and form that demonstrates that here the point was less the communi-

cation of new content than the recognition of the familiar. This was intended to create the feeling of security.

Vincent Brook closed the conference with a presentation regarding American sitcoms. In so doing, he took up the subject of the opening lecture, the Jewish joke, though in a completely altered social and media environment. Brook noted a trend beginning in the early 1990s toward Jewish characters in television comedies such as *Seinfeld*, *Will and Grace*, *The O.C.*, or *Friends*. *The Larry Sanders Show*, a satire on talk shows, also addressed the subject of "the Jew," but only in a few of its eighty-nine episodes. Still, according to Brook, the show demonstrates that the self-reflexivity successfully achieved by the medium of television now finds expression in comedy, too. Thus a main character converts to Judaism because of his love for a female rabbi, and the show takes up the cliché that Jews control the American media by having all employees successively reveal themselves to be Jewish. Brook saw in this self-reflexivity the possibility that at the end of the twentieth century, "the Jews" are again the owners of antisemitic jokes. This, together with the casual nature of the jokes, expresses the disappearance of much of the pressure of the problem and the increased acceptance of the Jewish in the United States.

The commentaries by Dirk Schumann, Modris Eksteins, and Nicholas Sammond, the closing commentary by Martina Kessel, and the lively discussion centered around general issues in the history of comedy and laughter in the twentieth century. The humorous in the broadest sense, it was revealed, is seldom a neutral phenomenon; it is far more meaningful than the absence of seriousness. Conference participants viewed as far more significant the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, and the ordering and formation of community, that are produced or changed through the comical and in the act of laughter. Even and especially in modern societies, these cultural forms of communication serve as a "management of differences" (Sammond), whereby comedy and laughter have both a changing and a preserving effect, qualities simultaneously subversive and affirmative.

As a result, it should not be assumed generally that the social custom of laughter either created a homogeneous "community of laughter" or reflected the existence of "common people" whose laughter automatically set them apart from their rulers. During the conference, it became clear that the view of comedy and laughter per se as acts of "small subversion" required revision. Especially the presentations regarding National Socialism revealed that a large proportion of the populace actually led Nazi elites to portray the world in a harmonious, non-serious manner. At the same time, however, some presentations pointed to a specific laughter of the "common people" that was distinguished by its volatility

and spontaneity. At least in Germany, this kind of thigh-slapping laughter would have been impossible in the bourgeois theater, for example. The conference once again made it clear how difficult it is to situate the practice of laughter in historical perspective. The study of the places of laughter can help identify the different forms and meanings of laughter. Thus the Berlin cellar cabarets appeared on the scene as gathering places for social outsiders who experienced laughter as opposition regardless of the contents of the performances, while the Swiss cabaret of the 1930s with its lighter theater was only assigned this tension in retrospect. Despite their prescriptive or ascriptive nature, memoirs and novels also represent important source material. Further insights are offered by censorship attempts, books of etiquette, guides to public behavior, or even contemporary academic essays on laughter, which frequently pass along cultural value judgments. The final commentary noted an additional gap in research. Particularly in democracies, laughter plays an important social and political function. In parliamentary debates, for example, the level of communication often changes from seriousness to levity in order to conceal conflicts and to avoid the compulsion to argue.

Since Freud, the *Übervater* of the comical, comedy has generally been granted the function of keeping the taboo present, of pointing out problematic areas, and delineating the non-normal. If one interprets comedy as an indicator for the non-normal, it is possible to use comedy to demonstrate social change: Sexuality in Western societies no longer possesses the same comedic potential as it did at the beginning of the twentieth century. Maintaining a critical stance on Freud, the discussion encouraged researchers to conceive of the comical in a more complex manner, and not simply as a simple reference to something suppressed. A practically unbroken continuity of misogynistic jokes is conspicuous: This could indicate the enduring nature of gender-specific hierarchical thinking. Furthermore, that which is no longer the subject of comedy could indicate a new stage of repression, although it was debatable if the disappearance meant an increase in exclusion or increased sensitivity. At any rate, it was striking that nearly all of the presentations touched on ethnicity as a problem area negotiated through comedy. Regarding current problems facing the world, the question arose regarding to what extent ethnicity overlaps with or is aggravated by religion. Certainly the highly charged nature of ethnic comedy and its overlaps with other semantic areas are important; for example, the connection of ethnicity with homosexuality or femininity. Put another way, numerous examples showed that ethnic comedy subliminally addresses other problems. Hence the numerous jokes about Jews after 1945 really address the Holocaust, while the Polish jokes really thematize class conflict.

The changing forms of the comical, perhaps even more than its content, represent another fruitful area of research. For example, it might be possible to reconstruct what Peter Jelavich termed “comedic landscapes,” trends in comedic form for particular epochs. This trend formation should by no means be viewed as a conflict-free process, however. Behind distinctions between serious and ostensibly non-serious social scripts, as well as behind debates about the appropriate comedic forms for a society, there are usually conflicts regarding interpretive authorities. Future research should address the entertainment industry as an actor with a preference for certain forms of comedy because of demands that comedic forms cater to the market, producing a high degree of homogeneity. The reconstruction of “comedic landscapes” revealed surprising transatlantic correlations, even though the conference was not originally intended to be comparative. Thus satire turned out to be equally unpopular in 1930s Germany and the United States of the 1950s, while National Socialism promoted the disappearance of public references to ethnic differences in the United States.

Martina Kessel and Patrick Merziger
Translated by Keith D. Alexander

CROSSTOVERS: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND GERMANY

Conference at the University of Münster, March 22-26, 2006. Co-sponsored by the GHI, the Collegium for African American Research (CAAR), the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), Seton Hall University, the University of Münster, and the United States Embassy, Berlin. Conveners: Maria I. Diedrich (University of Münster), Larry Greene (Seton Hall University), Jürgen Heinrichs (Seton Hall University), Anke Ortlepp (GHI).

Participants: Over 100 junior and senior scholars from all over Europe and the United States, with 104 scholars giving plenary lectures or delivering papers in one of the 15 workshops.

This conference was an attempt to translate the paradigms of the black diaspora and the black Atlantic into the German context. It sought to reconstruct the interaction of African Americans and Germans since the eighteenth century and to provide a continuous narrative of this encounter from the 1870s to the present. The discussions also focused on the need to develop methodological and theoretical paradigms—from post-colonial theory, whiteness studies, diaspora studies, ethnic studies, African American studies, to German studies and beyond—that will permit research in this new field of investigation. The conference brought together senior scholars of various disciplines who have already made contributions in the realm of interaction between African Americans and Germans, and junior scholars whose research projects focus on this area.

One of the most pressing issues brought to light by the conference through the critical reflections on the available studies on African American-German interaction was that of Eurocentric readings: the encounter tends to be represented as a transformational and liberating process for the African American protagonists, while the transformational processes to which the German context was submitted, either played a marginal role or was not raised at all. This illustrates the degree to which racialized and hierarchical discourses and modes of interpretation have been internalized, even by contemporary researchers on both sides of the Atlantic. Central to our discussion was therefore the negotiation of heuristic methodologies that will hopefully contribute to a deeper understanding of the trans-cultural dialogues and passages that characterize the interaction under investigation.

The conference revealed yet another research void: Research to this day focuses almost exclusively on twentieth-century encounters, with isolated excursions into the nineteenth century. The earliest encounters—for example, relations between Hessian troops in North America and African Americans during the War of Independence, recruitment of African Americans into the Hessian army, and the fate of African Americans who accompanied the Hessian troops when they returned to Hessiania—have not been studied at all.

The conference also confirmed the need to coordinate the many, often isolated and fragmented research efforts in the field. A few examples from various historical and disciplinary contexts must suffice to represent the research themes and questions that were debated and which clearly require additional research and the definition of new theoretical paradigms:

- The slave trade was not an American phenomenon, just as anti-black racism is not. Although Germany was never a major participant in the slave trade, the churches, the Hanse, and German business people invested heavily in the trade and in products produced by slave labor like sugar and cotton, and they made huge profits. What was the impact of these investments on the German economy, on German society, on German philosophy, on German culture, on German folklore, on German perceptions of Africans and African Americans, and on the German definition of self and nationhood?
- African American travelers from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century, almost with one voice, represent the German encounter as liberating (Du Bois: “I sit with Shakespeare, and he winces not.”) German researchers as well as the German public neither contextualized these representations nor reflected on their strategic intentions or their political intentions, for this is what Germans wanted to hear in their efforts to deal with their own racial past and present. The conference re-read these statements not only against specific expressions of racism in Germany but as strategic rhetoric formulae within the context of American racism. How was the African American visitor or the African American experience perceived in Germany in various historical contexts? What is the relationship between German representation of African Americans and African American self-representation? Are these encounters perceived as part of national history in Germany or as part of the African American experience in the United States?

- What was the relation between the German colonial experience and its racialized discourse, the “Horror on the Rhine” campaign of the early 1920s and the perception and representation of African American GIs and their children in post-World War II Germany?
- How do African Americans relate to the German “Sonderweg” (Herero, “Rhineland bastards,” black children of GIs)? In what ways does the African American experience reflect on the German race discourse and on German race policies?
- What was the impact of American segregation practices, especially in the army, on German perceptions of the United States, African Americans, and notions of race? What was the effect of these practices on German negotiations of their racial policy under Hitler? What was the impact of the American model on German negotiations of national identity after 1945?
- What happens to African American cultural products (jazz, rap, literature) when they begin to circulate in Germany? How do we identify the impact of this German adaptation and transformation of African American cultural products on cultural productions in the United States?
- Members of the German peace movement as well as contemporary German politicians were politicized not only by the Vietnam War but, equally important, by the civil rights movement and black nationalism. How do we identify and define these negotiations between the African American experience and the German political agenda? How did political ideas travel, and how and why were they transformed or adapted in a new political context? Is there an awareness of this influence among the German protagonists?
- How do we register the impact of the African American experience, and especially of African American visitors, on negotiations of Germanness and black diasporic identity among black Germans or blacks in Germany? What is the impact of this African American-German encounter on the ways contemporary Germany responds to African migration into Germany and to this new generation and quality of black Germans? How does the existence of these black Germans—whether of African or African American lineage—currently shape negotiations of German nationhood and of Germanness, as well as the German discourse on race and race relations?
- The internalization of anti-racist norms and rhetoric has produced new and sophisticated strategies of racialization. The analysis of anti-black racism in contemporary Germany cannot be restricted to right-wing extremism but has to be identified as attitudes reproduced through everyday interaction in popular disposition toward

the "Other-from-Within/Without" (Michelle Wright). How can the African American experience assist us in deciphering the diversified racialized discourses we encounter in contemporary Germany?

The conference program combined plenary lectures with workshop sessions. Plenary lectures were delivered by the following individuals: Tina M. Campt, Duke University ("Capturing the Black German Subject: Race and Gender in the Visual Archive"); Sabine Broeck, University of Bremen ("The Erotics of African American Endurance, or: On the Right Side of History? White (West) German Public Sentiment between Pornotroping and Civil Rights Solidarity"); Heide Fehrenbach, Northern Illinois University ("Afro-German Children and the Social Politics of Race after 1945"); Jürgen Heinrichs, Seton Hall University ("Memory and Identity in the Art of Marc Brandenburg"); Maria Höhn, Vassar College ("German and American Debates on Interracial Marriage, 1945-1968"); Clarence Lusane, American University ("Shared Sympathies: German and U.S. Anti-Black Discourses During the Nazi Era"); Christopher Mulvey, King Alfred's College, Winchester ("The Clotel Project"); and Berndt Ostendorf, University of Munich ("Forschungsreise in die Dämmerung: A German Africanist at Howard University, 1937-1939").

Workshops dealt with "Interactions in Academia," "Negotiating Germanness: Historical Perspectives," "African American Cultural Ambassadors to Germany," "Nazi Jim Crow," "African American/ Austro-German Collaboration," "Negotiating Germanness: Contemporary Perspectives," "African American Women and Germany," "African American Protest Identities in Germany of the 1960s and 1970s," "Reclaiming Black Experiences during the Nazi Period as a Foundation for Dialogue and Transformation," "Black European Studies in the Twenty-First Century," "Negotiating Slavery and Race," "Harlem and Weimar," "African America and the GDR/USSR," "Blackness in German Literature," "Denmark and the Black Atlantic," and "Race, Identity and Representation in Material Culture Across the Atlantic."

The academic program was accompanied by several cultural events related to the conference theme. "Reading and Performing the African American Experience in Germany: An Evening Dedicated to John A. Williams" featured readings by the poet and scholar Melba Boyd (Wayne State University), the dramatist, novelist, and scholar Andrea Hairston (Smith College), the black German autobiographer and scholar Ika Hügel-Marshall (Alice-Salomon-Fachhochschule Berlin) and the Tuskegee airman and former POW Alexander Jefferson from Detroit. These readings were interspersed by readings from John A. Williams's novel about an African American jazz musician in Dachau, *Clifford's Blues*

(1999). On another evening, Yvonne Poser (Howard University) screened a series of films dealing with African American-German interactions. Throughout the conference, the photo exhibition "Paul Robeson" was on display, presented by Christine Naumann from the Robeson Archive Berlin.

The conference was designed as a brain-storming point of departure for the larger research project "Crossovers: African Americans and Germany." A follow-up event will take place next year.

Anke Ortlepp, Maria Diedrich, Larry Greene, Jürgen Heinrichs

MAX LIEBERMANN: AN ARTIST'S CAREER FROM EMPIRE TO THIRD REICH

Symposium at the GHI, March 24, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI, the Goethe Institut (Washington), and George Mason University. Made possible by grants from Deutsche Telekom and Volkswagen, USA. Conveners: Marion Deshmukh (George Mason University) and Kelly McCullough (GHI).

Participants: Timothy Benson (Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, Los Angeles County Museum of Art), Jay Clarke (Art Institute of Chicago), Matthias Eberle (Kunsthochschule Berlin-Weissensee and the Max Liebermann Archiv, Berlin), Françoise Forster-Hahn (University of California, Riverside), Barbara Gaehtgens (Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte/Centre allemande d'histoire de l'art), Steven Mansbach (University of Maryland, College Park), Christof Mauch (GHI), Margreet Nouwen (Max Liebermann Archiv, Berlin), Peter Paret (Emeritus, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ), Christopher With (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC).

The symposium was held to coincide with the first-ever U.S. retrospective exhibition of paintings by the late-nineteenth-century German modernist artist Max Liebermann. This exhibition took place from September 15, 2005 to January 29, 2006 at the Skirball Cultural Center, Los Angeles, and from March 10, 2006 to July 30, 2006 at the Jewish Museum, New York. In addition to the retrospective, a graphics exhibition curated by Marion Deshmukh and featuring prints from the National Gallery of Art and private collections, as well as book illustrations and facsimile letters from the Leo Baeck Institute of New York, was held at the Goethe Institut Washington, DC from March 16 through April 28, 2006. Marion Deshmukh opened the exhibition with an illustrated lecture on "Max Liebermann: Art and Politics in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany." Peter Paret presented a lecture on the evening preceding the symposium on "Max Liebermann: The Artist as Cultural Politician."

The symposium aimed to highlight features of the artist's career and milieu that have not been explored in other venues or publications. Peter Paret's lecture on Max Liebermann preceding the symposium highlighted the politicized nature of contemporary art in Wilhelmine Germany and the relationship between Liebermann's art and his organizational efforts on behalf of multiple artists' associations during the

Imperial period and on behalf of the Prussian Academy of Art in the 1920s. The symposium began with a lecture by Marion Deshmukh on "*Sonderwege* Historical and Art Historical: The Case of Max Liebermann," wherein she explored how both historians and art historians have configured master narratives around the issue of Germany's problematic past. In his lifetime and after, Liebermann's art was often reflected through the lens of nationhood and the constitutive elements of German culture. She summarized the way historians and art historians have problematized Liebermann's art and his cultural activities on behalf of international modernism. Her talk was followed by Françoise Forster-Hahn's discussion of the pivotal year 1906 in her paper "How Modern is Modern? Max Liebermann and the Discourses of Modernism." That year Berlin's *Nationalgalerie* mounted a comprehensive exhibition of nineteenth-century German art. Through its display, it introduced a new history of German painting. Forster-Hahn also described and analyzed the 1906 Berlin Secession exhibition wherein its jury rejected a work by Max Beckmann. The *Brücke* Manifesto, the clarion call of an emerging group of expressionist artists, was also published in 1906. Liebermann exhibited in the *Nationalgalerie* show and the 1906 Berlin Secession show, as well as in an international exhibition of modern art by Jewish artists at London's Whitechapel Gallery that same year. Forster-Hahn employed these three exhibition venues and their reception to "trace [Liebermann's] place in the emerging narratives of a history of modern art."

In "Reading between the Lines: Max Liebermann as Printmaker," Jay Clarke discussed the critical reception of Liebermann's printmaking, focusing on the "perceived Germanness and/or Jewishness in his work at the turn of the century." She described the distinction made by critics between the foreignness of his paintings and the Germanness of his graphics. She also illuminated the critical consensus, seeing Liebermann's graphic works as a crucial marker of the artist's intentions, privileging his printmaking to a far greater extent than later art interpretations have done. Using the extensive collection of wartime publications housed at the Rifkind Center, Timothy Benson's paper "*Kriegszeit*: German Artists and the Great War" discussed how the First World War was "both intentionally and inadvertently constructed in the public forum" by such journals as *Kriegszeit*, *Der Bildermann*, *Die Aktion*, *Der Sturm*, and others. Liebermann provided numerous illustrations for *Kriegszeit*, and his changing imagery reflected ambivalent responses to the conflict, ranging from enthusiastic support to worrisome hesitations about the war's human toll on the nation.

Margreet Nouwen described Liebermann's portrayal of women in her presentation "Gender and Representation: Women in the Work of

Max Liebermann." She discussed three groups of women: the Dutch peasants prominently and objectively featured in his early works through the turn of the century; portraits of his wife Martha, daughter Käthe, and granddaughter Maria; and finally, commissioned portraits of prominent Imperial and Weimar individuals. She noted that Liebermann often had difficulty in portraying women in an intimate, personal manner. She contrasted the portrait of Martha Liebermann painted by the artist's Swedish colleague Anders Zorn, which featured Martha as a vivacious, glamorous beauty, with Liebermann's portrayal of her as sober, reflective, and understated. Barbara Gaehtgens's paper "Liebermann and Monet: The Conceptual Garden" contrasted the famous garden of Claude Monet in Giverny, with its abundance of flowers, its Japanese footbridge, and pond, with Liebermann's meticulously designed garden at his summer home in Wannsee, conceived as a series of outdoor rooms. While Monet often concentrated on patterns of reflection created by his water-lily pond, Liebermann's imagery tended to focus on greenery—his birch trees, garden paths, and grassy knolls, with family members sitting on benches. Comparisons were made in analyzing the bright palettes of both artists' paintings. Gaehtgens also discussed the two artists' intimate knowledge of every corner of their gardens and their desire to paint virtually all the garden areas. She also noted that the artists' twilight years were focused on their gardens.

Matthias Eberle's presentation "The Making of a *Catalogue Raisonné*" outlined the various obstacles surrounding the construction of the *catalogue raisonné* of Liebermann's oil paintings and oil studies. His discussion centered on the efforts to track down the provenance of paintings, many of which were scattered by two wars, economic uncertainties of the Weimar Republic, the politics of the Nazi regime, which branded Liebermann a "degenerate artist," and finally the postwar divisions of Germany during the Cold War. Approximately a third of Liebermann's art is missing. In often humorous fashion, Eberle recounted his many travels across Europe and the United States in tracking down information on various paintings' whereabouts. Finally, Christopher With's paper "German Art and American Sensibilities: Collecting German Art at the National Gallery of Art" detailed the often idiosyncratic reasons for the paucity of German art in the National Gallery. Several key collectors and benefactors, notably the Mellon, Widener, and Kress families, tended to collect Italian and French art, though several German Renaissance Old Masters such as Holbein did enter the collections. Only recently has the National Gallery purchased a Caspar David Friedrich painting. Liebermann prints were donated to the museum primarily by the Rosenwald and Marcy families, but no Liebermann painting is in their collection. Thus U.S.

narratives of modern art history have often been written based on the narratives of museum display.

Following discussions of the papers by participants and a large audience, including the great-granddaughter of the artist, Steven Mansbach, the symposium's moderator concluded the enriching conference. The symposium highlighted the many cultural, political, and artistic facets that Liebermann's life and works reflected in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Marion Deshmukh

WESTERN INTEGRATION, GERMAN UNIFICATION, AND THE COLD WAR: THE ADENAUER ERA IN PERSPECTIVE

Conference at Georgetown University, March 24–25, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI and the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University. Conveners: Jost Dülffer (Georgetown University/GHI/University of Cologne) and Bernd Schaefer (GHI).

Participants: Pertti Ahonen (University of Edinburgh), Jeffrey Anderson (Georgetown University), Samuel Barnes (Georgetown University), Roger Chickering (Georgetown University), Simone Derix (Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung), Martin Geyer (University of Munich), Ronald J. Granieri (Pennsylvania State University), William Glenn Gray (Purdue University), Hope M. Harrison (George Washington University), William Hitchcock (Temple University), Henning Hoff (London), Anja Kruke (Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Wilfried Loth (University of Duisburg-Essen), Wojtech Mastny (National Security Archives), Christof Mauch (GHI), Hans Mommsen (University of Bochum), Christian Ostermann (Woodrow Wilson Center), Johannes Paulmann (International University of Bremen), Daniel Rogers (University of South Alabama), Matthias Schulz (Vanderbilt University), Thomas Schwartz (Vanderbilt University), Guido Thiemeyer (University of Siegen/University of Kassel), James Van Hook (U.S. Department of State).

The thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of the Konrad Adenauer Visiting Chair at Georgetown University, currently held by Jost Dülffer, provided the occasion for this conference. Bringing together a wide range of scholars from the United States and Germany, it offered an opportunity to take a fresh look at problems that have been central to German contemporary history. Yet, after decades of research on and a vast number of publications about such subjects as the Stalin Notes, the Hallstein Doctrine, and the chances of reunification under Konrad Adenauer's chancellorship, are there any new perspectives to be gained?

The first half of the conference, which centered on international relations and diplomacy, suggested that many of diplomatic historiography's traditional approaches are still in place. Some of the studies presented complemented existing knowledge, while others, by using material from newly opened archives, helped to provide a better understanding of the international framework, the role of domestic politics in shaping *Deutschlandpolitik*, and the importance of Adenauer's personal influence on the Federal Republic.

Jost Dülffer's introductory paper dealt with the "Potsdam Complex," the atmosphere of anxiety and fear that dominated West German imagery as a result of the experiences of World War II, the influence of the Cold War, and fears of a nuclear war. Fearing that the Allies might turn away from the Federal Republic and opt for cooperation with the Soviet Union, Adenauer skillfully exploited West Germany's unique situation within the Cold War scenario and stressed the need to integrate it unconditionally into the West. But his unwillingness to compromise on the issue of unification posed a burden to Allied attempts to alleviate Cold War tensions, Dülffer argued. He then underlined his view that Adenauer's rhetorical demand for reunification did not correspond to the Federal Republic's immediate interests. Keeping peace was much more important, and a divided Germany helped to achieve this goal. Vojtech Mastny critically commented on Wilfried Loth's paper on Soviet policy on divided Germany and on possibilities for reunification between 1952 and 1955, which was read to the audience, by posing the question of whether the problem of German unity had ever really been central to Soviet concern, as Loth assumed. Mastny stressed that Stalin's pragmatic approach to the German problem was grounded in his obsession with the danger of another German attack, a view that Adenauer ("no George Kennan") was unable, or unwilling, to take. Also, Stalin would never have accepted German unification on any terms other than his own, according to Mastny. The uprising of June 1953 and the Soviet intervention, an "investment" in the GDR, resulted in the Politburo's decision to support the GDR's status as an independent state. Adenauer was therefore correct in his decision to concentrate on the Federal Republic's Western integration and its development into a prosperous democracy. This contributed to the later success of reunification along the lines of *Magnettheorie*, Mastny argued—a theme that was taken up many times over the course of the conference. The panel's discussion suggested that German historians' concentration on the question of the likelihood of German reunification in the 1950s might be of greater relevance to the problem of German self-perception than to the overall situation of the Cold War and European integration.

The second panel, in which the Western Allies' policies on the Federal Republic in the Adenauer Era were presented, helped to establish a more integrated perspective on the problem of Germany's division and on efforts to achieve its reunification. The United States rhetorically supported the demand for reunification but did not take action to actually achieve it. Reunification would have implied Germany's neutralization, and with regard to the Cold War, this was not an acceptable option. Reunification therefore never appeared to be a genuine possibility from the American perspective. Similar to Jost Dülffer's description of the

fearful atmosphere within West Germany, Christian Ostermann emphasized the Americans' well-known concern about Germany and Europe turning to violence. To keep Germany under control by integrating it into the West best served desires to keep the peace. Whereas the United States did not actively support Adenauer's reunification policy, France actively tried to prevent reunification in order to keep Germany under control, William Hitchcock argued. He described the French dilemma of keeping Germany divided while simultaneously establishing good relations with the Federal Republic. As he showed, French policy on Germany never remained static, but changed several times as a result of international and domestic developments. Internal economic crises, international security concerns, and, not least, the colonial dimension had their impacts on France's position on Franco-West German relations. As Thomas Schwartz made clear in his comment, not only has the role of colonialism and decolonization long been neglected by traditional scholarship on Cold War diplomatic history. Even more, scholarship on the international framework of the German problem, Western integration, and reunification has been recycled (too) many times, repeating well-known facts on a limited methodological basis, Schwartz criticized. He therefore stressed the need to pay closer attention to the role of domestic politics and to Adenauer's role therein and, secondly, to better contextualize and historicize the problems at hand. Such a historicizing perspective might help to better understand current problems of democratization, peace-making, and integration in postwar societies throughout the world, as well as make it possible to evaluate the relevance of Germany's postwar problems, failures, and successes.

Henning Hoff's paper on the United Kingdom's position toward German reunification left no doubt that Britain's efforts to bring about détente in Europe failed in part because Adenauer stubbornly resisted the demand to acknowledge the German status quo, as has been repeatedly shown. Together with the intensification of the Franco-West German relationship, this led in the second half of the decade to the deterioration of West German-British relations, which had been quite constructive until 1955. In this situation, the British government decided to pursue a policy of pragmatic cooperation with the GDR in an effort to alleviate Cold War tensions. This effort, however, was ahead of its time. Hope M. Harrison took up the GDR's role and politics, which had been given little attention so far, in her presentation on East German relations with the Soviet Union regarding the problem of unification. To do so, she focused on Walter Ulbricht and, in a rather unusual move, contrasted him with Adenauer. Harrison found that apart from their diametrically opposed ideological and political positions, strategically speaking, the two statesmen acted quite similarly vis-à-vis their respective allies. Both Ulbricht and Ade-

nauer were genuinely aware of their countries' importance to the superpowers and succeeded in manipulating them to ensure that their countries' interests were paid due attention. The Soviet Union wanted Ulbricht to practice peaceful coexistence with West Germany in order to persuade its population to turn away from the United States in favor of the Soviet Union. But Ulbricht resisted such efforts—another similarity with Adenauer—and prioritized ensuring the GDR's status as a separate German state.

Pertti Ahonen's paper, delivered in the absence of the author, marked the beginning of the second part of the conference, in that it largely left the sphere of international politics and diplomacy and turned to domestic issues. In his paper on the role of the former German territories east of the Oder-Neisse, Ahonen described how many West German politicians, in an effort to secure votes, emphatically embraced the expellees' demands for reunification. Yet it was Adenauer and his advisors who, as "Machiavellian manipulators," expertly used expellees' demands to secure support for their policy on the Oder-Neisse issue, Ahonen suggested. This official revisionism made reunification ever more unlikely (a fact that Adenauer had accepted very early on) and reconciliation with the East ever more difficult (not one of his priorities anyway). In his comment, Matthias Schulz pointed out that while Adenauer had actively prevented unification by resisting any kind of compromise, he simultaneously had demonstrated his pragmatism by engaging the Federal Republic in strong economic cooperation with the GDR.

Before the economic dimension was discussed in depth, Anja Kruke, in opening the fourth panel, presented the issue of polling and polls on Germany's reunification and the FRG's western integration. She showed how the Adenauer administration used the results of polls (most of them taken in Berlin as the "seismograph" of West German morale) in shaping its *Deutschlandpolitik*, thereby encouraging entanglements between decision-making processes on the domestic and the international levels. While Adenauer was able to secure most West Germans' support for his policy on reunification and Western integration, the Social Democrats did not meet the public's expectations on the question of Germany, as Daniel Rogers showed in his paper. In privileging the concept of *Einheit in Freiheit* and opposing any arrangement that fell short of their demands, the Social Democrats soon ran the risk of isolation, increased by their "national patriotism," presented in a strained manner, as well as their ambivalence toward Western integration and their hostility toward the CDU and the Allies. However, the Social Democrats did help to bring about the FRG's Western integration by supporting its rearmament as well as *Wiedergutmachung*, Rogers argued. Both his and Kruke's paper gave an impression of the impact of domestic politics on Adenauer's

decision-making, and his skillful use of public opinion, voters' interests, and fear of communism and war. Accordingly, commentator Ronald J. Granieri encouraged other researchers to follow their examples by taking a wider view of political decision-making processes and by more deeply integrating the cultural and social dimensions.

Hans Mommsen, who had been one of the first Konrad Adenauer Visiting Professors at Georgetown University in 1982, gave the conference's keynote address on the origins of *Kanzlerdemokratie* and the transformation of the democratic paradigm in West Germany. He took up the argument that discarding the idea of a German *Sonderweg* and embracing the Western concept of democracy had been decisive in bringing about the Federal Republic's remarkable success. Emphasizing the intensity of postwar doubts about democracy, which dated back to the experience of the Weimar Republic's failure, Mommsen described the great care taken in establishing the Basic Law with its many safeguards to prevent democracy from failing once more. Although the SPD contributed immensely to the anchoring of parliamentary democracy in West Germany, it was Adenauer's personal achievement that German traditional distrust in political parties was eventually overcome, Mommsen concluded.

The second day's papers dealt with the economic and cultural dimensions of reunification and western integration. Guido Thiemeyer offered new insights into the process of European economic and political integration with his portrayal of Ludwig Erhard's concept of *soziale Marktwirtschaft*, which Erhard regarded as a tool to functionally integrate the European economies, and, eventually, to reach European political unity without having to establish new political institutions. Although he generally supported European integration, Erhard, whose thinking was still based on nineteenth-century liberal internationalism, opposed the idea of giving up national sovereignty. This position collided with Adenauer's more pragmatic, institutional approach, and became a burden to European integration. The West German economic miracle, which William Glenn Gray addressed in his paper, helped to fasten European integration despite such burdens. Drawing on the concept of trust, Gray argued that the Federal Republic's economic success had offered a unique possibility to earn its allies' trust. This trust allowed the West German government to engage in economic cooperation with the Eastern bloc in the mid-1960s without the risk of awakening Western suspicion about a "new Rapallo." In this sense, the *Wirtschaftswunder* provided the basis of détente with the East in the late 1960s, Gray suggested. In his comment, James Van Hook argued that it might be more appropriate to speak of "confidence" than of "trust," seeing that confidence had been the key to West German-Soviet cooperation. He also asked the participants to take into greater

consideration the role of political and economic theories and the processes of implementing such theories in foreign policy making.

The West German government's efforts to create a certain image of the Federal Republic and to persuade allies of the country's trustworthiness provided the topic for Simone Derix's paper on the politics of state visits in the Federal Republic. Derix described the government's attempts to use state visits to create support for West German demands for reunification abroad. This was achieved by giving foreign visitors tours of places that embodied the Federal Republic's belonging to the *Abendland*, its democratic credentials, and its distance to the Nazi past. After August 1961, these tours included the Berlin Wall. Orchestrating these state visits did not always work perfectly, however, and asking every visitor to take a stand on the issue of a divided Germany proved counterproductive in some instances. Like Derix's presentation, Martin Geyer's paper on intra-German sports competition in the Adenauer era offered new perspectives on the cultural and symbolic elements of reunification politics. Although Adenauer, who was distinctly disinterested in sports, believed that sports should not interfere with politics, they played a major role in *Deutschlandpolitik*. The issue of whether to have a united German team or two separate teams, as well as the problem of national symbols, became deeply entangled with the *Alleinvertretungsanspruch*. Geyer argued that sports helped to overcome German nationalism and to establish a postnational West German identity that became most visible at the 1972 Olympics in Munich. To the GDR, sports offered a way to establish political legitimacy, which undermined West German demands for reunification. Johannes Paulmann's presentation on the Federal Republic's cultural diplomacy was closely intertwined with his successors' topics in depicting West Germany's self-conscious, painstakingly coordinated efforts to present itself to the world as trustworthy and democratic. In the case of the 1958 Brussels World's Fair, West German planners went to great lengths to portray their country's "normalcy" and to suggest that the Federal Republic had not only turned away from Nazism but also from its urge to emulate, while keeping the greatest possible distance from, Soviet totalitarianism. There seemed to be indications, however, that many West Germans continued to be eager to compete for national prestige, Paulmann suggested.

The lively debate sparked by this last panel clearly showed how enriching it can be to integrate new perspectives, especially the impact of "soft power" on international politics, into international and diplomatic historiography, as Roger Chickering stressed in his comment. Many shared his view that the combination of historiography and ethnography might be regarded as "the most exciting recent dimension" in international diplomatic history. Yet Chickering warned scholars not to under-

estimate the links between culture and power. The subsequent discussion left no doubt that the Federal Republic's behavior during the Adenauer era cannot be understood without taking into consideration the cultural and political experiences of, and the continuities to, Weimar and the Kaiserreich. As Paulmann suggested and others seconded, the Federal Republic's selective attitude in constructing a balanced view of modernity was key to its short- and long-term success. The conference might be credited with conveying the fact that diplomatic and international historiography needs to integrate the international as well as the domestic perspective to a much greater extent. This implies more than just "adding some culture" to international history. Instead, it suggests taking a more contextualized, holistic view that offers a more balanced image of historical problems as complex as the issues of Western integration, German unification, and the Cold War.

Corinna R. Unger

PHILANTHROPY IN HISTORY: GERMAN AND AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES

Conference at the GHI, March 30-April 1, 2006. Co-sponsored by the GHI, the Stiftung Deutsch-Amerikanische Wissenschaftsbeziehungen im Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft, and the Sonderforschungsbereich 600 of the University of Trier. Conveners: Thomas Adam (University of Texas at Arlington), Simone Lässig (GHI), Gabriele Lingelbach (University of Trier).

Participants: Christiane Bach (ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius), Christof Biggeleben (Humboldt University), Tobias Brinkmann (University of Southampton), Hamilton Cravens (Iowa State University), Larry Frohman (Stony Brook University), Andreas Gestrich (University of Trier), Brendan Goff (University of Michigan), Peter Dobkin Hall (Harvard University/Yale University), David C. Hammack (Case Western Reserve University), Kathleen McCarthy (City University of New York), Gisela Mettele (GHI), Kevin V. Mulcahy (Louisiana State University), Anke Ortlepp (GHI), Stephen Pielhoff (University of Gießen), Karl Heinrich Pohl (University of Kiel), Lester M. Salamon (Johns Hopkins University), Michael Schäfer (University of Chemnitz), Rupert Graf Strachwitz (Maecenata Institute Berlin), Dirk Schumann (GHI), Corinna Unger (GHI), Michael Werner (ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius), Richard F. Wetzell (GHI), Gregory R. Witkowski (Ball State University).

On March 31 and April 1, 2006, twenty-one German and American historians and social and political scientists followed the invitation of the German Historical Institute in Washington D.C. and of the Stiftung Deutsch-Amerikanische Wissenschaftsbeziehungen im Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft to participate in an intensive two-day conference "Philanthropy in History: German and American Perspectives." The conveners of this international conference hoped to provide an opportunity for a transatlantic exchange between researchers who study philanthropy and related phenomena such as class, gender, ethnicity, religion, and the non-profit economy.

The conference opened on the evening of March 30 with a keynote lecture on "Sacred Space: Women, Philanthropy, and the Public Sphere" by Kathleen McCarthy. In her lecture, McCarthy analyzed the emergence of philanthropy in the United States within the context of a transatlantic community that predated the nation-state. Tackling the issue of American exceptionalism, McCarthy reminded the audience that European philan-

thropy predated American philanthropy. In fact, European women's associations and philanthropic institutions provided the model for American associational life. Alexis de Tocqueville, so McCarthy, missed in his admiration for the democratic and associational culture of the United States that these associations were built upon European blueprints. This theme of transatlantic similarities and a shared philanthropic/non-profit culture provided the background for the two days of intensive discussions. At the beginning of the first panel, Lester Salamon encouraged historians and social scientists to relinquish ideological and political blinders that obscure the underlying reality. In his experience, German and American researchers tend to highlight the differences between both societies with regards to the provision of social welfare. If one studies these two systems without preconceived notions of distinctiveness, however, one is likely to discover two very similar realities. Salamon suggested that it is less the realities that divide Germany and the United States but rather the different prisms and terminologies used by researchers in the analysis of these systems. Also stressing the similarities rather than the differences between both national cases, Thomas Adam explored the model function of British and German social housing enterprises for the provision of social housing in American cities in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Building upon the concept of transatlantic history, Adam stated that European and American philanthropic cultures were in many ways similar because American philanthropy did not emerge within a vacuum but as a result of transatlantic exchanges throughout the entire nineteenth century.

Christof Biggeleben's paper on philanthropy in Berlin's merchant community during the Wilhelmine period opened up a lively debate about central questions with regards to the future research on philanthropy. In his paper, which is based on an extensive empirical study of Berlin businessmen and their associations, Biggeleben discussed the financial support for *Standesgenossen* (middle-class compatriots) and their families who experienced social hardship and impoverishment as one aspect of philanthropy. Such a definition adds to the growing number of concepts and theories about the nature of philanthropy. While some historians see every act of kindness even within families (Frank Prochaska) as philanthropy, others define it in more restrictive ways as volunteering time, money and material resources for the betterment of society (McCarthy), and some in relation to the legitimization of social classes (Francie Ostrower). While it was not the goal of this conference to arrive at a commonly acceptable definition, the discussion certainly stimulated further thinking and scholarly discussion about the many ways of conceptualizing this phenomenon. Biggeleben, further, contributed to a reevaluation of nineteenth-century philanthropy in Germany: If one compares,

for instance, the amounts Berlin businessmen left for charitable and philanthropic purposes to the amounts accorded to the same purposes by American entrepreneurs, it becomes clear that Germany's upper class gave on average much more for philanthropy than their American contemporaries. While New York's wealthiest never left more than 1 to 2 percent of their fortunes to philanthropies, affluent Germans such as Arnhold, Mosse, and Simon gave between one quarter and one third of their net worth to charities. Germany clearly had a charitable class that was willing to give large sums for the betterment of society. Larry Frohman, who discussed the changing parameters of voluntary welfare in nineteenth-century Germany, indirectly supported this argument by suggesting that all important elements of Bismarck's welfare state had their origins in the voluntary sector and were thus not new to Germans.

Frohman also added to the attempts at defining philanthropy by suggesting that nineteenth-century charity was concerned with the individual case and an immediate response, while philanthropy aimed at the elimination of the underlying causes of poverty. He further suggested that in Germany throughout the nineteenth century, endowed foundations were replaced by voluntary associations in the field of philanthropy. Frohman thus painted a picture of the German philanthropic sector that differed from what historians know about the American case, where only three big gifts (such as the Smithsonian Institute) had been made in the United States before 1850. The majority of gifts for the establishment of universities, colleges, and poor-relief associations were small in size. Big donors such as Astor, Carnegie, Vanderbilt, and Rockefeller became active only in the later half of the nineteenth century. It is left to future research to verify Frohman's assumption about the decline of endowed foundations throughout the nineteenth century.

While class and religion certainly matter to German philanthropy researchers, gender has barely caught the attention of German historians who work on this topic. Pointing to the different ways in which German and American historians seem to approach the study of philanthropy, David Hammack provocatively asked why German historians study philanthropy as a class phenomenon, more precisely as a bourgeois phenomenon, thus neglecting other social distinctions that influence philanthropic behavior. While one could dismiss this question as rhetorical, there seems to be more to it, especially if one tries to compare German and American approaches to the research of philanthropy. While some American historians have considered philanthropy as an upper-class phenomenon, the majority of American researchers are concerned with the economic importance of philanthropy and the competition between the state and the third sector. Hammack pointed out that in 2000, about 10 percent of the American workforce was employed in the nonprofit

sector. However, the growth of employment in this sector far outstripped the growth of giving. Thus, private giving becomes a declining share of the income of hospitals, social services, and educational institutions. Non-profit organizations receive their funding today from three major sources: 1) fees (earned income); 2) government support; 3) private gifts. David Mulcahy underlined Hammack's assessment by pointing to the economic situation of museums in the United States. On average, American museums receive 30 percent of their support from the government, 23 percent from philanthropy, and 47 percent from earned income. One is tempted to ask: Does the growing integration of market mechanisms in these non-profit institutions mean that they slowly leave the non-profit sector? And what exactly is the non-profit sector? Gabriele Lingelbach added to this conceptual problem by discussing the donations of West Germans for philanthropic purposes as a market-driven phenomenon. For Lingelbach, the modernization and democratization of West German society furthered the multiplication of philanthropic organizations, thus creating a market in which potential donors could choose between various philanthropic organizations and their causes. The selection process is further influenced by a growing media presence of philanthropic organizations. Is such giving still part of the non-profit sector (a non-profit sector that was supposed to be free of market forces)? Or can we study the non-profit sector with the methods of market analysis?

Stephen Pielhoff—using theoretical frameworks invented by Marcel Mauss—conceptualized philanthropy as gift exchange, which is built upon a cultural duty of accepting and reciprocation (gratitude). While it was certainly not a reliable instrument of achieving social recognition, it often came with prestige and social status. Andreas Gestrich, however, pointed to the asymmetrical character of this gift exchange since the recognition came not from the institution to which the person gave, but from another group (family, friends, and peer group). For Biggeleben, such gifts had to cross a certain “material threshold” to set the benefactor apart from the members of the middle and upper classes. Warning of the tendency to limit philanthropy to the giving by the rich, McCarthy encouraged the German participants to think more broadly about the importance of giving within German society with regards to policy-making, for instance. This aspect was also highlighted by Peter Dobkin Hall, who drew the audience's attention to the attempts of American liberal and—more recently—conservative foundations to influence political and governmental processes at home and abroad.

The papers given by Michael Schäfer, Michael Werner, and Gregory Witkowski discussed the phenomenon of giving within a changing world. Both Schäfer and Werner investigated philanthropy in the period of the Weimar Republic. Using the case study of Leipzig, Schäfer sug-

gested that philanthropy ceased to exist with the end of World War I because inflation devaluated the financial resources of philanthropic institutions and destroyed the giving class. In contrast to Schäfer, Werner argued convincingly that philanthropy survived into the 1920s and even the 1930s. While he agreed with Schäfer that philanthropy lost its importance because of inflation and the expansion of the welfare state, Werner suggested that philanthropy was transformed to meet the requirements of a democratic society after 1918 and, after 1933, a dictatorship. In contrast to the Wilhelmine period, philanthropy in the Nazi period was merely led by economic interests. Its purpose according to Werner was the creation of good connections with the new rulers, and philanthropic engagement resulted in immediate economic advantages. Witkowski's inquiry into East German philanthropy for the Third World broke new grounds in many ways. During the 1950s and 1960s, East German philanthropy for causes in Africa and Asia played an important role in the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a separate German state. In contrast to giving in Western European countries, East Germany's government exercised much larger control about where the money was going. For East Germans, giving for countries like Angola and Vietnam played an important part in the formation of a separate East German identity. Since their tables were still plentiful, East Germans shared their wealth with the less fortunate people in the world. For once, East Germans could feel like world citizens. Werner's and Witkowski's contributions opened up a large number of questions with regards to the character of philanthropy and its survival in different political systems. These are questions for future research and conferences. Philanthropy, it has become clear, can operate within non-democratic states. It survives political transformations that destroy most economic and political structures. If philanthropy, however, is capable of surviving such transformations, what does this mean for the nature of philanthropy and these transformations? It adds to the larger question about how we can conceptualize change in history.

*Thomas Adam
Gabriele Lingelbach*

REMOVING PEOPLES: FORCED MIGRATION IN THE MODERN WORLD (1850–1950)

Conference at King's Manor, University of York, April 20–22, 2006. Jointly organized by the Department of History, University of York, the GHI Washington, and the GHI London. Conveners: Claudia Haake (University of York) Richard Bessel (University of York) and Dirk Schumann (GHI). Supported in part by a grant from the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, Germany.

Participants: Bain Attwood (Monash University), Donald Bloxham (University of Edinburgh), Detlef Brandes (University of Düsseldorf), Mark Copland (Griffith University), Donald Fixico (Arizona State University), Tim Alan Garrison (Portland State University), Christian Gerlach (University of Pittsburgh), Joanna de Groot (University of York), Mark Jenner (University of York), Kiera Ladner (University of Western Ontario), Paul Lovejoy (York University), Alf Lüdtke (Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen and University of Erfurt), Benny Morris (Ben Gurion University of the Negev), Shane O'Rourke (University of York), Raquel Padilla (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia), Gyanendra Pandey (Emory University), Indra Sengupta (GHI-London), Andrea Smith (Lafayette University), Ronald Suny (University of Chicago), Ian Talbot (University of Southampton), Gabriella Treglia (University of Durham), James Walvin (University of York), Benjamin Ziemann (University of Sheffield), Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Sheffield).

The goal of this three-day conference was to address the problem of forced "mass" migration, which in its scale, according to the convenors, was the peculiar feature of a particular era, roughly from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth. The convenors especially highlighted the role of colonialism and war behind forced migration in the modern world. The conference focused mainly on the period 1850–1950 and sought to examine the phenomenon in a global comparative framework, but with constant reference to individual cases. By bringing together scholars working on the history of forced migration on five continents and drawing on their regional expertise, it tried to identify analytical and conceptual categories for a general understanding of forced migration in the modern world. The conference was divided into an introductory section, four regional panels, a section on postcolonial migrations, and a concluding panel and discussion.

The introductory panel "Conceptualizing Forced Migration" addressed some fundamental conceptual questions, including those of terminology, relating to forced migration. The first paper, by Alf Lüdtke ("Explaining Forced Migration"), addressed some of the fundamental problems associated with the subject of the conference. Disavowing any claims to explaining forced migrations, as the title of his paper suggested, Lüdtke instead posed the question, "Is the claim to 'explain' historical events and processes legitimate and adequate?" He drew on recent research on the subject in various regional studies and emphasized the need to examine forced removals not just at the macro level of policy, but to pare the phenomenon down to the micro level of practice on the ground, or what he called "face-to-face settings and figurations." He emphasized the need for more focused research on emotion (covering a huge and complex range and including perpetrator, bystander, survivor, and indeed all other involved parties) and violence in order to better understand forced migration. He drew attention to the nature of the states that forced people out and suggested that it was not only strong states but also weak ones that were involved. He also drew attention to the need to study the precise links between state-organized and -sponsored violence for the sake of creating a homogeneous nation-state and the readiness of people to accept such violence as their own agenda. In this context, he urged the need to learn from studies of massacre. Finally, Lüdtke pointed out the inadequacy of terms such as "forced migration" for conveying the emotional charge that the process entails, and urged a rethinking of the terminology for "tracing the emotional dynamics."

Claudia Haake's paper "Breaking the Bonds of People and Land" argued for the need to distinguish between the question of land and that of nation-building by focusing on the relocation of Native Americans following the Relocation Act of 1830 in the United States. Drawing comparisons between the forced migration of the Delawares in the United States and the Yaquis in Mexico, which occurred simultaneously, she argued that land appropriation was the dominant agenda of such removals and a product of colonization. In the case of the United States, she argued, this economic agenda of land grabbing remained a covert one, as the official and more widely-publicized reason was to "turn the Delawares into Americans," but it far outweighed the rhetoric of cultural assimilation and racial ideology.

The second session, "Colonialism and Removal: Removal in the Americas," moved on from theoretical concerns to the specific studies of the subject in North America. Many of the issues raised by the first session, such as war, colonization, the nation-state, and modernity, were addressed with respect to individual case studies. The papers were dedicated to an understanding not only of policy-making but also the per-

ceptions of the "removed" in the context of white colonization of America and the making of the nation-state in the United States, Canada, and Mexico from the eighteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. Thus, multiple narratives were used to reconstruct events in order to attempt to understand forced removal from the point of view not only of the policy-makers but of the removed as well. In this context, the panel also raised the issue of material and psychological benefits associated with self-perceptions of suffering of affected communities. Finally, the panel extended the idea of forced removal from war to the long-term "vanishing" of peoples. Tim Alan Garrison's paper "Rationalizing Removal: The Southern Strategy for Dispossessing American Indians" illustrated how an essentially cultural and racial ideology of white moral superiority and civilizing mission infused the legalistic arguments made by the supreme courts of the southern states to dispossess American Indians of their right to land. Garrison stressed that while these arguments in no way reflected the situation on the ground and while they were forms of "rationalization" or "strategies" of appropriation, nineteenth-century white southerners were convinced of the righteousness and morality of these arguments to exert claims to possession of Native American land.

In his paper "The Federal Indian Relocation Program of the 1950s and the Urbanization of Indian Identity," Donald Fixico spoke about the emergence of a specifically urban Indian identity in the wake of the voluntary relocation of Native Americans returning from military service to American cities such as Los Angeles, Denver, and Salt Lake City from 1952 to the early 1970s. The relocation program offered by the U.S. government, argued Fixico, had behind it the cultural agenda of fashioning Americans out of American Indians and persuading them to give up not only their traditional lifestyles but also the "native ethos." In the long run, urbanization weakened this ethos, but it also led to the new development of "urban Indianization." While Native Americans have embraced Americanization, they have also retained elements of tradition, in what Fixico calls an urban Indian identity or a "new urban tribalism."

Kiera Ladner's presentation "Canada: Where did all the 'Indians' go? Living with the Results of Relocation" approached the subject in the form of the narrative of the dispossessed, as she openly eschewed theory and talked "about the community." Emphasizing the divergent notions of land held by the white settlers, for whom land was associated with national boundaries, and the Cree Indians of Canada, to whom land represented sacred space, she spoke about the gradual erosion of the latter's right to self-determination and land control since the colonization of Canada in the eighteenth century. Thus, the history of the Canadian nation was, in Ladner's view, the story of the "vanishing Indian."

In the final paper of the session, "Slavery and Suffering: War and Deportation According to Yaqui Narrative," Raquel Padilla examined Yaqui narratives of the experience of their deportation from Sonora to Yucatan in and shortly after 1900. She juxtaposed these with official accounts of the event to focus on the discursive meaning and use of the term "slavery" by the Yaquis to describe their experiences in Yucatan. The reasons for such a perception of their status in Yucatan in Yaqui memory and the continued use of the term "slavery" in their oral narratives may be attributed, argued Padilla, both to the advantages it must have brought them from the revolutionary government at that time, as well as to the fact that the narrative of their enslavement in the past may serve as a symbol of "their capacity to overcome and prevail" and hence a source of self-esteem for present Yaqui generations.

The subsequent panel focused on the regions of Africa and Australia. The themes of traumatic experience and the operative aspects of forced removal, national identity, the resistance to forced removal, the role of law, the importance of various kinds of narratives, and the need to study displacement on a global scale were some of the issues addressed in the section. Paul Lovejoy in his paper "The Slave Trade as 'Forced Migration'" conceptualized the phenomenon of forced removal in the context of not merely the transatlantic but also the inland slave trade in Nigeria. Speaking at length about inland slavery, Lovejoy emphasized the difficulty of finding a common pattern on the slave trade in African history, concluding that there was no "normal" or "typical" pattern of forced removal, but highlighting the long-term consequences of such removal in Nigeria.

Mark Copland's paper "Calculating Lives: The Number and Narrative of Forced Removals in Queensland 1859-1972" and Bain Attwood's paper "Land and Removal in British Settler Societies" returned to the question of colonization and forced migration in white settler colonies. Copland focused on the suffering and trauma of the removed aboriginal people by referring to their own testimonies or those of their family members. He emphasized the huge discrepancy between the real and stated reasons for large-scale removal of aboriginal peoples. He pointed out that, while the rhetoric of forced removal was dominated by a concern for the physical and mental health of the aboriginals and untrue assumptions about the aboriginals' ties to land and family, the real reasons were more closely related to the needs of a dominant society to discipline indigenous peoples and acquire their lands. Bain Attwood took a comparative approach that included the cases of the aboriginal peoples of Australia and the Maoris of New Zealand, but he also drew parallels with the colonization of North America. Emphasizing both material conditions as well as discourse, Attwood attempted to provide an analytical

framework for understanding land dispossession of the indigenous peoples in the different British settler colonies. The starting-point of his comparison was that, unlike in the other settler colonies, the British in Australia never acknowledged aboriginal rights to land and consequently did not enter into treaties with them. Of central importance, argued Attwood, was the role of what he described as several "independent variables" in the early stage of colonialism. These ranged from ground realities such as the relative strength of white settlers, their economic relationship with the indigenous peoples, and the location of governmental authority in the colonies to cultural and discursive factors such as current British theories about sovereignty and property rights, especially regarding aboriginal land rights, as well as perceptions of aboriginal people, including their military capacity. Attwood argued that it was the situation on the ground in the colonies that gave force to the legal and cultural discourses and to laws, as settler colonialism required "new legal arrangements" regarding land. In this sense, Attwood suggested, the phenomenon of land rights and dispossession in the settler colonies "lies at the heart of the making of the modern world."

The following session, "War and Removal: Removal in the Middle East and South Asia," included four case studies. Benny Morris in his paper "Expulsion and Thinking About Expulsion in the First Arab-Israeli War of 1948" attributed the origins of the Palestine refugee problem not to what he described as a "preconceived master plan" or "governmental policy decision" on the part of either the Arab states or the Zionist leaders, as has been propagated in Zionist propaganda and traditional Arab historiography respectively. Instead, he asserted that it stemmed from a "mindset of transfer" that emerged from the war of 1948. While admitting the existence of a long-term "transfer thinking" among some Zionist leaders, Morris argued that it was the real threat of extinction of the Jewish settlers as a result of increasing Arab violence as well as the Holocaust from the 1930s on that led to the hardening of the expulsionist mindset, not just among the Zionists but also the Arabs.

Ronald Suny in his paper "Explaining Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire" carried the theme of forced removal a step further by focusing on genocide. He rejected the traditional interpretations of the Armenian genocide in nationalist, religious, or racist terms and emphasized instead the role of "affective experience" in understanding such phenomena that, according to him, social science had far too long neglected. Suny returned to the theme of the perpetrators' mindset, which in his opinion can be better understood with reference to emotions such as fear, pride, anxiety, resentment, and so on that in his view were associated with national or ethnic identity. It was

these “irrational” factors that Suny held led to the construction of the Armenian as the enemy of the Turkish people.

Gyanendra Pandey’s paper “A Forced Removal That’s Barely Noticed: The Case of British India’s Untouchables” approached the subject of forced removals in terms of forgotten histories of forgotten peoples, that is the disappearance or “flattening” of certain groups in historical writing on moments of extreme violence, in which, he argued, the historian too is culpable. Pandey urged the recovery of such histories. Describing the erstwhile “Untouchables” or “Dalits” as “nobody’s people” at the time of the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, Pandey dwelt on the economic motive of land-grab that he sees as the main reason for the removal of Dalits (90 percent of whom were agriculturalists) from their rights to land and the systematic policy of the post-Partition states to deny Dalits these rights. He also drew attention to the close link between homeland and history: The Dalits’ lack of land, or homeland, explains their disappearance from history. However, just as this was a story of land denial that needed to be told, Pandey asserted that Dalit struggles to acquire land and status must be seen as a means to find a place in a democratic order. Ian Talbot in his paper “Forced Migration and the 1947 Partition of India: A Comparative Study of Punjab and Bengal” pointed out the need to focus on the meta-narratives of the Partition of the Indian subcontinent, which in his opinion had long been overlooked because of the need for a broad narrative. He highlighted the complex, politically driven and contested history of the phenomenon in the two partitioned arms of the subcontinent, namely Punjab and Bengal.

The papers in the panel “War and Removal: Removal in Europe” drew attention to the management and operation of forced removal, and raised the issue of ideology vis-à-vis contingency in this context. Detlef Brandes’s paper “National and International Planning of the ‘transfer’ of Germans from Czechoslovakia and Poland” dwelt on the planning and execution of the transfer of Germans in these territories beginning in 1941. Brandes pointed out that although at the end of the war alternatives to solving the question of minorities existed, in their treatment of German minorities both Poland and Czechoslovakia opted for a narrow definition of the nation-state. Following from this, they opted for ethnic cleansing and expulsion of their German population. Shane O’Rourke in his paper “Trial Run: The Deportation of the Terek Cossacks 1920” argued that the deportation of the Terek Cossacks by the early Bolshevik state in 1920—the first Soviet attempt at large-scale deportation—although not numerically significant, nevertheless contained many critical aspects of the organized deportations of the later Stalin period, or what O’Rourke describes as the “manifestation of a high modernist ideology.” Donald Bloxham’s paper “Forced Population Movement in Europe, 1875–1949”

identified the Great Eastern Crisis of 1875 and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as the starting point of what he described as a genealogy of mass removal. Stressing the role of contingent factors in forced removal, Bloxham highlighted the role of war as a vital contingent factor in the history of forced removal; for example, he said, population exchange or deportation was often resorted to in order to pre-empt war.

The panel "Post-Colonial Forced Migration," which was the only session organized not regionally but chronologically, consisted of two papers that stretched the analytical category of forced removal to include strategic removals for pacification and repatriation of once-privileged colonial elites. Christian Gerlach's paper "Sustainable Violence: Depopulation, Strategic Villages, and 'Development' in Anti-guerrilla Warfare" argued that anti-guerrilla strategic resettlement was a key factor behind endemic and sustained violence in large parts of the world. Drawing upon the example of such tactics employed by the Germans in the Soviet Union in World War II, Gerlach observed that this pattern of anti-guerrilla strategic resettlement since the 1940s had become a worldwide phenomenon, often in nations on the road to decolonization. While admitting that forced resettlement itself was nothing new, he nevertheless argued that the "newness" from the 1940s onwards was the offer of tangible material incentives designed to win sympathies of the resettled and their participation in the existing or emerging political system. The significance of this participation, Gerlach argued, lay in the fact that it drew citizens into conflicts, and the resultant "participatory violence" led to the creation of what he calls "extremely violent" societies.

Andrea Smith's paper "Sending the Colonists 'Home': The Peculiar Experience of Post-colonial Exile" used the category of home to analyze the sense of loss of home and homeland by the French colonial elite of the *Pieds-Noirs* in the wake of French decolonization of Algeria and their reluctant "return migration" to France. Smith admitted the difficulty of conceptualizing the experience of the *Pieds-Noirs* as forced migration, as they were obviously a privileged group compared to other dispossessed peoples, and were given preferential treatment in France. Nevertheless, she raised the question of whether the sense of being uprooted and homeless, even by a privileged group, was fundamentally different from that of the victims of forced removal.

The last session, "Explaining Forced Migration," which also included the final discussion, was conducted in the form of observations by Richard Bessel and Joanna de Groot on forced removal and on the products of the conference sessions. Bessel focused on certain themes that in his view would help to understand and conceptualize the problem. Underlying these themes, Bessel suggested, was the modern age and modernist ideology, which in his view provided the common thread between the sub-

ject of the conference in general and the individual papers. He drew attention to the specificities of the period 1850 to 1950: the availability of the technological means that enabled forced removal of people on a large scale; the increased contact of people with others; the growth of a modern state; the development of the conviction to produce homogeneous states, coterminous with scientific thinking and "nation-thinking"; and the emotions such as anger, fear, and resentment that characterized twentieth-century history. He also raised the question of the role of religion, especially in delineating groups and influencing civilizing ideologies, and ideology, both as "everyday practice" as well as informing policy-making, and reiterated concerns for the need to think about forced migration not just as policy-making but also as on-the-ground practice. Bessel also stressed the need to look more closely at the "voices of the removed," their memories, and the generational differences in these memories. Joanna de Groot suggested power and its many forms and modes as a conceptual framework for understanding forced removal. Power, she argued, could be that over human bodies, goods, and cultural power, including the politics of narrative and language, which for example could "erase people" through "epistemic violence"; or it could be power of memory, the power of institutions such as the modern state, and power as status-led or gendered.

The final discussion returned to many of the themes addressed in the course of the conference, and sought to conceptualize them in terms of the connection between modernity and forced migration and removal. The conference made a laudable contribution to global history by examining a global phenomenon of the modern world and trying to achieve a general understanding of it, but with the help of specific regional studies.

Indra Sengupta

IMAGINING THE NATION: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF RACE FROM THE MID-NINETEENTH TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Session of the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians (OAH) at the GHI, April 22, 2006

Participants: Isabell Cserno (University of Maryland, College Park), Cynthia Patterson (University of South Florida, Lakeland), Barbara Ryan (National University of Singapore), Robin Veder (Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg).

In an attempt to bring the GHI and its programs to the attention of participants in this year's meeting of the Organization of American Historians (OAH), which took place in Washington DC, the GHI organized an OAH session in the Institute's building at 1607 New Hampshire Avenue.

In her presentation entitled "Selling the Nation: Representation of Blacks in Advertisement in Germany and the US, 1893-1933," Isabell Cserno analyzed how German and American advertising agencies drew on images of blacks to sell products such as coffee or chocolate. Looking at advertising posters and trade cards, she discovered similar visual strategies that made ample use of racial stereotypes and colonial imagery. In both countries, black figures appeared as innocent and child-like teasers to white middle-class consumers, but as racial and class others would have hardly been considered consumers themselves.

Dealing with images of African American washerwomen, Barbara Ryan's study "African American Washerwomen: Raced Images of Gendered Ascent" examined how their rendition in different kinds of visual media allow for different readings of female agency. Competing with washerwomen of other ethnic backgrounds, African American women constructed identities that ranged from domestic to self-employed to entrepreneur, claiming social mobility in a society that discriminated against African American men and women.

Cynthia Patterson also focused on boundaries of race and class in her talk, entitled "Racial Remnants: Coloring the Boundaries of the American Middle Class in the Philly Pictorials of the 1840s and 1850s." Looking at illustrations in such monthly magazines as *Graham's* and *Peterson's*, she argued that pictures often presented a racialized

and gendered subtext to the stories they accompanied, thus complicating the representations of middle-class life these magazines offered to their readers.

In her comment, Robin Veder further explored the connections between race, class, and gender that all three papers explored. She also suggested strategies as to how the readings of visual materials could be taken even further.

Anke Ortlepp

GERMAN HISTORY, 1930–1960

TWELFTH TRANSATLANTIC DOCTORAL SEMINAR IN GERMAN HISTORY

Seminar at the University of Freiburg, April 26–29, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI Washington, the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University, and the Historisches Seminar of the University of Freiburg. Conveners: Roger Chickering (Georgetown University), Ulrich Herbert (University of Freiburg), and Richard F. Wetzell (GHI). Faculty Mentors: Peter Carl Caldwell (Rice University), Doris Kaufmann (University of Bremen), Uta Poiger (University of Washington), Bernd Weisbrod (University of Göttingen).

The Twelfth Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar brought together sixteen doctoral students from Europe and North America to discuss their dissertation projects on German history in the period 1930 to 1960. The first panel explored different aspects of Nazi propaganda. Andrew Wackerfuss's paper examined National Socialist mythmaking, arguing that the myth of the "unknown stormtrooper" defended the Nazis' historical claims and reinforced a connection between National Socialism and the family, religion, and the state. But, he contended, the myth was more than just propaganda; it created political reality in its own right by teaching Nazi adherents forms of action they could apply to their daily political activities, thus reifying the content of the original myth itself. Waltraud Sennebogen analyzed the genesis and implementation of the "Gesetz zum Schutz der nationalen Symbole" (Law for the protection of national symbols, May 1933) as a case study of a clash between marketing and propaganda interests in the Third Reich. The Nazi regime's measures against "national Kitsch" reflected the party's claim to the exclusive use of its propaganda symbols, especially the swastika and the person of Hitler. But Sennebogen's examination of the local implementation of this law demonstrated that this "propaganda monopoly" met with considerable recalcitrance in business circles and could only be established very gradually.

The second panel examined the role of the medium of film in Nazi Germany. Valentina Leonhard analyzed how Nazi film policy sought to counter the dominant economic and cultural position of Hollywood cinema on the world market. Although Nazi officials in charge of film policy were actually quite ambivalent about Hollywood films, their main strategy was to challenge the American influence by creating a new kind of "European film"—and a European film market—as part of the "new order" of Europe. This strategy failed, however, because any credibility that the "Europeanization" project might have had was undermined by

aggressive Germanization efforts. Christelle Le Faucheur presented a close reading of the film *Kora Terry* (dir. Georg Jacoby, 1940) featuring Marika Rökk, one of the stars of the Third Reich. Arguing for an alternative reading of the film's ideological message, Le Faucheur sought to show that Third Reich feature films can be read as mirrors of the Nazi regime's conflicts and ambivalences regarding women and questions of sexuality.

The third panel dealt with different aspects of the Second World War. Andreas Jasper introduced his project on the war experiences of German soldiers in World War II. After reflecting on the methodological problems involved in using soldiers' letters as historical sources, Jasper offered some preliminary theses on the key differences in the war experiences of German soldiers on the Eastern and Western fronts, and between soldiers on the front and those posted behind the front lines. Eugene Powers's paper examined the German army's brutal fight against so-called "Partisanen" on the Eastern front during the Second World War. Analyzing army narrative constructions about the ringleaders and partisan combatants, Powers argued that the German army's "partisan war" in World War II was not a new phenomenon, but continued the army's practices from two previous "ideological wars," the Franco-Prussian War and the First World War.

The fourth panel was devoted to the Holocaust and genocide. Juliane Brauer examined the musical activities of Czech students in the concentration camp Sachsenhausen in order to reveal the important role that collective and individual singing and music played in the physical and psychological survival of this group of inmates. By exploring the role of music, Brauer sought to get at the difficult question of how one group of inmates experienced daily life in a concentration camp and what their coping mechanisms were. Alexander Korb discussed the Ustaša's persecution of Serbs in Croatia, which became radicalized as a result of new agreements with the Nazi regime in June 1941. On balance, however, Korb argued that German influence should not be overestimated, as the violence against Serbs and Jews—portrayed as a mortal danger for the Croat state—was mostly the result of the interplay of local dynamics with actions of the Croat state.

The fifth panel presented two very different approaches to military history. Emre Sencer's paper examined the responses of the German and Turkish officer corps to the domestic and international challenges facing them at the turn of the 1930s. Despite significant differences between the two regimes, the two officer corps developed similar postures toward the world around them. While the German military establishment chose to agree with a dangerous option that promised to solve its problems, the Turkish military, struggling with the loss of empire and the difficult task

of modernization, tried to adapt to the new environment by underlining its strengths. Moving into the postwar era, Kathy Nawyn's paper studied the impact of restrictions on the wearing of German uniforms during the American occupation of Germany. Although Nawyn identified strong indigenous forces that weakened the role uniforms had played in German society, she concluded that the American measures helped to strengthen existing pressures and assisted in the process of recasting the connotations of "the uniform."

The history of science formed the subject of the sixth panel. Per Leo examined the history of graphology in Nazi Germany from two different angles. On the one hand, he used graphology as a case study to illuminate the relationship of Ludwig Klages to the Nazi regime, by focusing not on Klages the proto-Nazi ideologue but on Klages the scholar and practitioner, who used ideology to resolve practical conflicts by authoritarian means. On the other hand, Leo used his study of graphology to get at the paradoxical role of personal individuality in the Nazi regime, arguing that individuality actually enjoyed a heightened status in the Third Reich. Katja Limbächer investigated the political implications of National Socialist "racial hygiene" by studying the activities of the Frankfurt *Pflegeamt* during the Nazi regime. Noting that this Frankfurt welfare office managed to expand while much communal welfare was in decline after 1933, Limbächer argues that this expansion became possible because the female welfare workers not only adapted to racial-hygiene ideology but actively engaged in eugenic measures, including the forced sterilization of women under their care.

The seventh panel consisted of two papers on different facets of the history of popular culture and religiosity in the period 1945–60. Monica Ann Black explored how Berliners struggled not only with the Nazi system's collapse but also with the realization that the millions of German deaths in the war had been in vain. While other historians have suggested that Germans abandoned the war dead along with a now discredited past, Black argued that the mentality of postwar Berlin was shaped significantly by memories of and fantasies about the dead, which became ways of making sense not only of the experience of mass death but of Berliners' own postwar condition. Joel Davis examined inter-confessional relations in postwar West Germany through an analysis of a particular incident of confessional conflict in June 1953. While others have argued that the experience of persecution during the Third Reich brought the Protestant and Catholic churches closer together and paved the way for ecumenical reforms in the 1960's, Davis concluded that the years between 1945 and 1960 were rife with confessional tension.

The final panel featured two papers on the subject of Germany's relations with East and West in the interwar and postwar periods. Elana

Passman's paper explored competing strategies to resolve the Franco-German problem in the interwar era by examining the initiatives of the Mayrisch Komitee, an organization comprised of leading businessmen, former politicians, and intellectuals who championed economic entente and cultural rapprochement. Although the Komitee failed to override antagonisms, Passman argued, it developed organizational structures, conceptual frameworks, and personal relationships that would underlie later efforts at interwar understanding, wartime collaboration, and post-war reconciliation. Nadine Freund presented a critical analysis of the postwar German women's periodical *Stimme der Frau* in the context of the beginnings of the Cold War. The journal's discourse about the suffering of German women during and after the war, Freund argued, drew a highly negative picture of the Soviet Union, which it presented not as a victim of German aggression but as an aggressor against German women, while the war actions of the Western powers were hardly mentioned. This kind of coverage ensured the continuity of existing anti-Russian sentiments in the German population.

The prominence of cultural history that characterized previous seminars continued this year, with papers examining the role of myth, film, music, popular science, and death. More surprising was the considerable interest in military history, especially in what has been called the "new military history," as evidenced by papers on the experience of soldiers, the mentality of the officer corps, and the cultural meaning of uniforms. In terms of scale, many of the projects could be described as micro-histories or case-studies. Among the questions that were most frequently raised in the discussions of the papers were the twin-questions "what is Nazi-specific?" and: "what are the continuities" with developments before 1933 and after 1945? How different, for example, was the popular literature about SA men from the popular Catholic or youth movement literature? Was the Nazi "Partisanenkrieg" primarily the result of Nazi indoctrination or a manifestation of long-term continuities in the German military culture? Was the portrayal of female sexuality in Nazi films a continuation of the sexualization of women in the Weimar period or somehow different? Were the interconfessional conflicts after 1945 above all a return to Weimar conflicts or a response to developments under National Socialism?

The prevalence of cultural history also regularly provoked two other questions: First, how to connect the cultural to the social; that is, the relevance of cultural history for social history. What does the portrayal of women in Nazi films, for instance, tell us about gender relations and sexuality in the Nazi years? And second, how to connect the specific to the general; that is, the question of how representative the projects' case studies were. Looking for a theme among a very diverse set of papers, the

seminar's concluding discussion noted that many of the papers "historicized" the Nazi period, in the general sense of deemphasizing the period's exceptional character and exploring "normal" aspects of life under the Third Reich. There was no general difference between German and American papers regarding their historical approaches or topics. Each group, however, tended to focus on the historiography written in their own language. This led to a closing plea – to both groups – to pay closer attention to the historical literature being produced on the other side of the Atlantic.

Richard F. Wetzell

Participants and their Paper Topics:

MONICA BLACK (University of Virginia), *Death's Crisis of Meaning and the Remaking of Berlin, 1945–1949*

JULIANE BRAUER (FU Berlin), *"Auf Wiedersehen in besseren Zeiten"—Musik der tschechischen Studenten als Alltagsstrategie im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*

JOEL DAVIS (University of Missouri), *Inter-confessional Relations in Postwar West Germany, 1945–1960*

NADINE FREUND (UNIVERSITÄT KASSEL), *Weiblichkeit und Westintegration*

ANDREAS JASPER (Universität Tübingen), *Kriegserfahrungen im Osten und Westen*

ALEXANDER KORB (Humboldt Universität, Berlin), *Verschränkte Genozide? Der Massenmord an Serben und Juden im Unabhängigen Staat Kroatien, 1941–42*

CHRISTELLE LE FAUCHEUR (University of Texas), *Ambiguous Screening/ Alternative Reading of Sexuality in the Third Reich: Consuming the femme fatale in Kora Terry* (Georg Jacoby, 1940)

PER LEO (Humboldt Universität), *Normale Unterschiede. Ludwig Klages und die wissenschaftliche Graphologie in Deutschland, 1930–1940*

VALENTINA LEONHARD (FU Berlin), *Film-Europa (1937–1945): Europäischer Film und Amerikanisierung in der nationalsozialistischen Filmpolitik*

KATJA LIMBÄCHER (TU Berlin), *Kontinuitäten der Diskriminierung "asozialer" Mädchen im Nationalsozialismus und in der bundesdeutschen Nachkriegszeit. Gefährdetenfürsorge und Pflegeamtsarbeit: Ambivalenzen weiblicher Fürsorge zwischen Zuwendung, Norm und Ausgrenzung*

KATHY NAWYN (UNC Chapel Hill), *Getting the Uniform Out of the German: Cultural Demilitarization and Restrictions on Uniform Wearing in American-Occupied Württemberg-Baden, 1945–1949*

ELANA PASSMAN (UNC Chapel Hill), *Visions of Rapprochement: The May-risch Komitee Between Enlightened Self-Interest and Hope*

EUGENE POWERS (University of Northern Illinois), *Partisan War 1941–42: Volkskrieg, Ringleaders, and Criminals*

EMRE SENCER (Ohio State University), *The Military Press in Germany and Turkey at the Turn of the 1930s*

WALTRAUD SENNEBOGEN (Universität Regensburg), *Der Konflikt zwischen Marketing und Propaganda. Eine Fallstudie zum nationalsozialistischen 'Gesetz zum Schutz der nationalen Symbole'*

ANDREW WACKERFUSS (Georgetown University), *Dem unbekannten SA Mann*

CONTROLLING THE STREETS OF NAZI GERMANY

MID-ATLANTIC GERMAN HISTORY SEMINAR

Seminar, at the GHI, April 29, 2006. Conveners: Marion Deshmukh (George Mason University) and Christof Mauch (GHI). Speaker: Nathan Stoltzfus (Florida State University).

Public protests by ordinary Germans during the Nazi period were the topic of a work-in-progress discussion by Nathan Stoltzfus at the spring meeting of the Mid-Atlantic German History Seminar. Rare though such protests were, they represent aggregately a specific type of behavior that could variegate understandings of opposition behaviors and regime responses to them. Well-established are the categories of resistance (*Widerstand*), noncompliance (*Verweigerung*), bystander passivity (*Zuschauern*), fellow-travelling (*Mitläufer*), collaboration (*Mitarbeit*), and perpetration (*Täter/in*). Currently, there are about as many definitions of the word protest as there are historians using the term to describe this or that action in Nazi Germany. Stoltzfus's study defines protest in specific terms, surveys civilian actions that apply, and looks for characteristics common to them all. How did the regime respond to these across time, through the various periods of the Nazi years?

Much of the discussion focused on the question of why ordinary Germans protested, and ways of determining their motivations. Why did they express opposition in the form of public protest? Documentation on this is just as scarce as opportunities for oral history at this point. Some participants in the discussion suggested examining the milieus of those who engaged in this rare form of expressing opposition, regionally and ideologically. What were the deep-seated beliefs their communities held that enabled them to put up some expression of opposition not just to the regime, but to general social silence and conformity as well? Examples of dominant forces in this sense include Catholicism and class consciousness formed by Communism and Socialism. Whether distinct Communist/Socialist milieus existed remains an open question, although the Ruhr area and some Berlin neighborhoods constitute the most likely areas for study. Others suggested examining social-cultural histories of local areas where public group protests occurred as a way of describing motivations. Especially interesting would be studies of the final phase of the war, particularly as a context for understanding the women's protest in Witten of October 1943. What were local conditions and attitudes at this time, as a way of understanding local behavior? Was loyalty to the regime still common by the end phase of the war, or did concerns for survival, for example, dominate?

In some cases of public protest the dictatorship made some compromises, at least on a single policy and to the very limited, local extent to which the policy affected those protesting and their families. This was due to the National Socialist concern for popular morale and mass-movement support of ordinary Germans. The regime acted tactically within a broader strategy of achieving its most important goals to the maximum extent. The Witten women protesters caused the state to meet them on their own terms, for example, on the matter of wartime urban evacuations due to Allied air attacks. Should this response best be seen as a concession by the regime, or merely as a way of resolving a conflict that strengthened the regime's authority?

Finally, it was suggested that the behavior of ordinary Germans who expressed limited opposition in the form of public protest is best understood by examining experience at the local level. The study of particular local conditions and attitudes, and how they changed over time, would shed light on collective behavior and regime responses. What role if any did various levels of authority play in this? It is important to explore the responses at the Gauleiter level to these rare protests, and how they might have differed from authorities at other levels. The issue of the politicization of space and the propaganda uses of streets is an important context for these local histories. So too is the relative lack of popular participation in German politics until the 1970s.

Nathan Stoltzfus

JEWES AND MODERNITY: BEYOND THE NATION

Conference at the Centrum Judaicum (Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin) and the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, May 2–3, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI, the University of Toronto, the Simon Dubnow Institute (University of Leipzig), and the University of Southampton. Conveners: Tobias Brinkmann (University of Southampton), Dan Diner (Simon Dubnow Institute, Leipzig and Hebrew University, Jerusalem), Simone Lässig (GHI), and Derek Penslar (University of Toronto).

Participants: Nicholas Berg (Simon Dubnow Institute, Leipzig), Michal Bodemann (University of Toronto), Abigail Green (Brasenose College, Oxford University), Katharina Hoba (University of Potsdam), Rebecca Kobrin (New York University), Anna Lipphardt (University of Potsdam), Michael Miller (Central European University, Budapest), David Rechter (St. Anthony's College, Oxford University), Nils Roemer (University of Southampton), Reinhard Rürup (Technical University, Berlin), Joachim Schloer (University of Potsdam), Jonathan Skolnik (GHI), Adam Sutcliffe (King's College, University of London), Scott Ury (University of Toronto and Hebrew University, Jerusalem), Stephan Wendehorst (Simon Dubnow Institute, Leipzig).

Calls for papers often announce that a given conference intends to inspire new paradigms for research in a field, but rarely do they measure up to these grand claims. This two-day conference in Berlin was a wonderful exception. The conference conveners issued a hefty challenge to participants: to approach modern Jewish history outside of the confines of the "national history model" (British-Jewish, French-Jewish, German-Jewish, etc.), which has structured most scholarship on Jews in the modern era. Naturally, there are compelling reasons for the national history paradigm in modern Jewish history; the fact that the political history of Jewish emancipation and the cultural/linguistic integration of Jews largely proceeded within the boundaries of emerging nation-states will continue to influence even those historians whose work is informed by transnational or diasporic approaches. Nonetheless, it was refreshing to see how the scholars of modern Jewish history who assembled in Berlin, all of whom are rooted in one or another national tradition (though some are seasoned comparatists), tried to respond to the questions suggested by the conveners.

The conference opened in the meeting room of Berlin's Neue Synagoge in the Oranienburgerstrasse, at a round table under the Moorish-style temple's famous gilded cupola. The suggestive ambiance of the historic conference site prompted many speakers to reflect upon the omnipresence of the German-Jewish model of modernization in Jewish historiography, and the present question of its continued value as a point of reference for scholars seeking to look beyond the national paradigm. Derek Penslar's paper plunged the conference directly into the heart of the matter, as he outlined his plans for a sweeping transnational investigation of the Jewish experience of warfare in modern Europe. Penslar hypothesized about what patterns may be revealed by a cross-border study of both the embrace and the avoidance of military service by modern Jews, and he detailed the complex difficulties of contextualizing his material. Jonathan Skolnik's paper serendipitously discussed a concrete example of this problematic. Focusing on a historical novel set in Alsace-Lorraine during the Napoleonic Wars, but written on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71, Skolnik examined how this French-language novel by the non-Jewish writers Erckmann-Chatrian came to be translated into German by a German-Jewish publisher with an integrationist/German-patriotic ideology. Skolnik illustrated how such a novel highlights both the intersections and disjunctures of national, regional, and minority historical narratives.

The next panel demonstrated the wide temporal, geographic, and cultural possibilities of a historiography of Jews in modernity uncoupled from national history. With reference to Paul Gilroy's groundbreaking work on the "Black Atlantic," Adam Sutcliffe focused on Sephardic Jews in the early modern "Jewish Atlantic" to show the intricate and fluid identities formed at the intersection of commerce, race, religion, language, power, and persecution. Abigail Green used the case of a biographical study of a central figure in nineteenth-century Jewish politics, Sir Moses Montefiore, to illustrate the simultaneity of the non-contemporaneous (as Ernst Bloch called it): a modern international politics that negotiated minority interests within national and imperial structures and conflicts; "pre-modern" family and commercial networks; and diverse Jewish communities whose local interests combined and clashed in complex ways with national and transnational affiliations.

The first day's afternoon panel focused on migration in different historical periods. Tobias Brinkmann provided rich perspectives on Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe in Berlin after 1918. Although, as Brinkmann reminded the conference, there was much truth in Joseph Roth's characterization of Berlin as a "gloomy waiting room" for migrants who "came to go" (mainly to North America or South Africa), Eastern Jews who settled in Berlin were not face-to-face with a monolithic "old estab-

lished" Jewish milieu, but instead took their place in a very dynamic and rapidly changing Jewish community that was itself composed largely of migrants. Brinkmann demonstrated that in this context, "East" and "West" were as much temporal as geographic terms. The joint presentation by Katharina Hoba and Joachim Schloer expanded upon this dynamism, flux, and instability; as they sought to register images of Berlin among Israelis of German-Jewish origin, Hoba and Schloer found "Jewish Berlin" to be more of a relation than an actual space. Michal Bodemann rounded out this theme with a close examination of transnationalism in the context of the German-Jewish community since 1989, a community of Holocaust survivors, refugees, remigrants, and migrants that has more than tripled over the last seventeen years due to an influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

Dan Diner's keynote lecture addressed some of the fundamental concepts of political theory that form the basis for a deeper understanding of Jews, the nation, and modernity. Centering his reflections on the thought of Hannah Arendt, Diner argued that it would be wrong to apply traditional political categories to the Jews. Drawing on examples such as Ben-Gurion's reaction to the persecution of the Jews in Europe in the late 1930s, Diner showed clearly that neither the integration of Jews into the various European nation-states nor Zionism's creation of a Jewish state completely secularized Judaism. Diner thus implied that modern Jewish politics can never be fully explained within the "national paradigm."

The second day's panels continued the productive alternation between the local and the transnational. Stephan Wendehorst addressed the "blank" in Jewish historiography represented by the Holy Roman Empire, exploring the local foundations of imperial interventions and how the uneven distribution of "imperial macrospace" shaped the Jewish world right up to the doorstep of the nineteenth century. Michael Miller's study of Bohemian Jewry before and after 1918 emphasized the role of the state as opposed to the nation, illustrating Jewish relations to the supranational state amidst political turmoil. David Rechter, by contrast, focused on the newer Habsburg province of the Bukovina to show the emergence of a three-dimensional Jewish identity, at once regional, imperial, and ethnic-national.

The meaning of urban centers for complex diaspora cultures was explored from a number of angles. Simone Lässig pointed to the strong Jewish role in nineteenth-century German municipal politics as the fruit of successful embourgeoisement. Scott Ury, on the other hand, concentrated on letters and memoirs to demonstrate the alienation and sense of dislocation that accompanied the dramatic "internal" migration that fueled the growth of Jewish Warsaw. Rebecca Kobrin and Anna Lipphardt explored the compounded diasporic identities of dispersed Jews from

Eastern European cities: Bialystok Jews in New York before the Holocaust and the remnants of Vilna Jewry in the four corners of the earth after their community's near-total annihilation.

Finally, Nils Roemer and Nicolas Berg presented complementary analyses of semantic registers of identity shifts. Berg offered a very literary exploration of the image of the *Luftmensch* and fin-de-siècle notions of *Heimat* and deracination. Roemer, on the other hand, explored national and local historiography by nineteenth-century Jewish historians in order to investigate if (and if so, when) "Germany" displaced "Ashkenaz" as a unifying reference. The various meanings that historians such as Jost, Geiger, and Lazarus invested in terms like *Volk* or *Nation* was another important focus of his paper.

Conferences organized around such far-reaching themes cannot expect to reach neat conclusions after only two days. Yet the concluding discussion brought several points into focus. On the one hand, it was clear to Derek Penslar that modern Jewish history has moved beyond the point of merely rejecting Zionist historiography. As Dan Diner noted, the tendency of many of the conference papers to expand outward from a local or regional focus is promising, and he singled out Jonathan Frankel's recent study of 1840 in the Jewish world as an example: a focus on a specific local event (the Damascus blood libel) that had international resonance, yet was also "beyond time" in its mythological pre-history and its anticipation of modern propaganda.

Jonathan Skolnik

GERMAN IMPERIAL BIOGRAPHIES: SOLDIERS, SCIENTISTS, AND OFFICIALS AND THE “ARENDT THESIS”

Workshop at the GHI, May 4, 2006. Co-sponsored by the GHI, the Center for German and European Studies and the Arsham and Charlotte Ohanessian Chair in the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota, and the Joint Initiative in German and European Studies/DAAD at the University of Toronto. Conveners: Karen Oslund (GHI), Eric D. Weitz (University of Minnesota), Jürgen Zimmerer (University of Sheffield).

Participants: Andreas Eckert (University of Hamburg), Malte Fuhrmann (Oriental Institute, Berlin), David Furber (Cornell University), Christian Geulen (University of Koblenz), Jennifer Jenkins (University of Toronto), Robert Nelson (University of Windsor), Lenny Urena (University of Michigan), Todd Weir (University of Washington).

This one-day workshop was designed to test the “Arendt Thesis,” Hannah Arendt’s argument in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) that the roots of European racism at home, culminating in the Holocaust, as well as totalitarianism lay in the establishment of colonial empires abroad. In imperialism, Arendt argued, Europeans learned that they could exercise total and arbitrary powers over subject peoples, a model they then brought back to Europe. While Arendt’s thesis is often repeated in the scholarship in many disciplines, the workshop offered the opportunity to test her argument with far greater empirical acuity than is usual.

Jürgen Zimmerer delivered the keynote address to the workshop participants, who were joined by many of those who had come to the GHI for a related conference on “Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and the Environment” that began the next day. Zimmerer argued for the critical importance of the German colonial experience to the larger course of modern German history. That approach has made increasing headway in contemporary scholarship, Zimmerer argued, and challenges both the liberal notion of the incomparability of the Holocaust and the conservative, celebratory perspective on German national history. Zimmerer made the case for seeing Africa, especially the genocide of the Herero and Nama, and Auschwitz as two poles of German history in the twentieth century. He noted distinct similarities in German policies in both areas, especially in the resort to massive violence against populations deemed dangerous. The taboos against such violence had already been broken in Africa, which made their reenactment within Europe against Jews and

others so much easier. The Nazis and others drew on a colonial "archive," a repertoire of ideas and practices of domination. Seeing the links between the two areas and the two time periods helps place German history in a transnational framework, he concluded.

Zimmerer's talk inspired active discussion, with many participants raising issues concerning the comparability between Germany and other European colonial powers, the larger realm of imperialism (not just colonialism), and the problem of a new *Sonderweg*. These issues kept returning in the discussions of other papers. David Furber's presentation, "Tenuous Connections: The First and Second German Empire," noted that in contrast to the British and French empires, there was little of a German "civilizing mission." The Nazis' drive for a colonial empire defined by total domination, rather than "civilizing," links the two German imperialisms in Africa and Eastern Europe. Christian Geulen's contribution, "African Screen: Carl Peters and the Colonial Culture in Weimar and Nazi Germany," explored the creation of the Peters legend as a mechanism for the transmission of colonial ideas and practices. Like Furber, Geulen argued for a critical connection between the Kaiserreich and the Third Reich, in his case by the way the colonial past was remembered, especially in the Weimar years.

Malte Fuhrmann and Jennifer Jenkins each provided biographies of an individual who proved central to the propagation of Orientalist ideas concerning, respectively, the Ottoman Empire and Iran. Fuhrmann's paper, "From the Orient Colony to the Home Front against Democracy: The Career of Hans Humann, a Modern Imperialist Activist," focused on an avid Turkophile and promoter of the German-Turkish alliance in World War I. Humann supported the Young Turks' deportation and extermination of the Armenians and provided one of the links between extreme population politics in the larger imperial realm and Nazi policies in Europe. Jenkins' paper, "Excavating Zarathustra: Orientalism, Nationalism and Ernst Herzfeld's *Archaeological History of Iran*," explored the peripatetic career of a German Orientalist who helped provide the scholarly basis for modern Iranian nationalism while also supporting German imperial expansion in Iran. Many German Persianists searched for Aryan origins and became closely allied with the Nazis. Herzfeld, in contrast, provided a richer, more complex narrative of the past.

Robert Nelson in "A German in the Prairies: Max Sering, Imperialism, and Inner Colonization" explored the work of another imperialist, the scholar and activist Max Sering. Associated with the Verein für Sozialpolitik and inspired in part by his travels in (of all places) the Canadian West, Sering looked to German settlement in the East as a way to resolve the tensions and congestion of urban industrial life. Sering's notion of "empty space" was a trope that appeared in virtually all colonial

settings, including Nazi domination of central and eastern Europe. Lenny Urena in "Intimacies of Empire: Epidemics, Racial Hygiene, and the Works of Cocky Physicians in the Prussian-Polish Provinces, 1890–1905" explored the tropes of health and disease in German attitudes and policies toward Poles. The technologies of modern medicine were used to assert German domination over Poles, Urena argued, a practice that demonstrates similarities between the Kaiserreich and the Third Reich. Todd Weir explored the unlikely case of the Independent Social Democrat Ernst Däumig, who joined quite a number of other Germans to serve in the French Foreign Legion. Although Däumig would undergo a series of political "conversions," he actively supported the "civilizing mission" of colonialism. Finally, Eric Weitz, in "Race, Imperialism, and Genocides: The German Imperial Realm, 1890–1945," presented a possible research project designed first to track the subsequent careers of German officers and officials who served in Southwest Africa and the Ottoman Empire, and second, to explore the institutional settings for the transmission of ideas and practices in the officer corps and the Foreign Office for the "handling" of "troublesome" populations. While expressing some agreement with the Arendt Thesis, Weitz also argued that there is, as yet, little empirical evidence to support a strong causal argument that links German imperialism abroad and the Holocaust at home.

Andreas Eckert provided an excellent wrap-up of the day's proceedings. He appreciated, he said, the wide array of geographic areas that came under consideration and the prevailing understanding—in contrast to much of the public and scholarly discussion in Germany—that the imperial experience was critical to Germany's development in the modern period. Discussions of and research on the Holocaust, in particular, are still reluctant to adopt a broader, transnational perspective that takes into account Germany's imperial past. Eckert noted that "Imperial Biographies" marked the first time that there had been such an extensive discussion of the links between German practices abroad and German history in Europe. He and others remarked on the importance of publishing the papers so a wider audience would have access to the discussion.

Eric D. Weitz

COLONIALISM, POSTCOLONIALISM, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Conference at the GHI, May 5–6, 2006. Conveners: Karen Oslund (GHI), Christina Folke Ax (University of Copenhagen), Niels Brimnes (University of Aarhus), Niklas Thode Jensen (University of Copenhagen).

Participants: Peder Anker (University of Oslo), Greg Bankoff (University of Auckland), David Biggs (University of California, Riverside), Malcolm Draper (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa), Richard Grove (University of Sussex), Joseph Morgan Hodge (West Virginia University), Ann Johnson (University of South Carolina), Julia Lajus (European University at St. Petersburg), Elizabeth M. Lunstrum (University of Minnesota), Christopher Morris (University of Texas at Arlington), Thomas Neuhaus (Cambridge University), Albertus Hadi Pramono (University of Hawaii, Honolulu), Kavita Sivaramakrishnan (New Delhi), Daniel Rouven Steinbach (Humboldt University, Berlin), Phia Steyn (University of Stirling, Scotland), Paul S. Sutter (University of Georgia), Andrew Wear (University College London).

Although the study of what Richard Grove described in 1990 as “colonial ecological interventions” has flourished in recent decades, there is as yet no general understanding of how this study has contributed to our conceptions of colonialism, or how the study of colonialism and postcolonialism fits into the literature on environmental history. The conference “Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and the Environment” was convened in order to assess the state of scholarship in this field, to examine what the contributions of this scholarship have been, and to evaluate what potential it offers. The intent of the conference was to understand colonialism and postcolonialism as global phenomena, to examine how a single ideology acted on and within different environments, and to note how this ideology transformed these environments. From this, three main lines of inquiry emerged: the colonial and postcolonial management of physical environments, with the often dramatic changes that took place in landscapes and the immediate physical surroundings; the cultural encounters and disputes around environmental issues between colonizers or postcolonial bureaucracies and the colonized population; and developments in scientific disciplines connected to the environment (such as geology) and the circulation of these practices between colonial centers and the peripheries.

In the first session, "Towards a Healthy Environment: Colonial and Postcolonial Medicine," Andrew Wear's paper was summarized in his absence by the chair, Niels Brimnes. Wear's paper, entitled "The Prospective Colonist and Strange Environments: Advice on Health and Prosperity," took a bold long-term perspective, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, on the discourse about the health of prospective settlers in foreign environments. A distinction between temperate and tropical colonies emerged as crucial to the argument of the paper, because it was the temperate colonies which could be transformed from "alien places into the home-type environments." Wear identified a process by which new landscapes were "Europeanized" and thus perceived as healthier. The vehicle for this transformation was agriculture, and the settler literature was full of advice about how the individual could change the environment through agricultural activities. At the same time, allusions were made that the individual stood a good chance to improve his (or her) social position in the new environments. Thus, in a double sense, the new landscapes emerged as landscapes full of possibilities. This process did not work as well with tropical colonies, although Europeans did try to find landscapes that could be Europeanized (hill stations in India, highlands in East Africa). Wear concluded that temperate and tropical highlands were represented within the same discourse, but that European ideas about the two types of environment were different.

Kavita Sivaramakrishnan's paper, entitled "Recasting Disease and its Environment: Indigenous Medical Practitioners, the Plague, and Politics in Colonial Punjab (1898–1910)," used a range of vernacular sources to focus on the indigenous physicians in colonial Punjab. The paper analyzed the way they related to the crisis in colonial relations, emerging with the advent of the plague in urban Punjab in the late nineteenth century. Sivaramakrishnan avoided simple and generalized notions of a homogeneous (and hostile) indigenous response from the physicians, and instead highlighted the complexities among indigenous medical men. If anything, indigenous physicians seemed more in agreement with colonial authorities than with the general population, and the distinction between elite and popular understandings of disease was probably as important as differences between "Western" and "Indian" understandings. In some instances, indigenous physicians collaborated with colonial authorities and emerged as crucial links between the people of Punjab and the colonial administration. Sivaramakrishnan did not argue, however, that indigenous physicians simply became instruments in the hands of the British. They did criticize the colonial authorities and sometimes argued for a different understanding of disease.

Finally, Paul Sutter's paper "Mosquito Control in Panama: Entomologists and Environmental Change during the Construction of the Panama

Canal" closed the session. Sutter's paper discussed the "U.S. conquest of tropical nature in Panama" and the triumphalist rhetoric employed there. In this sense, Sutter's paper began where Wear's ended: at the point where it became possible—through "heroic engineering"—for Americans to transform the tropics into a place where they could live healthily. Sutter argued that the Americans in Panama had three choices in their attempt to control malaria: first, they could eliminate the disease vector (the mosquito); second, they could segregate their own bodies from the bodies of the workers believed to transmit the disease; and third, they could attack the disease at the micro-level through mass-quinization. The Americans decided to attack the mosquito. Providing a detailed account of the work and approaches of the entomologists, Sutter argued that the construction work actually amplified the malaria problem in the Canal Zone and that some of the entomologists were aware of this. This illustrated, in Sutter's own words, "the limited power of careful environmental observation in overturning dominant environmental ideologies."

In the second session, "The State and the Environment," Daniel Steinbach's paper, "The African Nature as Source of Identity and Suppression in German South West and German East Africa before 1914," used the concept of *Heimat* to examine how German colonists understood nature in Africa. Steinbach argued that the German settlers dealt with their experience of the transformation of their surrounding landscape by reimagining the African nature as German nature. Following the ideology of *Heimat*, they believed that the character of people was shaped by the landscape in which they lived. The barren deserts of South West Africa (Namibia), therefore, were interpreted as being an inhospitable climate where the strong, healthy German character would be nurtured. The forests of tropical East Africa (Tanzania), on the other hand, gave rise to a debate among the German colonists, some arguing that the climate would weaken the German character, and therefore new settlers should be brought from Europe frequently. Other settlers, however, were also able to construct this landscape as part of the mental landscape of the Reich. Steinbach also discussed nature preservation societies and the legislation of hunting as means by which the German settlers made themselves at home in Africa.

Elizabeth Lunstrum's paper, "State Rationality, Development, and the Making of Sovereign Territory: From Colonial Extraction to Postcolonial Conservation in Mozambique's Massingir District," also dealt with the notion of "homeland" in Africa. Her example was the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, established in 2002 on the borders of Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. Lunstrum pointed out that the establishment of this park meant the relocation of its population from their homes for the third time in thirty years. She traced the history of this territory

through the building of the Massingir Dam under the Portuguese, Frelimo's "socialization of the countryside" into collective villages post-independence, and the civil war between Frelimo and the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) in the 1970s and 1980s. After such a tumultuous history, the establishment of Limpopo as a "Peace Park" on the borders of previously hostile nations was intended to turn the area into a neutral "wilderness" with the potential to "heal old wounds." Lunstrum noted, however, that many of the local people see the park as yet another attempt by the government to steal their land, and argued that such places have to be understood not as new creations, but in the context of their history.

Closing the session, Joseph Hodge's paper "From Colonial Experts to Postcolonial Consultants: Development and Environmental Doctrines and the Legacies of Late British Colonialism" examined the careers of key British colonial officials to show how these individuals shaped the doctrine of development in the 1950s. Hodge looked at the "crucial role British colonial agricultural and natural science experts played in the institutionalization of globalization of colonial scientific knowledge and authority in the postcolonial epoch." The professional standing these men had gained in the colonial service enabled the continuity of their ideals and practices in the postcolonial world.

The third session, "Representing and Classifying the Colonial Environment," began with Ann Johnson presenting her paper, "Surveying British North America: Natural History and the Management of Colonial Resources, 1750–1900." Johnson's theoretical starting point was James C. Scott's claim in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*: that from the perspective of the state, maps work because detail is absent. To the bureaucrats of the metropole, the many locally valuable characteristics of the land are confusing, and accordingly the officials constructed another way of seeing to be able to control the land. Scott uses the term "métis" to signify the local, practical knowledge of the land in the colonies and "techné" to signify the abstract, verbal knowledge of the land seen from the metropole. Johnson explored the difference between these points of view by characterizing surveying in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as "métis" because it was local, practical work that resisted the standards imposed by the metropole. Johnson examined land surveys in two different contexts, the United States Rectangular Survey and the British North American surveys in Canada, in order to show the ways that land itself, via forests, mountains, and swamps, resisted the surveying process.

The central argument of Thomas Neuhaus's paper, "'Seeking Escape from the Plains of Commerce': British and German Representations of Tibet and the Himalayas, 1929–1953," was that during this period the two

recurring themes of conquest and romanticism were integrated into a common discursive framework. Neuhaus attempted to see how connections between attitudes to nature and development in twentieth-century Europe were played out in European encounters with the imperial or semi-imperial periphery. He revealed how scientific and physical conquest remained part of the motivation for European travelers in the region in the early twentieth century. Especially among German mountaineers there was a continuing prevalence of rhetoric of "conquest" and masculinity. After the First World War, perceptions changed, and Neuhaus analyzed how the growth of romanticized images of the region as "unspoiled" after the late 1920s was a part of the rhetoric of modernity. Thus, the rhetoric of conquest acquired a new framework, which was often resolutely against war, against urbanization, and against environmental degradation.

Peder Anker's paper "Ecological Communication at the Oxford Imperial Forestry Institute" discussed how the ethic of environmentally sensitive forestry shaped the architecture of the Imperial Forestry Institute at Oxford University. The institute's building was a meeting ground for scientists, forest managers, students, timber dealers, and university administrators, and Anker interpreted it in view of their different agencies and interests. These different agents of the building came to construe nature as an "Oriental economy" juxtaposed with the "Occidental research" represented in the design and outline of its architecture. In this way, Anker argued, the building came to represent a mirror image of British imperial forests and values. This was because the building was constructed as a living museum of different kinds of wood. Gifts of wood were organized in the new institute's interior according to the geographical location of the patrons. This arrangement created a stream of assumptions teaching Occidental visitors and students how to rule Oriental nature. In line with this imperial spatial and conceptual arrangement, the building was organized so that British oak was used in the rooms designed for negotiations and decision-making. The oak has long been the symbol of British solidity and strength, and thus these rooms offered a "home-grown" oak environment where forest managers could discuss the management and research of forests in the British domains and colonies.

Finally, David Biggs's paper "Aerial Photography and its Role in Shifting Colonial Discourse on Peasants and Land Management in Late-Colonial Indochina, 1930–1945" addressed the role that aerial photography, in the hands of human geographers and other social scientists, played in the formation of two colonial ideals, that is: two dominant ways of "reading" nature in the intensely complex, human-altered hydraulic environments of the Red River and the Mekong River. According to

Biggs's comparisons, aerial photography between the two river deltas produced an Orientalist reading of human nature by comparing the ways northern and southern farmers managed water in the two deltas: namely, the myth that the genius of the intricate landscapes in the Red River Delta was resident within northern peasants and that by contrast the failure of flood dikes and canals in the Mekong Delta was due to the inherent "laziness" of southern peasants. Another "reading" was an equally potent misreading of built landscapes, where social scientists assumed that the cellular system of locally managed dikes in the north could be reproduced with the same effects in the south regardless of very different hydraulic conditions in these two environments. Because colonial scientists chose to rely on the optic of aerial photography and failed to understand social and economic conditions among the farmers on the ground, the results of their efforts were flooding and famine.

The fourth session, "Interactions with Indigenous and Local Knowledge," opened with Julia Lajus presenting her paper "Colonization of the Russian North: A Frozen Frontier." She discussed the Russian colonization of the European Arctic and sub-Arctic regions between the Barents Sea and the White Sea from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. Distinctive to the region was the coexistence of many different ethnic groups, both indigenous groups and settlers from Scandinavian and Slavic areas. The driving force behind the colonization of the Russian North was the use of the natural resources, and successive governments used different models to gain and keep control over the area and collect revenues from the population. The early rulers had mainly imposed taxes, but from the eighteenth century, the state was inspired by Western colonial states to let trade monopolies manage the natural resources in the area. From the 1860s, Finns and Norwegians were invited to settle and serve as a good example for the local population for the modernization of the timber, mining, and fishing industries. The modernization was, however, considered to be too slow compared to other countries, and the government's general faith in progress meant the locals were seen as part of the problem because they were perceived as backwards and not able to make the most of the resources. In the 1920s, the government tried to apply a Canadian model, where focus was on bringing new technologies to the area and educating the people instead of replacing them. With the "Great Break" in the 1930s, which heralded industrialization and collectivization of the peasants, the government lost interest in the local groups and instead moved people to the area to supply cheap labor to the fishing and mining industry, with the result of greater exploitation of natural resources.

Phia Steyn in her paper "Changing Times, Changing Palates: The Dietary Impacts of Basuto Adaptation to New Rulers, Crops, and Markets

since the 1830s" focused on the main characteristics of the change of diet among the Basuto of Lesotho that occurred during the missionary phase from the 1830s. One of these was a shift from a sorghum-based diet to a diet based on maize. The white settlers had created a market for grain (maize and wheat) and expanded their maize production, which in turn increased the importance of maize in the Basuto diet. Maize was substituted for sorghum in recipes, while the introduction of ploughs also meant that the Basuto expanded their agricultural production. During the colonial period, starting in 1868, the Basuto diet did not change much, but the Basuto started to settle in the highlands. This meant that they had to adapt to only one growing season. They could not grow maize adequately, but wheat, potatoes, and lentils did well. In the lowlands, the closer contact with Europeans and the presence of slaughterhouses meant an increase in the consumption of meat. In the 1930s, Basutoland changed status from being the granary of the region to being the supplier of unskilled labor for the South African mines. Basutoland became a food importer, and many South African dishes became popular and were in time perceived as "traditional."

Albertus Hadi Pramono gave the final paper in the session, "Cartographic Encounters in the Counter-Mapping Movement in Postcolonial West Kalimantan (Indonesia)," focusing on the counter-mapping movement among the Dayak people there. Counter-mapping is used by dispossessed peoples to resist the erasure of their existence on modern maps by reconstructing and mapping indigenous knowledge about the environment. This means that they may be able to regain their land, but they have to adopt the language and practice of the state, which is not always compatible with the indigenous spatial knowledge traditions. In the colonial period, the Dayak were seen as a backward and primitive people, and, during Suharto's New Order, the state wanted to exploit the Dayak territory for commercial timber extraction. The postcolonial state, on the other hand, sees Dayak peoples as forest destroyers because they live on land that is now claimed by the state. In 1981, Dayak intellectuals began to try to reconstruct Dayak identity and regain control over the land by employing counter-mapping strategies. The activities are anchored in a discourse of indigenous rights, environmentalism, and development, but they draw on Western knowledge traditions. Since the Dayak peoples began to plant Para rubber at the beginning of the twentieth century, its importance as a commodity on the global market means that the right to use land and forest is central to the existence of the Dayaks. Pramono called for the creation of a third space with equal power relations between the indigenous and the Western knowledge systems in order for the counter-mapping to be successful.

The final session of the conference, "Global Circulations of Environmental Knowledge in the Colonial and Postcolonial World," opened with a paper by Christopher Morris entitled "Wetland Colonies: Louisiana, Guangzhou, Pondicherry, and Senegal." Morris compared four eighteenth-century French colonies with similar natural environments. He argued that, as much as Europeans acted upon the natural environments they found, the European experiences in one region of the world set patterns that determined their activities in "environmentally familiar" environments. According to Morris, "River environments...influenced the history of colonialism to the extent that they determined where Europeans would go, what they would find, and what they would do and not do once they got there."

The theme of the circulation of environmental knowledge was taken up by Greg Bankoff in his "The Science of Nature and the Nature of Science in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines," which focused on the sciences of acclimatization and meteorology. Bankoff argued that the science practiced in the Spanish Philippines was of a high standard for its time, but these practices were undervalued by the Americans after their occupation in 1899. This devaluation, part of an American colonial strategy of dominance, was due in part to the reliance of the Spanish in the Philippines on non-Darwinian concepts, such as those of George Buffon and Jean Baptiste Lamarck.

Finally, Malcolm Draper's "The Salmonization of the South: Colonization, Acclimatization, and Conservation in New Zealand and South Africa" compared two cases of the acclimatization of the *salmonidae*—a family of fish including both trout and salmon—in New Zealand and South Africa. The introduction of *salmonidae* was much easier in New Zealand than in South Africa due to the fragile nature of the water supply in the latter country. This led, as Draper demonstrated, to the "trout wars" in South Africa, where Scottish settlers saw the establishment of their totem species of fish as a sign of ecological health. In New Zealand, on the other hand, salmon were well-established as both wild and farmed populations, but there were great controversies over the commercial farming of trout.

In the final session, "Reflections on the Historiography of Colonial Environmental History," Richard Grove brought the contributions of the conference together by offering comments on the individual papers. One of the most important themes to emerge from the discussion that followed was the realization that the study of the ecological impacts of empires should be recognized as an integral part of the study of global environmental history. Within the study of colonial environmental history itself, Grove called for more attention to be paid to the impact of colonial states on environments located outside of the tropical zone, and

sought to place the study of colonial environmental history within a history of global climate change. The discussion concluded by noting the remarkable continuities shown in these papers of the interactions of pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial states with the environment. This suggests that the ideology of colonialism can be interpreted within environmental history much more broadly than has been the case in other fields of study. The conference therefore provided good opportunity to examine debates on colonialism theory, reassess the current state of the field, and look toward promising future directions for studies of colonialism and environment.

Christina Folke Ax
Niels Brimnes
Niklas Thode Jensen
Karen Oslund

OSTPOLITIK, 1969–1974: THE EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL RESPONSE

Conference at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, May 12–13, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI and the Mershon Center. Conveners: Carole Fink (Ohio State University) and Bernd Schaefer (GHI).

Participants: Uta Balbier (Hamburg Institute for Social Research), Alan Beyerchen (Ohio State University), David Curp (Ohio University), Tilman Dederig (University of Pretoria), Andrey Edemskiy (Russian Academy of Sciences), Alexei Filitov (Russian Academy of Sciences), Norman Goda (Ohio University), William G. Gray (Purdue University), Amit Das Gupta (Institute of Contemporary History, Berlin), Richard Herrmann (Ohio State University), David Hoffmann (Ohio State University), H. Gerald Hughes (University of Wales), Jacques Hymans (Smith College), Wanda Jarzabek (Polish Academy of Sciences), Milan Kosanovic (University of Bonn), Sara Lorenzini (University of Trento), Gottfried Niedhart (University of Mannheim), Meung-Hoan Noh (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul), Chester Pach (Ohio University), Marie-Pierre Rey (University of Paris-VI), David Stone (Kansas State University), Oldrich Tuma (Institute of Contemporary History, Prague), Corinna Unger (GHI), Irwin Wall (University of California, Riverside).

Neue Ostpolitik is usually associated with Willy Brandt and the Federal Republic's opening toward Central and Eastern Europe. Less well-known is *Ostpolitik*'s profound impact on nations outside Europe. India, China, the two Koreas, South Africa, and Israel were affected to varying degrees by the consequences of Brandt's *Ostpolitik*. Simultaneously, *Ostpolitik* strongly influenced the Western Allies' politics toward and within Europe, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), China's position vis-à-vis the West and the Soviet Union, and the policy of non-proliferation associated with détente. The complex interaction between West German *Ostpolitik* and international politics from the late 1960s through the mid-1970s was the topic of an international conference that took into consideration recently released archival documents shedding new light on many aspects of the Cold War, détente, and the inner dynamics of international history.

The conference's first panel dealt with "The East European Response" to *Ostpolitik*. Wanda Jarzabek described Poland's anxiety about the new policy, an anxiety that stemmed from Polish fear of a German-

Soviet agreement—a second Rapallo—and a revision of the Oder-Neisse line. Simultaneously, Poland tried to encourage closer cooperation within the Eastern bloc in order to formulate a cohesive response to Brandt's *Ostpolitik* as a means to keep Germany divided and limit its strength. However, neither the Warsaw Pact members nor the Soviet Union showed particular interest in Poland's proposals. The distrust toward Germany dissipated when generational change set in after 1970, making way for more constructive negotiations with the Federal Republic and, ultimately, the normalization of Polish-West German relations. Improving Czechoslovak relations with the FRG took much longer, as Oldrich Tuma showed in his presentation. This delay was due to the emotionally burdened legacy of the 1938 Munich Agreement as well as to the nationalist stance adopted by the Czech government-in-exile. Negotiations between the CSSR and the FRG therefore proceeded very slowly, even though Moscow lent assistance to both sides. In the meantime, Tito's Yugoslavia, as one of the leading powers within the nonaligned movement, unsuccessfully tried to convince West Germany to construct a common development policy in the Third World, Milan Kosanovic reported. Despite its international standing, Yugoslavia, the first country to which the Hallstein Doctrine was applied after it had recognized the GDR in 1957, remained economically dependent on the FRG even after relations were restored in 1968. Economic interests and fears of German imperial tendencies heavily influenced all Eastern and south-Central European reactions to *Ostpolitik*. Rapprochement was facilitated by socialist governments' hopes that a West German Social Democratic administration would better understand their situation. Apart from such common features, national differences within the bloc remained visible throughout. Whereas German responsibility for war crimes complicated rapprochement efforts with Poland, the CSSR was never offered such political symbolism by West Germany.

Overarching the bloc, the Soviet Union was particularly eager to advance détente and rapprochement, as Andrey Edemskiy showed on the basis of archival material, some well-known and some newly available. After the Soviet sphere of influence had been internationally recognized in the aftermath of the 1968 Prague intervention, the Politburo considered establishing a socialist countries' confederation in order to unify the Eastern bloc. Brandt's *Ostpolitik* fell on fruitful soil in the Soviet Union, for Gromyko was pleading to accept the realities and Andropov and Brezhnev were working toward normalizing relations with the FRG and establishing a European peace conference. Brezhnev developed a close working relationship with Brandt, which was nurtured by the back channel between Bonn and Moscow as well as by Soviet propaganda aimed at calming the Soviet population's fear of a German attack

after the signing of the Moscow Treaty. While they succeeded in improving relations with the FRG on the basis of cultural exchange, Brezhnev and the Politburo increasingly lost faith in the East German government, Edemskiy argued. Brandt's resignation proved a major setback for Soviet-West German rapprochement. In addition, although the USSR admitted its weakness by accepting the need for détente, it never considered relinquishing its hegemonic control over the socialist countries and proved decisive in making rapprochement happen.

The second panel dealt with cultural and economic relations as well as the impact of the CSCE in "Altering the Divide in Europe." Uta Balbier's paper on German Olympic politics under the waning influence of the Hallstein Doctrine gave an impression not only of the scope of the German-German competition but also of how sports, as soft power, could help to shape national politics and identity. When the East German flag was flown for the first time in 1969, this marked the beginning of a new phase of West German policy toward the GDR and thus a new phase of *Ostpolitik*. David Stone, in his paper on Comecon's International Investment Bank, showed that not everything that happened during the late 1960s and 1970s was a direct result of *Ostpolitik*. The IIB, which distributed Western loans to the socialist countries, was not the result of increasing Western investments but rather grew out of the need for economic reform within the Eastern bloc. Behind that need stood Eastern Europe's fear of Germany and the resulting attempt to prevent German unification by tying in the GDR and integrating the bloc. While fears of German aggression may appear preposterous from today's vantage point, efforts to prevent the implementation of West German revisionism were not entirely unreasonable, as Gottfried Niedhart made clear in his presentation on the CSCE. According to Niedhart, Brandt's *Ostpolitik* aimed at securing for the FRG the right to peacefully revise its borders, whereas the foremost goal of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, was to settle their borders once and for all. This latter point was echoed by Alexei Filitov, who, though unable to attend in person, argued in a paper on the Moscow Treaty that the signing of the 1970 treaty, despite critical differences between West German and Soviet objectives, had been made possible by Egon Bahr's negotiating skills, the lack of efficiency in Soviet decision-making, and the FRG's acceptance of the Brezhnev Doctrine. The discussion centered on the problem of balancing stabilization with subversion as practiced by the SPD vis-à-vis the Eastern bloc. This question arose several times over the course of the conference, as did the question of continuity between Weimar and Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, both of which were characterized by peaceful revisionism.

The following panel turned the participants' attention to global responses to *Ostpolitik*. Tilman Dederich showed how South Africa actively

tried to make use of *Ostpolitik's* underlying concept of "*Wandel durch Annäherung*." Portraying apartheid as a multicultural conflict among different nationalities, the South African government tried to improve its international reputation by pretending to aim at a pragmatic arrangement with the "black nation" as well as with other African nations—an effort really meant to entrench apartheid. However, international skepticism increased in the early 1970s, and the artificial division between economic and political cooperation with the apartheid state was called into question. In addition, when *Ostpolitik* began to reduce tensions between the FRG and the GDR, development aid to Africa lost its former instrumental use. Sara Lorenzini, who could not attend the conference but provided a paper, addressed the impact of this policy change on Africa: Beginning in the mid-1960s, competition between East and West in the field of development aid was to be replaced by cooperation in order to help the Third World and to overcome the East-West divide. Despite such early efforts toward détente, Cold War thinking remained prominent, and the Western countries' reluctance to commit themselves to giving a greater share of their GNP to the Third World prevented success. In the meantime, South Africa became increasingly isolated, denouncing détente as a communist plot. In this regard *Ostpolitik* helped to strengthen Western Europe's integrity. The European community was positively affected by France's efforts toward détente since the mid-1960s, as Marie-Pierre Rey, whose paper was read in her absence, described in her account of France's simultaneous support for the USSR and Brandt's *Ostpolitik*. Pompidou had started cooperation with Moscow early on and therefore welcomed West German efforts at rapprochement with the East, hoping that this might bolster France's attempts to end the Cold War and extend the Western system eastwards. On the other hand, he feared that the FRG might challenge France's lead in détente politics, become too self-confident, if not nationalist, and tend toward Finlandization. In order not to appear to be copying Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, France refrained from signing a treaty with the USSR and supported the FRG in the CSCE talks, thereby strengthening the European agenda. European interests also figured prominently in Britain's perspective on West German *Ostpolitik*, which the British Foreign Office regarded as heavily burdened by the memory of the 1938 Munich Agreement, the "betrayal" of the CSSR. Great Britain therefore supported Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, which set aside the legacy of Munich and Potsdam by acknowledging the Eastern borders, although it did not declare the 1938 agreement null and void as demanded by the Czechoslovak side. Unlike the Foreign Office, the British public focused less on the past and more on Great Britain's entrance into the European Community, which seemed to hold the possibility for the UK to become a leader in Europe and a bridge to the United States, especially within the

CSCE process. Similar to the French and British position, the United States' uneasiness about *Ostpolitik*, which Irwin Wall in his paper characterized as "overdetermined," was due to fears that the FRG might become too strong or slide into the Eastern bloc by attempting to reach unification. The U.S. administration therefore tried to give the West Germans the impression that the German question was progressing while simultaneously working to secure the status quo. As the panel's discussion made very clear, the Nixon administration was quite skeptical of Brandt's activities and would not have regretted his defeat in the 1972 election. At the same time, the extensive use of Kissinger as a back channel and the resulting disadvantage to the Department of State vis-à-vis the National Security Council complicated the formulation of a coherent U.S. position on Germany. Kissinger tried to control détente through the negotiations over the Berlin Agreement, yet he had to acknowledge that American influence on European détente was limited. In this regard, the controversial Nixon Doctrine was related only indirectly to détente, being much more the result of Vietnam and the Third World. Here it once again became clear that *Ostpolitik* was not the only factor influencing international politics in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but instead was part of a larger shift in priorities and interests that changed relations among the different blocs and alliances as part of global détente and domestic developments.

The same phenomenon could also be observed in Asia. The South Korean government regarded West German *Ostpolitik* as a role model for overcoming partition, and the FRG monitored the Korean case closely. However, strong intra-Korean mistrust combined with ideological divergence to make rapprochement difficult, eventually resulting in the reinforcement of Korea's division, Meung-Hoan Noh stated. India witnessed grave crises, too, but managed to overcome them more constructively, Amit Das Gupta argued in his paper on South Asia. He showed that, along with good personal relations between Indira Gandhi and Willy Brandt and the latter's good standing with the Indian public, the discarding of the Hallstein Doctrine provided the basis for improved relations. India was willing to defer recognition of the GDR until the FRG had settled its issues with East Berlin. Likewise, when the Pakistan-Bangladesh crisis of 1971/72 presented India with a major challenge, improved relations with West Germany proved much more useful to India than the GDR's support, a visible sign of the fact that, due to *Ostpolitik* and détente, international competition for India's favor had lost much of its former intensity. China, according to Bernd Schaefer, perceived Brandt's *Ostpolitik* in a much different way. Opposing *Ostpolitik* and favoring German unification was part of China's overall strategy to undermine the Soviet Union's hegemony. This strategy included portray-

ing the GDR temporarily as the USSR's victim, a move the GDR, in need of Moscow's support, did not dare to make. Brandt, in the meantime, never considered playing the China card in negotiations with the Soviet Union, making rapprochement with the USSR his foremost priority. In Mao's China, this resulted in fears of the Soviet Union starting a war in the Far East now that it was freed from the European burden.

The panel's discussion centered on two questions: the Western European perception of the risk of Soviet expansion, which some thought diminished in the early 1970s, and the Federal Republic's view of other divided countries and its corresponding self-image. Did the FRG not acknowledge the contradiction between recognizing North Korea, Bangladesh, and the People's Republic of China while demanding that other countries not recognize the GDR? This question, posed by Jacques Hymans, led to a discussion about the concept of self-determination, another element that seemed to provide a link from Brandt's *Ostpolitik* to Weimar.

In the last paper on global responses to *Ostpolitik*, Carole Fink reviewed Israel's relations with the FRG under the Brandt government. She contrasted West Germany's view of Israel as a "special" case until 1969 with the social-liberal coalition's efforts to achieve "normal" relations with Israel. This was based on the FRG's growing self-confidence as a European and international player, the SPD's opposition to Israeli settlement politics in Gaza, and West Germany's awareness of its economic dependence on Arab oil. Contrary to the Federal Republic, whose self-image had undergone important changes since the 1960s, Israel remained heavily influenced by its founding generation and, under Golda Meir's government, became increasingly isolated after the Six-Day War and more and more dependent on the United States. As became clear in the discussion, Israel, as a by-product of the Cold War, suffered from West German attempts to end the Cold War. In addition, West German-Israeli relations were burdened by the FRG's opposition to the use of force in order to reach national unification and by Israel's demands for reparations and restitution. *Ostpolitik* played its part in estranging both countries and temporarily ending their formerly "special" relationship.

The conference's last panel focused on "The Nuclear Question" and the problem of non-proliferation within the context of *Ostpolitik*. William Gray gave an account of West Germany's attempts to take the lead among the non-nuclear powers, which was furthered by Brandt's successful use of his moral credentials. Below that highly symbolic level, the FRG did not hesitate to engage in nuclear trade with other countries, thereby not living up to its own high moral standards. Jacques Hymans, on the basis of Social Identity Theory, argued differently. In his paper on the identity politics of non-nuclear-weapons states, he tried to show that West Germany took the lead in supporting the Non-Proliferation Treaty because of

its feeling of international responsibility. However, the FRG's support of Argentina's demands for nuclear technology and Argentina's failure to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty showed not only the risks of such empathy but of détente, too. Despite their different interpretations, both papers spoke of the Brandt government's aspirations to earn the Federal Republic an international standing as a "normal," yet leading European state.

The final discussion attested to the range of problems the conference had addressed: the relevance of individual actors and of different generations; the importance of economic interests; in the case of the FRG, problems of morality, guilt, and the wish for normalcy; continuity between Weimar and *Ostpolitik* revisionism and the latter's inherent tension between subversion and stability; and the overall connection between *Ostpolitik*, détente, and the end of the Cold War. From an economic point of view, "*Magnettheorie*," with its emphasis on the FRG's attractive power as a wealthy capitalist state, seemed to have been realized. However, economic success alone was not enough to resolve the enmity between East and West. Sine qua non was the consolidation of the West German democracy and its abandonment of revanchism, a task the Brandt government embraced with great determination, even though it thereby ran the risk of "betraying" the Eastern European dissidents' efforts to undermine Soviet hegemony. In general, *Ostpolitik*'s limits could not be ignored, and *Ostpolitik* as a whole might have to content itself with existence as a subcategory of global détente. This leads to a new perspective: With *Ostpolitik* obviously having global consequences, it seems worthwhile to take a closer look at transnational phenomena transcending national borders and political blocs. The range of new insights on *Ostpolitik* and its global impact offered at this conference have laid the foundation for deeper investigations into many fascinating methodological and conceptual issues of diplomatic, international, and transnational history.

Corinna R. Unger

ELZBIETA SIKORSKA: FOREST DRAWINGS

Art Exhibit. Opening Reception at the GHI, May 13, 2006. Organizer: Kelly McCullough (GHI). Speaker: Laura Katzman (Randolph-Macon Woman's College).

The GHI hosted the exhibition Elzbieta Sikorska: Forest Drawings (May 13-June 30, 2006), which aligns with the institute's long-standing commitment to examining the social, historical, cultural, and political dimensions of landscape and the natural environment. A native of Poland, Sikorska (b. 1950) earned her MFA in 1974 from the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, and has exhibited her paintings, drawings, and prints both nationally and internationally for over thirty years. She was represented by the venerable Addison Ripley Gallery in Washington, DC (1988–1998), and currently shows with Reeves Contemporary in New York's Chelsea district. Sikorska has been awarded several prestigious artist residencies in Vermont, Maryland, and Virginia, and her work is in the collection of the National Museum of Women in the Arts, among other noted museums. Forest Drawings was inaugurated at the GHI on May 13, 2006 by Laura Katzman, who delivered the following introductory lecture.

I am honored to speak this evening at the German Historical Institute on the occasion of the opening of Elzbieta Sikorska's exhibition, a selection of the artist's expressionistic drawings of wooded landscapes in and around Silver Spring, Maryland. As I was preparing my remarks, I recognized the appropriateness of presenting Sikorska's work at the GHI, for even though the artist was born and educated in Poland, her first move to the democratic West from communist Poland was in fact to West Berlin, in 1985, just four years before the Berlin Wall came down. Although Sikorska's time in the formerly divided city was relatively brief (she immigrated to the United States in 1986), it proved prophetic, as it was in Berlin that she connected with the American academic Richard Pettit, who was riveted by her work when viewing it in Warsaw and subsequently installed it in his Charlottenburg gallery: *Magasin Provençal*. This exhibition planted the seeds for the next phase of the artist's life and career in America.

Sikorska's émigré experience from Poland, though certainly unique, also symbolized the unraveling of the Soviet experiment at large, even if she did not know personally the tumultuous events that were to unfold so soon after her break from Warsaw and Berlin. The charged atmosphere in which she was working in these years was well-articulated by curator Lisa Lewenz in a press release for a 2003 exhibition she organized on

Sikorska's drawings for the Maryland Art Place in Baltimore. Lewenz wrote:

This was . . . an astonishing moment in history, when Mikhail Gorbachev's *Perestroika* had led to elections in Poland that opened its borders to every citizen, offering even people with limited means a "back door" around the Berlin Wall. The timing of Sikorska's chosen move to America [via West Berlin] is even more poignant when considering that only a year after her arrival, at the height of the Cold War, President Ronald Reagan stood before the Berlin Wall and proclaimed "If you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe . . . come here to this gate . . . open this gate . . . Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall." While these [watershed] events were separate from the artist, it seems impossible to disengage [such critical] moments from our memory when viewing Sikorska's work.

One does not find direct visual evidence of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the demise of Communism, or even the embrace of the West in Sikorska's production; indeed, there is nothing overtly political or literal in the artist's multi-layered pictures. And yet, her experience as a citizen of a former Soviet bloc country in Western capitalist societies has informed her art in more subtle ways: namely, in the strong sense of place that pervades her work. In her paintings, drawings, and prints, Sikorska grapples quite profoundly with how we as human beings physically and emotionally connect to place and how we negotiate and structure our space, both public and private.

After Sikorska settled in Maryland (via New Hampshire), she had a transformational encounter with the majestic open vistas and intense sunlight of New Mexico. It was at this time that the artist focused on pure landscape imagery (as opposed to landscape as a backdrop to human drama, as it had functioned in her previous work). As a newcomer to America who had not yet mastered the English language or established strong bonds with Americans, Sikorska used landscape as a primal means to connect to this foreign land. She recently reflected:

My move to the U.S. in 1986 brought major changes to my work, and I struggled for some time to assess my new surroundings and make artistic sense of all the new impressions. I tried to find a closer connection to my new reality, and nature proved to be at the center of it. I began to focus again on landscapes, the interaction of color, light, and movement.

Landscape has served Sikorska well for the past twenty years, as nature offers endless fodder for her fertile imagination, her sharp eye,

and her stunning if not awe-inspiring technical facility. She has rendered nature in paint, graphite, conte crayon, pastel, and in a variety of mixed media. Innovative and experimental in her image making, she recently returned with joyous, almost child-like energy to etching, the medium in which she was trained in Warsaw, collaborating with master printers at the notable Pyramid Atlantic Art Center.

Sikorska's oversized drawings of the densely rich activity of forest floors at first glance offer a romantic refuge from our hard-edged urban worlds. Yet these drawings are anything but comforting, as the artist gives us nature in intense states of fertility and decay: subtle and stark, splendid and wrathful. She inventively extracts elements from photographs she takes while walking in the woods, which adds an extra, almost mystical, aura to her "realism." I put "realism" in quotation marks because while her work makes some reference to the chilling naturalism of Casper David Friedrich's Romantic landscapes of the early nineteenth century, it shares even more, I believe, with the abstracted, other-worldly landscapes of the later Symbolist movement. Drawing on both traditions, Sikorska transforms familiar topographies into ambiguous zones that reach far beyond the observed subjects.

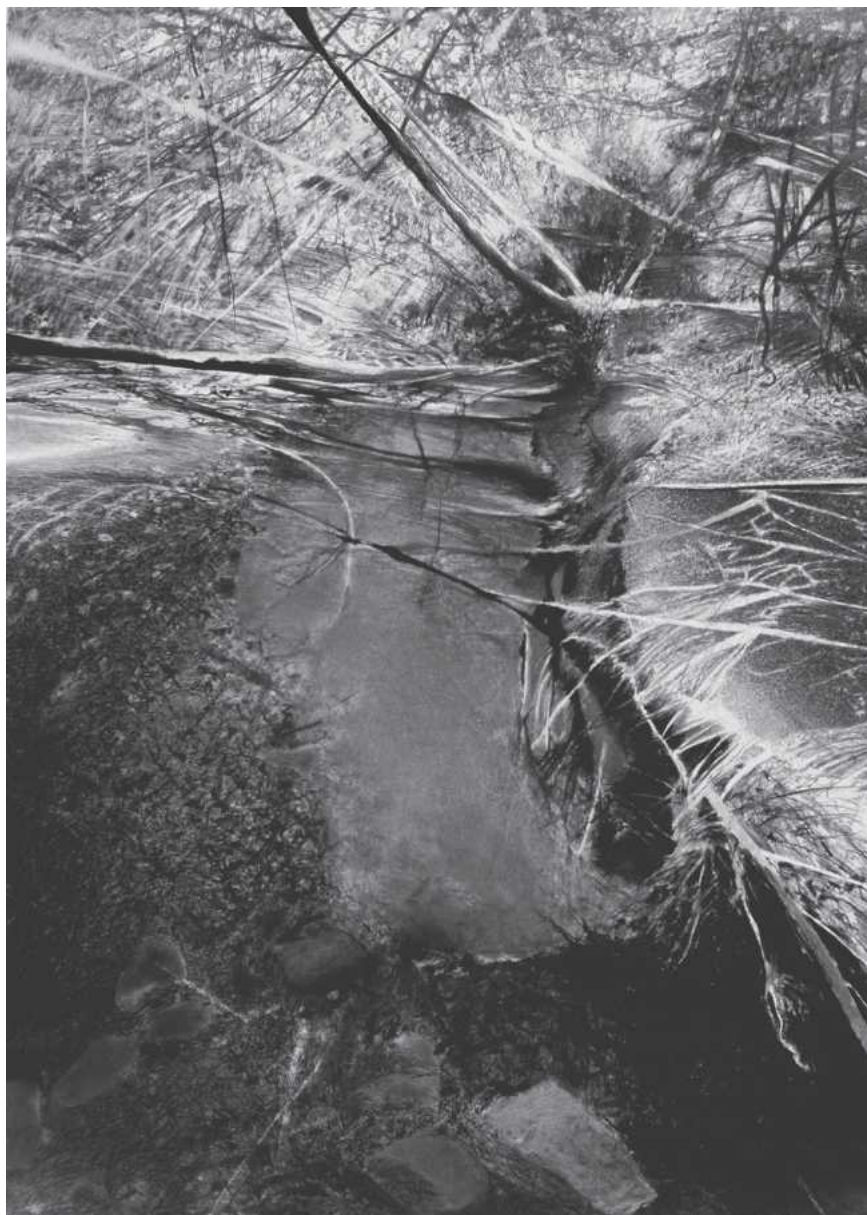
Sikorska imposes a powerful organizing structure onto her subjects, as in *Diamond* (2001) [Fig.1], where a twisted, elbow-like tree trunk, along with velvety reflections, wiry roots, and shadowy paths, at once bifurcate the space and propel us into the unusual ground-level scene. Up close, chaos abounds, as her frenzied markings, hatchings, rubbings, and squiggles, simulating the textures of grasses, branches, brush, and earth, compete for space in a wildly abstract universe. *Dead End* (2003) [Fig.2] displays similar tensions. Exuberant light and fresh green color flood and illuminate the picture, but their origins, along with the precarious gulf between the two sides of the central stream, bridged only by spindly roots and thinly stretched branches, mystify if not alarm.

Where are we in Sikorska's strange woods? Unsettling titles like *Obstacles* (2003) and *Dead End* do not place us on terra firma. Is Sikorska evoking her own uncertain journey from Poland to America during the late Cold War, or is she compelling us to question our place in the woods, a metaphor for the larger world? Either way, this nature-sorceress remarkably transports us from a physical to a psychic realm, which gives her drawings a penetrating psychological charge that places her work among the most compelling landscape painting of our time.

In conclusion, I leave you to ponder one basic yet essential truth about Ela Sikorska, and that is that she does not simply transcribe nature. Rather, like all artists of depth and vision, she does something much more complex and enduring. As she moves in closer and closer to nature, she wants, in her words, "to force the viewer to confront nature in the raw,



Elzbieta Sikorska, *Diamond* (2001)



Elzbieta Sikorska, *Dead End* (2003)

and to experience some of the innate tension in it . . . these close-up landscape images may be seen as a mirror to our emotions, to certain states of the human condition. At the same time [she says she is] trying to reveal the hidden, underlying structure in nature and illustrate the broader patterns of harmony.”

Sikorska’s landscapes thus look both outward and inward. They are not only about a specific place or space, at once physical and psychic, but they are also about how we as viewers experience that place, or rather, how we internalize what remains of an observed space when it is filtered through time, memory, and emotion. This is no small feat for a traditional medium and subject in our forward-looking digital age.

ARCHIVAL SUMMER SEMINAR IN GERMANY, 2006

Seminar in Koblenz, Cologne, and Weimar, June 19–30, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI, the Bundesarchiv Koblenz, and the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz. Convener: Anke Ortlepp (GHI).

In this year's Archival Summer Seminar, ten graduate students from North American universities traveled to Germany. From June 19 to June 30, the group visited research institutions and met with archivists and scholars in Koblenz, Cologne, and Weimar. The aim of the seminar was to introduce these young scholars to the practical aspects of their prospective dissertation research in German archives and libraries. To achieve this goal, participants learned to read documents in various types of old German handwriting. They visited different local, state, and federal archives and libraries to develop a sense of the diversity of the research institutions available. They also met with German and American scholars engaged in archival research to discuss research methods and practices.

As in previous years, Koblenz once again served as the starting point. Walter Rummel of the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz was our instructor for the first week, during which he offered five sessions on paleography. He prepared examples of different handwriting ranging from the sixteenth through the twentieth century. After a brief introduction to the history of how German handwriting evolved, the participants soon moved on to practical exercises, reading texts aloud or transcribing them.

Koblenz also is the home of the Bundesarchiv. Archivist Jörg Filthaut took the group on a backstage tour of the facilities, explained the philosophy of storing and preserving files, and introduced the participants to the peculiarities of the German *Verwaltung*, including the hierarchies indicated by different ink colors and the "secret signs" researchers can find on contemporary documents. At the Bundesarchiv, the group also met with Till van Rahden of the University of Cologne. He shared his experience doing research for both his current research project (notions of fatherhood in postwar Germany) and his previous one (a history of Jews and other Germans in turn-of-the-century Breslau). With great enthusiasm he explained how to establish first contact with an archive, how to identify relevant source material, take notes, manage time, and organize the newfound material in order to prepare for the writing phase.

In Cologne, the group spent the first day at the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Germany's largest community repository. Archivists Thomas Deres and Letha Böhringer introduced the group to the multifaceted history of Cologne and showed them some of the archive's most valuable and curious pieces. Among them was a copy of the *Verbundbrief* of the city of Cologne as well as a number of documents, pictures, and

maps documenting the history of the Cologne soccer stadium, one of the arenas for this year's soccer World Cup, which drew the attention of the participants in their spare time.

On the second day, the group was welcomed to the Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln. Archivist Joachim Oepen introduced the participants to the holdings of the archive and explained the intricate story of the provenance of records against the backdrop of a seemingly ever-changing territorial map, populated with archbishops and Electors (*Kurfürsten*), who might even appear in personal union and who constantly rearranged their territories.

On the same day, the seminar participants were invited to visit the August Sander photo archive, administered by the SK Stiftung Kultur. Sander can rightly claim his place as one of the most important photographers of the twentieth century. He is best known for his "People of the Twentieth Century," a collection of several hundred portraits of people from different social backgrounds. Sander took these portraits during the 1920s. At the time, his pictures were cutting-edge work in photography and are today seen in the context of *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Besides holding the August Sander Archive, the SK Stiftung Kultur currently exhibits photography of Bernd and Hilla Becher. Their exhibit "Zeche Concordia" documents the industrial architecture of a coalmine after its shutdown and shortly before its demolition. Claudia Schubert of SK Stiftung Kultur gave the group an insightful tour of the exhibition.

The last stop in Cologne was the EL-DE Haus. Formerly the Gestapo headquarters, the EL-DE Haus was turned into a museum and research center in the 1980s. It houses an exhibition on Cologne during National Socialism and incorporates the former prisoner cells in the basement and, a rare and disquieting feature, the prisoners' graffiti on the walls of the cells. The director of EL-DE Haus, Werner Jung, led the group through the exhibition and took the time for a discussion about the history of the site, the concept of the exhibition, and the challenges to research the history of everyday life in Nazi Germany in general and in Cologne in particular.

On Wednesday of the second week, the group traveled to Weimar to visit the Gedenkstätte Buchenwald and the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek. At Buchenwald, Roland Werner led the participants on an extensive tour of the grounds of the former Nazi concentration camp and the special camp that followed under the control of the Soviet military administration. He gave an introduction to the work of the memorial foundation and elaborated on the different ways in which the grounds are now used and were used in the German Democratic Republic to remember the Holocaust. Harry Stein then introduced the group to the archaeological work that he and his colleagues undertake. He gave a tour of the rich collection of everyday objects that the excavations of several garbage

dumps on the camp grounds have produced and explained how these objects enable historians to reconstruct everyday life in the camp. Archivist Sabine Stein then presented the participants with the collection of official camp records that the Gedenkstätte holds and that are mainly used to answer inquiries by former inmates or their families. To conclude, Holm Kirsten introduced a DFG-funded research project that aims at making the vast collection of photographic material accessible that the foundation owns. He explained how historians can work with photographs as primary source material and how databases can be used as research and organizational tools.

The summer seminar's last day started off with an extensive tour of the Herzogin Anna Amalia Library. Director Michael Knoche introduced the participants to the different features of the research library's new building (which was unaffected by the fire that ravaged the old rococo library and reading room two years ago) and its extensive holdings as one of the biggest repositories for German classic writing and literature.

In addition, the group attended several small workshops. Johannes Mangei introduced participants to the use of several bibliographies and in addition gave an overview of the German library system, explaining what a student can expect to find in a university library, a seminar library, or a public library, and how German library catalogues are organized. He and his colleague Matthias Hageböck then presented the group with examples from the library's vast collection of *Personal- und Gelegenheitsschriften*, elaborately decorated texts that were commissioned as, for example, birthday gifts for the reigning duke. Last but not least, Annett Carius-Kiehne discussed how the library deals with books and other materials that have been classified as *Nazi-Raubgut*.

The two-week seminar ended with a lively presentation by Dorothee Brantz from SUNY Buffalo. Drawing on her research experience for her book project "Slaughter in the City: The Rise of Modern Abattoirs in Nineteenth-Century Paris, Berlin, and Chicago," she provided valuable tips from the perspective of a former American graduate student working on a limited time and financial budget without the chance to return to an archive to check for a reference. Her presentation did not shy away from the "nitty gritty" of archival work, including some thoughts on note taking and taking a break during the intense weeks and months of primary research.

We would like to extend our heartfelt thanks to all the individuals and organizations that contributed to the 2006 Summer Seminar in Germany. An announcement of the program for the 2007 seminar can be found on our website at http://www.ghi-dc.org/scholarship_summer.html.

Anke Ortlepp

Summer Seminar Participants and Their Topics

DEBORAH A. BROWN, UCLA, dissertation project: "The Construction of Race in Post-World War I Germany"

BRADLEY COATES, McMaster University, dissertation project: "Czech, German or Bohemian: Sudeten German Identity and the Nazi Regime"

KIERRA CRAGO-SCHNEIDER, UCLA, dissertation project: "Interactions between German-Jewish Survivors and American Forces in post-Holocaust Germany"

MARC LANDRY, Georgetown University, dissertation project: "Tinkering with the Tower: Wildbachverbauung and Flood Control in the Alps, 1850–1914"

KRISTIN POLING, Harvard University, dissertation project: "The Defortification of the German City"

GLEN PETER RYLAND, University of Notre Dame, dissertation project: "Translating Africa in Germany: Rhenish Missionaries and German Notions of Race, 1829–1939"

STEPHEN J. SCALA, University of Maryland, College Park, dissertation project: "Foreign Policy Experts in East Germany and the Soviet Union, 1945–1971"

PETER STAUDENMAIER, Cornell University, dissertation project: "Race Thinking between Science and Spiritual Renewal: The Racial and Ethnic Doctrines of Rudolf Steiner and their Reception within the Early Anthroposophical Movement"

JASON L. STRANDQUIST, Pennsylvania State University, dissertation project: "Negotiating Decline: Luebeck's Creation of a New Identity in Early Modern Northern Europe, 1563–1618"

ALENA WILLIAMS, Columbia University, dissertation project: "Movement in Vision: Cinematic Experiments of the Avant-Garde, Berlin 1920–1930"

PÜCKLER AND AMERICA

Conference at the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau in Bad Muskau, June 22–25, 2006. Jointly organized by the GHI and the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau. Conveners: Sonja Dümpelmann (Auburn University, GHI) and Cord Panning (Stiftung Fürst Pückler Park Bad Muskau).

Participants: Hubertus Fischer (University of Hanover), Peter Goodchild (GARLAND The Garden and Heritage Trust, York), Gert Gröning (Universität der Künste Berlin), David Haney (University of Newcastle upon Tyne), Thomas Hansen (Wellesley College), Ulf Jacob (Berlin), Michael Lee (Rhode Island), Christof Mauch (GHI), Keith Morgan (Boston University), Daniel Nadenicek (Clemson University), Lance Neckar (University of Minnesota), Andreas Pahl (Stiftung Fürst Pückler Museum Park und Schloss Branitz), Linda Parshall (Washington, DC), Elizabeth Barlow Rogers (Foundation for Landscape Studies, New York), Michael Rohde (Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg), Erika Schmidt (Technical University, Dresden), Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (University of Hanover).

The writer and landscape designer Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871), known in Germany for his landscape gardens in Bad Muskau, Branitz, and Babelsberg, as well as for many of his writings such as his “Briefe eines Verstorbenen” (1830–31) and “Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei” (1834), never actually traveled to the United States. However, Pückler had in 1834 intended to cross the Atlantic and had, in fact, already planned his route on the North American continent. His American plans fell through and he traveled to North Africa instead. Even though Pückler himself never reached America, his literary works and knowledge of his landscape works did. The intentions of the conference “Pückler and America,” organized by the GHI and the Stiftung Fürst Pückler Park Bad Muskau, were to trace Pückler’s reception by writers and landscape architects in the United States and to enhance transnational and transatlantic scholarship in landscape history.

Elizabeth Barlow Rogers began the conference with an evening keynote speech in which she juxtaposed the landscape gardens of Prince Hermann von Pückler Muskau in the German states with the urban public parks of the social reformer Frederick Law Olmsted in the democratic United States. Despite the differences in intention, locale, and political context, Rogers also emphasized commonalities in the landscape works

of these two figures. Both Pückler and Olmsted were influenced by the romantic idea of nature as a means to remedy the ills of civilization and to foster national identity. Contextualizing these two prominent figures in German and American landscape history enabled Rogers to identify Pückler and Olmsted as two of the last figures indebted to Romanticism before landscape architects increasingly adopted a more formal design language and Beaux-Arts approach in park design.

Ulf Jacob opened the first conference day with a presentation of aspects of Pückler's biography. Jacob exemplified how an approach that combines sociological, historical, and art historical research methods can shed further light on Pückler, who is so often characterized by clichés such as dandy, adventurer and lady-killer. If Pückler, as Jacob showed, was influenced by the ideas of Saint-Simonism, he was later also receptive to Arthur Schopenhauer's philosophy. Jacob drew attention to childhood experiences and the influence of artists and intellectuals such as Leopold Schefer (1784–1862), Maximilian Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Grävell (1781–1860), and Joseph Emil Nürnberger (1779–1848), and to Pückler's consequently changeable philosophical convictions, which become visible in his symbolically laden landscapes at Bad Muskau and Branitz.

These landscapes as well as Pückler's work in Babelsberg Park were the subjects of three talks, by Cord Panning (Bad Muskau), Andreas Pahl (Branitz), and Michael Rohde (Babelsberg). Having gone bankrupt due to his extravagant lifestyle, which included his first landscaping experiences on his Bad Muskau estate, Pückler had to sell that estate, and in 1845 he moved to his smaller landholding in Branitz. There he continued his landscaping work, and would eventually be buried in the earth pyramid he constructed for this purpose. From the 1840s until 1867, Pückler also engaged in designing the new park for the Prussian Prince William, later the German emperor William I, and his wife Augusta in Babelsberg Park. While Pückler kept most of Peter Joseph Lenné's overall design, he added several narrow pathways, numerous young trees, and in particular set to work on the pleasure ground and other areas near the Schloss. Besides the history of these parks in Pückler's time, Panning, Pahl and Rohde also offered insights into subsequent developments and today's restoration and reconstruction work in the parks. Pückler's legacy and significance for landscape architecture in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany were discussed by Erika Schmidt. Peter Goodchild explored how the features of the picturesque and gardenesque discussed in British landscape gardening throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were used by Pückler in Germany and Andrew Jackson Downing in the United States. A tour of the German side of Park Bad Muskau provided the opportunity for an on-site exploration of some of the issues and design features discussed.

Gert Gröning began the afternoon session with an overview of "Pückler's significance for landscape architecture in America," which he structured into five phases: "the pre-professional phase," "the encyclopedic phase," "the enthusiastic phase," "the professional phase," and "the phase of mellowed professional interest." Gröning's structure permitted the observation that the knowledge and interest in Pückler among North American landscape architects reached its peak in the "enthusiastic" and "professional phases" at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Keith Morgan focused his attention on one of the most important figures with regard to the American reception of Pückler's landscape works. Charles Eliot Jr.'s enthusiasm for Pückler was based on his readings of Pückler's "Hints on Landscape Gardening" and his visit to Pückler's estate in Bad Muskau during his year of travel in Europe. Morgan showed how Eliot, appropriating and reinterpreting Pückler's working methods and design principles, adopted Pückler as a kind of mentor. Morgan exemplified Eliot's reception of Pückler with the landscape architect's designs for White Park in Concord, Massachusetts for the Pitcairn family commissions and his comprehensive plans for metropolitan Boston. David Haney further elaborated on Charles Eliot's importance for the reception of Pückler's works tracing the complex transfer of ideas in landscape architecture between Germany and America at the beginning of the twentieth century. Haney pointed to the German interest in Eliot's Boston metropolitan park system at the beginning of the twentieth century and revealed that landscape architects and planners such as Werner Hegemann and Leberecht Migge considered the vast open space systems developed for American cities useful models for future German city planning. Hegemann considered Eliot's works to have been influenced by Pückler and therefore claimed that they were also rooted in the German tradition.

The second day of the conference was dedicated to a discussion of Pückler's cultural world and literary fame. Comparing the literary figures Christian Cay Laurenz Hirschfeld and Prince Hermann Friedrich von Pückler Muskau, Linda Parshall discerned both differences and similarities in their descriptions of landscape. If Hirschfeld, according to Parshall, can be characterized as a sentimental albeit analytical exponent of the *beatus ille* tradition who to a certain degree anticipated the Romantic movement, Pückler clearly combined the pastoral and romantic. Both writers, however, considered language an inefficient means of adequately expressing feelings and experiences. In landscape gardening they found the superior art which could express "poetic sentiment." Parshall framed her presentation with insights into Edgar Allan Poe's reception of Pückler, which was elaborated on further by Thomas Hansen. Hansen analyzed Pückler's role in Poe's writings. Poe, who did not speak or read

German, knew of Pückler through the Prince's translator Sarah Austin (1793–1867). Intrigued by the English translations, Poe used them for his tales, especially for his "A Landscape Garden," later renamed "The Domain of Arnheim." Though Pückler inspired Poe's text, Hansen enumerated the contrasts between the two authors' concepts of art and nature. If Pückler believed in the artistic improvement of nature, Poe merely understood art to cause the change and decay of nature. Although Poe not only used some of Pückler's writings, but also a review of Andrew Jackson Downing's practical "Treatise on Landscape Gardening," his landscape in "The Domain of Arnheim" remained fantastic and illusionary.

Hubertus Fischer's topic was Pückler's "Briefe eines Verstorbenen." Fischer defined various character traits that distinguish Pückler's letters from the work of contemporary travel writers such as Heinrich Heine, Fontane, Fanny Lewald, and Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn. While Pückler aspired to Heine's "Portrait of a Journey" and deeply admired Walter Scott, his own literary accomplishments were both praised and looked at with critical distance by his fellow German writers. All factions, however, perceived his individuality. In fact, quite atypical for the genre, the Prince's letters were based on real correspondence, and like no other writer, Pückler described his objects in such a way that they evoked powerful illusions in the reader.

Before a guided tour led the conference participants through parts of the Polish side of Park Bad Muskau, Lance Neckar summed up issues relevant to the discussion of Pückler and his works in his paper "Pückler-Muskau: Imagination as *Weltanschauung*." Touching on manifold aspects of the cultural, social, and political context of Pückler's time, Neckar also posed the question of how Pückler's landscape writings and works can be compared to those of Andrew Jackson Downing, Horace William Shaler Cleveland, and Frederick Law Olmsted in the United States a few decades later. Daniel Nadenicek's paper provided material and observations for addressing this question. Nadenicek showed how the combination of the useful and the beautiful expressly sought by Pückler was also promoted by the American transcendentalists in the first half of the nineteenth century and consequently had an impact on the design philosophy of some of the first American landscape architects, namely Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903), Robert Morris Copeland (1830–74), and Horace William Shaler Cleveland (1814–1900). Nadenicek showed how transcendentalists such as Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) and Horacio Greenough (1805–1852) aimed at creating an American aesthetic based on the useful and functional, and considered landscape architecture an appropriate means. Olmsted, Copeland, and Cleveland shared transcendentalist beliefs. Whereas in his design work Olmsted seems to have been more influenced by Ruskin's aesthetic ideals, Nadenicek pointed out that

Copeland and Cleveland gave aesthetic expression to transcendentalist thought in their design for Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Concord. Avoiding artificial embellishment and using predominantly native plant species, Copeland and Cleveland carefully embedded their design into the existing landscape. Thus, they created a place that made people realize they were part of nature.

The last conference paper, presented by Michael G. Lee, gave insights into Pückler's role in Harvard University's landscape history curriculum throughout the twentieth century and until 2005. Researching the contents of the garden history courses in Harvard's landscape architecture department, Lee explored how Pückler was regarded by various landscape history professors and how their personal interests in different facets of Pückler's work shaped knowledge of German landscape history in the United States. Lee concluded that the continuing interest in Pückler and his landscapes and the neglect of other relevant German landscape architects of the same period, such as Peter Joseph Lenné, can be traced back to Olmsted's and Charles Eliot Jr.'s powerful legacies during the early years of Harvard's landscape program. Lee pointed out that this narrow view of landscape history in Germany has been broadened only in the last few decades.

In his concluding remarks, Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn summed up the main points made by the speakers. The conference on the American reception of Prince von Pückler Muskau's literary accomplishments and landscape gardens points out some relevant transatlantic connections in the realms of landscape architecture and literature. Wolschke-Bulmahn stressed the fact that the conference showed that more research into the international aspects of landscape architectural history is needed.

The conference was followed by a one-day tour of Pückler's landscape gardens in Branitz and Babelsberg. The group was guided by Andreas Pahl in Branitz and Michael Rohde and Karl Eisbein in Babelsberg. A publication based on selected papers of the conference is currently in preparation.

Sonja Dümpelmann

FELLOWS SEMINARS, SPRING 2006

The GHI's Fellows Seminars are a forum in which fellowship recipients and other visiting scholars present their research to the Research Fellows of the institute and interested scholars from local academic institutions. They are organized by Deputy Director Dirk Schumann. The GHI awards doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships for the duration of one to six months. These fellowships are designed for doctoral candidates and post-doctoral scholars whose research deals with one of the following fields: German history, the history of German-American relations, the role of Germany and the United States in international relations, and American history. For the application process, see the "Announcements" section of this *Bulletin*.

January 12 RALF BANKEN, Universität zu Köln
"Edelmetallmangel und Großraubbwirtschaft": Die Entwicklung des deutschen Edelmetallsektors und der nationalsozialistische Raub von Edelmetallen 1933–1945

KATJA NAUMANN, Universität Leipzig
Die Entgrenzung des historischen Raumes: Das Konzept der "Zivilisation" aus US-amerikanischer Perspektive am Beispiel der Universitäten Chicago, Columbia und Harvard, 1917–1968

ANDREAS ETGES, Kennedy-Institut, Freie Universität Berlin:
Dilettantes Abroad? "The Ugly American" und die amerikanische Außenpolitik in den späten 1950er und frühen 1960er Jahren

February 16 MISCHA HONECK, Universität Heidelberg
"In Pursuit of "Freedom": African-, Anglo-, and German-American Alliances in the Antislavery Movement, 1854–1865

MARKUS HÜNEMÖRDER, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
Right to Privacy: Bedeutung und Debatte in der amerikanischen Rechts- und Politikgeschichte

ANDREAS WIRSCHING, Universität Augsburg/Washington University, St. Louis
Gender, Work and the De-Standardization of the Life Course in Western European Societies ca. 1970–2000

March 30 ALEXANDRA PRZYREMBEL, Universität Göttingen
James Frazer, Sigmund Freud und die Entdeckung des Tabus im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert

- HELKE RAUSCH, Universität Leipzig
Transfer stiften? Amerikanische "Scientific philanthropy" in Frankreich, Deutschland und Großbritannien in den 1920er bis 1970er Jahren
- AXEL FAIR-SCHULZ, SUNY Buffalo
Gradenwitz-Brandeis-Kuczynski: Eight Generations From Enlightenment to Socialism and Beyond (1800–2000)
- April 27 STEFAN LUDWIG HOFFMANN, Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Kultur der Niederlage: Berlin unter Alliiertter Besatzung, 1945–1949
- GERALD STEINACHER, Universität Innsbruck
Braunes Eldorado? Italien als Fluchtweg von NS-Eliten und Kriegsverbrechern 1946–1955
- CAROLE FINK, Ohio State University
"A Thoroughly Difficult Time": West German-Israeli Relations, 1969–1974
- May 25 JULIA LAJUS, European University at St. Petersburg, Russia
Representation of National Natural Resources, Their Users and Usage on the International Scene: Exhibitions, Conferences and Informational Interchange in Fisheries
- TIM B. MÜLLER, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Die intellektuelle Erbschaft des OSS
- SASKIA RICHTER, Universität Göttingen
Petra Kelly (1947–1992): Aufstieg und Fall einer grünen Galionsfigur
- June 22 JAN SURMANN, Universität Hamburg
Shoah-Erinnerung und Restitution: Die US-Geschichtspolitik am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts
- HARTMUT BERGHOFF, Universität Göttingen/Harvard Business School
Gefälligkeitsdiktatur oder Tyrannei des Mangels? Konzeptionelle Vorüberlegungen zu einer Konsumgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus
- July 13 ALLISON EFFORD, Ohio State University
Carl Schurz, German Immigrants, and American Citizenship during Reconstruction, 1865–1877
- THOMAS LEKAN, University of South Carolina
Sublime Consumption: German Nature Tourism from Romanticism to Ecotourism, 1850–2000

ANNOUNCEMENTS: FELLOWSHIPS, PRIZES, SEMINARS

CALL FOR PAPERS

Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar 2007

German History, 1945–1990

Washington DC, May 2–5, 2007

The German Historical Institute in Washington DC and the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University are pleased to announce the 13th Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar in German History, which will take place in Washington DC on May 2–5, 2007.

The seminar brings together young scholars from Europe and North America who are nearing completion of their doctoral degrees. We plan to invite eight doctoral students from each side of the Atlantic to discuss their research projects. The organizers welcome proposals on any aspect of German history from 1945 to 1990. Doctoral students working in related disciplines—such as art history, legal history or the history of science—are also encouraged to apply, as are students working on comparative projects or on the history of Austria or German-speaking Switzerland. The discussions will be based on papers (in German or English) submitted in advance of the conference. The seminar will be conducted bilingually, in German and English. The organizers will cover travel and lodging expenses.

We are now accepting applications from doctoral students whose dissertations are at an advanced stage but who will be granted their degrees *after* June 2007. Applications should include a short (2–3 pp.) description of the dissertation project, a curriculum vitae, and a letter of reference from the major adviser. German-speaking applicants should submit their materials in German; English-speaking applicants in English. Questions may be directed to Dr. Richard F. Wetzell by email at r.wetzell@ghi-dc.org.

Applications and letters of reference must be received by December 1, 2006. They should be sent to Ms. Bärbel Thomas at the German Historical Institute and may be submitted by email, fax or regular mail:

German Historical Institute
Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar
Attn: Ms. Bärbel Thomas
1607 New Hampshire Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20009-2562
USA
Email: b.thomas@ghi-dc.org
Fax: (202) 387-6437

FRITZ STERN DISSERTATION PRIZE

Each year the Friends of the German Historical Institute award the Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize for the two best doctoral dissertations submitted in German history, German-American relations, or the history of Germans in North America. The winners are invited to the GHI to present their research at the annual symposium of the Friends in November. The prize winners receive an award of \$2,000 and reimbursement for travel to Washington DC. Their dissertations will be considered for inclusion in the "Publications of the German Historical Institute" Series published by Cambridge University Press.

Candidates are nominated by their dissertation advisors. Their dissertations must have been completed, defended, and authenticated between January 1 and December 31, 2006. The prize committee will accept nominations through *March 20, 2007*, and will announce the prize winners at the end of the summer.

Dissertation advisers should submit a letter of nomination along with an abstract (1-3 pp.) of the dissertation to:

German Historical Institute
Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize
1607 New Hampshire Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009-2562

For further details, please check our website at http://www.ghi-dc.org/scholarship_stern.html

DOCTORAL AND POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS

The GHI awards short-term fellowships to German and American doctoral students as well as postdoctoral scholars/*Habilitanden* in the fields of German history, the history of German-American relations, and the his-

tory of the role of Germany and the United States in international relations. These fellowships are also available to German doctoral students and postdoctoral scholars/*Habilitanden* in the field of American history. The fellowships are usually granted for periods of one to six months but, depending on the funds available, can be extended by one or more months. The research projects must draw upon primary sources located in the United States.

The GHI will not provide funding for preliminary research. It will give clear priority to those post-doc projects that are designed for the "second book." The monthly stipend is approximately € 1,600 for doctoral students and € 2,800 for postdoctoral scholars. In addition, fellowship recipients based in Germany will receive reimbursement for their roundtrip airfare to the United States. All fellowship recipients are required to present the results of their research at the GHI during their grant period.

The next deadlines for applications are October 15, 2006 and May 20, 2007. Applications (two copies) should include cover letter, curriculum vitae, proof of academic degree (or transcripts), project description (3,000 words), research schedule for the fellowship period, and at least one letter of reference. While applicants may write in either English or German, we recommend that they use the language in which they are most proficient. They will be notified about the outcome within approximately two months after the deadline. Please send applications to:

German Historical Institute
Doctoral/Postdoctoral Fellowships
1607 New Hampshire Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009-2562

KADE-HEIDEKING FELLOWSHIP

Funded by the Annette Kade Charitable Trust, the Kade-Heideking Fellowship is awarded annually to a German doctoral student working in one of the three wider areas to which the late Jürgen Heideking made significant contributions: American history and German-American relations from the early modern period to the present; international history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and twentieth-century German and European history.

This is a residential fellowship of twelve months' duration. It can be divided into two separate periods of six months. The recipient is expected to spend part of the fellowship period at the GHI and at the University of

Wisconsin in Madison. The stipend amount is \$30,000. Applications should include a cover letter, curriculum vitae, proof of academic degree, project description (8–10 pages), research schedule for the fellowship period, and two confidential letters of reference. A decision about funding is pending. As soon as it has been made, the deadline for applications will be posted on the GHI website at http://www.ghi-dc.org/scholarship_kade.html.

THYSSEN-HEIDEKING FELLOWSHIP

The German Historical Institute invites applications for a one-year post-doctoral fellowship in memory of the late Jürgen Heideking. The fellowship, supported by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, is intended for American scholars working in one of the three wider areas to which Professor Heideking made important contributions: American history and German-American relations from the early modern period to the present; international history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and twentieth-century German and European history.

The Thyssen-Heideking Fellow will receive a stipend of €25,000 (plus a family allowance if applicable) for a fellowship period of six to twelve months in residence at the University of Cologne to begin in 2007. The fellow will be expected to give one public lecture on his or her research. Applications should include a cover letter, curriculum vitae, proof of academic degree, project description (8–10 pages), research schedule for the fellowship period, and two confidential letters of reference. The application deadline is November 15, 2006. Please send applications to:

German Historical Institute
Thyssen-Heideking Fellowship
1607 New Hampshire Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009–2562

GHI-KÖRBER INTERNSHIP

Das Praktikum richtet sich an Preisträger des Geschichtswettbewerb des Bundespräsidenten, die sich am Ende oder kurz nach Abschluss des Geschichtsstudiums befinden und unter 30 Jahre alt sind. Das dreimonatige Praktikum findet am Deutschen Historischen Institut in Washington statt. Praktikanten erhalten Einblicke in die unterschiedlichen Arbeitsbereiche des Instituts und werden mit einem Forschungsprojekt betraut.

Die Körber-Stiftung in Hamburg übernimmt die Kosten für die Ausstellung eines Visums und die Reisekosten. Als Gesamtvergütung erhalten Praktikanten 800 Euro im Monat, die je zur Hälfte von der Körber Stiftung und dem Deutschen Historischen Institut getragen werden. Interessierte wenden sich bitte an Dr. Anke Ortlepp (ortlepp@ghi-dc.org).

INTERNSHIPS

The GHI Internship Program gives German and American students of history, political science, and library studies an opportunity to gain experience at a scholarly research institute. Interns assist with individual research projects, work for the library, take part in the preparation and hosting of conferences, and help with our publications. They receive a small stipend. The program is very flexible: the GHI tries to accommodate the interns' interests, abilities, and goals. A two-month minimum stay is required; a three-months stay is preferred. German students are strongly advised to familiarize themselves with the American visa requirements beforehand. The process of obtaining a visa has become complicated and expensive. Information is available at the website of the American Embassy in Berlin at www.usembassy.de. The GHI cooperates with an organization authorized by the State Department to issue the relevant papers to obtain a visa. Applicants accepted into the internship program will receive further information on the procedure in their acceptance letters. Applications should contain a cover letter, a CV, a letter of recommendation, and copies of *Zwischenprüfungs-* or *Abschlusszeugnis*. You may apply either in English or German. For further information please contact Dr. Anke Ortlepp (ortlepp@ghi-dc.org).

NEWS

FRANZ STEINER PRIZE 2006

The German Historical Institute is proud to announce that the 2006 Franz Steiner Prize for the best manuscript in transatlantic history will be awarded to Daniel Siemens for his manuscript "'A popular expression of individuality': Kriminalität, Justiz und Gesellschaft in der Gerichtsberichterstattung von Tageszeitungen in Berlin, Paris und Chicago, 1919 bis 1933," which will be published in the GHI's *Transatlantische Historische Studien* series in the Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart. The prize is being awarded for the first time this year. The prize money of €3500 was donated by the Franz Steiner Verlag. More than ten manuscripts were nominated for the prize and the committee had to choose among several very strong finalists. The prize committee consisted of Kathleen Conzen (University of Chicago), Gerhard Hirschfeld (University of Stuttgart; Director, Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte), Christof Mauch (GHI Washington, Committee Chair), Gisela Mettele (GHI Washington), and Thomas Schaber (Director, Franz Steiner Verlag). The prize will be awarded in a ceremony, sponsored by the Byrnes Institute, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Publishers, and the GHI, on October 26, 2006, in the Neues Schloss, Stuttgart. The recipient, Daniel Siemens, received his Ph.D. from Humboldt University in 2005. He is currently a visiting professor of history at Bielefeld University.

AWARDS FOR ADOLF CLUSS BOOK AND EXHIBIT

Henry-Russell Hitchcock Book Award

The Book *Adolf Cluss, Architect: From Germany to America*, edited by Alan Lessoff and Christof Mauch, was selected by the Victorian Society of America as the winner of the Henry-Russell Hitchcock Book Award for 2006. The award was presented to "the book which the Society considers to have made the most significant contribution to nineteenth-century studies in the prior year." The award was presented to Christof Mauch, director of the German Historical Institute, and Cynthia Field (Smithsonian Institution) at the Victorian Society's Annual meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, on May 20, 2006.

Leadership in History Award

The American Association for State and Local History (AASLH) announced that the Consortium for the Adolf Cluss Exhibition Project is the

recipient of an "Award of Merit" from the AASLH "Leadership in History" Awards for the project *Adolf Cluss, Architect: From Germany to America*. Christof Mauch (GHI) and William Gilcher (Goethe Institute) accepted the award on behalf of the consortium at a special banquet during the 2006 AASLH Annual Meeting on September 16, 2006, in Phoenix, Arizona. Other consortium members included the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Architectural History and Preservation, the Charles Sumner School Museum & Archives, and the Stadtarchiv Heilbronn.

VON OPPENFELD DONATION FOR ANTI-NAZI RESISTANCE PROJECT

The German Historical Institute and the Friends of the GHI are pleased to announce an important new project on the German resistance to Hitler that has been made possible by a generous gift from Judith and Horst von Oppenfeld. The von Oppenfeld gift will be used to publish a collection of documents on the anti-Nazi resistance in English translation. The collection will be the first to make primary source materials covering the entire anti-Nazi spectrum available to students. It will include the central documents pertaining to the Stauffenberg circle, working-class groups, religious activists, and student groups. The project will be overseen by Prof. Peter Hoffmann of McGill University, one of the leading experts on the German resistance. Donations like the von Oppenfelds' enable the GHI to undertake projects that would not otherwise be possible. The GHI and the Friends are very grateful to Judith and Horst von Oppenfeld for their remarkable generosity.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

1. New Books by GHI Research Fellows

CORINNA R. UNGER AND CLAUS-DIETER KROHN, eds., *Arnold Brecht (1884–1977): Demokratischer Beamter und politischer Wissenschaftler in Berlin und New York*, Transatlantische Historische Studien (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006)

CORINNA R. UNGER, *Ostforschung in Westdeutschland*, Studien zur Geschichte der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007)

THOMAS ZELLER, *Driving Germany: The Landscape of the German Autobahn, 1930–1970* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006)

2. Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge University Press)

JONATHAN ZATLIN, *The Currency of Socialism: Money and Political Culture in East Germany* (New York, 2006)

3. Transatlantische Historische Studien (Franz Steiner Verlag)

KATJA WÜSTENBECKER, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im ersten Weltkrieg: US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen* (Stuttgart, 2006)

CORNELIA WILHELM, *Deutsche Juden in Amerika: Bürgerliches Selbstbewusstsein und jüdische Identität in den Orden B'nai B'rith und Treue Schwestern, 1843–1914* (Stuttgart, 2006)

UTA GERHARDT, *Denken der Demokratie: Die Soziologie im atlantischen Transfer nach 1945. Vier Abhandlungen* (Stuttgart, 2007)

4. GHI Reference Guides

KEVIN OSTOYICH, *The German Society of Pennsylvania: A Guide to its Book and Manuscript Collections* (GHI Reference Guide 20, 2006)

5. Other Publications Supported by the GHI

SONJA DÜMPELMANN, ed., *The Pursuit of Public Happiness: Gardens and Parks in Europe and North America*, special issue of *Die Gartenkunst* 18/1 (2006)

BIRTE PFLEGER, *Ethnicity Matters: A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania* (Washington DC, 2006)

FRANK ZELKO AND CAROLIN BRINKMANN, eds., *Green Parties: Reflections on the First Three Decades* (Washington DC: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2006)

LIBRARY REPORT

We are very happy to report on the renovations in the library. The Reading Room received completely new built-in shelving. An effort was made to retain the special atmosphere of the room by having the new bookshelves match the wood and coloring of the existing wall paneling. To make room for more books, the new shelves are higher and more were added in the corners. The left end of the room was left without shelves to create space for the newspaper display and reading area. A new cabinet was also constructed in the foyer of the GHI to add room for the display

of our book series. Finally, new shelves were installed for our book stacks in Corcoran Street. These construction measures will guarantee expanded capacity for the library for years to come.

Three new acquisitions deserve special mention: the *Handwörterbuch der Wirtschaftswissenschaft* in 10 volumes; the encyclopedia *Europe 1450 to 1789*, which discusses Europe in the context of world history and includes developments in the arts, religion, politics, exploration, and warfare; and the three-volume *Deutsche Volksfront 1932–1939* by Ursula Langkau-Alex, which is a valuable addition to research on the history of exiled Germans between 1933 and 1945.

We would like to express our gratitude to the following people and institutions that donated books to the GHI library: Axel-Springer Unternehmensarchiv, Rosmarie Beier, Gillian Berchowitz, Berghahn Books, Suzanne Brown-Fleming, Malve Burns, Deutsche Bank, Deutsches Historisches Institut Rom, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Claus Heinrich Gattermann, Georg-Eckert-Institut, Harrassowitz, Robert T. Hennemeyer, Hans-Dieter Heumann, Peter Horwarth, Markus Hünemörder, Elisabeth Kaske, Patricia Kollander, Sven F. Kraemer, Stefan Krankenhagen, Alf Lüdtke, Elisabeth Mait, Christof Mauch, Mrs. Morton, Luzie Nahr, Martin Öffe, Stadtgemeinde Bozen, Gerald Steinacher, Olaf Stieglitz, Christoph Strupp, Studienverlag, Rainer Vollmar, Yale University Press, and the Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Forschung. We are especially grateful to Professor Armin Mruck of Towson University for his donation of more than a hundred books in the field of history.

RECIPIENTS OF GHI-FELLOWSHIPS FOR 2006/07

Postdoctoral/Habilitation Fellowships

LARS AMENDA, Universität Hamburg, "Chinesenviertel in westeuropäischen Hafenstädten. Eine transnationale Migrations- und Wahrnehmungsgeschichte 1900–1950."

JAN C. BEHREND, FU Berlin, "Metropolen der Moderne—Chicago, Berlin, Moskau. Stadtöffentlichkeit, Gewalt und Sozialreform zwischen Fin de siècle und Zeitalter der Extreme."

CHRISTOPH FRANZEN, Universität Frankfurt am Main, "Gestalt als Argument in der politischen Kommunikation der Zwischenkriegszeit."

MARTINA STEER, Universität Wien, "Erinnerung transnational. Die Mendelssohnjubiläen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert."

Doctoral Fellowships

CHAD FULWIDER, Emory University, "The Kaiser's Most Loyal Subjects? The German View of America and German-Americans During World War I." Adviser: Astrid M. Eckert.

SUSAN D. GLAZER, Brandeis University, "Business as Usual? The Italian Insurance Industry and the 'Jewish Question' during World War II." Advisers: Alice Kelikian, Antony Polonsky.

SEBASTIAN HAUMANN, Universität Düsseldorf, "'Schade, dass Beton nicht brennt!'—Über das Verhältnis von Protest und Stadterneuerung 1965–1985." Adviser: Irmtraut Götz von Olenhusen.

IRIS KARABELAS, Universität Tübingen, "Die Resonanz der Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftslehre Friedrich August von Hayeks unter ausgewählten konservativen und liberalen Politikern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zwischen 1975 und 1985." Adviser: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel.

JULIA V. DEM KNESEBECK, Oxford University, "Roma Holocaust Victims in Post-1945 Germany." Adviser: Nick Stargardt.

KATJA KÖHR, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, "Die vielen Gesichter des Holocaust. Das Konzept der Individualisierung in musealen Holocaustdarstellungen." Adviser: Karl-Heinz Pohl.

LYDIA NEMBACH, Universität zu Köln, "Vom 'Tante-Emma-Laden' zum 'Supermarkt'—Transatlantischer Wissenstransfer und die Einführung der Selbstbedienung im deutschen Einzelhandel (1948–1970)." Adviser: Ralph Jessen.

CHRISTOPHER NEUMAIER, TU München, "Rationalitätsfiktionen in der verwissenschaftlichten Alltagstechnik des 20. Jahrhunderts. Erklärung der diametral entgegentlaufenden Akzeptanz von Dieselaufomotoren in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika." Adviser: Ulrich Wengenroth.

ANNA-MARIA PEDRON, International University Bremen, "Kontakte und Konflikte von Ort: Deutsch-Amerikanische Beziehungen in Bremen vom Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges bis in die fünfziger Jahre." Adviser: Johannes Paulmann.

INTERNSHIP RECIPIENTS

The GHI was fortunate to have a number of excellent interns who made valuable contributions to our work. The interns conducted research in libraries and archives, helped prepare and run conferences, assisted edi-

tors, librarians, and administrators, and cheerfully performed all other tasks that came their way. For their excellent work we would like to thank Ina Sondermann (University of London), Teodora Atanasova (Georgetown University), Daniel Holder (University of Bonn), Liesa Bauers (University of Bonn), Andrea Kuhn (University of Cologne), Enrico Böhm (University of Marburg), Onno Schroeder (University of Heidelberg), Martin Lütke (University of Bonn), and Mark Schiefer (University of Dresden).

STAFF CHANGES

SABINE MECKING, a historian affiliated with the Westfälisches Institut für Regionalgeschichte, Münster, served as Acting Deputy Administrative Director of the GHI from April to September 2006, while Jörg Schröder was on leave. Sabine Mecking goes on to a post-doctoral research fellowship at the University of Düsseldorf, where she will be working on her research project "Gebietsreform und Bürgerwille: Demokratieentwicklung und Reform von Staat und Gesellschaft am Beispiel der kommunalen Neugliederung in Nordrhein-Westfalen," funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

PATRICIA CASEY SUTCLIFFE joined the GHI in July 2006 as editor of the institute's in-house publications. She holds a Ph.D. in Germanic Studies from the University of Texas at Austin and formerly worked as an assistant professor of German at Colgate University and Montclair State University and as a lecturer in English at Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg and at Julius-Maximilians-Universität in Würzburg. Her own research focuses on nineteenth- and twentieth-century intellectual exchange between Germany and America, especially among scholars of language.

EVENTS

LECTURE SERIES, FALL 2006

COMPETING MODERNITIES: GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES, 1890—PRESENT

Funded with the generous support of the Robert Bosch Stiftung (Stuttgart), this lecture series focuses on a series of topics in order to compare the paths of Germany and the United States over the past century. It also seeks to contribute to public discussion about future social and political developments in the two nations.

All lectures will be held at the German Historical Institute, 1607 New Hampshire Ave, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. Refreshments will be served at 6:00 pm. Lectures begin at 6:30 pm.

- September 21 *Migration in Germany and the United States*
Tobias Brinkmann (University of Southampton)
Ari Sammartino (Oberlin College, OH)
- October 5 *Mass Politics in Germany and the United States: Paradoxes of Participation*
Fitzhugh Brundage (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)
Konrad Jarausch (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC)
- October 26 *Discipline: Schools, the Military, and the Shaping of Future Citizens in Germany and the United States, 1890–2000*
Dirk Schumann (German Historical Institute)
Judith Sealander (Bowling Green State University)
- November 2 *Empire and Nation: Studies from the United States and Germany*
Thomas Bender (New York University, NY)
Michael Geyer (University of Chicago, IL)
- November 9 *The Welfare State in Germany and the United States*
Daniel Letwin (Pennsylvania State University)
Gabriele Metzler (University of Tübingen)
- November 30 *Labor and Industry in the United States and Germany*
Colleen Dunlavy (University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI)

- December 7 *Media in the United States and Germany*
Philipp Gassert (University of Heidelberg)
Christina von Hodenberg (Queen Mary College, University of London)
- December 14 *Religion in the United States and Germany*
Simone Lässig (Georg-Eckert-Institut für Schulbuchforschung, Braunschweig)
Rainer Praetorius (Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg)

EVENTS SPONSORED BY THE GHI, 2006–07

For a regularly updated calendar of events, please check our website at www.ghi-dc.org.

FALL 2006

- September 4–16 Bucerius Seminar: American History and American Archives Seminar in Washington, Chicago, Boston, and Madison
Conveners: Kathleen N. Conzen (University of Chicago), Andreas Etges (Free University of Berlin), Christof Mauch (GHI)
- October 3 Bridging the Oder: Reflections on Poland, Germany, and the Transformation of Europe
German Unification Symposium, at the GHI
Speakers: Gesine Schwan (Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder) and Janusz Reiter (Polish Ambassador)
Convener: Christof Mauch (GHI)
- October 20 Edmund Spevack Memorial Event, at Adams House, Harvard University
Parsing Prussian Personality: Christian Thomasius and the Psychogram
Speaker: Mack Walker (Johns Hopkins University)
Conveners: David Blackbourn (Harvard University) and Christof Mauch (GHI)
- October 26 Franz Steiner Prize Award and Symposium
Neues Schloss Stuttgart
Conveners: Ulrich Bachteler (James F. Byrnes Institute), Christof Mauch (GHI), Thomas Schaber (Steiner Verlag)
- November 5 A Resource Rediscovered: The Reopening of the German Society of Pennsylvania Library
Symposium at the Joseph B. Horner Library, Philadelphia
Conveners: Hardy von Auenmüller (German Society of Pennsylvania) and Dirk Schumann (GHI)
- November 16 Europe as a Community of Memory?
Annual Lecture, at the GHI
Speaker: Aleida Assmann; Commentator: Peter Novick
Convener: Christof Mauch (GHI)
- November 17 Symposium of the Friends of the German Historical Institute
An Event in Honor of Konrad Jarausch
Conveners: Gerald Feldman (Friends of the GHI) and Christof Mauch (GHI)

SPRING 2007

- February 16–18 Histories of the Aftermath: The European “Postwar” in Comparative Perspective
Conference at the University of California, San Diego
Conveners: Frank Biess (University of California, San Diego), Robert Moeller (University of California, Irvine), Dirk Schumann (GHI)
- February 22 Arnold Brecht (1884–1977): Demokratischer Beamter und politischer Wissenschaftler in Berlin und New York
Symposium in Berlin
Conveners: Corinna Unger (GHI) and Claus-Dieter Krohn (Hamburg)
- March 22–25 Environmental History and the Cold War
Conference at the GHI
Conveners: John McNeill (Georgetown University) and Corinna Unger (GHI)
- March 29–April 1 Beyond the Nation: U.S. History in Transnational Perspective
Young Scholars Forum
Conveners: Thomas Adam (University of Texas at Arlington) and Uwe Lübken (GHI)
- April 21 German History Seminar, at the GHI
Conveners: Marion Deshmukh (George Mason University) and Gisela Mettele (GHI)
- May 2–5 German History, 1945–1990
Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar, at the GHI
Conveners: Roger Chickering (Georgetown University) and Richard F. Wetzell (GHI)
- May 11–12 Mass Migration and Urban Governance: Cities in the United States and in Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries
Workshop at the GHI
Conveners: Marcus Gräser (University of Frankfurt, NEH-GHI Fellow) and Daniel Czitrom (Mount Holyoke College, NEH Fellow)
- May 17–19 Gender, Wars and Politics: The Wars of Revolution and Liberation—Transatlantic Comparisons, 1775–1820
Conference at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Conveners: Karen Hagemann (UNC) and Gisela Mettele (GHI)
- June Archival Summer Seminar in Germany
Convener: Corinna Unger (GHI)
- June 20–23 Toward a New Transatlantic Space? Changing Perceptions of Identity, Belonging, and Space in the Atlantic World
Conference in Leipzig
Conveners: Hartmut Keil (Leipzig) and Corinna Unger (GHI)

FALL 2007

- September Hamburg: Local History in International Perspective
Conference in Hamburg
Conveners: Axel Schildt (Universität Hamburg), Christoph Strupp (GHI), Dorothee Wierling (Universität Hamburg)
- September Uncertain Environments: Natural Hazard Insurance in Historical Perspective
Conference at the GHI
Conveners: Uwe Lübken (GHI) and Christof Mauch (GHI)
- October 10–14 Medieval History Seminar (in cooperation with the GHI London)
Mentors: Michael Borgolte, Johannes Fried, Patrick Geary, Barbara Rosenwein, et al.
- December 6–8 Connecting Atlantic, Indian Ocean, China Seas, and Pacific Migrations, 1830s to 1930s
Conference at the GHI
Conveners: Donna Gabaccia (University of Minnesota), Dirk Hoerder (University of Bremen), Gisela Mettele (GHI), Marcel van der Linden (IISH Amsterdam)
- Weltbilder—Menschenbilder: Kulturanthropologische Blicke auf die Frühe Neuzeit von beiden Seiten des Atlantiks
Conference at the GHI
Conveners: Rebecca Habermas (University of Göttingen), Gisela Mettele (GHI), Norbert Schnitzler (TU Chemnitz), and Gerd Schwerhoff (TU Dresden)

GHI PUBLICATIONS

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

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Series Editor: Christof Mauch with David Lazar

- Vol. 1: Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan, eds., *An Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States After 1933*. New York, 1991.
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BULLETIN

Edited by Richard F. Wetzell. Published semiannually, in spring and fall, and available free of charge from the Institute.

- 25 (Fall 1999) Feature articles: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, “Turning to the Atlantic: The Federal Republic’s Ideological Reorientation, 1945–1970” (12th Annual Lecture of the GHI, November 12, 1998); Charles S. Maier, “Mehr Sozialgeschichte wagen” (Comment on the Annual Lecture).
- 26 (Spring 2000) Feature articles: Mary Fulbrook, “Fact, Fantasy, and German History” (13th Annual Lecture of the GHI, November 18,

1999); Konrad H. Jarausch, "The Limits of Common Sense: (Post-) Postmodern Problems or Opportunities?" (Comment on the Annual Lecture); Malcolm Richardson, "A Search for Genius in Weimar Germany: The Abraham Lincoln Stiftung and American Philanthropy"; Eckhardt Fuchs, "A Comment on Malcolm Richardson"; Andreas Daum, "German Historiography in Transatlantic Perspective: Interview with Hans-Ulrich Wehler."

- 27 (Fall 2000) Feature articles: Hans Mommsen, "The Dissolution of the Third Reich: Crisis Management and Collapse, 1943–1945" (First Lecture of the Friends of the GHI, April 4, 2000); Doris L. Bergen, "Death Throes and Killing Frenzies" (Comment on the Friends of the GHI Lecture); Peter Drewek, "Limits of Educational Internationalism: Foreign Students at German Universities Between 1890 and 1930"; Roger Chickering, "A Comment on Peter Drewek"; Jay Winter, "The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the 'Memory Boom' in Contemporary Historical Studies."
- 28 (Spring 2001) Feature articles: Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Political Religion in Modern Germany: Reflections on Nationalism, Socialism, and National Socialism" (14th Annual Lecture of the GHI, November 9, 2000); Jane Caplan, "Politics, Religion, and Ideology" (Comment on the Annual Lecture); A Conversation with Fritz Stern; Johannes Dillinger, "American Spiritualism and German Sectarianism: A Comparative Study of the Societal Construction of Ghost Beliefs."
- 29 (Fall 2001) Feature articles: Lord Ralf Dahrendorf, "Democracy Under Pressure: The European Experience" (First Gerd Bucerius Lecture, June 5, 2001); Robert Gerald Livingston, "From Harry S. to George W.: German-American Relations and American Presidents"; Deborah Cohen, "Comparative History: Buyer Beware."
- 30 (Spring 2002) Feature articles: Caroline Walker Bynum, "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety" (15th Annual Lecture of the GHI, November 8, 2001); Mitchell B. Merback, "Reverberations of Guilt and Violence, Resonances of Peace" (Comment on the Annual Lecture); Raimund Lammersdorf and Vera Lind, "The German Studies Association at Twenty-Five: Interviews with Gerald R. Kleinfeld, Mary Nolan, and Frank Trommler"; Wilfried Mausbach, "European Perspectives on the War in Vietnam."
- 31 (Fall 2002) Feature articles: Hans Küng, "A New Paradigm in International Relations? Reflections on September 11, 2001" (Second Gerd Bucerius Lecture, April 17, 2002); Gerald Feldman, "The German Insurance Business in National Socialist Germany" (Second Lecture of the Friends of the GHI, February 12, 2002); Frank Schumacher, "The American Way of Empire: National Tradition and Transatlantic Adaptation in America's Search for Imperial Identity, 1898–1910."

- 32 (Spring 2003) Feature articles: Jürgen Osterhammel, "In Search of a Nineteenth Century" (16th Annual Lecture of the GHI, November 14, 2002); Ira Berlin, Comment on the Annual Lecture; Philipp Gassert, "Between Political Reconnaissance Work and Democratizing Science: American Studies in Germany, 1917–1953"; "American History in Germany: The View of the Practitioners" (Norbert Finzsch, Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, Detlef Junker, and Ursula Lehmkuhl, interviewed by Astrid M. Eckert).
- 33 (Fall 2003) Feature articles: Rita Süßmuth, "People on the Move: The Challenges of Migration in Transatlantic Perspective" (Third Gerd Bucerius Lecture, May 5, 2003); Joachim Radkau, "Exceptionalism in European Environmental History"; John R. McNeill, "Theses on Radkau"; A. James McAdam, "Transitional Justice After 1989: Is Germany so Different?"
- 34 (Spring 2004) Feature articles: Helmut Schmidt, "The Global Situation: A European Point of View" (4th Gerd Bucerius Lecture, September 17, 2003); Eric Foner, "The Idea of Freedom in American History" (17th Annual Lecture of the GHI, November 20, 2003); Jürgen Kocka, Comment on the Annual Lecture; "The Historical Profession in Germany and America: Interviews with the Presidents of the American Historical Association and the German Historikerverband" (James M. McPherson and Manfred Hildermeier, interviewed by Christof Mauch and Richard F. Wetzell).
- 35 (Fall 2004) Feature articles: Liliane Weissberg, "Reflecting on the Past, Envisioning the Future: Perspectives for German-Jewish Studies" (Joint Lecture of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York and the GHI, October 16, 2003); Jeffrey Peck, "New Perspectives in German-Jewish Studies: Toward a Diasporic and Global Perspective" (Comment on the Joint Lecture); Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrant Religion and the Republic: German Catholics in Nineteenth-Century America"; Denis Cosgrove, "Landscape and Landschaft"; Karen E. Till, "Emplacing Memory Through the City: The New Berlin."
- 36 (Spring 2005) Feature Articles: Ute Frevert, "Europeanizing German History" (18th Annual Lecture of the GHI, November 18, 2004); David Blackbourn, comment on the Annual Lecture; W. Michael Blumenthal, "The Closest of Strangers: German-American Relations in Historical Perspective" (5th Gerd Bucerius Lecture, September 27, 2004); "Dramatizing German History: Michael Frayn on *Democracy*."
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- 38 (Spring 2006) Feature Articles: Kenneth R. Jackson, "Transnational Borderlands: Metropolitan Growth in the United States, Germany, and Japan since World War II"; Adelheid von Saldern, "The Suburbanization of German and American Cities"; Monika Maron, "Historical Upheavals, Fractured Identities"; "German Institutes of Contemporary History: Interviews with the Directors."

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- No. 2: Jens Reich, "My Germany: Reflections on My Country Before and After 1989." German Unification Symposium, at the GHI, October 3, 2003.
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